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Degrees of Relatedness:
The Social Politics of Algonquian Kinship
in the Contact Era Chesapeake

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A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the College of William & Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of
Master of Arts

Department of Anthropology

The College of William & Mary
January 2008

APPROVAL PAGE

This Thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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Abstract

This study explores the social politics of Mid-Atlantic Algonquians through the lens of kinship and marriage during the contact era. I utilize documentary evidence, archaeology, linguistics, and demographic data to develop a kin-based framework from which to view Chesapeake Algonquian society in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. I argue for the presence of Chesapeake-wide cross cutting social institutions - such as moieties or sodalities, and the significance of local lineages' attachment to place and investment in institutions that maintained socio-political hierarchy. This reassessment of Tidewater ethnohistory is an effort to evaluate to what degree the primary sources support or contradict previously published interpretations. Through this process of reassessment, sections of the documentary record that have been intentionally discarded because they didn't fit preexisting models of social organization, are highlighted and resituated into the historical narrative. I seek to foreground and examine these intentionally excluded areas of the ethnohistory in order reconfigure previous conclusions and reconcile these omissions by offering a new model. The errors and contradictions in the interpretation of this ethnohistory have had a significant impact on the way in which the social politics of chiefly societies in the Chesapeake are viewed. This reassessment sheds a new light on the dynamic and transitional socio-cultural forms of the contact era Chesapeake and provides a deeper understanding of Tidewater Algonquian social mechanisms. The reinsertion of kinship and marriage as integral to the interpretative framework acts a complement to other ideological concepts of cultural logic, such as cosmology.

More narrowly this research deals with the rise of Wahunsenacah as the Mamanatowick and the expansion and proliferation of the Powhatan polity. Acknowledging that cultural systems "live within history," the reclamation of previously discarded portions of the primary record, pertaining to the kinship network and marriage alliances that contributed to the emergence of the Powhatan as a paramount chiefdom, are discussed in a more nuanced and multi-dimensional way. Clarified and reinserted, these socio-political mechanisms reveal 1) that through the conduit of kinship the rise of the Mamanatowick's supra-lineage was a unique historical development, 2) the historical descriptions of the Powhatan expansion obscured deeper cultural constructs such as those which lead to the formation of Tsenacomoco, and 3) the colonization of Virginia by English-speaking peoples truncated wider shifts in Chesapeake Algonquian social organization. A static reading of the seventeenth-century historical record confuses the event level of history with the conjuncture and obscures processes of socio-political change. This work resituates kinship and marriage as the primary organizing principle of contact era Mid-Atlantic Algonquians.

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Chapter I

Introduction

In the formative years of the discipline, Anthropology utilized kinship studies as a means of exploring the origins and divergent development of human societies. Lewis Henry Morgan's (1870) efforts to develop classification systems of kinship analysis led to an intense investment by early researchers into the boundaries and connections of human behavior and the schemes by which cultures devised their organizations. While most kinship system studies began in North America, the native societies of the Mid-Atlantic region have not benefited from a deep analysis. In particular, historic Chesapeake Algonquian studies have been overlooked for evaluation so frequently as to only produce scant references in the early anthropological literature (Spier 1925) or to be ignored completely as too limited in material to be worthwhile (Driver 1969). This study is an attempt to address this problem, both as an addition to Algonquian kinship studies in general and as a contribution to Chesapeake research that is aimed at reassessment and exploration.

During the last quarter of the twentieth century the study of kinship has focused on areas with rich ethnographic data and in some cases, as with the work of Goody (1990), reassessed earlier social science fieldwork. As both a historical comparison to previously investigated subjects and as an evaluation of earlier accuracy, revisiting past studies is integral to the development of an anthropological social history (Peletz 1995:366). The process of conducting these reassessments often reveals not only

omissions by previous researchers but also produces revised understandings of socio-cultural communities and reinvigorates anthropological discussion, debate, and dialogue.

It is important to acknowledge where kinship studies have gone in the past half-century, both to recognize the depth and limits of using kinship as a lens to view social relations. At this point in the discipline's history, any evaluation of historic Mid-Atlantic Algonquian kinship must address the disparity in theoretical models and situate the argument within the changing face of kinship studies. While the Chesapeake is rich in the archaeological and documentary record, some approaches to the historic kinship systems of the region are limited by the amount and type of data. Due to limitations linguistic collections and ethnographic data, inquiries into some aspects of Virginia Algonquian society do not lend themselves to an approach that focuses on nuances and interplay between actors. At a cultural level, it is first important to recognize the types of systems functioning within the area of study before more ephemeral relationships can be explored and practice delineated from convention.

My reassessment of the Chesapeake Algonquians examines cultural orientations. I attempt to develop a "baseline" of deeply rooted Virginia Algonquian cultural characteristics, so that a structural template can be used to investigate evidence of action at a functional level. Kinship systems like other deep structural tenets, such as cosmology, order the worldview or mental template of actors within a field of interaction. The engagement of multiple actors at the event level deposits various types of evidence (documentary, linguistic, archaeological, biological) that can be examined to elucidate the intersection of culture with history. Within the Chesapeake, research into kinship and relatedness reveals complex relationships of politics, economics, social obligations, and

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chiefly responsibilities. In order to understand these relationships, an assessment of the foundational, orienting cultural order must be conducted to articulate the guiding principles of action.

Secondly, an engagement with the evidentiary materials – be it documentary, cross-cultural, linguistic, archaeological, or biological reveals the supporting connections between structure and function. Here, the primary record of the Chesapeake bears witness to the intersection of multiple cultural actors negotiating understandings of cosmology, symbolism, place, identity, fluidity, and contradiction. My use of kinship is a lens by which to more fully understand the event level of history through the investigation of the conjuncture between it and the baseline of Algonquian culture. All too often, Mid-Atlantic research has suffered from an environmentally deterministic perspective (Rountree, Clark, and Mountford 2007). Some abstractions (Rountree 1990) appear to have confused the event level with the conjuncture, producing an interpretation of culture-history that is too heavily driven by action as opposed to oriented by the interconnectivity between structure and event. Kinship is one means of "getting at" the unconscious foundations of Algonquian society, the mental template that motivates, inspires, and defines.

Third, a reassessment of Algonquian studies of the Mid-Atlantic reveals a level of essentialism prevalent within the academic discourse of the region. By revisiting earlier anthropological abstractions, issues emerge concerning previous constructions of culture-history. Revising the baseline of Algonquian cultural understandings carries an intrinsic domino effect on the presentations of historical developments and guiding motivations. Throughout this thesis I argue that misunderstanding the template of relatedness (through

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cosmology and kinship) and a lack of continual linguistic investigation has resulted in misconstrued presentations of Algonquian society in the Chesapeake. In addition, the deliberate dismissal of select contradictory documentary evidence has discarded key material related to both the history of the region and the culture that inhabited it. A revised understanding of the Tidewater Algonquian world pushes the argument to consider the concepts of indigenous colonialism, relatedness to place, social hierarchy, gender difference, and political identity. While this study uses kinship as a window into Algonquian culture, my research demonstrates that new directions in Chesapeake studies are not only possible, but also fruitful. Kinship is just one means of revisiting the Mid-Atlantic Algonquian cultural study.

However, due to the fragmentary nature of Chesapeake historical record and the diversity of scholarly approaches to kinship, several points should be discussed here before proceeding. Kinship studies of the late twentieth century have been aimed at developing more nuanced understandings of social relationships, contradictions, and ambiguities within societies. Earlier approaches to kinship relied on static models that had limitations in allowing for structural shifts as well as tended to be too focused on "official" descent and systems rules, often producing totalizing schemes. Despite the critique, some aspects of the "deep structure" tenets survive and can be particularly useful in areas where incomplete data plays a role in the depth of study. Equally, comparative research and universals developed from generalizations across historic and contemporary cultures continues to position social organization and kinship as key areas of research.

Kinship analysis and descent systems may be awkward and abstract, acknowledging the variability, differences, and divergences of social actors within

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everyday situations. However, it would seem that the concept of kinship as being apart of the "building blocks" of social structure perseveres on some level, even as kinship as a field has been submerged under other social science rubrics. The development of kinship systems as an ideology particular to specific cultures remains as a valuable tool for social analysis. As a cornerstone to understanding relationships, evaluating the kinship concepts of descent reckoning, marriage practices, residence rules, and chiefly succession provide foundational material for anthropological abstraction. Associations of group identity, peoplehood, and attachments to place are also colored by concepts and understandings of relatedness. Thus, my reassessment of the Chesapeake studies begins at the ground floor – looking at the extant evidence to evaluate deep structural tendencies through the lens of kinship.

An Overview of Kinship Studies in Anthropology

Peletz argues that by the mid twentieth century, despite enormous amount of attention, anthropologists such as Leach (1954), Malinowski (1930), Murdock (1949), and Needham (1971), had made little "headway in developing systematic accounts of the institutional and other determinants of similarities and differences" of the lengthy classification systems and terminologies developed (1995:344). However, researchers in the discipline acknowledged that a relationship between system and practice, while elusive, did exist and was central to understanding the human experience (Fox 1967). Theories developed during the third quarter of the century focused on kinship as a system of symbols and meanings (Schneider 1968) with emphasis on the underlying principles of social relations, such as through marriage alliance (Levi-Strauss 1963).

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Kinship studies of the late twentieth century have critiqued what I might call the earlier "so-called formulaic approaches" to social organization and have emphasized the need to evaluate the real life experience of social actors. Trends in the past thirty years within the academy have shied away from structural approaches of kinship in favor of investigating meaning and understanding of actors within culturally constructed contexts (Bourdieu 1977), the historical development of kinship within specific societies (Goody 1983), and the emergence of social inequality (Meillassoux 1984). As kinship studies waned in prominence within the discipline and subfields became more specialized and provincial, other troupes such as political anthropology and feminist anthropology appear to have "partially subsumed" the study of kinship (Peletz 1995:345). Reconfigured and reproblematized, the field of kinship reemerged as a component to investigations of production and political economy (Comaroff 1980), particularly areas that focus on gender and inequality (Kelly 1993).

It is important to recognize that shifts in kinship studies parallel other theoretical discussions and approaches in the discipline. The timeline of changes within kinship research mirrors the wider trends within anthropology. There was a movement away from the bounded terminological and symbolic systems approach of kinship in favor of a more nuanced, variable, and practical study of social reproduction. This trend has led some researchers to reassess previous classification schemes of certain socio-cultural groups and challenge the understandings of earlier academic generations. In one example, Goody's (1990) reevaluation of Asian kinship systems critiques Western constructions of "primitive" and "complex" societies and argues against applying blanket theoretical models (such as Levi-Strauss's alliance theory) without considering the placement of

actors within the economic, religious, and gender constructed cultural orientations. Moreover, Goody suggests that earlier comparative models (e.g. Murdock 1949) did not account for the intricacy and variability present between the scale of the domicile to the total encompassing society or relevant differences between diverse "complex" stratified societies and relatively uniform "simple" societies. Goody bridges the gaps between disparate cultures by placing emphasis on links between kinship systems and economics.

While Goody's dynamic view of kinship that focuses on "modes of production, the system of communication, the practice of religion, the influence of the state and the control of the judicial apparatus" may be preferable to the "basic building blocks" (1990:157, 70) model of earlier theories, the basic "deep structure" of kinship systems continues to remain present and relevant. This is to say that while late century kinship analysis have critiqued the earlier work of Murdock and others, there has been a tendency to rely on portions of the structural arguments and even to "derive meaning from function" (Peletz 1995:358).

In Virginia, the types of materials available for evaluation hamper the investigation of avenues of Chesapeake kinship research. While a patchwork of seventeenth-century documents adds immeasurably to the potential for a kinship study, nothing replaces the ability to do fieldwork or reassess previous ethnography with the informants. By the time any detailed writings were done beyond the seventeenth century on Virginia Algonquians, most of the indigenous culture of the rural Tidewater had become creolized. Frank Speck's (1928) fieldwork among the Virginia Algonquian remnants produced a limited ethnography, with little attention to kinship. However, Speck's documentation reveals vestiges of the former culture remained intact. In

particular his discussions of familial hunting areas, kin-based social organization, rootedness to place, and identities attached to the landscape all appear to be directly related to a much older and persistent Algonquian socio-cultural form. Any assessment of the kinship system of the Tidewater Algonquian, past or present, would have to address the appearance of these more conservative cultural manifestations. I argue that the evidence is strong for the retention of some deep structures among the twentieth-century Chesapeake Algonquians. While not the focus of this study, future research into the continuity of kinship based systems and fields of interaction that are tied to landscapes of identity will no doubt prove productive.

An investigation into the baseline of Tidewater Algonquian culture requires the use of models that help define the structure. Before attention can be placed on the interplay within systems and the appearance of agency, the foundation must be laid in order to ground or place the framework in perspective. For some areas of this thesis I use older methodologies that are appropriate to this type of inquiry. Several examples include Evans-Pritchard's (1940) segmentary lineage system, Murdock's (1949) arguments on co-residence, and Levi-Strauss's (1963) discussion of marriage alliance. The point in using these approaches is not to conflict with the direction kinship studies has gone in the last half-century or to rebuff the critiques of the last quarter, but rather to utilize the useful elements within those older arguments and explore the underlying cultural mores through a structural and structural functionalist perspective.

Once the foundation is defined, the interaction and interconnectivity between the cultural order and the event level, or the "structure of the conjuncture" (Sahlins 1991:44) becomes more meaningful. Here, the discussions of fluidity, ambiguity, and contradiction

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make use of the structure, but allow for the more practical application of conventions through the practice of daily life (Kopytoff 1977). Employing these theoretical positions produces new insight into Chesapeake Algonquian culture-history and provides a richer understanding of the events of the contact era.

The reassessment of previous contemporary constructions of Chesapeake culture-history through the visage of kinship also reveals important evidence that alters current perceptions of the Tidewater Algonquians - in particular, the concepts associated with matrilineality and patrilineality. There are also implications of challenging a historically static presentation of the "Powhatan Indians" in favor of a more dynamic field of interaction motivated and guided by deeper seeded cultural constructs such as kinship and cosmology. This last statement is supported by the most recent anthropological investigations of the seventeenth-century Algonquian Chesapeake (Gallivan 2007; Gleach 1997; Williamson 2003), who's work favors the view of symbolism, fluidity, contradiction, and ambiguity as central to social analysis.

Statement of the Problem

Over the course of the twentieth century, multiple perspectives have been presented concerning the structure and organization of Virginia's contact era indigenous inhabitants. Healthy academic arguments engendered discussions about "Powhatan" social organization, settlement patterns, subsistence practices, demographics, and in particular, political manifestations. Culturally similar, these groups comprise what has been termed loosely as "Virginia Algonquians" (Feest 1978a). Previous academic evaluations of the primary record produced a number of conflicting interpretations

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(Binford 1964, Feest 1966, Rountree 1989) when viewed together do not form a consensus regarding the foundational concepts of Virginia Algonquian socio-political organizations.

After reviewing the literature of the last quarter of the century, I maintain that the field has seen a gradual halt to continuing inquiry. This has created a climate of accepted essentialized notions of "Powhatan" culture-history and a lull that has almost institutionalized problematic interpretive models as factual renditions based on social theory. This is not to say that there are not innovative models being applied to the Virginias (e.g. Gallivan 2007; Gleach 1997; Williamson 2003), but what has become increasingly apparent is that addressing some of the challenging static constructions (i.e. Rountree 2005), especially discussions of kinship, has continued the fabrication of cultural frameworks built on accepted, even diluted perceptions of the Virginia Algonquians. This acceptance is pervasive outside of academia, the contemporary native community, and goes to the heart of discussions centered on the construction of identity and social networks in the Chesapeake, both from the past and continuing in the present.

Recent research has begun to question previously accepted notions about key issues surrounding Chesapeake demographics (Klein and Magoon 2007) and the catalyst for the rise of more complex social forms (Gallivan and McKnight 2006). Discrepancies in the primary record have challenged researchers for some time (Rountree 1989) but increasingly, the previous interpretations themselves are beginning to be revisited and seen as problematic. In particular, arguments for singular causal factors contributing to increased socio-political complexity (Turner 1976) have come under scrutiny. Those arguments relied on subsistence and environmental factors to explain the social

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stratigraphy of Mid-Atlantic Algonquian society. Simply put, increased subsistence opportunities based on the introduction of maize and ecological specialization appear to only been partially responsible for producing the catalyst needed to justify significant population increase and the companion evolution of band level societies into chiefdoms. Further, it would seem that the social complexity in the Chesapeake is of a longer duration than the period of intensive maize horticulture (Gallivan and McKnight 2006; Gallivan 2007) and significant population increase (Klein and Magoon 2007), evoking questions about the circumstances surrounding the development of the Powhatan paramount chiefdom during the mid sixteenth century.

Through an engagement between the archaeology and the primary documents, questions emerge about other societal factors that may have contributed to the formation of the Powhatan polity as well as the conduits through which increases in social stratification took place. If subsistence and environmental situations were only partially responsible for the elevation of Algonquian political complexes and the development of significant social stratigraphy, then other conditions or factors must be considered for that evolution. Thus, we may question interpretations (e.g. Rountree 1989) of the regional polities within the Chesapeake world based on subsistence / environmental dynamics. Nor should historical events be viewed as sole causal explanations for constructions of peoplehood. I argue that the temporal period in which the primary record was created has placed an unfortunate focus on a narrow depth of time, which has obscured longer and more enduring patterns of social structures in Tidewater Algonquian society. Hence, exploring the boundaries and divisions by which these groups developed historically can be demonstrated. Also by reexamining the historical careers of several identified groups

or communities, we may uncover other important cultural features that contributed to the formation of aspects of the sixteenth-century Algonquian world.

Equally, ignoring portions of the primary record that have not "fit" the accepted academic models has produced an arbitrary or incomplete assessment of the Algonquian experience, instead discarding or overlooking complete portions of seventeenth-century records as "problematic" or "mistaken" while accepting segments that fit the expectations. This construct might be termed "deductive." In contrast, I suggest an inductive method, whereby multiple documents and evidence from cross-cultural studies, linguistics, archaeology, and biology might suggest other pertinent elements for explanations for aspects of Chesapeake Algonquian culture-history. My interest lies in the reassessment of the primary record and challenging the accepted interpretations in areas where there have been omissions, avoidance, and a lack of comprehension.

Significantly, kinship appears to have played an integral role in the development of the Powhatan polity and as an often-used conduit through which the organization expanded. The process by which the Chesapeake became more socially stratified and politically complex was not sui generis, but rather guided by "preexisting understandings of the world" and the culturally appropriate meanings associated with the actions and systems of that understanding (Roseberry 1991; Sahlins 1998). As Sahlins (1985) suggests, we might investigate the cultural categories or cultural scheme that produces such activities or history, and in effect, evaluate the impact each have on one another in a recursive, consistently altering system. This is to say that while individual actors give "significance to their cultural order" the same order informs and directs its subjects, producing a continual dialogue of action – reaction. This interaction can lead to structural

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transformations, rearrangements of cultural categories, or what might be thought of as a "systems change" (ibid:vii). Thus, a reassessment of contact era Mid-Atlantic Algonquian society should consider embedded cultural systems that produced change, inconsistency, hierarchy, and differential access. One study that focused on environmental specialization in the Chesapeake (Binford 1964) suggests that the most likely socio-cultural process by which these traits first emerged was through the invention of fictive kin.

Goals of the Research

Upon examination of the primary record, certain themes emerge as relevant to a reassessment of accepted scholarly abstractions of the Virginia Algonquians. At the macro level, the cultural construct of kinship as an embedded conduit within social organization that provided for the expansion of the Powhatan polity should be explored to help bridge the gaps in cultural understandings of the Tidewater Algonquian worldview. By revisiting tenets of basic anthropological social structure, a reassessment of Virginia Algonquians demands a fresh look at the historical record to reconcile some of the differences between scholarly abstractions, the comparative ethnographic record, and other recent trends in ethnohistorical analysis.

An illustrative example of this conflict can be demonstrated. Various abstractions (e.g. Rountree 1989) position similar groups of neighboring Algonquians as possessing differing socio-political complexity within a narrow geography. Many times these groups are discussed in temporally bounded terms - being rather static in social form, with little attention to the ramifications of unequally socially developed communities engaged in various types of exchange in close proximity to one another. The "tribal" settlements of

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the Chickahominy River embedded amongst the "chiefdom" polities of the James and York Rivers are the best example of this type of conflicted presentation. Whether the formation of "tribal" groups is more influenced by warfare (Adams 1975; Sahlins 1968; Service 1971) or more related to cooperative kin groups (Plog and Braun 1983) or equally a combination of both, many examples of the formalization or degradation of tribal societies have been directly related to interaction with more complex social forms, be they chieftaincies or states (Wolf 1982; Fox 1987; Fox 1969; Gibson 1990). Thus, the acceptance of abstractions placing tribal and chiefdom communities as secure or static forms without addressing the interaction and implications of tribal-state relations as being relative to social form and social action is problematic. Attending to the implications of this anomaly may provide a window of opportunity to discuss issues surrounding community formation, identity, and social maintenance.

Through this reassessment, the presentations of Chesapeake socio-political evolution can be shown to be questionable, incomplete, and monolithic. The focus of this thesis is not however, to embark upon a new discussion of neo-evolutionary models. Chiefdom studies, like kinship studies, have moved towards arguments that are more nuanced, multi-dimensional, and directed towards issues such as ideology, power, difference, and exchange (e.g. Gunawardana 1992; Pauketat and Emerson 1997; Whitehead 1992). However, some issues concerning the characteristic divisions between bands and states have not been well addressed within the Chesapeake, particularly with regard to kinship as a contributing factor and conduit for social evolution. Equally, demographic research on group size and marriage exchange needs for viability against incest prohibition has not been well described in the Mid-Atlantic. This absence is

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especially important when considering the political landscape and boundary maintenance needed for some evolutionary models of socio-political organization. Kinship plays a central role in a group's demographic composition (birthrates, death rates, sex ratio, and distribution of sibship size) that in turn places certain parameters around a group's types of needs and abilities (Moore 2001). There have been some inconsistencies in Chesapeake population estimates when compared to socio-political evolution, particularly in the definition by previous scholars of what constitutes a socio-political group (Mooney 1907; Mook 1944; Turner 1973; Rountree, Clark, and Mountford 2007).

Thus, the review of arguments made by Binford (1964), Fried (1960), and Service (1962) about socio-political evolution are meant to be a reassessment of social forms, but are more focused on the role of kinship within those developments. The kinship analysis of the Tidewater Algonquians reveals a high degree of irregularity within the Chesapeake social fabric – which can be characteristic of changes in cultural systems. In one example, I suggest that the labeling of the Virginia Algonquians as strictly "matrilineal," with all of the associated social theory trappings, is misleading - and that the social position of women was in decline for multiple generations prior to the arrival of Europeans. This revelation becomes an important factor for discussions concerning the role of women in subsistence, consanguine rights to land use, and transmissions of wealth as contributors to increased socio-political complexity and hierarchy.

Further, I propose an exploration of Chesapeake Algonquian social organization, replete with a reassessment of the archaeological, historical, linguistic, and cross-cultural evidence to revisit previous scholarly investigations, and provide a "fresh set of eyes" to the constructed models. Through this reengagement and comparison, I will provide new

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interpretations of the primary record specifically in areas of kinship – descent systems, marriage practices, residency rules, and broader cross cutting social institutions such as clan and moiety structures. In addition, I will reconcile the previous conscious dismissal by some scholars (Rountree 1989, Turner 1973) of selected primary documentary evidence that appeared to be contradictory by demonstrating the areas of confusion and reinserting the material into the interpretation with consideration of the cultural "conceptual scheme" (Roseberry 1991:8). Ultimately, I hope to identify areas for further research and thus continuing the argument for continual revision, reassessment, and collaboration within Mid-Atlantic Algonquian studies.

Theoretical Perspectives

Following some of the tenets presented by the Annales school of history, cultural and historical change occurs in multiple dimensions and varying scales. To be able to understand or articulate these processes, research into culture-history must adopt a multi-faceted approach. This methodology requires the recognition of relationships between categories, such as cosmology and symbolism and action and meaning, which directly relate to the ways in which culture and history respond to one another in uneven scales.

The study of culture and cultural trends needs to be diachronic, both to understand the processes by which change occurs and the result that the longue durée has upon narrow bands of time at the event level (Henretta 1979). While theoretical models that discuss culture change have been recently popular among a number researchers interested in the processes by which cultures respond to action / reaction dialogs - in particular the responses of native people to the colonial encounter with Europeans (e.g. Sahlins 1985;

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Simmons 1988; Wolf 1982), widely accepted research in the Chesapeake appears to have been overshadowed by synchronic approaches to culture-history (Rountree 1989) or at least a heavy handed focus on the event level (Rountree 1990). A key flaw in those abstractions appears to be the confusion of the event level with the conjuncture, or at least a misunderstanding of the process of interaction between culture and history that have uneven rates of reaction and change. Deeply rooted cultural orientations, such as perceptions of kinship, play an important situating role in influencing action. The misunderstanding of the recursive relationship between structure and action has often obscured Algonquian cultural material through the lens of the historical events of the contact era (Rountree 2005).

Lightfoot (1995) suggests that culture contact studies are uniquely situated to take advantage of the longue durée, particularly using "multiple lines of evidence" that allow for a deeper penetrating view of cultural change that "transcends" the division between history and prehistory. Fortunately, some researchers in Chesapeake studies (Hantman 1990) have reached similar conclusions and attempted to re-center Tidewater native investigations towards a more holistic anthropologic approach, using historical records, comparative ethnography, linguistics, oral traditions, archaeology, and biological data to reinvigorate research paradigms (Lightfoot 1995:199). Similarly, Gallivan (2007) argues that deeper seeded native cultural constructs, such as cosmology played a "fundamental" role in shaping the longue durée of the Chesapeake and that those notions are slower to change, and thus carrying significant interpretative weight that is only recently receiving recognition (Gleach 1997; Mallios 2006; Williamson 2003).

Using a Geertzian perspective of historiography, the event level is only a "series of bounded periods" that an "annalistic" approach can only suggest as "distinct units of time characterized by some special significance of their own" (1980:5). Geertz argues that history should be seen as a cultural pattern, where historical change is a

> "relatively continuous social and cultural process, a process which shows few if any sharp breaks, but rather displays a slow but patterned alteration in which, through developmental phases may be discerned when the entire course of the process is viewed as a whole, it is nearly always very difficult, if not impossible, to put one's finger exactly on the point at which things stopped being what they were and became instead something else...this view of change, or process, stresses not so much the annalistic chronicle of what people did, but rather the formal, or structural patterns of cumulative activity" (ibid).

Geertz interweaves "history" and "culture," arguing that completely positivist explanations of history are unable to address culturally constructed meanings attached to actions, but that both types of histories are "structural" (ibid:6). Similarly, Sahlins approaches "history" and "culture" in an interconnected way, however he has been more concerned with defining culture as a "scheme" as opposed to investigating meanings and actions derived from cultural influence (Roseberry 1991:8). Thus, for Sahlins, history can be seen as a process in which the "cultural scheme" informs action and action / reaction "altering" the "cultural scheme." In that way culture is viewed as "historically altered in action...[and as a] 'structural transformation,' since the alteration of some meanings changes the positional relations among the cultural categories" (1985:vii, brackets mine).

Sahlins perceives "cultural schemes" through a structural analysis, defining structure and culture to be very similar, if not one and the same. Here, Sahlins develops motivation for actions between a Levi-Straussian "deep structure" and the event level of history. The result is what Sahlins has called the "conjuncture" and the intersection or

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articulation of history (events) with culture (deep structure) as the "structure of the conjuncture" (1991:44). The intersections within the conjuncture have direct influential relationships to both the cultural structure and the historic event, however as the Virginia Algonquians may example, they are not always proportionate, meaningful, or consistent.

Within cultural schemes, cultural categories are embedded within the deeper structure; meaning and action are products of a cultural system's actors. For people, those systems also produce reasoning or logic that is culturally constructed, based on their understandings of the world around them – as Levi-Strauss (1966) terms it "pensée sauvage." Cosmology and symbolism are reflective of "cultural logic" (Fischer 1999), also illuminating the cultural systems that produced them. Cultural logic is a mediator between cultural or structural categories and action. It resides within the cultural scheme but rises to meet the event level within the conjuncture. It is here that I argue that the older form of Virginia Algonquian social organization resides, kinship-based and lineage-centered within the deep structure. I use the term "resides" because I see this form of social organization as guiding the motivations of other levels of social partnership, such as descent and residency. In this way, the form "resides" within the basic constructs of Virginia Algonquian society – living and breathing beneath the surface of more complex social forms.

Kinship as an ideology also rises from the deeper structure to influence culturally grounded choices in a wide array of possible actions. In this way, kinship, like cosmology and symbolism can illuminate the workings of cultural logic. As an analytical tool, an understanding of kinship ideology can assist in answering questions about other related

structural categories such as socio-political organization. Once types of relationships can

be established between individuals within a cultural system,

> "a picture of the structure of a culture by means of its categories and congeries of units
> which the culture defines as its parts [emerges]...drawing distinctions among parts which
> that culture itself defines as different [or identical] by their different symbolic definitions
> and designations" (Schneider 1972:51, brackets mine).

Kinship "symbolic definitions and designations" are usually acknowledged as

terminology systems but more broadly can also be considered within cultural categories

of relatedness.

For Virginia, the evidence that is available for the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries must be pieced together through a diverse spectrum. As suggested by Lightfoot

(1995), using "holistic anthropological approaches" provides "multiple lines of evidence"

to assist in the articulation of seemingly disparate materials into a window of a cultural

system. Thus it may be no surprise to see Williamson (2003) using a structural approach

to unveil Virginia Algonquian symbolism and cultural categories; to see Mallios (2006)

identify cultural associations through the conjuncture of reciprocity and gifting; or

Gleach (1997) divide his argument into two observable types of interaction - "trade and

warfare," as lenses to articulate deeper seeded cultural relevancy. Like Geertz, Gleach

notes that sources of evidence "must be *woven* together" to provide "an improved

understanding of the cultural systems from which they arise and thus of the history of

interaction" (1997:10). Throughout this thesis, I attempt to consider deeper cultural

categories of Virginia's Algonquians that can be observed through mediation by cultural

logic within the conjuncture. Kinship as an ideology can be used not only as a heuristic

device, but as a framework from which to consider action (events), illuminated in the

intersection of the conjuncture but directly linked to the structural (cultural) tenets of Chesapeake Algonquian society.

Methodology

Following Franz Boas (1899), this methodology requires inductive research – and in that "revitalized holistic" anthropological scheme an application of a four field approach. Thus my approach is "Neo-Boasian" (cf. Bashkow 2004). While not reliant on turn-of-the-century theoretical tenets, an older methodological approach does offer a "refreshing alternative to the proliferation of narrowly defined, specialized subfields" (Lightfoot 1995:199). Hence a reassessment of original source materials is meant to consider multiple lines of evidence to hopefully bridge gaps in understandings of historical culture. Archaeology (e.g. Potter 1993; Gallivan and McKnight 2006) and linguistics (e.g. Siebert 1975; Rudes 2004) may reveal continuities not detectable in the primary record, allowing an exploration of deeper parallel structures through the remains of action and meaning. Comparative ethnographic research (e.g. [Nuer] Evans-Pritchard 1940; [Mundurucu] Murphy 1974) and ethnohistorical models (e.g. [Iroquois] Trigger 1990; [Muskogee] Etheridge 2003) may uncover similarities and differences that relate to the Chesapeake experience. Biological data and demographic models (e.g. Ubelaker 1973; Moore 2001) help as checks and balances, where theorizing cultural practice meets osteological evidence of physical action. Determinations can be made concerning the probabilities of social complexity (mortuary practice) and viability of populations (density and variability of remains), helping to explore the data of seventeenth-century eyewitnesses on the ground with the physical materials of twentieth-century research. I

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have also used previous studies on kinship systems and functions (Murdock 1949) to contrast evidence from Virginia against known typologies, and compared other documented system's behaviors (Murphy and Steward 1956) to draw ethnographic analogies.

Primary documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Chesapeake are limited when compared with the data available for other similar societies in the world. At the same time, the scholars of native history in Virginia are fortunate to have so many documents and maps produced by the earliest European colonists and so much documentary evidence produced by those voyages preserved through the centuries. Unlike other parts of the Atlantic coast and the immediate interior, Virginia is rich with maps, census records, genealogies, vocabularies, identifiable political groups and named individuals, detailed descriptions, discussions of oral history, and evidence for motivations and perceptions of relativity. These documents have their own histories, issues, prejudices, and illegibility previously described elsewhere (Lewis and Loomie 1953: Wright and Freund 1953; Quinn 1955; Barbour 1971; Rountree 1989; Woodard 2005). The bulk of the writings used in this thesis come from Thomas Harriot (1590), Gabriel Archer (1607), John Smith (1608, 1612, 1624), William Strachey (1612), Henry Spelman (1613) and Ralph Hamor (1615). Period maps that I have used have come to be known as the *La Virginea Pars* by John White (1585), *Don Pedro de Zuniga Map* (1608), *Draught by Robarte Tindall of Virginia* (1609), *The Don Alonso de Velasco Map* (1610), *John Smith Map of Virginia, Discovered and Described* [William Hole, engraver] (1612), and Augustine Herrman *Map of Virginia and Maryland* (1673).

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Aside from these primary sources, a number of other minor or complimentary references have been used and are marked accordingly in the text (Robert Beverly [1705]; Bill et al. [1677]). In some cases, I relied on several publications of the same original source for comparative purposes, cross-referencing, variations in scale or clarity, and translation into Standard English versus the original vernacular of the seventeenth century (Strachey [1612] 1953; Strachey 1612 in Haile 1998). Therefore some citations reference one source for a quotation, and at times, another. Both citations are listed accordingly in the "works cited" section

Previous Research

Serious scholarly work about natives of the Chesapeake began during the late nineteenth century. The first articles of significance were published after intermittent fieldwork conducted by members of the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) in the 1880s and 1890s. John Garland Pollard (1894) and Albert Gatshet (post 1893) compiled some field notes and summaries for the Smithsonian Institution, however James Mooney's (1907) article in *American Anthropologist* marks the beginning of the critical interpretive work done by academics of the early colonial writings. Historic and contemporary cultural and linguistic inquiries by Tooker (e.g. 1904), Gerard (e.g. 1904), Willoughby (1907), Sams (1916), and Speck (1924, 1925, and 1928) round out the beginning of the majority of the scholarly exchange. Mid-century evaluations of the region continued the focus on the ethnohistorical, cultural, and linguistic record, including Bushnell (1940), Mook (1944), and Stern (1951, 1952).

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In addition, archaeology has played a critical role in developing a native culture history in the Chesapeake (e.g. Flannery 1939; Evans 1955; MacCord 1969 and 1970; Binford 1964; Turner 1976; McCary and Barka 1977; Painter 1980; Egloff and Potter 1982; Cissna 1986; Reinhart and Hodges 1991 and 1992; Potter 1993; Dent 1995; Gallivan 2003). Late century ethnohistorical work has added an impressive dimension to the understandings of Virginia Indian socio-political organization, life ways, and mental template (e.g. Barbour 1970, 1971, 1972, 1986; Callahan 1981; Fausz 1977; Feest 1978a; Rountree 1989; Gleach 1997; Kupperman 2000; Williamson 2003)

The interpretations of the seventeenth-century Virginia Indian are hence as diverse as the interdisciplinary fields that have developed them. Nevertheless, through all of the investigations of the past century, kinship has repeatedly not been assessed, considered to have been sufficiently explored, or too far removed to be able to glean any new insight. It would seem of importance then, that this thesis is the only one out of a myriad of other research projects that investigates kinship with any level of significance. Any investigation into these groups should reflect on the information previously presented and consider the context in which it was developed; this statement holds as much truth for the trends of academia as it does for the intentions and motivations of the early European adventurers.

An Overview of the Algonquians of the Chesapeake

This section is meant to be a generalization of the accepted cultural orientation and socio-political organization of the Virginia Algonquians. Admittedly, it is sparse and not portrayed with adequate complexity. However, the goal is not to simplify the

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contemporary abstractions but rather to identify areas of problematic interpretations and elucidate the need for continual evaluation of applied theoretical models. The history of anthropology during the twentieth century has shown that cultural interpretive frameworks are to be continually challenged, revised, and reinterpreted; the Virginia material should be equally seen as flexible, even if only to show the contrasting presentations through trends within the discipline.

European chronicles of Virginia during the sixteenth and seventeenth-century describe coastal Algonquian speaking communities as organized in dispersed villages, each with a headman and councilors acting as a governing body. The larger of the villages had hereditary chief headmen or a *werowance* responsible over lesser village headmen, also called werowances, within the several communities occupying a specific geographic area. Each community appears to have had councils in the way of advisors, made primarily of war captains that had achieved status – sometimes referred to as a *cawcawwasough* or *cockarouse* (Rountree 1989:100-101). A stratified religious order comprised of priests also held status and power; there is also strong evidence that the priests also had a level of political influence and worked in concert with or shared some level of power with the district werowance (Williamson 2003). Another group of individuals, conjurers, had some influence on political life - although their involvement was marginal and possibly in competition with the priestly order. Among the Tidewater groups, only the Chickahominy River groups have been portrayed as exhibiting and maintaining a different political organization prior to the rise of Wahunsenacah. Referred to as *Munguys* or *Mangoap,* the leadership figures of the groups along the Chickahominy, governed as a council of eight headmen (Feest 1973:67-68).

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The native communities of the Chesapeake have been described as reckoning matrilineal decent with dominantly virilocal residence patterns (Rountree 1989:92). The succession of werowances was established through a ranked lineage system that favored particular matrilines of the "better sort" or chiefly families (ibid:93). Within the general male population, an age grade system may have contributed to distinctions between individuals of ascribed status, with other social elevations based on achievements marking further divisions (Cissna 1986:72). Women have been described as also being reared in grades of social distinction, but having a relative amount of domestic freedom (Rountree and Turner 2002), particularly for individuals engaged as multiple partners to polygenous chiefly men.

At the time of the Jamestown colony (1607) a hereditary werowance, Wahunsenacah, had risen to power and gained control through alliance and coercion over most of eastern Virginia's Indian communities. Referred to by the positional title of *Mamanatowick*, or by the name of his natal town of Powhatan, Wahunsenacah led a complex socio-political organization that has been most recently described as a collection of "districts" forming a paramount chiefdom (Gleach 1997:25). The groups that contributed to this political aggregate have been labeled as "tribes" by early anthropological treatments (Mooney 1907:129) and the governing structure first as a "confederacy" (Fiske 1897:94) or a " 'so-called' confederacy" (Speck 1928:236), and then later as "chiefdom" by Binford (1964:102). More recently, the Chesapeake's Algonquians have been politically described as a "centralized monarchy," "traditional state" (Fausz 1977:69), "paramount chiefdom" (Rountree 1989:117) or "Tsenacommacah" as a polity of districts (Gleach 1997:25).

However, the larger political organization was a relatively new one (Potter 1993:18) and may have been modeled on the existing village cluster political structures. Equally, several different forms of social organization (e.g. tribe vs. chiefdom) and several similar socio-political forms of varied stratigraphy (chiefdom vs. paramount chiefdom) have been described as having occupied and neighbored one another within the coastal plain during the same time (Rountree 1990:10-11). The Algonquian-speaking people of the Chesapeake region have been loosely described as variously composing cultural groups of "Virginia Algonquians" or "Powhatan Algonquians" (Feest 1978a:255) and "Nanticoke and neighboring Algonquians" (Feest 1978b:240); "Powhatan groups," "Virginia Algonquian groups," "ethnic groups," or "Powhatan ethnic fringe groups" (Rountree 1989:7-14). The point in highlighting this variability is not to enter a debate over the correct terminology, but rather to illustrate that the anthropological collection of traits does not always fit neatly bounded into a theoretical model. Usually, each of these descriptions is clarified as being incomplete, monolithic, and / or troublesome.

The problem with classifying these groups into neat socio-political or socio-cultural divisions is that the collection of evidence from within the geography of cultural groups reveals definite and intriguing patterns, but those patterns are rarely absolute. While the accepted abstraction related above is a generalization, the Virginia coastal groups were not organized so broadly before contact and after the Jamestown settlement, they behaved in manners that were oppositional to one another. Some groups and individuals attempted to maintain hegemony over a fairly recent political configuration, while others operated under the older, more regionalized political form. In addition,

evidence in the historical record for describing political networks, kinship, residence patterns, and social divisions are conflicting and not necessarily absolute.

I would argue that a portion of the disagreement and mixed interpretation is actually founded in the nature of the system being evaluated – one that was in a high degree of fluctuation and not correlating to the "known" system types. The root of the problematic analysis lies in the condition of the Algonquians during the period surrounding the founding of Jamestown – a socio-political condition that reflected a system undergoing stress, change, and reconfiguration. The rise of the Powhatan polity during the sixteenth century and its expansion into the seventeenth has not been well addressed with regard to deeper-rooted cultural mechanisms that allowed for Algonquians to reorganize based on new political realities. In evidence of this structure, the process of shoring up group divisions during the mid seventeenth century appears to have been defensive against the English incursions. However, the cultural choices people made about group reconfiguration were surely reliant on previously understood alliances and kinship divisions.

The stress of collapsing some localized groups and expanding the control of others speaks to the fluctuations in forms observed by European witnesses, catching the process in mid stride; kin reckoning, identity formation, and political organization were all in a state of oscillation. Thus the social form witnessed at the beginning of the colonial encounter by Europeans was one of complete upheaval, transition, and hybridity – accentuated, inflated, and enlarged by the climate of the Powhatan expansion. Understanding this system helps elucidate the ways in which the evolution of the Virginia Algonquians into the "Powhatan" allowed for constituent members to situate themselves

into a structure that was then more broad, but not necessarily new. That deeper cultural orientations like kinship motivated individuals to act through aspects of cultural logic should be seen as an undercurrent in almost all of the activities surrounding native people and their engagements. My reassessment of the primary record, is an attempt to recenter the interpretations of the Virginia Algonquians back towards the socio-political concepts of *kin-based* organization.

My presentation is not aimed at identifying or resolving all of the incongruities within the indigenous Chesapeake world. Rather, I explore several particularly challenging areas of Virginia Indian ethnohistory through the reevaluation of primary documents, archaeology, linguistics, and comparative contemporary anthropological fieldwork. Often overlooked or ignored, Virginia's native people have always been organized in relation to kinship and identified with specific spaces within the physical and cultural geography.

Organization of the Study

This thesis increases the scope and scale of the research as the chapters unfold. On the micro-level, the first segments in Chapter II are foundational to the larger structure. In those sections I discuss the evidence for Mid-Atlantic Algonquian descent systems, and explore the variations or qualities associated with those types of societies in comparison to the Chesapeake. Next, I expand the investigation beyond reckoning, exploring marriage practices and examine the contrasts between the social practices of so-called commoners and elite. Finally, I consider residency rules, discussing the

practicality and manageability of the types of patterns the previous sections indicate were operating in the Tidewater, and try to reconcile some of the socio-structural implications.

Chapter III is constructed on the premises found in the previous chapter and enlarges the scale of the inquiry beyond the issues pertaining to domicile. I argue for the strong presence of lineage systems within Tidewater Algonquian society. These lineages act as frameworks of relatedness, binding smaller groupings of relatives at the local level. Larger, cross–cutting social organizations such as clans and moieties are explored as mechanisms through which the Virginia Algonquians segmented and resituated themselves across territorial and community divisions. Evidence for these systems are discussed with relation to the primary documents, bio-archaeology, and cross cultural comparison from ethnographic and historic examples.

Expanding beyond the connections of local communities, Chapter IV deals with the wider, regional socio-political organizations of the Mid-Atlantic, examining the patterns of a longer duration than that of the Jamestown and Wahunsenacah era. In this section, socio-political evolution and complexity are explored across the Chesapeake, in an effort to reveal the deeper currents in Algonquian society that have been overshadowed by the contact period.

In Chapter V, I discuss the rise of the Powhatan polity and consider the documentary evidence by which the residual effects of the expansion can be seen in the condition of the constituent groups. Using a rough sequential outline, I provide evidence for the mostly likely process by which the Powhatan expansion took place. Chapter VI is dedicated to the reassessment of the documentary and scholarly record. In both cases, I

address conflicting accounts within the primary documents and bridge gaps between problematic areas of interpretation.

In Chapter VII, I employ an analytical device, called the "flattening of time." I explore the residual effects on contemporary views of the period of inquiry that have resulted from the "flattening of time" by seventeenth-century writers and cartographers. I also discuss, map, and enumerate the dominant lineages that composed the Powhatan polity. Chapter VIII is the conclusion to the thesis and a review of the key points from the argument. Appendix A is a catalogue of common traits and themes associated with different levels of social political evolution and complexity. Appendix B is a glossary of descent and kinship system terminologies. Appendix C is a chart of select Algonquian individuals from the primary record and their corresponding residency patterns in the Chesapeake.

Terminologies Employed

Throughout the thesis I use a variety of Algonquian words. *Werowance* - which has already been defined and described in the overview section above, is probably the most frequent. In places I will define words or expand ideas through the use of a footnote.[1] Other examples include words like *Mamanatowick* (the positional title described above in the overview) and the use of Algonquian place names and personal

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[1] The Algonquian word *werowance, weroance, werowan*, etc. has been etymologized from PA *wi•wi•laki* – "antlers" (Siebert 1975:352). Linguist Blair Rudes feels that this probably was transference of chiefly titles or leadership figures through the custom of wearing antlered headdresses or even just analogy (personal communication 2004). For clarity of plural and possessive constructions, I have used an English plural (s) to denote multiple leaders (e.g. *werowance*[s], *werowance*['s]).

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names. I define the words where relevant, however the spellings may vary depending on the primary documents.

The word *Powhatan* can be fairly confusing because of its diversity in application. It appears in this text as a place, namely the village of Powhatan at the falls of the James River and as a man - Wahunsenacah who was sometimes known as "Powhatan" or "the Powhatan." As a political organization, "Powhatan" can be a little more difficult, as it is easy to slip into blanket usage. I refer sparingly to the lineage groups within the Powhatan district, but as with the other territories, I refer to the people by phrases like "the community of Powhatan" or "the population of Powhatan." I also use the terms "territory," "district," and "province" to discuss the territorial bounds of dominant lineage groups rather than continual use of "tribe" and "chiefdom." References to "chiefdoms" are specific to context. My use of "Powhatan" in other context refers to the nascent political organization of the paramount chiefdom. I apply the term "Powhatania" to refer to the specific territorial bounds of the political organization, acknowledging that that term, like "Powhatan," was never widely used by the sixteenth or seventeenth-century indigenous inhabitants to describe the people or the place of wider eastern Virginia's coastal plain. I attempt to retain the local usage of territory names that Algonquians used (as still use) for village locations, rivers, and landforms.

Chapter II

Reassessing the Primary Record

Reconsidering the foundations of Powhatan social organization has serious implications for reassessing the accuracy of previous scholarly interpretations of wider Virginia Algonquian socio-political formations. The structure must be built from the foundation; the form of the structures may vary, but will conform to the imprint of the platform on which it rests. To begin a modest reevaluation of the Virginia Algonquian's socio-cultural landscape it is prudent to organize the data into units of increasing complexity using the available documentation and the statements referenced in the introduction of this thesis. Thus, the headings below, and in the following chapters, are listed individually but with the understanding that they are intertwined in a social context and related culturally. Additionally, it is necessary to foreground and link the practices to other socio-cultural factors. On a macro level, the selected topical discussions are meant to build upon one another towards evaluating the cultural constituent parts within context of a larger unit of analysis. On a micro level, the unit of analysis begins with Virginia Algonquian descent systems, marriage practices, the social position of women, and residence patterns. It is pertinent to orient individuals and families within the wider societal boundary and develop a tentative understanding of how people organized themselves in relation to others – or a component of their worldview.

On Lines of Virginia Algonquian Descent

Most scholars agree that both Smith and Strachey record that the descent of

Wahunsenacah was matrilineal. However, I would argue that there is some difference

between the two over the exact process:

> "Powhatan hath three bretheren and two sisters. Each of his bretheren succeeded other.
> For the crown their heirs inherit not, but first heirs of the sisters, and so successively the
> women's heirs" (Smith [1608] in Haile 1998:164).

> "his kingdome descedeth not to his sonnes, nor Children, but first to his bretheren,
> whereof he hath (as you have heard) three, and after their deceasse to his sisters; first to
> the eldest sister, then to the rest, and after them to the heires male and Female of the
> eldest sister, but never to the heires of the male" (Strachey [1612] 1953:77).

These statements have been taken to be an indication, and a fairly specific one, that the

Tidewater Algonquians were matrilineal. Other areas of kinship relations were even less

clearly documented, indicating the English were particularly interested in the descent of

the *Mamanatowick*.[1] This focus obviously had more to do with the Europeans'

understanding of ranked-status individuals with concern to the social position of lineages

poised to inherit the chiefly seat, and indeed William Strachey referred to the manner of

Virginia's government to be a "comon wealth" of a "Monarchall" nature (ibid). Because

of this investment by the English, a fairly well documented descent line for

Wahunsenacah was established, and thereby detailing the reckoning of matrilineal

descent for at least the "better sort" or more distinguished lineages of the upper strata in

Algonquian society.

Based on Smith, Strachey, and others, most academics (e.g. Binford 1991) have

agreed on the classification of the Powhatan as matrilineal – however a closer look at the

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[1] *Mamanatowick* was Wahunsenacah's chiefly title at the time of the Jamestown Colony (c.1607).
Further explanation and discussion of Mamanatowick can be found in Chapter V.

evidence is less convincing. This is not to say that the Powhatan were not matrilineal, but rather, that while that may have been the convention among the ruling lineages, other factors and practices may have been recently employed in the Late Woodland Chesapeake. To offer one perspective that has considered and reconsidered this concept, Helen C. Rountree stated in 1989:

> "Evidence for descent reckoning among the Powhatans is scarce, but the fragments that exist point away from patrilineality. Ruling positions passed from relative to relative in a system of lateral succession within a framework of matrilineality" (Rountree 1989:93).

However, a more recent publication speculates on the division between descent lines for the upper and lower strata of Powhatan society, leaving room for a different reckoning:

> "There is no clear evidence of matrilineality, in which children would belong to the mother's family, or of patrilineality, with children belonging to the father's, in records about the Powhatans. Only chiefly positions are known to have been inherited matrilineally" (Rountree and Turner 2002:124).

Combined, these statements are an important revelation by Rountree, who has remained the "authority" on Virginia Algonquians for the last quarter of the twentieth century. The matrilineality of Powhatan society has been strongly argued (at times even fervently), as being a crucial element to understanding differences between Powhatan and English worldviews. As Rountree's statements above indicate, seeing descent rules as a foundational Algonquian societal outlook is not as secure as has been repeatedly presented. Therefore I would argue that the primary record needs a fresh look to resolve some of the incongruent interpretations, and reopen the discussion on the complexity of the Chesapeake.

Some authors in the historical record discuss Virginia Algonquian elite descent being matrilineal; other evidence suggest that there may have been competing or fluctuating systems in play. To better understand the conditions surrounding the

reckoning of kin, and the imbedded associations of social and political relationships, a brief review of the broad organizational shifts in the Virginia coastal plain may prove insightful.

Martin Gallivan suggests that the proto-historic period is represented by

"large, relatively permanent settlements [with] intensification of subsistence production, sedentariness, and population increase. The social dynamics whereby Virginia Algonquians translated this focusing of settlement and increased production of food and children into institutionalized inequality and political hierarchy" (Gallivan 2005:15, brackets mine).

Sometime during the Late Woodland (A.D. 900-1500), Virginia Algonquians partially transitioned from "harvesters of the Chesapeake" into village horticulturalists. As multiple ecological resources were exploited in an increasingly sedentary settlement pattern, a general level of increased social and political complexity developed within the coastal plain (Potter 1993:139, 168). In areas of high population densities and ecological transition zones, the control of important resources may have given rise to more complex societies and in turn the emergence of chiefdom polities (Binford 1991, Turner 1976). As with all stratified societies, levels of social inequality are exemplified in numerous institutional mechanisms (i.e. religion, marriage) and can be seen with differential access to goods and services (i.e. prestige items, tribute).

According to Gallivan, Virginia's late pre-contact coastal plain archaeology indicates a significant increase in sedentism and, in particular, in house size during the centuries leading up to the period of prolonged contact. In some contexts, the housing units are centered about the mean distribution, however some outliers indicate several structures are of a substantial size difference. So while the general tendency is for an increase in house sizes is reflective of growing, sedentary population, the extremities of

structure sizes indicate that there were either communal buildings (i.e. temples, storehouses) or houses that served larger than average households. These compounds can be seen as larger units emerging with more people per domestic structure, able to produce and support more subsistence - and in turn, creating an increased level of communal complexity. More than likely, I would argue, the larger of these households are the antecedents of chiefly lineages and the locus of increased socio-political complexity in the Chesapeake.

In addition, the absence of subsurface storage pits in some locations may indicate the presence of ranked individuals (i.e. chiefs) who controlled surplus subsistence in above ground cribs (Potter 1993:120-121). As noted by DeBoer (1988) and Ward (1985), the appearance of a political economy in which lineage or community leaders dominate household production resulted in the absence of below ground, or subsurface storage pits (Gallivan 2005:14). In short, the riverine villages of the coastal plain began a gradual, but systematic reorganization of their social and political constructions centered around the domestic sphere – and directly linked to household or familial units of organization juxtaposed against the broader community. By the thirteenth century, Virginia Algonquian's housing arrangements, village organization, and exchange practices had transitioned from realms dominated by domestic pursuits into spheres that were increasingly linked to social hierarchy. Motivated by increased localized resource control, consolidation of political authority, and possibly trade monopolies, a growing trend of wealth accumulation and social inequality developed among the Virginia Algonquian during the end of the Late Woodland period. As Gallivan states:

"Through gift-giving, feast sponsorship, and other forms of patronage, surpluses that had previously remained within the domestic realm became funds of power wielded in the political arena after A.D. 1500. Archaeological evidence of elite residential architecture, council houses, palisades, communal feasting, and differential mortuary ritual appears during the Protohistoric sixteenth century, paralleling the development of a more hierarchical social setting in the Chesapeake" (Gallivan 2007:8-9).

The development of matrilineal societies within horticultural riverine settings may be directly linked to the economic conditions of surplus and "plenty" (Bragdon 1996:157-158). Abundant resources, and in particular, shifting cultivation strategies that result in surplus and some level of communal ownership, where the labor resides dominantly in the sphere of the women, is also associated with communities that practice matrilineal descent (Douglas 1971). Referencing Karla Poewe (1981:31-32, 77), Kathleen Bragdon describes this type of matrilineal-centered "ideology" as being "focus[ed] on collective relationships, a multiplicity of kinship ties, and lineage or clan affiliation" (Bragdon 1996:158, brackets mine).

It would seem then, that a sedentary lifestyle and more complex social organization developed in tandem with the accumulation of surplus subsistence strategies. Those strategies appear to have included a growing reliance on starchy tuberous plants during the late Middle Woodland (Gallivan and McKnight 2006:7-8) and a gradual shift towards plant husbandry (i.e. maize, beans, squash) during the Late Woodland; ethnobotanical evidence suggests that corn was diffused from the Piedmont into the Coastal Plain circa 1050 A.D. Following the introduction of beans and squash in the thirteenth century, maize based horticulture increased significantly, with the

intercropping of the three occurring late in the thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries (Gallivan and McKnight 2006:8-9).[2]

The relatively late dates for horticultural pursuits coincide with the shift in housing size and a substantially more sedentary settlement pattern. What may be gleaned from these inferences is that as female labor became focused on the gathering of localized commodities, an increased sedentary mode of settlement anchored kin based social groups to specific landscapes. The introduction of domesticate plant husbandry escalated the subsistence variety, leading to a surplus of overall production. The majority of labor needed to produce this increase resided within the realm of the woman, strengthening the value of women within an expanding domestic configuration. Such an intensified productivity gave way to larger family size, increased housing structures, and in turn a cyclical relationship between familial wealth and feminine labor capacity. However, it becomes apparent that the growing level of sedentarism and subsistence surplus also contributed to the rise of social complexity, inequality, and differential access to commodities (Gallivan 2007).

The initial development of matrilineal and patrilineal descent systems carry contrasting implications for interpreting large scale social relationships. Organizations that are matrilineal tend to lean towards being unifying and equal, where as patrilineal systems appear to support separation and distinguishment (Poewe 1981:52). Poewe

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[2] The complete reliance on horticultural activities was never actually realized by the Virginia Algonquians of the Late Woodland era. Even during periods of intensive tropical cultigens, native plants assemblages dominate the archeobotanical record (ibid:9). While the inclusion of domesticates increased the subsistence variety, a heavy reliance was maintained on gathered native species – even after substantial European colonization. Tuckahoe (tuberous, starchy aquatic plant roots) was continually gathered in such quantities as to be a source of contention in numerous treaty negotiations during the latter half of the seventeenth century.

suggests that societies focused on "matricentricity" can be associated with three crucial concepts. First, communities that are matrilineal support "unhampered reproduction," allowing women the freedom to reproduce or abort "without concerns for paternity or legitimacy." Second, matrilineal groups tend to be associated with types of production that contrast a market economy. Thirdly, matrilineality produces "women who are jural persons – in control of power, authority, and economic resources" (ibid:33).

In the case of the coastal Algonquians, the increase of housing size, surplus horticultural products, and the development of polygeny among chiefly lineages may indicate the beginning of women being exploited as producers of wealth – and in multiples, even symbols of prestige. Bragdon among others argues, "evidence for women's exploitation implies a developing patrilineal and patrilocal focus" (Bragdon 1996:52). Schneider (1961) suggests that there are structural differences between matrilineal and patrilineal social complexes, where lines of authority are separate in the former but convergent in the latter. Here, Schneider argues that while matrilineal systems trace the lineage through the females, the males wield the authority. Conversely, males in patrilineal groups carry both the authority and the line of descent (ibid:7). In discussing the same comparative phenomenon for residency among the coastal Algonquians of New England, Bragdon offers a discussion that

> "compares patrilocal and matrilocal kin, asking why wives are more exploited in the former – and why patrilocality is so common in kin corporate societies and in the transition to state societies…patrilocal societies have greater potential for expansion and for 'internal stratification, both sexual and socio-economic' because of the greater ease with which wealth can be concentrated and the potential for greater fluctuations in lineage wealth in patrilineal societies, both of which hinge on the supply of male acquired and controlled goods being more variable. This is so because the process of lineage accumulation and differentiation commonly entail control over the labor and reproductive capacity of wives. Therefore…the development of male dominance is inseparable from

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that of a societal inequality (Bragdon 1996:52-53 paraphrasing Coontz and Henderson 1986:478).

While the seventeenth-century records of Smith, Spelman, and Strachey indicate that matrilineality was practiced among the elite in Chesapeake society, equally, some information points toward a strong focus on patrilineality. Spelman (1613) referenced the "monarchial" nature of the Powhatan political structure, which may reflect an English perspective, but also seems to indicate the rather dominant position of the male figure within the descent system and the focus of most hegemonic situations towards a male werowance.

Wahunsenacah had several sons serving as werowances within the provinces of Powhatan, Kecoughtan, and Quiyoughcohannock. These individuals may have been appointed as leadership figures over certain territories, but this notion conflicts with the descent reckoning of the elites. That is to say that if werowance descent was similarl to that of Wahunsenacah, they should inherit the position from their mother's line, not their father's. For these known anomalies, political appointment might be a solution, as might the social position of the mothers of the werowances from each district. To be discussed in more detail below, these werowances - as descended "sons" from Wahunsenacah, are examples of the situational and temporal nature of our view of the "Powhatan" socio-political organization. In as much, the extant kinship terms do not allow for a complete view of a unilineal Tidewater Algonquian model. Unfortunately, like in other coastal Algonquian studies, the omission of proper kinship names for cousins, aunts, uncles, and extended family make it impossible to make "clear identification of terminological systems and their associated social structures" (Bragdon 1996:157).

Extant sixteenth and seventeenth-century descriptions of Chesapeake native social practices suggest that characteristics associated with both matrilineal and patrilineal systems operated concurrently in one form or another. The evidence could point towards an ambilineal system, often referred to in the academic literature as *cognatic* (Murdock 1960:11). In ambilineal descent systems, flexible principles of kin are reckoned either through the matriline or patriline. In some Algonquian cases, and most assuredly for the Virginia Algonquians, this flexibility is noted for unilineal descent systems that are experiencing increasing amounts of social stress created by incidents of epidemic, colonization (Bragdon 1996:160), or acculturation (Murphy and Steward 1956:335).

During the period of prolonged European contact in the Chesapeake, both disease and socio-political unrest could have contributed to the shifting configurations of kin reckoning. While disease was a European spawned phenomenon, the societal stress amongst Virginia Algonquians could be equally attributed to the Powhatan expansion, as European colonization attempts. However, it would seem likely that the system encountered by Englishmen in 1607 was one that was in flux, indicating that the changes occurring on the ground were as much linked to the rise of a general social inequality in the Chesapeake as they were to Wahunsenacah himself. So while the sons of Wahunsenacah may have acquired their chiefly positions at Kecoughtan, Powhatan, and Quiyoughcohannock through their matriline, the patrilineal descent from Wahunsenacah must have contributed to the construction and maintenance of their identity as werowances. It seems likely that in these documented cases of "appointed" werowances, the individuals must have derived their *status*, and *more importantly their authority*, from both lines of descent.

The Virginia Algonquian Descent System in Flux

Based on the archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence leading up to the period of prolonged contact, the Tidewater Algonquians were undoubtedly organized in a matrilateral focused descent system. The system was under a period of great fluctuation and change, that system however was a result of multiple social, political, and historical factors. It can be difficult to classify, with any level of certainty, social and political organizations that are undergoing such levels of contextual strife as exhibited by the Virginia Algonquians. That being stated, some evidence to the shift in descent reckoning can be illustrated. These examples are in concert with the social models and conditions presented above, and should indicate that the Virginia Algonquian kinship system encountered in 1607 was in a continuing, multi-generational state of fluctuation.

In reviewing Smith (1608) and Strachey's (1612) statements concerning the werowance descent of Wahunsenacah as shown above on page twenty-eight, several key points can be made even in the face of conflicting reports on the exact process. The eldest son in the matriline would inherit the chiefly position of the lineage followed by all of his brethren. These siblings would most likely be from the same mother, eldest in her sibling generation, per the matrilineal reckoning system. Since there is no evidence of multiple husbands for chiefly-lineage women, the only variation within this descent would be 1) if there were no other sibling offspring in the eldest son's generation, his eldest male parallel cousin (mother's sister's son) would be in line, assuming that their mothers shared the same lineage; or 2) if there were no offspring of the eldest sister, or only

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females, the line would go to the next eldest sister's son. Evidence of these scenarios can be seen in the writings of Robert Beverley:

> "If the King have several Legitimate Children, the crown does not descend in a direct line to his Children, but to his Brother *by the same Mother*, if he have any, and for want of such, to the Children of his eldest Sister, always respecting the Descent by the female, as the surer side. But the Crown *goes to the Male Heir (if any be) in equal degree*, and for want of such, to the Female, *preferably to any Male that is more distant*" (Beverley 1705:193, italics mine).

There has been some speculation that Wahunsenacah's "brothers" were half brothers or parallel cousins (Gleach 1997:142; Rountree 2005:29). While the idea of parallel cousins is completely plausible, given Algonquian kinship terminologies, the concept of "half"[3] brothers is less convincing, or at the very least requires clarification. As stated above, the only possibility of half brothers being in the matriline for the head of the lineage would be if they shared the same father, who had married sisters. Strategically this would be advantageous for the father – marrying doubly into an elite lineage. Less advantageous would this arrangement be for the lineage heads of the brides' family; they would be more apt to see their lineage extend into multiple unions with other corporate kin groups. Wahunsenacah himself was very aware of marriage strategy and the importance of kin negotiations at the elite level. In discussions with Ralph Hamor over the possibility of arranging a second marriage with the English "lineage" through his daughter and Thomas Dale (after the Rolfe / Pocahontas union) Wahunsenacah replied:

> "I desire no firmer assurance of his friendship than his promise which he hath already made unto me. From me hath a pledge: one of my daughters, which so long as she lives shall be sufficient. When she dieth, he shall have another child of mine. But she yet

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[3] While not implied, it should additionally be noted here that native concepts of kin reckoning do not delineate "halves;" either someone is kin of a certain type, or not. Equally, the historical record refers to the siblings of Wahunsenacah continually on terms as "brothers," be they lineal siblings or parallel cousins. In either case the native kinship system would group them in a similar heading or classification (Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, personal communication 2006)

liveth. I hold it not a brotherly part of your king to desire to bereave me of two of my children at once" (Hamor [1615] in Haile 1998:834)

So while a sister marriage is not out of the question, it is less likely to occur in context where the social balance required negotiation over the control of lineage descendants. The dominance of elite lineage's heirs rested upon the calculation of marriage strategy and lineage fortification. Therefore the value of Wahunsenacah's mother's matriline makes it less likely that a lineage from Powhatan would be able to secure double marriage lines concurrently.

The descent system described is that of the upper strata of Algonquian society, namely the Mamanatowick and lineages of werowances. Those families reckoned matrilineal descent, but maintained strong tendencies towards a masculine focus for leadership positions. Women could inherit the position of werowansqua, and indeed several are noted in the historical literature. It should be made clear that the title of werowansqua probably fell as a lineage position to appropriate women within the matrilineal descent order. Thus, the male head of a lineage (werowance) would have a sister of a similar position, from whom the lineage heirs would eventually descend. In multiple references (i.e. Strachey [1612] 1953:65) the werowances of dominant lineages strategically maneuvered to secure prominent lineage women as wives, and therefore produced offspring also of elite status. Hence, it is reasonable to conclude that multiple Algonquian lineages became intertwined through marriage exchange practices, sometimes collateral, producing lineal heirs in a pattern of reciprocity.

However, from the nature of the consistent exchange in women, the intent is quite clear. While the descent is controlled by the matriline, the control *of* the matriline is inherently masculine. That men dominate the decision making about marriage

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arrangements, residence rules, and appear to not only govern the political sphere – but, at least for the elites, the carnal sphere of lineage descent. As mentioned above, social differentiation tends to be created by male dominance, and in the case of the Virginia Algonquians, the inequality developing in the region is inseparable from the rise of chiefly lineages. Those lineages were vastly focused on masculine control over various types of social and political wealth, even as reckoning occurred through the matriline. What may have been developing, as will be discussed in more detail below, was the beginning of male domination over particular lineages, and in a sense, over the descent reckoning system.

Cross culturally, the matrilineal descent for the Delaware is almost identical to the Virginia form described by Beverley, except that women were not allowed to inherit chiefly positions (Wallace 1970:51). Similarly, north of the Potomac the Piscataway chiefdom constructed a matrilineal system that appears to focus the chiefly descent towards patrilineal control:

> "When a Werowance dieth, his eldest sonne succeeds, and after him the second, and so the rest, each for their lives, and when all the sonnes are dead, then the sonnes of the Werowances eldest daughter shall succeede, and so if he have more daughters; for they hold, that the issue of the daughter hath more of his blood in them than the issue of his sonnes" (Anonymous 1635:84).

While the English recorder may have misunderstood the relationship between the "blood" daughters of the werowance and the lineage kin "daughters" and "sisters," the descent system appears to be similar to that of the Powhatan – a heavy tendency to trace lineages through the matriline while deferring socio-political power to men.

As Paul Cissna (1986) argues however, if there was no confusion in the Maryland Englishman's interpretation then there may be alternate reasons for the variation in the

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descent system. Intriguingly, Cissna posits that the system was altered to "offer the widest range of people possible eventual access" to chiefly positions; or that the position of the werowance was "controlled by the clan, not the lineage" (ibid: 67). The alteration of the system to meet the needs of actual practice may indicate a level of flexibility within the "defined" matrilineal chiefly descent. However, I would argue that while the clan affiliation of the kin groups probably cross cut the reckoning, the clan did not determine the lineage head or chiefly seat.[4]

Another possibility for this construction may have been the context in which it was perceived. A werowance could pass chiefly positions to his sons if their mother was of an elite lineage.[5] Wahunsenacah is thought to have maximized this type of strategic alliance through marriage ties that created kinship relations throughout the elite lineages of the Virginia Tidewater (Williamson 2003:68). The father / son descent could also occur where a werowance lacking living siblings and living matrilateral male cross cousins had married his matrilateral female parallel cousin. In such a case, the descendancy would revert to the oldest closest male in the matriline, which would be his own son. Such a case may seem far-fetched, but there has been some research to indicate a preference for first cousin marriage and a high degree of endogamy among portions of coastal Algonquian societies (Rountree 1986; Williamson 2003:113; Bragdon 1996:165).

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[4] In Chapter III, I discuss the presence of clans in the Chesapeake region as a whole. Based on my argument of a shifting reckoning system, the matriclans became weaker and less coherent because of continued marital exchanges that increased the distance of the residence from the source (see below). As a partial result, lineage and moiety organization gradually became strengthened through this social change, as clans decrease in solidarity and prominence. See Murdock (1949) for an abstraction of this process and Murphy (1974) for an ethnographic example.

[5] An example of this may be Parahunt, the werowance at Powhatan and Tatacoope, the lineal heir at Quiyoughcohannock. Both were sons of Wahunsenacah.

The system by which Virginia Algonquians did draw descent and which rules governed various forms of social organization has confused researchers for some time. I would argue that a portion of the disagreement and mixed interpretation is actually founded in the nature of the system being evaluated – one that was in a high degree of fluctuation and not correlating to the "known" system types. The root of the problematic analysis lies in the condition of the Algonquians during the period surrounding the founding of Jamestown – a socio-political condition that reflected a system undergoing stress, change, and reconfiguration. Rountree (1989) encountered (and contributed to) these debates when describing the marriage and residence practices:

> "Powhatan men married wives who were 'a large distance [away], as well in affinitie as consanguinitie.' That and their *virilocal* marriages ensured that Powhatan towns were comprised of 'families of kindred & alliance' *related through males...Virilocal villages* or other kindreds may have formed *large corporate kin groups* among the Powhatan...they would have probably been *'descent lines'* rather than 'ramages' (see Binford 1991:85 and Lurie in Rountree 1989:93), and they probably would *not have been patrilineal*" (Rountree 1989:92, brackets hers, parenthesis and italics mine)

Men who marry wives at a distant geographical, marital, and blood relatedness must retain some level of descent reckoning to maintain both a level of groupness and an identification of who eligible marriage partners. Thus, Rountree's abstraction needs clarification and points to the problematic areas of interpretation in dire need of further explanation and reconsideration. "Large corporate kin groups" that form matrilineal "descent lines" would appear to conflict with residency practices that create patrilocal settlements through "related males." Questions immediately emerge about how continued exogamous and patrilocal practices would tend to be disruptive and destructive to matrilineal descent systems because of the difficulty in articulating descent through the matriline at such continued distances - the corporate kin group would be comprised of

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related males, not females. Marriage rules that rely on lineage or clan affiliation, oriented through women in matrilineal society, must have corporate kin groups that organize based on the relatedness of women. Therefore, I would argue that it would be increasingly difficult, as the Powhatan polity and residential zones expanded, to continue to establish kinship patterns that reproduce social groupings at extended distances from the reckoning source.

As will be discussed in the following section, Virginia Algonquian marriage exchange practices appear to be operating on two levels: the elite and the ordinary. Within these two systems, there appears to be a shift in practices, or a modification of the older form. The transitional model being used by the elite favored enlarged marriage exchange spheres farther away generationally and physically from the matrilineage, edogamy among dominant lineages operating in a reciprocal exchange, and a heavily patrilocal / patrilineal focus. If those central villages or provincial districts were *organized and grouped through related males*, then they must have shared understandings of *kinship that were centered through avunculates*. There is no plausible case where localized matrilineal groups would continue over long durations to receive exterior females of separate lineages / clans from other *distant* local groups at the same time as exporting all of their matrilineal descent lines. This pattern would reflect a complete lack of local kinship within communities, as destructive to social cohesion, as it would seem impossible to manage immediate matrilineal lineage reckoning that was widely dispersed temporally and geographically outside of the local group that was founded on it! Some other explanation is required.

Possibly, what needs consideration is the depth and distance of the exchange process. That is, matrilineal / patrilocal practices may work between villages that are grouped based on phratries, where the exchange of women is less distant, more local, and linked to a reciprocal pattern that is constant as apart of obligatory practices, such as might be the case in moiety divisions. On the local or immediate district level, this exchange would align certain lineage bands with other local groups that would eventually create the extension of fictive kin beyond the immediate domicile and link local aggregates of village clusters. Thus, scale, pattern, and depth are critical to understanding the base of the social practice, while the expansion of the form may reveal something completely different, because it serves a different agenda.

Murdock (1949) argues that matrilineal societies are stable as long as they maintain matrilocal or avunculocal residence practices; a shift to patrilocal pattern makes the system chaotic and leans towards a corrosive tendency for the whole structure. Like the Virginia Algonquians, Murdock recognizes that matrilineal societies that shift to a patrilocal pattern can retain matrilineal kin groups, but that they become disconnected from their originating local groups. These coalescent groupings of matrilineal kin, as might be the case in a predictive pattern of district exchange, "can survive for long periods provided their functions are not destroyed by the change in residence" (ibid:211). Groups experiencing "patrilocal cultural pressure" are likely to make the transition to patrilocality – but with some disruption of localized clans and matrilineal extended families. Significantly, lineage and moiety structures can be maintained. Regulation of marriage (exogamy) is the function that "best survives" the transition. However, Murdock argues that if exogamy was lost, "matrilineal descent speedily disappears" and

the remains of the matrilineal group "becomes bilateral through patrilocal[ity]. If exogamy is retained...matrilineal descent is maintained despite the contradictory [patrilocal] residence rule" (ibid, brackets mine).

Levi-Strauss's (1949) view of the matrilineal / patrilocal pattern centers on the erosion of the immediate local family, as opposed to the corporate descent group. He predominantly focuses on a problem of structural opposites that seemed disruptive to the harmony of the exchange – a conflict between "wife givers" in one village and "wife takers" in another. There, he finds a continual conflict between matrilineal descent and patrilocal residence or simply that "the conjugal family finds itself being endlessly broken and re-broken" (ibid:149). Levi-Straus's resolution to the contradiction lies in the concept of the binary, or dual organization of social structure – whereby village re-centering takes place at the basic community level and women are exchanged in a less distant and matrilineally foreign local area (ibid:149-152). Levi-Strauss documents this pattern of resolution in Africa, Australia, and South America, where exchange and structural forms created out of them, form groupings of marriage affiliates, naming complexes, and moieties (Levi-Strauss 1976:109-111). In theory, continual familial exchange would imply a mutual reciprocity between larger descent groups (1963:309), although the long-term pattern would not be one of complete balance. Eventually, statistically speaking, an asymmetry develops between exchange groups – many times one population becoming composed of a dominant majority over the other (personal communication, John H. Moore 2007).

The arguments presented by Murdock and Levi-Strauss both deal with the dispersal and dilution of matrilineal societies engaged in what appears to be corrosive to

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the matricentric social form – the evolution from a matrilocal to a patrilocal residency pattern. Additionally, as with an expanded Virginia Algonquian form, the conflict of continued distance of the matriline over a wider residential territory appears to be counterintuitive to social cohesiveness based on matrilineal reckoning. One documented solution amongst the Suku of Central Africa involves a process that Igor Kopytoff (1977) refers to as "dispersal and ingathering." There, Kopytoff notes that virilocal residence practices "of married Suku women and the patrilocal residence of most men results in the continuous dispersal of the matrilineage" even to four generations in depth (ibid:549). The dispersal appears to be most pronounced with younger lineage members, but gradually the residency shifts back towards the matriline with age. The result is a counteracting "drift" directly towards the lineage center.

Admittedly though, this process is not usually "complete on any level," many member's of the lineage "ingathering" are interrupted by death (ibid:550). What Kopytoff argues is that the Suku model of matrilineal / patrilocal is sustainable – but he still grapples with the "functionally bearable limits" of the segmentation and outward trajectory of the lineage members to more distant locales. The Suku, unlike Virginia Algonquians, boast a very large social field within a very close geography, about fifteen to twenty miles in diameter. One territorial map "contains twenty-three village clusters, about a hundred villages, a total population of over 4600 persons, and about a hundred matrilineages" (ibid). Thus the variety and number of marriage partners in close proximity contributes to the stasis of matrilineal / patrilocal sustainability. Culturally, more distant marriages are discouraged because of the loss of the lineage's control over

the women and their offspring; the maximum distance tolerated by lineage elders appears to be about ten miles (ibid:551).

While this model can be considered in some aspects for the Virginia Algonquians, the issues surrounding time depth of patrilocal (and in turn patrilineally focused) "pile ups," to use Murdock's term, of groups of related males in village clusters and the lack of matrilineal proximity within the wide geography of Virginia's coastal plain are not addressed. This issue may be partially explained on both a functional and a structural level, in that the Powhatan political form that drew upon elite exchanges may have temporally relied on a wider geography and longer duration of patrilocal residences than the corresponding common or more widely used form. Thus, the assemblages of local groups retained more solidarity within local geographies because of exchanges and matrilineal descent orientations - even under a rubric of patricentricity for residences, because of the close proximity to both the matriline and the patriline, or what be thought of as an ambilineal or bilateral placement.

In discussing the evolution of social organizations, Murdock (1949) suggests that most transitions in reckoning forms rely heavily on bilateral constructions as a gateway into other matri- / patri- forms (ibid:190). Similarly in residence patterns, Lowie (1922) argues that the transition from matrilocal to patrilocal is conditional upon the appearance of the avunculocal form, where the important factor in the residency shifts towards male members within the matriline. Eventually, this drift positions men as the dominant residency determinates, and a patrilocal system emerges – even with the maintenance of the important avunculate relationship between lineage members. The survival of the avunculate, he argues, is particular to the origins of matrilocal residence, not matrilineal

descent (ibid:95). In addition, Kroeber (1938) identifies the importance of recognizing the avunculocal pattern as a necessary element in broad patterns of social structure, descent systems, and residency rules. In tandem, both Murdock (1949) and Kroeber (1938) identify the absence or impossibility of a direct transition from a patrilineal / patrilocal system to a matrilineal / matrilocal one.

What may be inferred from these arguments, and then suggested for Chesapeake Algonquians, is that the crux of transitional movements of social forms from matrilineal to patrilineal systems tends to commonly rely on structural variation of interims between the polar ends. Thus, the ambilineal / ambilocal and avunculate / avunculocal both represent indications of culture change, with an undetermined depth of time – and I would argue in Virginia, a definite patricentric focus. Goodenough (1951) supports this hypothesis as well, pointing to the absence of amitalocal residencies and transitions from matrilocal to avunculocal patterns as indicative of an "important factor limiting the possibilities of social change" (ibid:429).

It is arduous to reexamine places in ethnohistory that are problematic. To do so requires unraveling of previous arguments, challenging the previous generation's interpretations, and calling into question areas of incomplete consideration. In the case of descent reckoning, it should suffice to say that it is difficult to imagine a system that focuses on distant exogamous marriages (i.e. via lineages / clans) that trace ancestry through the matriline, but having corporate kin groups organized through related males (see Murdock 1960). Again, the trend being established is that elite status males were actively pursuing marriage alliances that would create linked male hegemony through

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matrilineal traditions. Viewed with other social, political, and probably religious factors, this process is a window into what may be a seen *as a shift* to a patrilineal system.

On Virginia Algonquian Marriage Practices and the Social Position of Women

The shift from a matrilineal system to one of the patriline is an indication of Algonquian society undergoing considerable stress; equally, the reassessment of the ethnohistory reveals that ignored areas of problematic interpretation are beginning to stress the accepted canon of the Powhatan. Other lines of evidence must be lurking in the historical record, anxiously awaiting the scrutinizing researcher. And indeed there is. Moving to a wider unit (beyond that of reckoning), my discussion of Algonquian marriage practices reveals a more complex layering of social relatedness through authority and power differentials, and in turn illustrating the transformation of women's social position. I argue that there were differing types of native marriage practices based on social position, and that in general, women's status was in decline.

The customs surrounding Virginia Algonquian marriage are an indication of a stratified society, one where there was a definite type of etiquette practices for the commoners and another for the elite. In addition to this practice illustrating a variety of kin and social rules, marriage arrangements also elude to a type of social inequality between common wives and those of the "better sort," or upper strata. Before moving to discuss the implications of this dichotomy, it would first be useful to examine the "baseline" practices of the common people.

Henry Spelman who lived for several years amongst both the chiefly families of Wahunsenacah and the Patowomeck offers the most complete description of initial coastal Algonquian marriage engagements:

> "The custom of the country is to have many wives, and to buy them, so that he which have the most copper and beads may have most wives. For if he taketh liking to any women, he makes love to her, seeketh to her father or kinsfolk to set what price he must pay for her; which being one agreed on, the kindred meet and make good cheer. And when the sum agreed on be paid, shall be delivered to him for his wife" (Spelman [1613] in Haile 1998:489).

Here, Spelman establishes that after an initial round of social relations, the potential groom approached either the "father" (possibly the avunculate) and / or the head of the kin relations from the lineage or clan. Then, a bride price was negotiated by what appears to be the male the kin of the woman. At the ceremony and feasting, the new wife was brought to the husband. This segment of the narrative details that even the lower strata of Chesapeake society were jockeying for social placement through the acquisition of status goods and possibly more than one wife, if it could have been afforded.

Bragdon finds that among the New England Algonquians, marriageable elite women commanded a higher bride price than those of commoners, reinforcing asymmetrical, "diachronic patterns of alliance, and centralization of power and prestige, within a small number of ruling lineages" (1996:165). Murdock also suggests that under patrilocal and avunculocal conditions, higher bride price may be attributed to the degree of distance the woman will be from her natal community. It may be that in some cases, the removal was within the local group, and the loss to the bride's family was "less severe" (1949:19). Further, it would seem that there is a direct correlate, according to Murdock, between societies that remove women from their communities and the intensity of the exchange in bride wealth and services. In cases where there are not a consideration

of bride price, women move less distance, and parents' exchanges during marriage rituals appears to be more equal (ibid:20).

Within the documents of seventeenth-century Virginia, there are only clues to the statuses of the marriages being described. Most of those clues deal with the exchange of bride wealth, and equality (or lack there of) in the negotiations. What may be being evidenced as well is the expected new residency distance of the contracted married couple. This is to say that if we accept Murdock's findings about equality of exchange relating to the distance or loss of the women, and thus the consideration of price, then there may also be a relationship between the ability to negotiate the bride price based on both the status of the men and the eventual distance of the removed wife. To this end, Smith corroborates Spelman, outlining a sort of cascading scale from the elite to commoners' status – a measure of social position that could be seen both by the luxury items of wealth *and* the number of wives one had acquired:

> "For the kings have as many women as they will, his subjects two, and most but one" (Smith [1608] in Haile 1998:164).

That the kin of the women were able to negotiate the bride price evidences that Spelman was describing the lower end of this continuum. Still, the woman's other female kin were not specifically ever mentioned in the historical record as being apart of this kindred decision-making. This absence, in tandem, with being equated to other types of possessive status items, the control of women's labor, and a general domination over the kinship organization emphasizes the diminished position of feminine matrilateral relationships in favor of either masculine matrilateral or patrilateral ones.

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In contrast, Poewe argues that bride wealth "does not explain the emergence of patriliny as a distinct form" from matriliny, but rather that it is a form of "rational exchange" whereby "women are willing *temporarily*...to subordinate themselves...if [there] is some material gain" (1981:48, brackets mine, emphasis hers). However, in constructing her continued argument about the emergence of wealth and the ability to pay and construct bride price, Poewe acknowledges that there are elements to bride wealth that signal a "shift from matrilineal to a patrilineal society." And further that, "men's increasing interest in forging patrilateral ties" reduces "the influence and demands of one's own and one's wife's matrikin" (ibid). Thus, while the primary documents of Virginia lack in some areas, the appearance of Spelman's discussion of bride wealth indicates further support for systems shifting towards the patriline and the emergence of differing types of authority structures.

Spelman's relation provides a glimpse into the unfolding events surrounding the marriage ceremony and the following residency:

> "The ceremony is thus: The parents brings their daughter between them (if her parents be dead, then some of her kinfolk, or whom it pleaseth the king to appoint). For the man goes not unto any place to be married, but the woman is brought to him where he dwelleth. At her coming to him, her father or chief friends joins the hands together; and then the father or chief friend of the man bringeth a long string of beads, and measuring his arm's length thereof, doth break it over the hands of those that are to be married, while their hands be joined together; and gives it unto the women's father or him that brings her. And so with much mirth and feasting they go together" (Spelman [1613] in Haile 1998:488).

From this account, the rather forward position of all the males involved should be immediately seen. While both parents are present, they bring the woman to the man's kin group; during the following exchanges, the men represent their various lineages, as well as probably their "kindred" or clans. A common feature of lineages is their exogamy;

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members of one lineage must marry outside of that lineage. At a basic level, an advantage of exogamy is a reduction of potential sexual competition and a promotion of group solidarity through the arrangements made - not just between two individuals, but also through new alliances between lineages (Murdock 1949:47-49; Levi-Strauss 1976:19). While clan affiliation probably affected the marriage selections as well, the lineage leaders appear at the base of decision-making; even though the evidence is not complete, those leaders described in the documentary record are consistently men. At Pocahonatas' marriage to John Rolfe, Wahunsenacah sent

> "...an old uncle of hers, named Opichisco, to give her as his deputy in the church, and two of his sons to see the marriage solemnized" (Ralph Hamor [1615] in Haile 1998:809).

The "uncle" represented the lineage of Pocahontas's mother, which was probably her avunculate as well as her clan affiliate. The "sons" may have been the mother's brother's children (Pocahontas's parallel cousins) or more likely, they were cross cousins – male children of Pocahontas's mother's sister. This scenario would figure correctly in a matrilineal situation where mother's brother is the dominant male, often confused as "father" by the English towards sister's sons. Here, prominent male members of Pocahontas's lineage and clan appear as the rightful representatives at her marriage arrangements, thereby granting "legitimacy" to the marriage ceremony. While the power of releasing Pocahontas to the English was not exactly done or allowed as by custom to the kin, the importance of the appearance from these male figures of her mother's affiliation at the Rolfe wedding cannot be denied. The choices each lineage made towards joining families were motivated, approved, and executed by the men – who controlled the access to the women and the women's descent lines.

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Increasingly there is a consistent association with male authority negotiating the power associated with feminine spheres of labor, reproduction, and wealth (Williamson 2003:221). In the lower strata of Powhatan society, married women were less restricted in their social position than their elite counterparts. Domestic subsistence activities dominated the everyday life of both strata, but the "better sort" had more chiefly responsibilities and a more restricted social sphere. Ordinary women's marriages were centered on commitments to subsistence and eventually of child rearing. Marriages were seen as civil unions as opposed to spiritual obligations. Williamson (2003) argues that Powhatan color symbolism indicates that the use of white beads broken over the hands of the betrothed can be associated with "life and renewal, but also with mundane rather than the spiritual" (ibid:251). Outside of bride-price, these white beads were used as markers of civil action, change, short-term relationships, and power; symbolically, the headman of a lineage authoritatively separated his daughter-in-law from her family and in turn received the woman as an addition to his lineage network and as a vessel of life-giving power (ibid:217, 248).

If ordinary marriages were seen as contracts of civil action, then the evidence for extra-marital sexual exchanges may indicate that either the relationships did not solidify until after a child was born,[6] or that after a child was born couples were not committed

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[6] At roughly the same period, Bruce Trigger (1990) indicates that this was the case among the Huron. There, he states "prior to the birth of a child, infidelity and divorce seem to have been common, but afterwards married couples rarely separated." This tendency may have been because of their prior sexual freedom, but also because of a strong matrilineal and matrilocal society – whereby clan and immediate kin encouraged couples to maintain relations because of reciprocal obligations (ibid:79). The erosion of Powhatan matrilineal spheres, may have contributed to the disruption of strong feminine centered authority structures and in turn provided the platform by which marriages became symbols of wealth and status among an increasingly patrilineally focused elite.

sexually, but only to the responsibilities of the household and child rearing. Consistent with masculine authority, permission for such actions appears to have resided with the husband (Rountree and Turner 2002:111-112). Strachey, possibly with first-hand knowledge concluded:

> "They are people most voluptuous, yet the women very Careful, not to be suspected of dishonestie without the leave of their husbandes, but he giving his consent they...may embrace the acquaintance of any Stranger for nothing" (Strachey [1612] 1953:112-113).

These arrangements were fluid, and divorce and infidelity seem to have been common. That women had some ability to intercede on their own behalf is clear; the mechanism by which that transpired however, is not.

The Powhatan marital relationship of the lower strata were "an expression on the domestic scale of the general principle of duel sovereignty [i.e. authority vs. power]...the fact that husbands commanded wives may not be taken as evidence that all subordinates were female to all superiors" (Williamson 2003:217). Elite marriages, however, were not as proportionate; many of the women engaged in those contracts exchanged whatever was left of an egalitarian matrilineal society for the status access to material wealth that was associated with an increasingly masculine focused elite.

For women, a marriage to a member of the "better sort" of Algonquian society probably came with a mixed blessing. For sure, a lifestyle engaged in access to commodities in excess that were considered to be reserved for the elite – copper, shell beads, feather-work, pigments, non seasonal foods, etc. was attractive and ensured a rise in social status. The caveat was that status by association was not reciprocated in a realized status of actual increased power. Actual decision-making power of any depth

resided almost exclusively with men, particularly if "power" is "the ability to produce intended affects on oneself, on other human beings, and on things" (Bohannan 1963:268).

Between women of upper and lower strata marriage arrangements, one key element indicates a very specific difference in the process by which women were socially transformed: bride wealth. In the common marriage, both the woman's family and the family of the proposed groom negotiated bride price. That exchange clearly indicates that the power of the negotiations was on a level playing field between equal parties within similar degrees of status. The process by which that exchange took place also indicates that there was a level of choice for the woman, as well as an ability for the family to determine the value of the woman's wealth producing potential. These signals allude to a less stratified arrangement between the consenting parties, and coupled with the degrees of freedom associated with divorce and domestic responsibilities, a general level of proportionate feminine social equality.

In an elite marriage exchange the situation was quite different:

"When the king of the country will have any wives, he acquaints his chief men with his purpose, who sends into all parts of the country for the fairest and comliest maids, out of which the king taketh his choice, given their parents what he pleaseth" (Spelman [1613] in Haile 1998:488).

In this example, the leaders of the social and political hierarchy continue to create wealth for themselves by acquiring additional wives. The choices for such acquisition appear to reside completely with the men of elite status; the negotiation process does not appear to be up for discussion either, the chief clearly establishes the bride price.[7] This difference in exchange practices should speak volumes to the change in women's status at the elite

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[7] Of note, and to be discussed below, there is a distinction between the first wife taken by a male elite and the subsequent wives acquired through the promulgation of wealth building.

level of perception. Reciprocal gift exchanges, be they negotiations in bride wealth or not, allude to wider relationships between participating parties and the groups they represent. Obligations and expectations of exchange reflect connections that extend beyond the material world, but towards interconnectedness on an ideological level (Mauss 1990:8-10). The acceptance of difference in bride wealth practices indicates that not only were the elites engaged in a differential power exchange with the commoners, but that the common man accepted the situation as expected and obligatory – an example of expressed authority.

In these marriage arrangements, women were placed into the equation in a different way, with a different set of rules and participants. The chief both represents himself and acts as his familial leader. If "presents put the seal upon marriage and form a link between...two 'sides' of the same nature" than the sides in this equation are vastly uneven in terms of authority and value distinctions (ibid:19). Possibly more than among the lower strata, Algonquian elite equated growing wealth with the continual acquisition of wives. In turn, the increased production of resources and available child-care resulted in expanding residential compounds.

"According to the order and custome of sensuall Hethenisme in the Allowaunce of Poligamy, he may haue as many women as he will, and hath (as is supposed) many more then one hundred, All which he doth not keepe, yet as the Turke in one Saragalia or howse, but hath an appointed number, which reside still in every their severall places, amongst whome when he lyeth on his bedd, one sitteth at his head, and another at his feet, but when he sitteth at meat, or in presenting himself to Straungers, one sitteth on his right hand, and the other at his leaft...(Strachey [1612] 1953:61)

The elite wife had numerous roles: domestic, ceremonial, and political (see Rountree and Turner 2002). From the statement above, it is clear that at least Wahunsenacah married more women than he actually housed at his primary residence.

These "contracted" women were common among other Algonquian elite; among the werowances civil contracts could be made for a set time period of a year, after which they could remain joined or select to dissolve the marriage (Strachey [1612] 1953:112). However, the ability of contracted or "extra" wives to interact autonomously socially and without permission was limited, in particular those who were housed with Wahunsenacah:

> "The king Poetan, having many wives, when he goeth a-hunting, or visit another king under him (for he goeth not out of his own country) he leaveth them under with two old men who have the charge on them till his return" (Spelman [1613] in Haile 1998:489)

While the common women appear to have had some level of consent to sexual commitments, it is increasingly apparent that the higher status women were fairly limited in their sexual maneuverability. The above statement from Spelman illustrates that Wahunsenacah kept his women, like other materials of wealth, under watch in his absence. Additionally, elite wives were not allowed to unfaithfully engage another without permission:

> "They have many wives, to whom, as near as I could perceive, they keep constant. The Great King Pawatah had the most wives. *These they abide not to be touch'd before their face*" (Archer [1608] in Haile 1998:122 [italics mine]).

Elite men appear to have guarded their wives closely – I argue both as symbols of material wealth and reflective of an "ethos" of the "better sort" that continued to support interest in the kinship relationships men could produce. Women were guarded as so not to be unfaithful; the result was a clear understanding who controlled the balance of authority and who the father of any potential children were. Adultery did happen, and in some cases – death may have been a result (Spelman [1613] in Haile 1998:491), but punishment of some sort could be expected. One adulterous wife was punished by being

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forced to sit naked on a large stone, with limited amounts of food over the course of several days (Rountree 1989:92).

Permissions for women to engage sexually outside of the elite marriage was not favored until certain commitments had been met. After marriage women were sometimes "given" to other elite members of Algonquian society, or passed along to those who had achieved status – such as cawcawasoughs.[8] These women had apparently been allowed to move on, had served their child rearing purpose, or had fallen out of favor with the werowance (possibly due to infertility or having only produced female offspring). Because there may have been some political motivation to the union to begin with, possibly lower ranked men could see potential in cast off wives of werowances or the Mamanatowick as advantageous in other ways (for bride capture, see below).

Favored wives traveled with Wahunsencah when he deemed it appropriate. These "favored" wives were usually young, targeted for childbearing, and ceremonially represented both wealth and dimensions of Wahunsenacah's authority.

> "Of his women there are said to be about some dozen at his present, in whose Company he takes great delight then in the rest, being for the most part very young women, and these Commonly remoue with him from howse to howse, either in his tyme of hunting, or visitation of his severall howses..."(Strachey [1612] 1953:61).

At issue here is the decreased amount of social flexibility women exchanged for increased status positions – an exchange that appears to be predicated by recent cultural developments with less and less choice being provided women as agents to some of those very cultural changes. Women elevated through elite marriages appear to have had access

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[8] Discussed in more depth in Chapter V, cawcawasoughs (or cockarouses) are thought to have been accomplished headmen. Like werowance, it was a title associated with social position.

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to privileged goods, but only *status* through the association with those goods in relationship to men.[9] The collection of additional wives appear to closely associate women with other commodities, and focus on providing unions from multiple locations across the Virginia Tidewater for a limited amount of elite status male figures. This commodification says something significant about the status of Powhatan women. The responsibility of these women was to be subservient to the ranked men within the upper strata; even women who were feminine equivalents to werowances were required to be submissive in some settings:

> "After that he commanded the Queen of Apamatuc, a comely young savage, to give me water, a turkey cock, and bread to eat" (Smith [1608] in Haile 1998:167).

The roles in which women of different status played in hospitality is murky. Clearly, women of status exchanged goods and services with others of like and lesser degree, but also women were exchanged *as* those goods and services.

> "And at night they bring him to the lodging appointed for him, whither upon their departure they send a young woman fresh painted red with pochone and oil, to be his bedfellow" (Strachey [1612] in Haile 1998:642).

It is also unclear as to who had control over the decision-making about these types of carnal arrangements, and what the cultural value was of those interactions. Like elite marriages, the choices made revolved around the fate of young women caught in the fray between elite men and the common people may have been resolved by werowances – and like the unequal bride price - culturally, that may have been accepted as normative.

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[9] Sahlins considers status to be a ranked position conferring unequal privileges within the cultural system (1958:x).

There is some evidence for a different set of rules governing the marital relations of elite wives among the Algonquian "better sort," namely the first wives of prominent werowances. These women probably ranked higher in status than those added farther along the line in the quest for additional wives. Whether they retained any level of control beyond being ranked as a status is not well understood; they probably were maintained by commitment, and had some preferential treatment - possibly as more customary deference more than any actual power. As Rountree notes "English observers are silent on the conditions under which Powhatan polygyny operated...[for additional marriages] there may not have been a custom demanding the consent of the first wife, as in some societies" (Rountree 1989:90, brackets mine).

That these wives were distinguishable to the English observers indeed indicates that there was some level of discernable difference:

> "And the weroances after this manner may have as many [wives] as they can obtain, howbeit all the rest whom they take *after their first choice* are, as it were, mercenary..." (Strachey [1612] in Haile 1998:670, italics and brackets mine).

Strachey infers then, that the Powhatan werowances made first choices in wives – and negotiated similarly as the common man with her relations for bride price. After which, additional wives were simply afforded for a known cultural value of the elite's determination – but his first choice was, special. These women probably retained some level of favor, possibly for life (Rountree 1989:90). Other variations to social rules may have been available upon the death of such a wife; Strachey and Spelman both indicate that additional wives tended to be afforded more prestige the closer they were to the werowances's or Wahunsenacah's favor. This overt favoritism either operated in tandem

with the responsibilities to first wives, or in the absence thereof. That there were clear distinctions to the position of these females alludes to rank. This is further evidenced by Smith's description of Opechancanough's family entourage:

> "Opechankanough, *his wife, his women,* and children came to meet me a with a natural kind of affection; he seemed rejoiced to see me" (John Smith 1608 in Haile 1998:172, italics mine).

This is the best evidence for ranked wives among the elite, clearly described by Smith as a separate individual among a grouping of similar family members.

In New England, northern Algonquians reflected similar cultural characteristics of their southern counterparts in Virginia. Bragdon (1996) documents the presence of related social practices (e.g. polygyny among men, elite status lineages), preferences (e.g. cross cousin marriage), behavioral patterns (e.g. modesty of women among strangers), and residency rules (e.g. virilocal after marriage with matrilocal or avunculocal divorce options). Further, she argues for the presence of ranked, first wives that were of the "highest prestige," whereas secondary wives were linked to concepts of wealth building, and valued only as sexual partners and producers (1996:177-178).

It would be tempting to view the most prestigiously described Virginia Algonquian woman as a ranked "first wife," but unfortunately the evidence is in the contrary. One of Opechancanough's "chief" wives was "stolen" by Pepiscunimah, commonly called Pipsco - the werowance of Quiyoughcohannock. Strachey says that this event occurred a few years prior to 1612, which may mean that she was the woman described by Smith above in 1608. However, Strachey says "nor is so handsome a savadge woman, as I have seen amongst them..." indicating that she apparently was quite

attractive (to both Indian and Englishman alike) and therefore, I presume retaining her youth. Opechancanough was thought to be at least middle aged during the first years of Jamestown; if he married soon after he came into adulthood, as was custom among most Algonquian men, then his first wife would have been taken quite some time prior - meaning that the first wife of Opechacanough would be relatively in his age grade. Perhaps this woman was a "chief' wife, but not his first wife.

As Pipsco's wife, she is described as being well dressed in pearls and copper, white buckskins, feathers and flowers, and a blue feather mantle – as well as attended to by servants who washed her hands and carried her ashore from her canoe. Apparently she was a person of some distinction – or at least *very* favored by her husbands. Pipsco was willing to abdicate the hereditary title to werowance at Quiyoughcohannock as penalty for the bride theft, as he was the eldest in line. In as much, he was well older than a young rising werowance – and this was probably not his first wife. I would like to argue here (and discuss further below in the section on political organization), that this woman represented a favorite wife, who achieved some distinction because of that goodwill – but also because she may have been from a very important lineage herself. If so, then her marriage and potential offspring would be seen as heir to wherever that lineage was housed – or in other words a very important nuptial arrangement for the male aristocracy, hedged on conceptual power, wealth building, and lineage fortification.

Elite women had access to commodities unavailable to the lower social strata, but as with the rules governing the access and exchanges of luxury goods, women's social maneuverability decreased as a result of their social position. Women's equation with wealth and as a controlled commodity regulated the continuing spiral of women's overall

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status within the wider Algonquian society, from the top down. The differences in upper and lower strata marriage arrangements parallel the continual divide between women as producers and symbols of resource and men as controllers and regulators of resource production. One is more equal and egalitarian, the other restricted and relatively stratified. A quote from Strachey illustrates both that women were equated with objects of wealth – including the corn they produced, but like the copper and beads of the storehouse, they were eventually denied access to the resource's control:

> "Their *corn* and indeed their copper, hatchets, *hoes*, beads, pearl, *and most things of value*...they hide one from the knowledge of another in the ground within the woods...And when they take forth *they scarce make their women privy to the storehouse*" (Strachey [1612] in Haile 1998:673, italics mine)

Strachey's comments may have been framed during the recent post-encounter period as demand for Indian corn increased, but the development resulted in the same configuration: male authority over feminine produced arenas. Similarly, as John Smith was captive to Wahunsenacah and in debate over the control and settlement of the English colony, women were regarded as commodities available for negotiation. According to Smith (below), the English were being cast as masculine Powhatans - and in as much, positioned to control aspects of dominion. Corn may have become more valuable since the arrival of Europeans, but women's labor and the country's providence were still the key producers of wealth, including maize:

> "he proclaimed me a werowanes of Powhaton, and that all his subjects should so esteem us, and no man account us strangers nor Paspahaghans, but Powhatans, and *that corn, women, and country* should be to us as his own people" (Smith [1608] in Haile 1998:167, italics mine)

That women had been divested from control of the very resource that they were largely associated with, it is very apparent that there had been a significant shift in a society that had blossomed on the backs of feminine produced labor. Men then not only controlled the decision making about the organization of descent lines, but also the production and distribution of main subsistence and luxury staples of Algonquian society. If the transition of these power relationships was considered to be legitimate for successfully maintaining society, then a significant change in the quality of the power had occurred; the product of this transformation is called authority (Bohannan 1963:269), and increasingly in all areas of life, that authority resided with men.

There is a difference however, between women's roles and status and equations of power and authority that resonate from them. But to "argue that women's status and roles were universally high, low, or equal, is to assume a homogeneity of cultural knowledge and experience" (Bragdon 1986:182). Within this discussion, it should be considered that women's roles are not at odds with their status as some have suggested (Rountree and Turner 2002:104), but rather at odds with power and authority structures - the fluctuation coming from the varying degrees of unequal implementation within the social process.

Returning to Poewe's associations of matrilineality, it would appear that Virginia's Algonquian communities were lacking in two of the three requirements associated with the support of matri-centered reckoning. With an acknowledgment that a subsistence economy absent of types of ownership and capitalism does not however, translate into the absence of matricinity or patricinity, the other two characteristics gain more weight. Equally though, elite Algonquian concepts of usufruct comparable from New England (Winslow [1624] 1910:347) to Virginia (Strachey [1612] 1953:63) may

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hedge in on the exclusion of even the requirement of ownership. Combined, the absence

of "unhampered reproduction" and the lack of jural authority speak strongly towards an

absence of critical matrilineal society associations, as Poewe posits (1981:33), and thus

leaving unanswered questions about the sustainability or practicality of a matrilineal

society continually appearing to negate the principles on which it was founded. Poor

documentation from the early English period leaves much to be desired in the way of

understanding women's "differential experience" (Bragdon 1986:182). That being said,

the evidence provided is as much a product of the lack or partiality of European

understanding, as it is the "evidence for the dynamics of the cultural process" (ibid:183).

On Virginia Algonquian Residence Rules

The reassessment of Powhatan descent systems, marriage practices, and gender

roles has a compounding effect; if the baseline of social organization is called into

question, the previous agreements about other forms of normative behavior must be

reevaluated. Therefore, the nature of residence rules amongst the Virginia Algonquian

must be addressed, consistent with the implications of linked societal structures. The

formation and continuation of cohesive local groups are maintained by inherent cultural

traditions that regulate descent, marriage, and residency practices. The localization of

kinship groups

> "necessitates some compromise between the prevailing principle of unilineal descent and
> the fact of co-residence. In the overwhelming majority of unilineal social systems this
> compromise is achieved through adherence to unilocal rule of residence – patrilocal,
> matrilocal, or avunculocal – which is consistent with the rule of descent" (Murdock
> 1960:2).

The result of this type of residence rule is local groups having a core of adult members of several lineages of one sex only, to whom are added in-marrying spouses, and from whom, are subtracted adult siblings of the opposite sex – who have departed to join their spouses of other local groups (ibid).[10]

In the context of most matrilineal societies, the residence of the family unit usually resides with the relatives of the female. In that case, matrilocal residence "has the effect of moving men around, physically splitting up brothers and other male relatives. This is a pattern that tends to prevent disputes between groups of related males and provides instead for the mobilization of large groups of men" (Engelbrecht 2003:68). Through that residence function, aggression is directed towards "more distant communities" and does not conflict with the alliances arranged by marriage. In a cross-cultural context, matrilocal residence is also associated with external warfare and the increased importance of women in subsistence activities (Ember and Ember 1971:585). Of particular interest for the Powhatan, internal warfare appears to be more prominent in communities that practice patrilocal residency, based on the arrangements of men who make decisions to go to war against groups other than their own natal originations, as would be the possible case in a matrilocal pattern (ibid:582). In reality, various novel situations, such as available space and the preference of the married couple may have altered the practiced pattern.

In comparison to Virginia Algonquians it is worthy to consider the development of cultural factors during the Late Woodland with the rise of horticultural pursuits. In

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[10] See Appendix B for a review of residence and descent system terminologies.

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other areas of the Eastern Woodlands, patrilocal residence appears to have occurred prior to the development of a horticultural economy. Men remained linked through the dominant pursuits of hunting, and through marriage, women would move accordingly from one band to another. As new divisions of labor developed in tandem with the introduction of horticulture, men continued to be mobilized in small groups away from a residence that required women to work together for the subsistence benefit of the larger community; as men returned home, they lived with these larger aggregates of related females (Trigger 1990:67). The development of maize horticulture and matrilineal residence patterns also allowed for larger extended families to develop, not only because new subsistence practices increased subsistence production, but also because related women may have found it easier to live together than did non-related women (Ember 1973). In the case of the Iroquois, matrilocality encouraged the development of matrilineal societies: descent lines, clan membership, and political offices were all traced through the matriline (Trigger 1990:67).

Archaeologically in Virginia, the arrival of corn appears to coincide with more sedentarism, and larger house structures. While this transition may have occurred at a later date in the Virginia coastal plain than around the Great Lakes (Schaffer 1992:45), the development of the cultural complex appears to be similar in form, bringing into question how the Powhatan functioned under the rubric of patrilocality. The large-scale nature of the Powhatan socio-political complex appears to have been built around the control of natural resources (Turner 1976) and the mobilization of both men and women into an expanding structure that requires some of the traits described for matrilocal residency elsewhere in North America (Peregrine 2001). As with the matrilineal descent

system, the cultural residence pattern may have been experiencing a prolonged period of change, transitioning from semi mobile bands to sedentary horticulturalists (Figure 1). At the time of prolonged contact, the lack of uniformity of descent reckoning and residence patterns indicate that the shift from a matrilineal / matrilocal – avuncualocal system to a patrilineal / patrilocal system was incomplete, or truncated by new societal pressures associated with the colonial encounter.

Virginia Epoch	Settlement Type	Residency Pattern	Descent System
Early Middle Woodland	Mobile	Patrilocal	Patrilineal
Middle Woodland	Seasonal Sedentarism	Matrilocal	Ambilineal
Late Middle Woodland	Seasonal Sedentarism	Matrilocal	Matrilineal Avunculate
Early Late Woodland	Semi Sedentary	Matrilocal Avunculocal	Matrilineal Avunculate
Late Late Woodland	Semi Sedentary	Avunculocal Neolocal Matricentered	Matrilineal Avunculate
Proto-historic	Semi Sedentary	Avunculocal Ambilocal / Neolocal Patrilocal	Matrilineal Avunculate Patricentered

Figure 1. *Hypothetical Residency Patterns and Descents System of the Chesapeake.*
(Kroeber 1938, Lowie 1922, Murdock 1949, Goodenough 1951).

Noting the numerous ethnohistorical references to the marriage and residence practices of the Virginia Algonquians, it may prove useful to again acknowledge that while cultural rules are understood, there are situations and exceptions to the rules that can be modified by the practitioners as deemed appropriate. In addition, while taxonomy is of importance in qualifying and clarifying indigenous practices, "classification is a tool of analysis, not an end, and the use of a taxonomic scheme should be guided by its heuristic value" (Murphy 1957:893). Thus while recognizing variations of specificity

such as between virilocal and patrilocal residency, for purposes of broad analysis, the result is the same – women live with male relatives, be it sib, parent (i.e. matri-patrilocal), or married ambilocal / neolocal within a patricentered pattern.[11]

There is evidence outside of Virginia that groups engaged in dominantly matrilocal residence patterns did exchange women from settlements outside of which they were born. The key factor in the documentation of related Chesapeake community's practices is that the majority of recorded cases appear to have been the households of chiefs. In this situation it may have been that

> "in order to ensure that a chief would continue to live with his clan segment [and in Virginia, possibly lineage], one or more prospective heirs to such an office went to live with their mother's brother [avunculate]. In this way an extended household, although matrilineal, would be made up at least partly of a man and his nephews rather than a woman and her daughters" (Trigger 1990:68, brackets mine).

Amongst the Mundurcu of Brazil, chiefly men were also exempt from the wider matrilocal residency rules of the society. There, Murphy notes that chief's sons are maintained with their acquired wives at the household of the village leader, often times to the depth of three generations. Interestingly, the wider matrilocal pattern is supportive of patrilineal clans without patrilineages, with the only exception being the chiefly lineage. The result however of matrilocal residence and patrilineal clanships was a diluting of clan solidarity (Murphy 1974:76). Combined with an increased focus on economic necessities and the transitioning labor towards a capitalist market, some residence and reckoning rules appeared to be upset within a short duration of time. There, societal stress was a key

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[11] See Appendix C for examples of residency patterns from the documentary record.

factor in altering an already precarious pattern of social practice (Murphy and Steward 1956).

In Virginia, the period of historical observation also occurred during a time of prolonged cultural stress – both the expansion of the Powhatan polity and changes in settlement / subsistence practices have already been mentioned as possible motivators for transitioning the kinship reckoning of the local Algonquians. The rearrangement of large groups of aggregates probably upset some of the cultural rules. Examples of this can be seen from the type of internal warfare Powhatan engaged in - where the removal of children and women from whole districts[12] and the killing of adult men totally devastated localized corporate kinship communities. In war, men who escaped a raid on a village location would be contacted after two days by a messenger of the victor, allowing for a return to whatever was left of the community and a sparring of their lives, "but their wives and children should be prize for the conquerors" (Strachey [1612] in Haile 1998:668).

Three instances of this type of reconfiguration are documented, and other variations are assumed for the majority of the James and York River groups eventually under Powhatan control. The first occurring in 1596, or there about, when Wahunsenacah invaded the area of Hampton, Virginia - then known as Kecoughtan. He killed the area chief, who had recently inherited the position – and depopulated the district, quartering the remainder among his people. In place, he moved a young "son" Pochins to the

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[12] I prefer to use the terms "district," "province," or "territory" to refer to specific use areas occupied by Virginia Algonquian local groups. This nomenclature distinguishes lineage groups arranged within hereditary jurisdictions from that of "tribal" which implies an unnecessary connotation of socio-political organization. Carefully, I do not intend this term to replace "tribe" in the sense of a group defined by any governance rules, but rather to identify the geography with which local groups retained hereditary control.

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peninsula, acting as chief over a group of "loyal" followers who are assumed to have been a combination of some that moved into the region from elsewhere and the remainder of the previous group that could be trusted, or more likely – easily subjugated, such as women and children (Strachey [1612] 1953:67-68).

The second case centered on what is now Virginia Beach when Wahunsenacah attacked the area of Chesapeake. However, in this assault Powhatan warriors spared few villagers, as men, women, and children were killed. The remainder of the population was likely hauled off to other parts of the Tidewater and / or incorporated as refugees within the villages in the Nansemond area. In either case, a new group of individuals were lightly scattered through the region in the years surrounding 1607, appearing to be different from those who were situated there before (Strachey [1612] 1953:104-105; Rountree 1990:292).

The final case occurred in 1608, within an area known as Piankatank on the Middle Peninsula. There, Wahunsenacah attacked the province and killed a number of the community men. Scalps were displayed at Werowocomoco, and a number of captives were probably incorporated into the surrounding polities. Other refugees appear to have escaped, and probably sought shelter among other extended kin networks (Strachey [1612] 1953:44).

These examples illustrate the context into which varying groups of Algonquian speaking people were forced to integrate back into a society that was undergoing intensive duress. That the English and Spanish contributed to the stress of this period is undeniable, their input however was not on native terms. European / Indian conflict may have produced different responses from the native groups. At any rate, the local

indigenous population understood the cultural framework in which to operate – be it adopted captive, sacrificial war captive, refugee, or invading (native) settler. Through this period of upheaval, native people of the Chesapeake would have relied on their understanding of social orientation within a new landscape, knowledge of the existing kinship network (which included lineage and clan membership), and a firm grasp of the social, political, and cultural choices available to them.

It is critical to consider these types of reconfigurations when trying to evaluate how individuals of Powhatan society organized at a level below that of "group." As noted for the Iroquois during the late sixteenth and seventeenth century, many non-Iroquois were incorporated into those longhouse communities. To situate and establish residency, the inclusion of these incoming members may not have relied as exclusively on biological ties (as they did for internal arrangements) as on larger configurations of social organization like similar clan affiliations (Engelbrecht 2003:69).

To this point, the foundation of the commoners of Powhatan cultural orientation appears to exhibit the characteristics parallel to matricentered neolocal or avunculocal residency – residency situated through a matrilineal descent system and membership within communities that organized various segments (such as lineages and clans) through feminine reckoning, but with a tinge of patricentric focus. The elite strata of Powhatan society appeared to favor a patrilocal pattern, or the rearrangement of women in a series of endogamous cross-district lineage exchanges. Comparatively, to the north, other riverine Algonquian groups - such as the Delaware and Mohican, were matrilineal, clan based, and with strong village autonomy (Bragdon 1996:78). However, as stated for Virginia, some tendencies favored patrilineality and promoted patrilocality (the Abenaki

were patrilineal with weak totemic clans, as were the Shawnee). In Virginia, an example would be the Patawomeke, where the chiefly residence rules appear to have been patrilocal (Spelman 1613:cviii). A tentative hypothesis, as with the New England context (Bragdon 1996:157), is that both matrilateral and patrilateral systems were present, and operating among different groups during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

A reevaluation of the ethnohistorical sources also reveals some level of ambilocal residence practices among the elite wives and children of the region. These bilocal residence patterns seem to be for Powhatan chiefly wives, who were dismissed to raise new lineage descendants until Wahunsenach sent for the children to be reared in his home:

> "Powhatan had then lyving, twenty sonnes and ten daughters besydes a young one by Winganuske, Machumps his sister and great Dearling of the kings, and besydes younge Pocohunta a daughter of his, vsing sometyme to our Fort in tymes past, now married to a pryvate Catayne called Kocoum some 2. yeares synce" (Strachey [1612] 1953:62).

Wahunsenacah had "many more than one hundred" wives, although he apparently only maintained about a dozen in his personal residence. These were the favored wives, "in whose company he takes more delight than the rest" (and who were those young women described previously in the section on marriage practices). The women in residence with Powhatan reared the thirty odd children mentioned above, while the rest reportedly lived with their maternal families. Several points can be made about this statement. First, that married elite Algonquian women could both live with their husband's family as well as be maintained at their natal home. Second, in some cases children of elite lineages lived with their mother's family (matrilocal or avunculocal) and at an appointed time, moved to

live in their father's home. Pocahontas appears to have been living with her father, Wahunsenacah, by the time she was approximately ten years of age.[13] Third, that Powhatan's wives could and did stay with him through childbirth – as did Machumps's sister Winganuske. Lastly, that Pocahontas appears not to have stayed with her father after her marriage, indicating that she either lived with her mother's people or among the relations of her new husband, Kocoum.

For patrilocal residence, most of the documentation comes from Henry Spelman, who lived among the Potomac River groups long enough to have a rather firm understanding of the marriage and residential practices. Other commentary comes from an anonymous Maryland writer, who lived among the native people on the adjacent side of the Potomac River, where the Piscataway groups operated. It should be noted however, that the Potomac River groups were not under Wahunsenacah's domain in the same way that the James River and York drainages were. Here, I agree with Feest (1978a) and believe that the Patawomeck in particular appear to be situationally allied, but not fully

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[13] While Pocahontas's mother is unknown, I speculate that she lived with Powhatan prior to and after Pocahontas's birth, noting Wahunsenacah's favor of the child (and possibly her mother). The timing of Powhatan's assault on Kecoughtan coincides with the approximate timing (within a year) of Pocahontas's birth. I only suggest that because cultural practice appears to put captured women into the households of the captors, and that Powhatan was in favor of making kinship one of his political grips, Pocahontas's mother might have been from Kecoughtan. Her (Pocahontas's) brother was placed in control of that domain, and the remainder of the peninsula was quartered closely among Powhatan's people (e.g. Pamunkey Neck, Werowocomoco). The mother may have died prior to the English arrival, or was possibly returned to her family remnants, then residing in Pamunkey Neck. To be discussed below, a small polity was recorded by Strachey in Pamunkey Neck as ruled by "Keighaughton." Indeed, Pocahontas had kinship ties *through her father* at Pamunkey, Powhatan, etc. – but for *matrilineal* reckoning her attachment to Pamunkey may indicate the residence of her mother's people. In contrast, oral tradition among the Patawomecks of Stafford County, Virginia indicate that Pocahontas's mother was from their community, and hence her being there when she was captured in 1613. This revelation would point again to an ambilocal residence, for both women and children. Equally plausible, is that her first husband was from Patawomeck, and that her presence there was not one of visiting "friends" but of residency with her husband in the region (see reference to "friends" as kindred in the relation on Maryland practices below).

under overwhelming political or cultural influence of Wahunsenacah. In as much, the factors contributing to the Powhatan cultural evolution may not be completely exampled in Patawomeck and Piscataway cultural practices. Similarities may indicate close approximations based on shared socio-environmental considerations, but I offer this caveat before describing the evidence for patrilocal practices extending completely to the Powhatan.

Unmarried men in proximity of the Potomac River region apparently had some freedom in their residence choices. These semi-adult males "live where they please, for all mens houses are free unto them" (Anonymous 1635:85). In most matrilineal contexts, the unmarried resided with their maternal relatives; for young men newly initiated into adulthood, this may have meant living in the home of the mother's brother (avunculate) - for young women, they probably continued to reside with their parents. This system does not support the inference that the Virginia Algonquians were patrilocal, because while the kinship reckoning of these emerging adults resides with their female relatives, their residence supposedly drew on patrilateral corporate kin group domiciles. Possibly, each new unit of marriage resulted in a separate domestic structure or a neolocal pattern, which was provided by the man - if he had not one for an established family already.

In cases of polygyny outside of the head of elite lineages, sororal marriages may have provided stability to a multi-wife home, as well as maintained cultural elements predicated by matrilineality. Commonly in matrilineal contexts, groups of women anchor domestic residential compounds, so that a mother and her grown daughters, or a group of sisters, live together with their husbands, children, and possibly a few additional relatives. In these instances, men have lifelong obligations to their extended family – particularly in

provisioning them with fresh meat, fish, and furs. Those men who did not meet expectations, were often criticized (Trigger 1990:67). In Virginia, it may have been that these domestic units were centered around the women, but some level of English confusion occurred about the who the residence belonged to because the men constructed and provided the home:

> "and so after the liking growes and as soone as *he hath provided her a howse* (if he had none before) and some platters, mortars, and Matts, *he takes her home...*"(Strachey [1612] 1953:112, italics mine).

> "For the man goes not unto any place to be married, but the woman is brought to him *where he dwelleth*" (Spelman [1613] in Haile 1998:489 [italics mine]).

These two statements say two things: that a woman is definitely brought to a man and that the man is providing her a house. Once a marriage is complete, whether the house belongs to the man, or the woman – is not clear. However, in cases of divorce, the wife "and her children would leave and return to her friends again" (Anonymous 1635:86). In a matrilineal context, this indicates that the home of the maternal relatives was probably always the fall back for residency, and that the home itself was provided for and owned by the men. What is of interest in this situation is whether after divorce, the woman would return to make her residence at her parental home, avunculate, or male or female sibs.

From here, there are several other cases of residency. Spelman says of the Patowomeke that if a young girl's parents were deceased, that the girl would reside with "whome it pleaseth ye king to apoynt" (Spelman 1613:cvii). Young Piscataway women lived with their parents, or unless they were deceased they probably resided with "some other of their friends" (Anonymous 1635:85). Therefore, the Maryland source indicates

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that orphaned women lived with extended relatives – if the reckoning were matrilineal this would be "friends" or relations associated with the mother. The same relation discusses marriage arrangements taking place at the home of the prospective groom, and after a series of gift exchanges, feasting, and celebration "the company leaves them, and commonly they live peaceably and lovingly together" (ibid: 85-86).

In discussing the willingness of men to demonstrate their potential as marriage partners, Strachey says that

> "they win the loves of their *women, who will be contented to live with such a man*, by the readiness and fortune of whose bow and diligence such provision they perceive they are likely to be fed with well, especially of fish and flesh, as the place wherein they are to dwell can afford" (Strachey [1612] in Haile 1998:640, italics mine).

From this account, we again sense that the women of the lower social strata are wooed with subsistence provisions but that they have some control over the choice of their marriage partners. The statement also again suggests that the women will "live with such a man" but does not allude to where or with whom they will reside, except that it would be a place that they are "likely to be fed with well... as the place wherein they are to dwell can afford." Possibly there may have been a stratified series of cultural rules that governed different "sorts" within Algonquian society, often confused by early European accounts. As already described, the women of the "better sort" of the Chesapeake appear to have been able to reside patrilocally, matrilocally, and ambilocally depending on the context.

Archaeological evidence alludes to the possibility that the lower strata of Algonquian society may have been dominantly matrilocal during the period leading up to the contact era. Ceramic assemblages appear to stay remarkably concentrated in specific types during the end of the Late Woodland. While there is some measure of variability, it

is nominal – indicating that only a small portion of women moved to new localities beyond their immediate vicinity. Some of these exchanges may account for the scattered presence of Gaston / Cashie ceramics within the dominant Townsend assemblages, the appearance of Roanoke simple stamped sherds in the buffer zone of Townsend areas, the sporadic identification of Potomac Creek within Townsend collections, and of course, the reverse exchange of all of the above.

However, what does not appear to be taking place are high concentrations of ceramic diversity across divisions of social-political or kinship structures. This is to say that if women are moving to live with husbands across the coastal plain, there should be a proportionate amount of ceramic diversity intermingled across the region, or pronounced demonstrations of transitional hybrid wares. This would indicate that the localized ceramic traditions of women are being intermixed with the introduced new ceramic traditions of other corporate kin groups (if the typologies are different), or at least that there would not be such distinct ceramic types across such a narrow coastal region. That ceramics do show localized diversity with only marginal inclusions from the outside, infers that women were staying in corporate kin groups of their own more often than being introduced to new ones across riverine areas. This suggests a matrilocal / avunculocal or at least a matricentered patrilocal[14] residence pattern within these closely related Algonquian communities.

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[14] Matricentered patrilocality can be defined as a patrilocal or virilocal residence where there is minimal movement of women away from the matriline's local group. Thus, the ceramic assemblages of small geographies retain a higher level of homogeneity, even though women are living in a patrilocal residence exchange. In this case, matricentric residence patterns would retain the lineage's control over women's labor and eventual heirs by maintaining proximity to the reckoning source.

Similarly, Cissna argues that in the Piscataway territory along the Northern bank of the Potomac River, a sharp division can be seen between Potomac Creek assemblages "yielding to Townsend wares in the southern portion the Western shore" (Cissna 1986:83). Here, he suggests that the relatively late minority Townsend ware should appear mingled within the dominant Potomac Creek complex during the early period of Piscataway occupation, if a patrilocal residence is expected. However, from the evidence available, it would appear that there is a relative confinement indicating less maneuvering of female potters across ceramic traditions, again indicating what Cissna sees as a matrilocal pattern (ibid:33). Equally, I would argue the evidence could point towards either localized patrilocality (within the same radius of settlements – see footnote 10) or avunculocality where the residency of women did not move beyond the confines of their matriline, but still exhibited a patricentic pattern.

In support of this argument, a portion of a document from 1634 relates a native deposition of matrilocality from the lower social strata (a messenger) as concerning a recent conflict between Wicomesse Indians and Englishmen:

> "I am a Native of Patuxent, as this man (whom you know) can tell you, true it is, I married a wife amongst the Wicomesses, where I have lived ever since..."(Anonymous 1635:89).

As mentioned for cases of divorce, a Maryland source indicates that the women and children "returne to friends again" (Anonymous 1635:86) strengthening both the argument for flexibility within residence rules, in particular with respect to lineage and clan affiliation. In agreement with Cissna, I see one of the largest challenges to understanding social relationships is our lack of knowledge concerning the space that

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mediates between the micro analysis of the family and the macro evaluation of regional socio-political forms; that space is occupied by the role of the clan and lineage within the village composition. To complicate matters, exogamous marriage practices, which are probable for Virginia, are outside of clan and lineage affiliations - indicating that the construction of a new domestic building would place the residence of the nuclear family outside of the "structure as that of either set of parents" (1986:83) and thus neolocally, which is often confused for patrilocality (Murdock 1949:17). Beyond the immediate family, we do not know the general practice of with which corporate kin group the new couple would reside.

Often in cases of patrilocality, brides move to a different band or community. For Virginia Algonquians, any great distance would seem to conflict with the archaeological evidence. However, in the cases of the practices of the elite, cross territorial exchange may have been normative, contributing to the smaller assemblages of minor ceramic deposits within larger typologies. In other patrilocal settings, the loss of the productivity and childbearing to the women's family are usually compensated with a bride-price – which is consistent for the Virginia groups. In addition, other cross-cultural situations indicate that where both male polygyny and patrilocal practices exists "warfare is prominent enough to make cooperation among men especially important, and an elaborate political organization in which men wield authority exists" (Haviland 1999:274). For Virginia during the Proto-historic, a complex socio-political organization had developed, but warfare appears to be as much centered on internal conflicts as external; indeed most of the external warfare documented for the Powhatan is defensive in nature. However as mentioned before, intensive external warfare is usually associated

with groups exhibiting matrilocal patterns. Patrilocal societies usually favor male dominant roles in subsistence, land ownership and accumulation, animal husbandry, and intensive agriculture (ibid). For the Chesapeake, these last attributes are not completely found; the exception might be elite territorial control over specific geographical areas.

Matrilocal residence is a likely result of ecological circumstances, which make women's roles dominant in subsistence practices. Broadly, this residence type is related to groups engaged in horticultural pursuits where cooperation among women is important, but political organizations are relatively uncentralized. An example is the case of the Hopi, where men do the farming, but the women control access to the land and the resulting crop (Eggan 1949).

Overall, it would seem that there is a consistent residence pattern for the Virginia Algonquians from the ethnohistorical and archaeological record: there are competing or dual forms operating within the Chesapeake at relatively the same time. Men appear to be highly mobile, functioning within a stratified, ranked society that defers to centrally located power beacons. They may move women during some marriage situations and compensate the bride's family accordingly – but often the control of the negotiations reflects the man's status. Women's roles dominate subsistence that focuses on mixed horticulture and gathering; men's roles are important in providing game, however the control over the women's harvest resides with men. The ethnohistorical record describes the importance of the matriline, but with the competing focus of the men as controlling various arenas: political, religious, domestic, and carnal.

Confounding most of these notions are the archaeological and comparative cultural record, striving to make sense out of a pattern. In many ways, the documentary

record from Virginia is incongruent with other anthropological understandings of culturally normative behavior.[15] As with conflicts over kinship reckoning, I would argue that there were competing residence systems in motion in the Chesapeake during a time that strife had corrupted or rearranged many of the recent traditional forms. Patrilocal, matrilocal, and ambilocal situations appear to all have been operating at some level, indicating a period of extreme change, predicated by the situation (be it political, environmental, or otherwise) but relying on previous cultural practices. If we accept Murdock's presentation of corresponding descent and residency patterns, then the Virginia Algonquian evidence suggests neither one system nor another, but a *hybrid* of several chronologically parallel forms going through complex social and political upheaval and transition. I argue that misunderstanding the social transitions of the Chesapeake is critical to revealing previous social science researchers' lack of attention to contradictory evidence. And, because the evidence didn't match the forms and functions of known systems types, abstracts have been crafted to fit normative models of social construction. The modification of those constructs - continues to perpetuate the essentialized, static appearance of the Virginia Algonquians, yielding the focus to the behemoth that overshadows all Chesapeake history - the era of Wahunsenacah and the Jamestown colony.

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[15] Murdock suggests that there are kin groups that correspond descent reckoning with residence patterns that he refers to as "patriclans (patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence), matriclans (matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence) and avuncuclans (with matrilineal descent and avunculocal residence)" (Murdock 1960:2). The combination of these forms indicates that the Chesapeake was experiencing a high degree of irregularity.

Chapter III

Degrees of Relatedness: Virginia Algonquian Lineages

In reassessing the social forms of coastal plain Algonquians, it is crucial to consider the exchanges of numerous local groups and argue the case for manageable structures of organization that do not rely on ambiguous terminologies and ignore the necessities of formalized divisions of society. Beyond the realms of the domicile, Algonquian populations of the Chesapeake expanded kin networks within and between local groups. These networks were constructed as groupings of related individuals, or properly, lineages. Exploring lineage systems moves the discussion towards larger meta-themes of socio-political organization situated in cultural geography. As demonstrated by Gallivan (2007), Gleach (1997), and Williamson (2002), alliances, hegemony, authority, and political organization are key to understanding the complexities of Virginia Algonquian social forms; I would also suggest that they are also key to reassessing the forms presented by earlier authors.

Within this section, I present the lineage system as the older and more persistent social form of kinship in Virginia, acting as a segment of communities invested in local geographies and exchanges that are positioned to enhance the regional position of multi-layered kinship groups. The lineage system is shown to be a governing structure to local groups, but crosscut by multiple sodalities – including weak clan forms, a stronger moiety system, and probably specialty ritual constructs. I argue in the following chapter that the English were conceived of by the Powhatan as being lineage additions, enveloped

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into a complicated kinship and resource geography that hinged barters of alliance, hegemony, and political authority. Other groups are demonstrated as being figured into kinship relations as well, indicating the cosmology of the Algonquians as being one of relatedness - even if predicated by power and authority structures. In this section I first present the lineage system, as a system within systems. Next I move to construct the argument for the presence of clan structures, followed by the inherent companionship of moiety divisions.

Chiefly Lineages: The Rise of Inequality

Leaders within egalitarian societies "depended upon the power of persuasion rather than the persuasion of power" (Grumet 1980:48). Elman R. Service (1975:74) argues that the reverse is true in chiefdoms where the main political manifestation "is centralized, statuses are arranged hierarchically, and there is to some degree a hereditary aristocratic ethos." The development of such an elite "ethos" takes multiple generations to be established, and in the case of the Virginia Algonquian, coincides with the archeological and ethnohistorical evidence of a widening social inequality that produced increased societal change exhibited in the terminal Woodland period.

Following Sahlins (1968), Stephen Potter (1993:18) suggests that the political organization of the Powhatan "was that of a ranked, kin-oriented society in which the number of status positions was limited and the status and administration structure was arranged in a hierarchy of major and minor leaders governing major and minor subdivisions of the group." Potter further suggests that while the position of the werowance was inherited (or possibly ascribed), the social ranking was based on the

accumulation of wealth (ibid:17). Multiple documentary sources indicate that the primary means of wealth acquisition by the paramount and the werowances was through a hierarchical system of tribute collection.

Politically powerful lineages are characteristic of tributary states, showing in other parts of the world, lineages play an important part in the political structure. One of the main differences between lineage and tributary systems "is not that there are no lineages in the latter, but that lineages are not politically autonomous; rather, their leaders are coerced into acting as agents of central authority," particularly in modes of production (Layton 1997:44). Here, the head of each lineage is responsible for passing a portion of his collected tribute up to a higher position within the political power arena. Segments of the lineage are dispersed within the various villages, which contain the agents of labor – be they agricultural, trade, or domestic producers of the kin (and in turn political) network (Evans-Pritchard 1940). A significant portion of the centre power is extracted through the degrees of tribute collected by the constituent segments; that the power is both received and exchanged creates a level of reciprocal dependency between tiers within the central authority (Fox 1971:54).

The Virginia Algonquian socio-political culture as seen c.1600 was a product of continuing negotiations, one that was not static in perpetuity, but one that had been in generations of fluctuation – and that would continue to evolve beyond the era of Wahunsenacah. However, before continuing towards an evaluation of portions of Algonquian political identity, additional information should be reviewed to establish the second tier of kinship organization – the lineage. It is here that I argue that the older form of Virginia Algonquian social organization resides. I use the term "resides" because I see

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this form of social organization as guiding the motivations of lower levels of social partnership, such as descent and residency. In this way, the form "resides" within the basic constructs of Virginia Algonquian society – living and breathing beneath the surface of more complex social forms. From it, groupings that have been seen as single village "chiefdoms" and "districts" with multiple werowances are revealed as localized aggregates of lineages, situated in place with identities that are particular to certain geographies that are eventually essentialized into "tribal" identities. Cross cutting these old forms are totemic clans – which during the Proto-historic allowed for multiple, but distantly-related, lineages to situate themselves within communities that were composed of conglomerations of re-invented political entities.

The society with which we are concerned, was (and is) composed of a series of local groups; these communities can also be identified as containing descent groups, such as lineages and clans:

> "The inhabitants of all the cuntrie for the most part have marks rased on their backs, whereby yt may be known what Princes subjects they bee, or what place they have their originall...The marke which is expressed by A. belongeth tho Wingina, the cheefe lorde of Roanoac, That which hath B. is the marke of Wingino his sisters hus bande" (Harriot [1590] 1972:74)

Here, Harriot's account of the Carolina Algonquians provides us with a glimpse of neighboring local groups, situated in place and known by the geography of "their originall" – in addition to having descendancy based corporate groups. The markings on the people indicate where they were from (possibly natal village, and therefore probably lineage segment) with an understanding of the leadership figures being also situated against place: "Wingina the cheefe lorde of Roanoac." Notably, some marital movement

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occurred between villages, so that the "originall" location of lineage membership may have been paramount (i.e. Powhatan = Wahunsenacah). Wingina's sister's husband was clearly from another local group, both strengthening the point that lineages are usually exogamous – but also that corporate local groups have important kinship ties with other local groups, and thereby creating influence on a number of social situations. Within communities, lineage aggregates were also exogamous, so that exchanges across lineage divisions occurred both within and across local groups.

In most contexts, a lineage is a corporate group of unilineal kin functioning under a formalized system of authority. Broadly, a lineage "is a single group that is assumed to be permanent, to which rights and duties may be attached as to a single unit and which may usually be represented vis-à-vis other groups by a single person" (Middleton and Tait 1958:3). Generally, but not exclusively, lineages are named and within it accepted genealogical relationships are known between members; those relationships include both the living and the dead (ibid).

"the bodies thus dressed...*so lay them orderly one by one*, as they die in their turns..." (Strachey [1612] 1953:94 [italics mine]).

A lineage may also be divided into smaller segments, having each of those genealogical groupings being shallower in depth and narrower in span. Each smaller affiliate can be seen as a unit, functioning in a system of segments, most as corporate groups unto themselves. There may be other segments of lineages that can be separated out, but without any significant social placement or function (Middleton and Tait 1958:3).

"In the tyme of huntings, they leave their habitations and *gather themselves into Companies* as doe the Tartars, and goe to the most desart places *with their famelyes...*" (Strachey [1612] 1953:82 [italics mine).

These lesser manifestations tend to be temporal and or situational and generally not corporate, although the potential exists for these segments to become separate lineages within a few generations of separation (Evans-Pritchard 1951:8).

Among the Virginia Algonquians, leaders of such groups represented their segment of the community, probably in conjunction with other social distinctions, such as status based on age grades, and cross cutting clan affiliations of representatives (Cissna 1986:68-81). Possibly lineage leaders could also fall into other leadership roles, such as clan chiefs or more commonly as werowances. In the historical literature, werowances are presented as "commanders," with certain specific individuals conferring more command over groups than others (Strachey [1612] 1953:59). It would seem likely that each territory possessed multiple lineages, and thus numerous werowances. Dominant chiefly lineages appear to have had a distinction among less prominent lineages within each province. Hence, while each community had a series of headmen, the werowances (be they the senior or the junior) were drawn from both dominant and minor lineages. In some cases, the dominant lineage had senior status over a number of communities – positioning a series of related hereditary leaders within each district. There were probably cases, however, where the dominant lineage recognized lesser lineage werowances within each community. These groupings, whether they were close or distant, functioned under the rubric of a stratified hierarchy with responsibilities and identities that were fashioned as much from geographical associations as by connectedness of kin.

"The reason why each *chief patron of a family, especially werowances*, are desirous and indeed strive for many wives is because they would have many children who may, if chance be, fight for them when they are old, as also then feed and maintain them" (Strachey [1612] in Haile 1998:673, italics mine).

Lineage relations can be seen as separate from kin relations, where lineages are relations of a unilateral group "within a system of such groups" and kin, or kinship, relations are between persons of "certain categories" standing opposite individuals within a "system of such categories" (Evans-Pritchard 1951:4). Terms used within both distinctions are often expressed between the distinctions as well; that is to say situationally, one may refer to a kin relation in the same way as referring to relationships between groups of individuals (ibid:5). Examples of this type of relationship extension can be seen both between and among the Virginia Algonquians, depending on the contextual nature of the categories. In this case, the "sons" of Wahunsenacah may be subordinate lineage relations: Pochins of Kecoughtan and Parahunt of Powhatan may not be actual sons, but fictive. As among other groups, the Algonquians may have extended lineage relations to figures who became part of the system through adoption (and were expected to function as apart of the system based on understood normative behaviors).

"*My child*, you are welcome; you have been a stranger to me these four years, at what time I gave you leave to go to Paspahae...*to see your friends*, and till now you returned. *You...are my child*" (Hamor [1615] in Haile 1998:831 [italics mine]).

In this context, Ralph Hamor relates that Thomas Savage may have been viewed by Wahunsenacah as an actual relation, as opposed to just the kin extension given to other individuals as representatives of separate lineages (i.e. the English as a corporate lineage) such as John Smith and Sir Thomas Dale. However, the evidence points to

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another case, where the English may have been viewed as a corporate group that Wahunsenacah attempted to incorporate into the existing structure the way other local lineage groups had been.

"he proclaimed me a werowanes of Powhaton, and that all his subjects should so esteem us, and no man account us strangers nor Paspahaghans, but Powhatans..." (Smith [1608] in Haile 1998:167)

Likely Hamor, Smith, and Dale were all seen as "kinship" relations as opposed to "lineage" relations, through a series of exchanges that occurred numerous times. These precedents were constructed around marriage alliances, political dealings, economic incentives, and multiple social and ritual dialogues where the English represented one group and the Powhatan another. Under these contexts, the use of kinship terms, however poorly translated, establishes a series of relationships that have intrinsic meanings in terms of subordination and equality of status.

"The Emperor Powhatan each week once or twice sent me many presents of deer, bread, rauroughcuns, half always for *my father*, whom he much desired to see, and half for me, and so continually importuned by messengers and presents that I would come *to fetch the corn and take the country their king had given me [Capahosick], as at last Captain Newport resolved to go see him*" (Smith [1608] in Haile 1998:165 [italics and brackets mine]).

"Being thus feasted, he began his discourse to his purpose: "Your kind visitation doth much content me, but where is *your father* whom I much desire to see: Is he not with you?" (Smith [1608] in Haile 1998:167 [italics mine]).

"Then began he to inquire how *his brother Sir Thomas Dale fared*...I resolved to tell him that *his brother* was well..." (Hamor [1615] in Haile 1998:832 [italics mine]).

As a "werowance of Powhatan," or a lineage leader subordinate to Wahunsenacah, Smith is seen as a "son" of Wahunsenacah - and thereby Smith's "father" or Captain Newport as a "brother" to Wahunsenacah. Quoting Pocahontas in an argument

over the expectations of kin relations, Smith reveals that the bonds have mutual responsibilities, and that the roles of those terms are often situational:

> "You did promise Powhatan what was yours should be his, and the like to you. You called him father, being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I do you ...forever I will be your countryman" (Smith [1624] in Haile 1998:864)

The expectation of Smith, and the English as a whole, was to reciprocate the gifts and responsibilities extended to them in terms of kinship, very much situated in proximity to Wahunsenacah and revolving around contextual understandings of authority. And so then the extended quote from Hamor sees Savage as a "child," but one that shares relations with the English – who are oppositional or competitive to the Powhatan:

> "*My child*, you are welcome; you have been a stranger to me these four years, at what time I gave you leave to go to Paspahae...*to see your friends [i.e. relatives]*, and till now you returned. *You...are my child* by the donative of Captain Newport...[where is the chain] that...which *I sent my brother Sir Thomas Dale* for a present at his first arrival..." (Hamor [1615] in Haile 1998:831 [brackets and italics mine]).

Savage and Smith are "children" to Wahunsenach, as Dale and Newport are "brothers" to him. The leadership positions of the English lineage are expressed in relation to the paramount lineage of the Powhatan – but not as "sons" of Wahunsenacah; that designation for lineage heads implies subordination, which was not the relationship between the two at the time.

Similarly, Powhatan control over the Algonquian groups on the Potomac was more power through alliance than actual hegemonic dominion.

> "The Indians of Patawomeck-river...Capt Argoll was there trading with Iopassus the great kings brother..." (Strachey [1612] 1953:101).

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Oral tradition among some of the Algonquian descendant communities also place Japasaw (Iopassus) as Wahunsenacah's brother. "The current Mattaponi Indian Tribe recognizes the Monteith descendants as being the blood of Japasaw, whom they claim was the brother of the great Chief Powhatan, father of Pocahontas" (Deyo 2001:13).

What becomes of interest is the relation of the Patawomeck to the Powhatan as not being one of subordinate relations, but that of more equality – and hence the kinship term of "brother." There has been some confusion over these terminologies for the Patawomeck, most having seen the distinction between "brothers" as that between Japasaw at Paspatanzy and the "great king" at Patawomeke. However, a careful review of the texts reveals that in various contexts of describing the Patawomeck, Japasaw is referred to as both "brother to the king of Patawomeke" and "brother to the great king," which I think could mean Wahunsenacah. And indeed, the werowance at Patawomeke was "unwilling to own Subjection to the other Emperors, whom he always affected to treat, rather as Brethern than Superiors" (Stith 1747:240). The two leaders visited and negotiated throughout their years, and I expect that they developed relationships similar to that of Dale and Newport with Wahunsenacah. In that vein, it would appear that the Patawomeck also extended their kinship terms in similar ways; Samuel Argoll was considered by Japasaw to be "an old friend and adopted brother" (Hamor [1614] in Haile 1998:802).

The "tribes" of the Powhatan may be seen as groups of dispersed corporate lineages within the landscape of the Virginia Tidewater. In this sense, political forms are constructed based on lineages' fusion with other socio-political elements; they provide a "conceptual framework of the political system within which they also function as its

organizing principle through the expression of political fission and fusion in terms of their segmentary structure" (Evans-Pritchard 1951:5). The historic constructions of "tribal" segments of the Powhatan actually identify groups of lineage structures embedded within political contexts. This can also be seen cross culturally, where "certain clans and their lineages have rights in certain tribal areas and by their residence in those areas of a sufficient number of members of these dominant groups to act as nuclei of local and political groups" (ibid).

> "these [territories] are their great kings Inheritance, chief Alliance, and Inhabitance. Upon Youghtamund is the seat of Powhatans 3. brethren, whom we learne are successively to governe after Powhatan, in the same dominions which Powhatan by right of Birth, as the elder brother now holdes, the rest of the Countryes under his Command are (as they report) his conquests" (Strachey [1612] 1953:44).

Leaders of such segments, or werowances, were figured prominently as lineage heads, with successive matrilineal kin governing lineage segments in specific geographies designated as territory (i.e. districts) - to which both the segments of minor and dominant lineages and cross cutting clans understood the bounds of the localized political grouping.

> "Every Weroance knowes his owne Meeres and lymitts to fish and fowle or hunt" (Strachey [1612] 1953:87).

Accordingly, local groups could both be identified by their political or corporate collection of lineages situated within specific places as well as individuals by affiliation within wider social organizations, such as clans.

> "The most of these By-rivers are inhabited by *severall Nations, or rather famelyes,* taking their names from those rivers, and wherein a severall Governor, or Weroance, commaundeth" (Strachey [1612] 1953:43 [italics mine).

However, the system was one of flexibility, and it is probable, as Evans-Pritchard suggests elsewhere in the world, that there never were all members of a lineage of any order living within an area associated with it and to which it gives its name, though the majority probably did so (1951:5).

In contrast, "shallow depth" lineages are usually found among groups that are mobile and of a small over all population. In cases of settled residency and heritable wealth accumulation, the segmentation of local groups appears to be a response to increasing numbers (Forde 1947). Lineages are also found in many centralized states, where the context of relevance is inherited status and property. Local organization of lineages may be conceived in terms of both status and material wealth, promoting the recruitment of multiple unilineal descent segments that increase the prosperity of dominant lineages. However, in political contexts, "the hierarchal arrangement of statuses to which political authority is attached is preponderant and the lineage system loses importance as a means of controlling external relations between political groups" (Middleton and Tait 1958:5). Within the Powhatan domain, this can be seen as Wahunsenacah's hegemony overlaying traditional lineage based authority, subsumed under new political manifestations that resembled the lineage structure, but that was now subject to a higher-level ministerial configuration:

> "The great King Powhatan hath devided his Country into many provinces, or Shires (as yt were) and over every one placed a severall absolute Commaunder, or Weroance to him contributory, to governe the people there to inhabite, and his petty Weroances in all, may be in nomber, about three or fower and thirty, all which have their precincts, and bowndes proper, and Commodiously appointed out, that no one intrude upon the other" (Strachey [1612]1953:63). '

The divisions mentioned by Strachey within the coastal plain of Virginia were surely predicated by previous, and relatively recent jurisdictions of "groups of families;" that Powhatan rearranged some of these aggregates into new local groups may be seen as an extension of the unilinial system recruiting and segmenting various portions of the structure. The stress of collapsing some localized groups and expanding the control of others speaks to the fluctuations in forms observed by European witnesses, catching the process in mid stride; kin reckoning, identity formation, and political organization were all in a state of oscillation.

Important to a political system, in which power is extracted partially from both religious and kindred affiliations, is the membership status within certain lineages. "In many societies an individual has no...status except as a lineage member" and in many cases both political and religious power are derived from it as well (Haviland 1999:300). Certain forms of power may also be bound to the lineage, in the form of institutions and secret societies, in particular those that are associated with ancestors of the members.

"a chief holie house...[is] filled with *Images of their kings and devils*, and tombs of their *predicessors...*" (Strachey [1612] 1953:95 [italics and brackets mine]).

The exact position of ancestral spirits within the Virginia Algonquian pantheon is unclear, however they are definitely represented in a variety of religious contexts. In the case of the charnel house, only particular persons of authority were allowed access to the structure; graven images of "devils" and "kings" probably were both representations of ancestors: blood, totemic, and mythic. These references reveal that both that there was a level of importance between a lineage member and his corporate ancestral kin, as well as

significance to the wider community to recognize the authority of certain deceased lineage leaders as having a continual presence in the "sacred" of the community in the present.

> "We have observed, how when they would affirme any thing by much earnestness and triuth, they use to bynd yt by a kynd of oath, *either by the life of a great king*, or by pointing up to the Sun, and clapping the right hand upon the heart, and sometymes they have bene understood *to sweare by the Manes of their dead father*" (Strachey [1612]1953:116 [italics mine]).

From Strachey's quote, the ideas presented above gain additional substance; the solemn oaths or prayers are strengthened by calling upon representations of deity (Sun), spirit (heart), dominant lineage leader (great king), and lineage ancestor (dead fathers). The "life of a great king" may also be seen as notable, but because Strachey is not referring to *the* great king or Wahunsenacah, the oath may be seen as calling upon other types of leaders – both past and present. These could be community leaders, representing the political form of lineage aggregates, actual lineage headmen, or possibly dominant clan / moiety leadership figures. In tandem, the "swear[ing] by the *Manes* of their dead fathers" also illuminates the important position of corporate lineal ancestors; "manes" from Latin, refers to the defied souls of dead ancestors, which in this case may refer to the elevated status of werowances and priests as being partially divine (see Gleach 1997; Williamson 2003) or to mythic ancestors associated with totemic clans.

The Algonquians prior to Wahunsenacah's rise were a series of local groups, each with lineages of greater and lesser proportion, competitive in a hierarchal setting; possibly within a local group, each line may have been significant in connection with certain activities, be they social, economic, ritual, or political. Relations that are

competitive at one level may become unified at another level – particularly as alliances in response to an outside group (Middleton and Tait 1958:7). A group at any level has "competitive relations with others to ensure the maintenance of its own identity and the rights that belong to it as a corporation" and probably supports internal administrative relations that ensure group cohesion within the various segments it represents (ibid). As evidenced with the Powhatan, these aggregates that emerge as units in one context can integrate into larger composites in another.

> "And thus yt may appeare how they are a people who have their severall divisions, Provinces and Princes, to live in and comaund over, and doe differ likewise (as amongst Christians) both in stature, language, and Condition, Some being great people...some very little...Pawhatan having large Territories, and many petty kings under him; as some have fewer" (Strachey [1612]1953:69).

Thus, "actual residential membership of a local group may vary in size over time, due to ecological and other factors, but the lineage is persistent" (Middleton and Tait 1958:5). As members move between one local group and another, as through marriage arrangements, they still remain lineage members; rights of inheritance are not affected, and the network of kinship ties remain unchanged. Relations between local groups can therefore be seen as relationships between the members of the lineages; "...lineage organization reflects the territorial organization of each local group" (ibid).

For the period prior to the rise of Wahunsenacah, lineage exchange was probably predominant at the local level, as opposed to the regional level. In this way, the changes in residency that have been discussed in Chapter II, may have limited a matrilineage, but through proximity and flexibility, allowed lineage members to be maintained near their natal homes. I have argued that, with the rise in social inequality and intensification of

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chiefly lineage power, more patrifocused residency and descent reckoning forms likely developed in the Tidewater. Extending this argument, it also appears that elite exchanges of women began to push the boundaries of lineage control and reckoning too distant from the local group (cf. Kopytoff 1977). As in other regions (e.g. Murdock 1949:19) while Tidewater elites gained alliances across territorial lines along with access to greater wealth through marriage exchange, local lineages likely lost the ability to control various aspects of the matrilines.

At the local level, social solutions to this problem probably placed preferences for marriage partners taken from closer to the lineage lands, allowing few dominant lineage marriages across territorial bounds, and the creation of bride price to compensate the loss incurred through the exchange. At the elite level, a possible response to the conflict resulted in the practice of allowing secondary wives to return home to their matrilineages after the birth of a child. However, the total process of transferring women's social position into equations of wealth resulted in the increased competition between elites over available brides from prominent lineages. The social evolution out of the equation of women to wealth and elite marriage competition was bride capture and theft. The political theater of Wahunsenacah exacerbated shifting social structure trends. In a way, Wahunsenacah monopolized on the wider transitional undercurrents of Chesapeake society, using them to his advantage with mercenary like tactics. Thus the social form witnessed at the beginning of the colonial encounter by Europeans was one of complete upheaval, transition, and hybridity – accentuated, inflated, and enlarged by the climate of the Powhatan expansion.

Understanding this system helps consider the ways in which the evolution of the Virginia Algonquians into the "Powhatan" allowed for constituent members of lineages to situate themselves into a structure that was then more broad, but not necessarily new. Subtraction or changes in size of segments may lead to reorganization, but not a foundational restructuring of the total system (Middleton and Tait 1958:8). While the communities of the Tidewater Algonquians shared lineage relations between various local groups, varying in size and locality over time, the lineages themselves remained fixed to the corporate groups from which they originated. This is to say, that although the Algonquians shared relationships through the exchange of marriage partners and other reciprocal responsibilities, the management of relationships developed by extended genealogies was governed by another form of social organization – the clan.

Vestiges of the Older Form: Clan Organization

The Virginia coastal plain has been dominantly portrayed as being populated by "groups" of subjugated peoples, whether by Powhatan or English invaders. However, as the previous section has shown, alliance and kinship structures played a significant role below the "group" level in situating Algonquian relations within their communities and when addressing outsiders. Although politics motivated inter-group exchange, the governing force behind Algonquian relationships was firmly contextualized in the broader negotiations of complex socio-kinship networks. Layered with the expectations associated with cross cutting sodalities, the Chesapeake sense of connectedness extended beyond the domicile, the local group, and into the wider network of interaction with other

geographically rooted corporate lineages. In reassessing the constructions of coastal Algonquians, a framework beyond the lineage is required.

Over the course of time, as successive generations of members are born into a lineage, its numbers may become unmanageable or too large for the available resources to support. When this happens, fission usually occurs – that is, a descent group will split into new smaller lineages. Members of the new lineages tend to continue to recognize the mutual ancestry of the new groups; this process results in the formation of an additional form of descent reckoning – in this case, the clan. This third tier of grouping is particularly relevant to the patterns exhibited by the Virginia Algonquian thus far. Unlike a lineage, a clan can lack residential unity (Middleton and Tait 1958:3), but is comprised of ancestrally related links that assume a relationship that has a significant level of time depth (Murdock 1949:68). The clan is dispersed between settlements, usually not holding tangible property corporately. Instead the clan functions as a unit on the ceremonial level (Haviland 1999:300). As seen thus far in Virginia Algonquian marriage practices, the clan, like lineages, help regulate marriage through exogamy. Key to the fluid nature of group boundaries of the Tidewater Algonquians during the early historic period, clan memberships are dispersed – giving individuals entry rights into other local groups through associations linked by extensions of clan affiliation. In some cases these would be mutual membership in the same clan continuum across village and district boundaries, or in more extended cases, possible larger phratry associations of linked ancestral clans. Members are expected to give protection and hospitality reciprocally, to others in the clan (ibid:302).

The idea of clan membership helps explain how large Algonquian communities of seemingly separate affiliations could ebb and flow into one another during the years surrounding the Jamestown colony. Lineage connections help make sense of particular relations between individuals of different groups, but larger scale forms of social organization are needed to situate continuing aggregates' movement across what has been recently thought of as "tribal" boundaries. To be discussed further below, autonomous groups tend to maintain specific group identities, even when incorporation occurs with other large corporate structures. This fusion can be seen with the Delaware, Nanticoke, Tutelo, and Tuscarora among the Iroquois during the historic period; the system could be modified to situate new additions in appropriate ways, all the while maintaining some level of independent identity through positional titles and residency. Over time, most of those identities merged through continued marriage practices between groups – but the process of change was of a longer duration than that which is evidenced among the Powhatan, indicating both a level of permeability in structural elements and a segmentary ability of the units to merge successfully while functioning under parallel units of those structures. Hence, groups such as those at Paspehegh could fuse with the surrounding entities when pushed out by Jamestown colonists, a rogue band from Chickahominy could incorporate with Nansemond groups during the awkward years leading towards 1622, and multiple geographic units could collapse into Pamunkey Neck after continual European encroachment. Instead of maintaining firm identity divisions, such as "tribes," these entities become integrated into the local group through social mechanisms. Personal descendancy via family, lineage, and clan membership played a minor, but situating, role in the transformation of larger identity structures that were very much centered on

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geography. Politics demands that certain forms of domination by affiliation did perceiver, but on a wider scale, played little role in the overall integration of previously segmented units.

In all cases, individual actors operated within a series of understood social rules to manipulate the articulation of the form, but not the foundation of the form. The fluctuation in the social system was a longer societal process of change, such as that of shifting from a matrilineal to a patrifocused one. Those changes may have been constructed by a succession of actors over multiple generations, but were not completely spawned by single cases of agency.

Clans, lacking in residential or geographic unity of lineages, frequently depend on symbols (of animals, plants, mythic figures, natural phenomena) providing members with a sense of unity, similar to the lineage's attachment to geography. These symbolic emblems, or totems, are often associated with the origins of the clan and reinforce the connectedness of members between groupings (Gearing 1958). There is no evidence however, that all members of a particular clan were biologically related; in cases of separate communities living within a large geography, many individuals who belonged to clans of the same totem regarded themselves as bounded by the same ties and affinity as members of their own community clanship (Tooker 1970). Membership in the same clan helped "facilitate social and political interaction between different communities and different peoples" (Trigger 1990:66).

In matrilineal contexts, an individual was a member of their mother's clan; as with the lineage, marriage between members (even from separate communities) was considered to be taboo. Cross lineage marriages can be seen as means of linking two

lineages together, cross cutting these unions were clan affiliations; the joining of clans was seen as an effective means of continuing solidarity within a community. The clan could play an important role at the community level, constituting "well-defined grouping(s) of considerable social and political importance" (ibid). Each clan segment within a local group can have leadership figures responsible for managing internal and external affairs; these offices tend to be by appointment, such as through political chiefs or prominent lineage figures – although they might be collateral as well. In this matrilineal context, the position was transferred to other appropriate members of descent, but not patrilaterally.

Among some of the Maryland Algonquians, headmen of some distinction – called "wisoes" were appointed to counsel the werowance on "common affairs." These advisors were probably distinguished members of particular corporate lineages; equally they could have been defined by clanship being

> "chosen at the pleasure of the Werowances, yet commonly they are chosen *of the same family* [lineage or clan], if they be of years capable" (Anonymous 1635:84 [italics and brackets mine]).

There is some indication that these offices were the same or similar to that of the "cawcawasoughs" described by Smith, however there may have been more political manipulation with the appointment of wisoes or cawcawasoughs, as opposed to strict achievement or age-grade based positions (Cissna 1986:70-71).

Burial practices of the Virginia coastal plain vary a great deal, but dominant to the variations appear to be primary and secondary internments. In some contexts, groupings of secondary burials (or ossuaries and ossuary bundles) and mortuary customs may be

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related to differing factors within the life of the individuals; circumstances surrounding

death, seasonality, social class or rank, lineage affiliation, or clan membership could all

be possible variables affecting cultural traditions. The ethnohistorical evidence does

however, point to some distinction being made about some of the observed burial

practices, at least between the elite and commoner. Unfortunately the process by which

related individuals interacted surrounding the funeral is limited:

> "the women weepe and crie out very passionately, providing mats, skinnes, mosse, and drie wood, as thinges fitting...[for]...funerals..." (Smith [1612] in Haile 1998:212).
>
> "and when he is laid thereon, the kinsfolk falls a-weeping and make great sorrow...some of his kinsfolk flings beads among them [the gathered mourners]...this finished they go to the party's house where they have meat given them...they spend the rest of the day singing and dancing...Morever, if any of the kindreds' bodies which have been laid on the scaffold, and putting them into a new mat, hangs them in their house, where they continue while their house falleth, and then they are buried in the ruins of the house. What goods the party leaveth is divided among his wives and children. But his house he giveth to the wife he liketh best for life; after her death, unto what child he most loveth" (Spelman [1613] in Haile 1998:490, brackets mine).

These two quotes are concerning different burials practices, but in both the

relatives of the deceased are forming kin associations beyond that of simply "family."

Multiple women are preparing materials, other relatives are offering gifts and feast

sponsorship, and additional relations are looking after the remains of yet more "kindred."

The lineage relationship of the deceased to their immediate kin is probably understood

here, but the extended matrilineal family brings together other social factors, as do the

position of the additional mourning population. These reciprocal actions that involve

other members of the extended community are related to clan structures (Murdock

1949:73).

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Interestingly, the division of property brings back the earlier discussion of patrilocality vs. matrilocality. The material goods are divided among his children and wives – which is a signal towards the fluctuating system over wealth accumulation and lineal descendency moving towards males in association with wealth. Apparently in the Patawomeke case, the house then became the property of a favored, or probably ranked first wife – if she was living, and then to his children – which in this context actually means his wife's children. Thus, if the residency was not out of the local group, the house, while provided by the man, reverted to the matriline.

In situations where houses were associated with lineage use lands, one may wonder if this transference indicates an exchange or increase in one lineage's use lands over another. At the local level, while a woman may have gone to live with a man (patrilocal), common men may have constructed a new house (neolocal) on use lands that were in excess from the local group and therefore transferred through the dominant werowance's usufruct. The use area may have also been a part of the bride price negotiation - such as an exchange between the men of the lineages concerning the women and their associated lands. Possibly, the new house was constructed on appropriate land of the women's lineage, so that the wife was taken to where the male resided – but that location was excessive, coming into rotation per the slash and burn cycle, and generally outside of the domestic dwelling of either group. Quite plausibly, the lands were negotiated by the bride's avunculate as a male lineage leader. While the woman and the resources temporarily resided within the control of another male from an adjacent lineage, at the death of the husband, the house and the lands returned to the appropriate matriline. At the local level, this argument would support the placement of the residency

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rule as avunculocal, and correctly illustrates the prominence the men had in an increasing patrifocal society.

Challenging this presentation are the marriages that occur across broad areas of geography, and therefore confuse the relationship between the in-marrying lineage members to other kin located within the new domestic locale. The frustrating situation in the historical record for the Virginia Algonquians, is a general disregard for proper kinship terminologies and blanket generalization about relatedness – even some that contradict one another (see Spier 1925), such as shown above for burial practices. Often, these extended kin relations are only referenced in addition to "ancestors" or "family:"

> "And in their houses are all the king ancestors and kindred commonly buried" (Spelman [1613] in Haile 1998:486).

Most werowances were eventually interred in carnal houses, although there is even some variation within this generalization (Willaimson 2003:285). Women as both the lineally reckoned descent bearers for both lineage and clan took center stage in the ceremony "...being painted all their faces black cole and oile..." and mourning loudly for the next day (ibid:223). Descent and social standing governed how individuals were interred, and probably articulated other portions of ceremony that the English writers left unrecorded. These points involved multiple responsibilities for relatives of the deceased, as described above for the women, and though, not discussed beyond terms of "ancestors," "kindred," and "relations" probably involved similar types of reckoning systems for "who was buried where," and "who would be responsible" for the funerary arrangements. In other societies, these reciprocal responsibilities are the duties of opposite clans or moieties (Trigger 1990:68).

Additional clanship responsibilities in tune with wider social organization may have also included the recognition and naming of certain individuals within the community. Whether the clan motivated naming practices is unclear – but what does appear to have happened is that "kinsfolk and neighbors" or *extended family beyond just that of a lineage, but not the entire community* was invited to recognize the new name of a child. This distinction is related clanship:

> "After the mother is delivered of her child, within some few days after, *the kinsfolk and neighbors*, being entreated thereunto, comes unto the house where, being assembled, the father takes the child in his arms and declares that his name shall be" (Spelman [1613] in Haile 1998:490 [italics mine]).

This statement positions the father as the source for naming, but equally this figure could have been confused for mother's brother (avunculate) or that the father announced the name of the child as reflective of other social factors, not dependent upon matrilineal affiliation. Variety in these naming practices may have also been situational and shifting upon context:

> "Both men, women, and children have several names...when they are young, their mothers give them a name, calling them an affectionate title...at more ripe years...the father gives them another name as he finds him apt and of spirit...changing the mothers name...(if) he performs any remarkable or valorous exploit...the king taking notice of the same doth then...give him a name answerable to the attempt" (Strachey [1612] in Haile 1998:670).

In addition to ceremonial duties (such as feast sponsorship and burials), "the clan segment also acted as a primary unit responsible for protecting its members from harm for securing reparations for injuries done to them either by members of that clan segment or by outsiders" (Trigger 1990:66). When John Smith was on parade after being captured by Opechancanough, he was attacked as retribution, in what seemed to be a logical assault by a "father" of a slain "son." Considering the confusion or generalizations over

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kinship terms by the English, the clan could have equally motivated this action, as a responsibility to the deceased brethren:

> "Two days after, a man would have slain him – but that the guard prevented it – for the death of his son, to whom they conducted him to recover the poor man then breathing his last" (Smith [1612] in Haile 1998:236).

Similarly, Smith was taken to the Rappahannock territory, to root out if he was indeed a captain of a European vessel that had attacked them several years earlier (Rountree 1990:37). This move may also been reflective of clan level reparation responsibilities.

Later in the century, the commitment to these reparation duties appears to have persisted:

> "They are very revengeful; for if anyone chance to be slain, some of the relations of the slain person will kill the murtherer or some of his family, though it be two or three generations after, having no justice done amongst them in this respect but what particular persons do themselves; if it that may be termed justice" (Glover 1676:26).

These references describe more than political theater, or individual revenge. Reparation systems are well documented, particularly in the Southeast, where clans were more dominant in social settings (Swanton 1979:654). The last reference speaks to the continuing responsibility of extended relations to compensate for the loss of kindred, beyond the generation and individuals of the event. These types of commitments and responsibilities associated with extended kin are parallel to those of clan membership.

Clan Representations

Totemic emblems among the Virginia groups can possibly be seen through a number of authors' lenses; some observations obscure the context for the imagery, as

others only allude to the material via other references. Chief among the possibilities is a

late-century Virginia author, who remarking on signs of "heraldry" stated:

> "every great family has some particular bird or beast that belongs to the family in their
> nation, the skin wherof they have usually stufft and hung up in their houses, or before
> their doors, which is as it were their coat of arms" (Anonymous [1680] in Pargellis
> 1959:240).

Rountree (1989) discredits this source, because by the 1680s many groups outside of the

Virginia Algonquians were on the playing field; those other groups included Siouan and

Iroquoian speakers within the interior. While organized somewhat differently, they had

portions of parallel structures, at least that allowed continual cross cultural exogamous

unions to easily fit within an acceptable cultural framework (Rountree and Turner

2002:42-43, 58). In addition, by the 1680s many of these interior groups began to contain

more refugee populations of fleeing Algonquians, revealing that the quote as described

could point towards a clanship for eastern Virginia, be it Algonquian or otherwise.

In contrast, Strachey indicates that graven images he saw outside of a Algonquian

temple were not related to family crests at all:

> "at the 4 corners of this howse stand 4 Imadges, not as...in ancient tymes, the Imadges
> and Pedegress of the whole Stock or Famely...but merely sett, as careful Sentinells
> (forsooth) to defend, and protect the howse: (for so they believe of them:) one is like a
> Dragon, another like a Beare, the third like a Leopard, and the forth a Giant-Like man, all
> evil favoured ynough, accourding to their best workmanshippe" (Strachey [1612]
> 1953:62)

This statement requires a bit of investigation to decipher what actually may have been

being described. First, I assume that Strachey saw the material first hand, and inquired

with his Indian informants as to the nature of the carvings. Imperfect translation has been

a problem even for Strachey's best linguistic work (Siebert 1975), so I feel it's fair to question whether he could distinguish between concepts of family, lineage, clan, and community to the exact degree that he is discounting, or distinguishing the imagery. Second, it would be tempting to see these figures as "deities," but the majority of the carvings do not figure into any of the described Algonquian "gods," from North Carolina to the Maryland border.

> "We have (said he) 5. godes in all our chief god appeares often unto us in the likewise of a mightie Hare, the other 4. have no visible shape, but are (indeed) the 4 wyndes, which keep the 4. Corners of the earth…" (Strachey [1612] 1953:102).

> "They thinke that all the gods are of humane shape, & therefore they represent them by images in the formes of men…" (Harriott [1590] 1972:26).

I acknowledge that these two statements say two different things: 1) one god is represented as a rabbit, four others are shapeless as winds and 2) all gods are of human form. As not to digress into cosmology, I only mention that most images described by the colonists are of a god referred to as Okee. Okee was described as the vengeful side of a deity configuration, Ahone as the opposite, the Sun playing another role in deity form, as did the "Keeper of the Game" – or Great Hair of numerous Algonquian origins (Williamson 2003:174-175). Keeping in mind the concept of Okee (*okiwasaw* or *okiwasawok*, plural), that played out in images of men and former, ancestral werowances as described by Harriot, Smith, Strachey and explored by Gleach (1997) and Williamson (2003), the four "sentinels" may actually represent other important figures, outside of the dominant concept of "deity." Possibly these images are representational segments of totemic ancestors, otherwise referred to as "totems" from the Ojibway *otoeman* (literally referring to relatedness) (Durkheim 1912:101). So while the images may not reflect

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"imadges of pedigrees or stocks" they may represent mythic ancestors associated with the origins of Algonquian clans, which could be construed as Strachey's guardian "sentinels." Among other Algonquian speakers, these images feature prominently as clan totems (Figure 2). These figures were carved in the Mid-Atlantic fashion, or from the shoulders up, so there is some debate over the exactness of Strachey's descriptions. Nonetheless, the "Dragon" which could be a sturgeon - a prehistoric looking scaled fish, a turtle's head coming out of the "shell" post, snake, or water snake. The "Bear" is an

Totemic Image	Clan Affiliate	Algonquian Speaking Groups Represented
Dragon	Sturgeon	Chippewa, Sauk, Fox, Potawatomi, Shawnee
	Turtle	Chippewa, Delaware, Menomini, Miami, Ottawa, Potawatomi
	Snake	Chippewa, Shawnee
	Water Snake	Chippewa
Bear	Bear	Chippewa, Fox, Kickapoo, Menomini, Miami, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Sauk, Shawnee
Leopard	Panther	Miami, Shawnee
	Lynx	Chippewa, Fox, Sauk
	Wildcat	Chippewa
Giant Man	Man	Kickapoo, Potawatomi
	Warrior	Potawatomi
	Wind	Shawnee

Figure 2. *Algonquian Speaking Groups Cross Cultural Clan Affiliations* (Swanton 1979:654-661).

exact duplicate of other clan totems. The Leopard could equally be any number of feline equivalents: panther, lynx, wildcat - all reminiscent of animals found in Virginia (polecat or bobcat and swamp panther or mountain lion / cougar). The "Giant Man" is interesting as it definitely represents a variation of the specters described and distinguished by

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fierce warrior, or a type of symbolic representation of a non physical concept - like wind. One version of a Chesapeake Algonquian creation story refers to the four winds as "giants" (Purchas 1617:954). The Shawnee have a Wind clan, but this is probably related to their historic dealings with the Creek, as opposed to an Algonquian originating gente.

With these images in mind, the cross-cultural association with other Algonquian groups both having clan structures and equivalent icons speaks strongly for the Virginia Algonquians to possess similar structures, and suggests that in context, these older forms spawned the above. Equally, other descriptions could point towards clan affiliations, particularly in light of early eighteenth-century portraiture of American Indians in the East, surrounded by images of their clan affiliations. Tattoos, garment decoration, and symbolic iconography on material goods all indicate an affinity for certain physical manifestations expressing ideologies that carried significant weight within the minds of Eastern Woodland peoples in general.

> "The women have their armes, breasts, thighs, showlders and faces, cunningly imbroydered with divers works...Snakes, Serpents, Efts, etc." (Strachey [1612] 1953:73)

> "with some pretty worke or the proportion of beasts, fowle, tortoises, or other such like Imagery as shall best please or express the fancy of the wearer..." (Strachey [1612] 1953:72)

While these "expressions" could reflect aesthetic designs, the evidence for symbolic representations that extend beyond the "fancy" of individual whims, i.e. totemism is more convincing. Totemism is a set of "customs and beliefs by which there is a set up special system of relations between the society and the plants, animals, and other natural objects that are important in social life" (Radcliffe-Brown 1931). Ancestral

images could relate to totemism, whereby ancient lineage members become important clan ancestors through several generations of fission. This transference can be seen in the remarks of Strachey as perceiving Algonquian "devils" (i.e. gods) or ancestral entities in an equivocal light to former werowances, or lineage leaders:

"a chief holie house…[is] filled with *Images of their kings and devils*, and tombs of their predicessors…" (Strachey [1612] 1953:95 [italics and brackets mine]).

And again as reference to the defied souls of the ancestors, possibly as extensions of totemic ones:

"sometymes they have bene understood *to sweare by the Manes of their dead father*" (Strachey [1612]1953:116 [italics mine]).

Individuals within Chesapeake society made deliberate and communicative decorations (that also reflect portions of the previous totemic examples), alluding to a relationship beyond those ideas of simple ornamentation. Combined with other statements of "having certain marks on their backs to declare what place they bee" (Harriot [1590] 1972:64), coastal Algonquians appear to have had a specific intent in the images they constructed. Some may have been related to lineage, as in the Harriot excerpt, and others may have been based on clan affiliations, as the Strachey examples.

During periods of village dispersal, which for the coastal Algonquians occurred roughly during spring and fall for hunting and gathering activities, large amalgamates of kin based groups coalesced in the forest and riverine areas. These groupings were often larger than total district populations (a series of village / hamlets), but composed of multiple district aggregates. Common districts appear to have been made of several dispersed villages or hamlets, which housed several lineages and clan assemblages:

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"They dwell as I guess by families of kindred and alliance..." (Archer [1607] in Haile 1998:123).

In this context, I see these "families of kindred" as lineages and those by "alliance" as clans. This type of "alliance" is interior, in the dwelling compound of a community, which may be different from other types of alliances that would stretch into the realm of politics and across broader boundaries. When these groups dispersed into the surrounding areas for hunting and gathering, they re-configured along both lineage and clanship lines:

"In the tyme of huntings, they leave their habitations and *gather themselves into Companies*...and goe to the most desart places *with their famelyes*..." (Strachey [1612] 1953:82 [italics mine).

However, the new amalgam population was beyond that of individual district lineage or clan segments:

"they are commonly twoo or three hundred together..." (ibid).

Here, I believe that memberships of various segmental structures, such as clanships (and equally lineages), coalesced together beyond the physical subsistence boundaries "known" to the werowances, in which their ordinary village consortiums could access. These new configurations went beyond those "district" divisions, and combined multiple social segments that cross cut Virginia's native society. When John Smith was captured by a "huge communal hunting party" comprised of "Paspaheghs, Chickahominies, Youghtanunds, Pamunkeys, Mattaponis, and Chiskiacks" (Rountree 1990:36). Smith was

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"beset with 200 hundred savages..." (Smith [1612] in Haile 1998:234),

a large body of men from multiple locations. If each group were equally represented, which it probably was not, there were only portions of men engaged in this exercise compared to the available warrior populations from each area (Turner 1973:60). Admittedly, not all bowmen would be involved in all exploits, at all times. The point here is not to debate over numbers, or "how many from this group or that group" participated, but more to say that the overall hunting party was comprised of men from numerous "groups," and that other available warriors from those groups were engaged elsewhere. If these "Companies" were gathered in any sort of uniform way, it would have been by relationships established in context. That kinship motivated individuals to act should be seen as an undercurrent in almost all of the activities surrounding native people and their engagements – I make this statement because this is how the native population situated itself and how they approached the world.

So, a large hunting party, encountering Smith would have been organized as other large "communal" activities – by geography, clan, and lineage. This example is beyond one of specific geography, the members identify with those places as their "originall." I would therefore argue that this conglomerate was not a lineage grouping (as in all members of segmented lineage coalesced for action) but a larger, cross cutting clan or probably phratry level organized event. Warriors from separate geographies (districts) unified in some level beyond politics (Chickahominies were not under Powhatan, particularly in 1607), "gather(ed) themselves into Companies" and had gone to the "most desart places with their famelyes" (Rasawack, the hunting camp). Combined with

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Strachey's account of how these parties organized, and noting that he is not simply saying that the "village" or "district" level was the primary method of composing these collectives, indicates that the rather large number of individuals (200-300) in these accounts point to a different level of organization. Equally, the combination of districts represented defy the political divisions – meaning that another modality was operating below the surface to allow segments of diverse groups to assemble in the broader since with Strachey's example, alongside of "Paspeheghs, Chickahominies," and York River groups to merge in Smith's specific example.

Consistent with the other types of social organization as discussed in Chapter II, an empirical study of the historical material reveals evidence for a more complex rendering of Virginia Algonquian society. Clanships allowed multiple aggregates of lineage-based local groups to intersect in various socio-cultural settings – most importantly for the interpretations of ethnohistory, the clans helped mobilize large groups through political and ceremonial backdrops and then later allowed fractured communities to coalesce and reconnect. Both in considering the rise and the collapse of the Powhatan polity, researchers have overlooked, ignored, or lightly referenced the importance of kinship networks as guiding real people in during real events. Continually in native societies, the social setting of relatedness penetrates and crosscuts modalities of trade, politics, alliance, and war. My reassessment of the primary record, is an attempt to recenter the interpretations of the Virginia Algonquians back towards the socio-political concepts of *kin-based* organization.

Dividing up the Empire: The Moiety System

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With the populations presented for the Virginia Algonquians exceeding 20,000 in the years leading to prolonged European contact (Rountree and Turner 2003:14), it would be hard to imagine such social solidarity and political cohesion without other forms of social connectedness. Key to unraveling the foundation of such "fundamental classifying principles" is the concepts surrounding kinship and the situation of identity. That a conglomerate population of this size and evolutionary development could be bound together into some form of political unison during one individual's generation indicates that both tendencies for expressed forms of power and authority were available and present in multiple venues *and* that systems allowing for such elevations were already situated within the society.

In addition to kinship groups forming that resemble clans, I would like to offer evidence for further divisions within the social setting. Moieties are typically described as forming situations when two groups of kinship modalities (i.e. clans) separate into two distinct groupings which operate, in principle, as separate reciprocal halves of society (Murphy 1974:72-74). Moieties may also be viewed as longer-ranged decent systems, which are drawn from distant common ancestry that cannot be determined under definite genealogical terms, and that feelings of kinship are not as strong as with those of lineages and clan. This may be due to the diffuse nature and larger size of the moiety system (Haviland 1999:303). Like clans and lineages, moieties are usually exogamous and therefore bound by marriages between members. They provide access to other communities; in local groups where one's clan may not be represented, their phratry or moiety division will provide "hospitality" and "reciprocal services;" these services may also be reflected within one's own community (ibid).

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Many North American groups, and indeed all parts of the world were (and in some contexts still are) divided socially into these major double divisions, which generally determined marital arrangements and support other ceremonial functions - such as mortuary practices (Swanton 1979:663). In the Northeast, burial configurations – ossuaries in particular, link individuals to very specific geographies. The year round occupation and sedentary lifestyle changes of both the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic during the early Late Woodland contributed to the development of burial ceremonies that "generated ossuaries (that) seem to have been designed to reassert social ties among villagers who resided in neighboring villages" or in other words, a dual reciprocal relationship (McManamon and Bradley 1986:24-25 in Bragdon 1996:69-70). In these contexts, the identity of the group(s) could have been "more locally defined," being "expressed more clearly in mortuary" custom across contributing settlements, than other "material cultural patterning" (ibid:21).

Cross-cultural studies indicate that when communities of some cohesion exceed 500 people, new mechanisms are needed to maintain social solidarity; moiety organizations are one way of accomplishing this. (Kosse 1990 in Englebrecht 2003:108). Gleach (1997) offers that concepts of duality are normative for some forms of social organization, particularly in areas of leadership and warfare for the Powhatan. Likewise, Williamson consistently argues for a duality in viewing the social process, with regard to constructions of power and authority: "One purpose of this analysis has been to demonstrate that dual sovereignty among the Powhatan, as elsewhere in the world, was a summary expression of fundamental classifying principles" (2003:229). These structural tendencies help focus some of the presented evidence supporting further social divisions

and organization amongst the Virginia Algonquian; significant portions of the native communities were further divided beyond clanship.

One clarification should be made at this point. While there is evidence for further social grouping mechanisms for the Virginia Algonquian, they like the other foundations of social structure, are subject to change and evolve, particularly when other areas of social cohesion are in fluctuation. Therefore, if there are tendencies within the society that are directed at shifting structural elements from a matricentered to a patricentered social organization, the other forms of social groupings must reveal similar stress.

Although the divisions between upper and lower strata Algonquian society may have resulted in different developing residence and descent rules, the evidence is strong for a society that was vacillating between matrifocal and patrifocal practices. The shift to a patrilocal residence has already been demonstrated to have had created a divisive effect on matrilineal practices. Aside from the issues surrounding the lineage's use lands and descent reckoning, the rearrangement of so many Algonquian women at such long distances also upset various strengths previously held by the matri-clan.

A more contemporary example of this dynamic can be found in the Amazon forest. Murphy suggests that the presence of weak clans among the Mundurucu is a direct result of breaking the co-residence rule established by Murdock. There, he finds that while "central links" between clan members is through the patriline, a matrilocal pattern has the effect of customarily separating clan members "by marriage, and the bonds are thereby undercut and weakened through the lack of continual and direct association" (Murphy 1974:76). Further, Murdock demonstrates that forms of matrilineality can survive shifts in matrilocal or avunculate to patrilocal residence patterns. There, he argues

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that matri-clans and extended families will "vanish almost immediately," however *lineages and moieties* can be maintained (Murdock 1949:211).

Considering the wider parallel social trends in the Atlantic Algonquian world, competing residency and descent systems may indicate the appearance of "weak clans" from older, more stable previous forms. Thus, the survival of the moiety as a more recognizable grouping mechanism may be indirectly attributable to the decline of the clan system and matricinity. I would argue that as lineage residency ranges increased, groupings of related clans (phratries) also shifted the importance of larger cross cutting social forms towards moieties. So while both systems were present, the moiety became more easily traced over continued distances and time depths. Equally, the ceremonial components to moiety membership probably became emphasized under the Mamanatowick, and thereby strengthened the moiety divisions all the while weakening the clan system through the patrifocus of the elites.

One might ask what evidence, beyond general suspicion, might be present for Virginia Algonquian moieties? I would argue that the best evidence available has been in plain sight for some time.[1] While Williamson and Gleach aptly demonstrate Powhatan structural divisions in terms collateral opposites on a fundamental level, less attention has been paid to a very popular collection of physical materials that represent Algonquian society in more visual terms, but with less obvious implications. Primary in this record is the large deerskin and marginella shell mantle, currently housed in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, England. Formally referred to as "Powhatan's Mantle," it was

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[1] I am indebted to Danielle Moretti-Langholtz for suggesting the possibility of moiety structures being present among Virginia Algonquians, and for the ensuing discussions relating to Powhatan's Mantle as a representation thereof.

collected in Virginia sometime prior to 1638. This item, sometimes referred to as a garment, other times as an interior temple panel (Anonymous n.d.) is comprised of four deerskins stitched together with sinew, shell embroidered with images of a deer, a humanoid, and possibly a cougar (Feest 1983:134) or a wolf and thirty-four rosettes.

I am intrigued with the possibility that this collection of imagery, with very stately presentations in mind, might indeed be an interior wall hanging or ceremonial garment that represented the apex of Powhatan social organizations – the moiety divisions. Collective groupings of clans (which were probably, but not necessarily, more than the four previously described) may have been divided into two moiety groupings represented by the "deer" and the "wolf." These groupings would have worked opposite each other in all affairs, political, ceremonial, social, etc.

Ceremonial life among the Virginia Algonquian is poorly understood, and has been relatively undiscussed in academic literature beyond the operative individuals involved in facilitating ceremony (e.g. Rountree 1989) and the possible symbolic interactions of the elemental materials in play (e.g. Williamson 2003). That being said, broad associations could be made with other Algonquians (e.g. Bragdon 1996:184-199), and a general tendency to have some affiliations or similarities with Iroquoian cultural practices. Such is the tradition of the Iroquoian False Face and Longhouse Ceremonies, the Delaware carved posts and the Big House ceremonies, and North Carolina Algonquian carved dance poles and idolatry associated with temple structures - and also for the Virginians, what Charlotte Heth (1975) describes as the best, and earliest, descriptions of dance formulas that both resemble Southeastern Stomp Dance and Northeastern Long House Dance.

While these associations are apt to be scoffed at, I would argue to look deeper into the recent cultural past of Eastern Woodland groups and consider some of the arguments being presented by Siebert (1967), Haas (1958), Fidel (1987, 1991), Deny (2003), and Potter (2003) that postulate on the origins of various cultural groups in the recent past, and speculate on the variety of ways in which similarities of language, culture, and cognition are reflected in observable contexts. While the research is diverse, the themes are remarkably consistent: cultures are not static, they are fluid, dynamic, and not bounded by language, temporal periods, custom, or geography. If one thing would continue to help Southern Algonquian studies, it would be for researchers to continue to evaluate cross-cultural materials, comparative linguistics and archaeology – all considered, that span beyond borders that are arbitrary and confining.

Among the Iroquois, there is a moiety structure that may have some relevance to Virginia Algonquian social organization that is revealed in ceremonial practices. J.N.B. Hewitt (1910) describes a little known set of ceremonies among the Iroquois that are referred to as the "The White Dog Sacrifice." Again as not to digress into explanations of cosmology that would detract from the point at hand, it should suffice to say that this series of rituals centers around world renewal, fire, feasting, tobacco, canine sacrifice, carved wooden effigies, and dual responsibilities from two moiety groups – the "deer" and the "wolf."

Here, the moiety representatives carry mutual obligations during the ceremonial cycle; the Deer chief is represented as the "speaker" on the eastern side of the lodge, the Wolf chief as the "chanter" to recite the appropriate death songs from the western portion of the lodge. There are strong associations with a series of celestial concepts, curing, and

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dream interpretations; the ceremony is of great antiquity, being described in multiple forms, early in the seventeenth century among diverse Iroquoian and Huron groups (Hewitt 1910:12). Tuscarora linguistic evidence indicates that the ceremony had its antecedents in ancient times among their southern branch as well (ibid:11). Cross-culturally, the Delaware were reported to have carried out the ritual observance as an annual event (ibid:24). Today, a portion of the Delaware moiety survives – historically, a segment of the Delaware in Anadarko, Oklahoma are referred to as the "wolves," and maintain that moniker as a reference to traditional life of the past (Gary McCann, personal communication, 2005).

These divisions are truly not uncommon in representations of social division in the East in general. Swanton (1979) indicates through his survey, that the most common set of totemic clan emblems were the Bear, Beaver, Deer, and Wolf. It therefore, would not be uncommon for the Deer and Wolf to appear as representatives of social groupings. The similarities to recent evaluations of James and Chickahominy River archaeological settings, however, strengthen the consideration of the Iroquoian emblems already mentioned. Research at the Hatch (Gregory 1980) and Weyanoke Old Town (Blick 2000) sites on the James River and the Buck Farm and Edge Hill sites (Gallivan, Mahoney, Barka, and Blakey n.d.) on the Chickahominy River have yielded interesting similarities to the Iroquoian attributes briefly listed for the "White Dog Ceremony."

These Virginia sites have revealed an increased level of communal ceremonies that involved ritualized canine and human burials, large rounds of feasting (Tolbert 2005), and fire used in both ritual context of burials and feasts. Potter (2003) points towards influence in eastern Virginia stemming from cultures associated with both

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Iroquoian and Algonquian speakers in central New York State. Here, Potter argues that several of the Late Woodland coastal plain Algonquian groups (such as the Patawomeck) and Iroquoian groups (such as the Nottoway) share similar cultural materials, marking the movement of some communities from areas in Ontario, the Great Lakes, and New York into the Chesapeake. Diverse groups of Iroquoian and Proto-Eastern Algonquian speakers share these geographical origins (i.e. Delaware, Nanticoke, Susquehannock, Seneca, etc.) possibly reflecting long-term exchanges and diffusion of cultural milieu. Similarities in regional archaeological assemblages suggest a relationship between communities who utilized shark teeth, cremation or ceremonial fire in connection with human life, trapezoidal slate pedants, large lithic blades, carved antler objects such as combs, and ceramic decorative traditions (ibid:4-5).

Along the Chickahominy, decorative motifs found on ceramics are noted to be very similar to Delaware pottery traditions (Ogborne 2005:7). On a broad level, "…this suggests that the motif expressions were not indicative of social boundary maintenance, but rather illustrative of the social networks between…" native groups across the Mid-Atlantic (ibid). The Delaware ceramics found to be similar were dated from the late prehistoric to the historic and are suggested to have had an Iroquoian influence (Blaker 1963). Jennifer Ogborne's motif analysis (2005) also linked large geographies to the associated cultural designs. Using Evans (1955), Ogborne suggests the links between Delaware peoples and the Virginia Algonquian:

> "Evans also proposed several hypotheses for connecting Virginia ceramics to those of nearby states. His review of archaeological literature indicated that the spread of design ideas originated in the middle Delaware River Valley, disseminating northward towards

New York and Connecticut and southward to Virginia...the repetition of motifs attests to an even closer tie between those peoples in southern Virginia and Delaware" (2005:33).

In addition, Ogborne's work points to a specific use of design motifs in association with ceremonial contexts. Among those features, ritual canine burials showed a direct relationship to stylistic motifs (linked to both Algonquian groups of Virginia and Delaware) on ceramics feasting vessels, deposited during canine internment and associated ritual contexts.

While further research is warranted, I would like to suggest that the similarities in the fundamental aspects of the ceremonies might reveal roots to deeper levels of connectedness between more ancient groups, and that the possibility of the Deer and Wolf moiety structure may be related to this older system. At the beginning of the historic era, large groups of Algonquian speaking peoples residing at the head of the Chesapeake Bay were situated in semi-autonomous village aggregates; these communities would eventually coalesce into the group that became broadly known as the "Delaware" (John H. Moore, personal communication 2007). Clearly, the historic Lenni-Lenape (Delaware) had strong ties to both the cultural tenants associated with the ceremony, as did the Tuscarora. The archaeological sites alone reflect a cultural influence both across the Chickahominy / South James River systems towards the southwestern lands of the Iroquoian speakers, as well as connections to older ceramic and motif traditions across the Mid-Atlantic region. The Virginia material hints at the need for a stronger cross-cultural analysis to observe deeper structures – like those of the Deer and Wolf moiety system that carried the reciprocal responsibilities of exchange and ceremony among these diverse peoples.

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Other evidence for the moiety groups may be found in Virginia Algonquian symbolism of opposite, but complimentary structures. Gleach's argument for "peace and war" dualism also applies to the moiety division – where the Wolf represents the "war" as the aggressive masculine and the Deer represents the "peace" as the docile feminine. Equally, Williamson's power and authority can be transferred here as well. The Wolf is represented as "authority and masculinity, the west, the elevated, the right hand, desiccation, sterility, stasis, black, the spiritual, and death;" but the Deer is the "power and femininity, the east, the nether, the left hand, moisture, fertility, change, white, the mundane, and life" (Williamson 2003:206).

Elsewhere in the Northeast, further associations from this template point to the importance from pelts of "black wolves" as items of status, reserved for sachems (Bragdon 1996:145) and "black foxes" (wolves?) as rare and elusive creatures, regarded as spirit animals possessing "divine powers" (Williams 1936:103). In Virginia, the "running deer motif" has been uncovered on tobacco pipes in a number of Chesapeake archaeological sites (Mouer 1993). Most of those images are almost exact stylistic variants of the mantle deer: cloven, un-antlered, and partially in profile, partially in three quarter view. Tobacco use was seen as a mediator in connection with an immolation dichotomy, where portions of the symbolism surrounding the Deer (e.g. fire, change, life, white) were placed opposite symbolism that had attributes associated with Wolf (e.g. stone, permanence, death, black) (Williamson 2003:240). According to Purchas (1617:954), in the Tidewater Algonquian creation story, deer provided the original inhabitants with sustenance; and that "the killing of a deer brought about both fecundity and social order" (Williamson 2003:235). Equally, the wolf can be seen as the opposing

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"Caniball Spirits" that make feast of the deer. According to Williamson, this opposition played out continually in Algonquian ritual sacrifice, repeating the feat of "producing life from death" (ibid).

Figure 3. *John Lawson in Captivity Among the Tuscarora.* (Fundaburk 1992).

As two halves of the same, the Deer and the Wolf appear with some regularity in ritual contexts. Their presence as two of the dominant totemic emblems assures their place in the cosmology associated ideology of totemism, be they protective, ancestral or both. Figure 3 illustrates Lawson's tragic captivity among the Tuscarora in 1711, where he was brought to a council of war, with multiple representatives from across their territory. There, the council representatives divided in two semicircle sections and debated the fate of Lawson, Von Graffenried, and an enslaved African who accompanied them. Between the council fire and the hostages, two posts stood with representations of the Tuscarora council: one was that of the Wolf, the other was that of the Stag, or Deer.

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In later times, the "white dog" replaced or could be substituted for captive human sacrifices, so the association for presiding halves of the moiety councils in this context
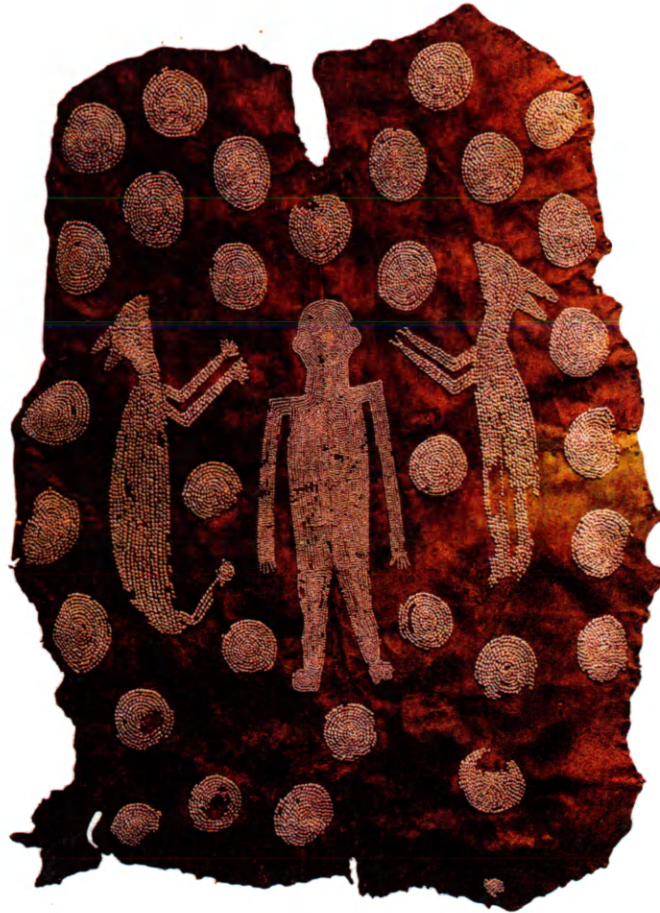
Figure 4. *Powhatan's Mantle*. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

should be apparent. Thus, the illustration provides the images of the Deer and the Wolf moiety, divided into ceremonial halves of responsibilities, the fire, the sacrificed dog, and the human sacrificial victims. Symbolic representations of the Wolf and Deer in a variety of settings, alludes to more ideological complexity in the Mid-Atlantic.

As a hanging tapestry behind an elevated seating platform, the "Powhatan Mantle" (Figure 4) would have been articulated down symbolic lines. To the right hand of the

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werowance would have been the Wolf, positioning the emblems of the western mountains, the setting sun, and the associations of death and darkness. To the left hand, would have been the Deer, symbolically towards the eastern ocean, the rising sun, and the beginning of life and light.

Archaeologically, at Paspahegh town, larger excavated houses - which may have been indications of chiefly structures, are generally oriented north-south. The largest structure appears to have had a northern "audience chamber" (Rountree and Turner 2002:72), and if that section was the location of chiefly reception, parallels the mantle cardinal axis interpretation. At Jordan's Point, the largest house pattern was organized on an east-west line, but the post-holes indicate that a large bench was situated on the northern side (ibid:66). Here the alignment of the house is different, but the location of the well-supported bench, suggests the placement of the werowance is consistent. Other large houses at Great Neck and Patawomeck may also be able to fit into this analysis, but the majority of Algonquian structures do not conform to a particular cardinal master plan, suggesting that these symbolisms may only apply to larger, chiefly houses and / or that the imagery is metaphorical, regardless of orientation.

As a tapestry hanging behind a chief or alone, the humanoid image in the center of the Wolf and Deer, must represent some level of mediating force. That this image could represent the Mamanatowick, a werowance, a deity, or a combination of all is entirely plausible and would dovetail nicely into the other symbolic images. The Algonquian symbolic classification permeated all aspects of culture: politically, religiously, and socially. Williamson feels that understanding the relationship of authority to power "requires the identification of Powhatan symbolic categories and of their

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relationship to each other" (2003:206). Through the relative imagery and ideologies associated with the Deer and the Wolf, the human figure mediates between two polar opposites. The figure is undeniably, male. The placement of the image as being a figure like a werowance or "semi-divine," and as a werowance in particular, standing "midway between these poles, being both male and female, death dealing and fertilizing, authorit[ative] and powerful according to context" (ibid). This is to say, that the images surrounding the Powhatan Mantle embody the concept of a dual type of sovereignty. The diarchy is not a struggle to wrestle power away from authority, but rather one that acts as a complimentary set of forces – like two halves of the same. Mediating the two sides of these moiety configurations is the Mamanatowick, acting as a form of combined duality, or a "half god" between the "mundane and the spiritual" oppositions.

Surrounding the moiety figures and the mediator are the symbols of dominant chiefly lineages. These shell rosettes have been offered as representations of the thirty odd "districts;" most researchers have been comfortable with identifying these beaded ovals as distinct entities, "tribes," "groups" etc. (e.g. Turner 1973:57). However, I would like to offer a different interpretation – that the thirty-four discs are actually halves. In the context of the mantle representing the moiety structure, each geographical district had a series of segmented lineages; each of those lineages had dominant, or chiefly lineages. Cross cutting all of the lineages were clan configurations, which organized into two halves within the moiety setting. To be discussed further, the lineage system for the Powhatan may have possessed a known number of dominant lineages, and I offer that known amount was sixteen – to include Wahunsenacah's community location (be it Werowocomoco, Orapax, etc.) as the final set of residents that were unconnected to other

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local groups, and represented their own couplet of moiety divisions – or an emerging

supra-lineage. Combined, this new collection of seventeen halves equals the thirty-four

discs on the Powhatan Mantle. Returning to Strachey who is often cited as, what I might

call the "instigator" of the thirty-four district myth, a closer reading of the text reveals

that the passage does not allude to thirty odd districts or "tribes" at all, but rather

werowances.

> "The great King Powhatan hath devided his Country into many provinces, or Shires (as yt were) and over every one placed a severall absolute Commaunder, or Weroance to him contributory, to governe the people there to inhabite, and *his petty Weroances in all, may be in nomber, about three or fower and thirty,* all which have their precincts, and bowndes proper, and Commodiously appointed out, that no one intrude upon the other..." (Strachey [1612] 1953:63, italics mine). '

Thus, Strachey enumerated thirty-four werowances, *not groups.* The confusion

apparently has arisen from the "precincts" or territorial divisions of the werowances

being considered as opposed to the kinship groupings of lineages. Each district would

have a werowance as the dominant lineage leader and a series of petty werowances over

minor lineages. Each local group would have lineages, specific use lands or "bowndes

proper." Hence we may consider each territory to have at least two sets of werowance

categories – the dominant and the minor, the white and the black, the Deer and Wolf.

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Chapter IV

The Broader Organization of Virginia Algonquians

Through Chapters II and III, I have explored the escalating organizational complexity of Virginia Algonquian's kinship - from basic decent reckoning of the family unit, to marriage practices, to residence rules, lineage formation, clan organization, and moiety divisions. All of these are segments of a larger structure. Even at the single district level, these segments were building blocks that structured the ways in which local groups interacted with other local groups in the Virginia Tidewater. However, the next task in this thesis is to use the documents to orient the aggregates on the ground. As situated local groups composed of multiple lineages cross cut by clanships and moieties, they were able to adapt and shift into a wider socio-political context that formed political units, such as the Powhatan.

The starting point for an overview of Chesapeake Algonquian social organization begins with the consideration of three points. First, the terms should be distinguished and described in specifics, as to clarify what the typological definition of "group" is, and to construct a probable composition that neither denies elements of the accepted academic social organization model, but challenges the essentialism in the prevailing overall presentation. Second, is to identify varying factors and contexts that may act as generators for changes in the broad social evolution of the coastal plain. Lastly, the areas surrounding the Powhatan paramount chiefdom are discussed, both in an effort to establish a political boundary for the largest, and most recent (c.1565-1609) apex of the

configuration - as well as offer examples of wider Algonquian socio-cultural processes that appear to be congruent.

I would argue that it is necessary to revisit some key terms that have been used repeatedly in anthropological discourse on the categorization of evolutionary models of social organization. As discussed in the introduction, the use of these terms has an amount of embedded prejudice – not because the terms are wrong, but because they are incomplete, monolithic, and problematic when dealing with most societies situated between band and state level organization. This is particularly the case in Virginia, where the visible group during the beginning of "document" based history (or historic period) was almost a nascent political form, and had not matured to the point where the incongruence of social practice had been standardized into universal normative structures; instead the historical record witnesses a "work in progress," fluctuating, vacillating, and meandering with the remains of previous social forms competing with new social realities.

The historic period has been viewed as a static baseline for cultural studies in the indigenous Chesapeake, and there have been consequences for this overshadowing focus on Powhatan era historiography. Beginning with Lewis Henry Morgan, "cultural evolutionary studies have tended to be synchronic," comparing various contemporary societies with historic ones; attempting to construct processes by which groups of different levels of social complexities transition, or evolve, into more "complex forms" (McGee and Warms 2000:274). As described by Morgan Fried (1967), Elman Service (1962), and Marshal Sahlins (1968), the evolutionary models of social organization have focused to some degree on the distinctions between the hierarchal order, but the real

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dynamics and locus for continuing research and discussion focus on the intersection between the levels, or what institutional developments contribute to and promote a change or transition from one form to another. Most examples of societal change are ethnographic accounts (i.e. Leach 1954), but no society has been anthropologically witnessed going through the complete evolutionary cycle - meaning that ethnologies are only capturing glimpses of the human universals. Cross cultural studies are required to string along the evolutionary model – particularly in the discussions surrounding the impetus for change; as Fried points out, "It would be extremely satisfying to actually observe societies in transition..." (Fried [1960] 1996:269).

In contrast, earlier periods of archaeological research of socio-political or cultural evolution tended to be diachronic - the study of evolutionary models in situ over long periods of time (McGee and Warms 2000:274; Trigger 1989:289-294). These observations usually focus on one society, studying the societal development in a specific geography. In Virginia, the majority of the work produced to date has been of an archeological context. Comparatively in numbers of investigators, and sheer volume of publications, archeology has dominated the discourse about the Virginia Algonquians (Gleach 2002). In as much, there have been different methodologies employed and varying agendas – but many of which can be described as being derived from the "Processual School" of thought, focusing on observable patterns with man's interplay between himself and as a modifier of his natural environment. Lacking concrete exact ethnohistorical evidence, this environmental focus has often placed human ecology at too high of a societal developmental factor during the Late Woodland Period, when societal transformations were taking place on an organizational level that combined numerous

motivators of change (Gibbon 1984). Commenting on the same situation at San Lorenzo,

Mexico Michael D. Coe offers:

> "Human ecology has its moments of enlightenment for prehistory, especially for the study of peoples on a relatively simple and environment-bound level of organization. With the pristine, or any other, civilization we have moved to what Steward terms a higher level of integration, and additional kinds of causality must be sought" (Coe 1968:65).

Clearly for the Powhatan, the complexities of competing internal social systems indicate that there were numerous stimulants that can be linked causally to the evolution of the Algonquian society. The transformation of the Virginians into the Powhatan was such a "quantum evolution" of socio-political systems as not to be directly comparative on a geographic or hegemonic scale to anywhere in the seventeenth-century Atlantic, Iroquois to Creek Confederacy. The explanation of which may "lie more in the realm of ideas and institutions rather than in modes of production" (Flannery 1972:399). In order to discuss the nature of the Powhatan organization, it will prove useful to review the most widely accepted cross-cultural social organizational models, development, and their hallmark institutions. Figure 5 represents the placement of the Powhatan within the continuum of socio-political complexity; areas marked in red delineate the approximate appearance and terminus of institutions associated with the Powhatan. See Appendix A for further details of the socio-political evolutionary categories and highlights from a select number of institutions associated with their advancement.

Situating the Virginia Algonquians into the Socio-Political

At the time of prolonged contact, the populations of Mid-Atlantic Algonquians were experiencing a period of prolonged change and increasing social complexity. In the

southern extremities of the Algonquian language continuum (primarily Virginia with some North Carolina populations) it is postulated that prior to the rise of the Powhatan, groups were dominantly organized as chiefdom-like polities, with a series of tendencies meeting towards the end of the tribal category, stretching to the beginning of the end of the chiefdom category.

Type of Society	Some Institutions in Order of Appearance
State	
Chiefdom	
Tribe	
Band	

Figure 5. *The placement of the Powhatan within the socio-political continuum, with select institutions ascending in the order in which they are most widely considered to have arisen* (After Flannery 1972:401).

More specifically, I would argue that the foundation of the Virginia Algonquian social organization appears to be the localized lineage system. Here, a series of factors contributed to the development of socio-political complexity, including population increase, resource availability and production, intra-group exchange mechanisms, and

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warfare (Binford 1991:260). These local groups probably modified older, less complex systems (as found in lower forms of tribes and bands) towards configurations that promoted types of specialized reciprocity between groups that controlled particular resource areas and could unify in times of conflict against more distant groups.

At a second level of organization, groups that were similar culturally and possibly engaged in resource competition appear to have further elaborated existing social forms (Turner 1976). Lewis Binford (1991:260) states that the most likely mechanism by which this transpired "would have been the invention of fictive kin or the elaboration of previously unimportant kin ties." That this mechanism was normative can be seen through the actions of Algonquian werowances that extended levels of kinship to the English leadership – thereby transforming their relationship into one that was intended to be reciprocal, exchange-oriented, and laden with cultural understandings of commitment and hierarchy.

However, I would comment that the "invention" of fictive kin is a social process, and not necessarily predicated by opportunism, resource competition, or unification in warfare situations. This is to say that while those factors are important, additional motivations can be idiosyncratic and difficult to determine within the long-term processes of social interaction and group dynamics. For certain however, during this period of intensifying social organization, "kin ties would have been maintained between segmenting groups" (ibid) and the developed level of association between segments may have been equally a motivator and guiding force to more complex kinship development. In addition the "invention" of fictive kin is not an agentic process, but more a functioning action of an understood social system; the actors present – those who know the bounds

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and means of the system's possibilities – are the only ones who can determine the flexibility of any cultural situation. The variation of lineage relations and the extension towards more complex relationships is a longer-term process, than the concept of "invention."

Some level of resource control did spur further social specialization; increasing house sizes, construction of surplus granaries / communal structures, further sedentism, and tribute collection all point towards hierarchal structures that would have served the basis of further social complexity. Morgan Fried (1960) also suggests that a series of breaches in residence patterns (as the complexity of Virginia may reveal) could contribute to the rise of social stratigraphy. In communities that rely on swidden horticulture, resource depletion may instigate incremental changes in residence traditions. An example may be when a husband exchanges bride-wealth for moving in with his wife's family because the rotation of fields is more stable in her family's area than his. Over time as ecological adaptations result in exceptional residence patterns becoming more frequent, residence and descent rules become formalized. Hence, the community slowly becomes composed of two different types of people, even though the exact causation of change may be unknown to the members. The result is individuals who have "unimpaired access to land, and those whose tenure rests upon other conditions, such as loyalty to a patron, or tribute..." (Fried [1960] 1996:279). This situation may be a contributing factor to social transitions (i.e. usufruct) among the coastal plain Algonquians, as well as adding to the motivators of social inequality.

After a series of changes in kinship and social organization occurred among local groups of the Chesapeake, chiefdoms may have been the primary direction that socio-

political organizations were heading during the proto-historic period. Thus, the concept of groups organized as tribes is misleading. At the time of the English settlement of Jamestown, the Powhatan paramount chiefdom, which was an expanding modified form, attempted to integrate other similar units of social organization into the paramountcy. That this process was in mid stride is mirrored by Binford, who commenting on the population fluctuations usually associated with such shifts, states "...the Powhatan had not reached the stage of population stabilization; rather, at contact they were still in the period of decelerating population growth" (1991:261), indicating that the political expansion was still in developmental hybridity, as were the units comprising the new configuration.

In the context of transitioning into a stratified society, external pressure from a more complex neighboring group may lead to the implementation of more advanced social hierarchies. The antecedents to Powhatan expansion may be seen as the linking of several chiefdoms along the upper James and York drainages (Feest 1966:77). Here, the union of two territorial units may have developed more intense social stratigraphy that was later extended to other precincts of Algonquian communities as the Powhatan expanded. For the newly incorporated Powhatan groups the

> "external provenance of these elements is obvious in their *misfit appearance*. A sharper look may reveal, indeed, that the stratified system is a mere façade operated for and often by persons who have no genuine local identities, while the local system continues to maintain informally...the older organization of the society" (Fried [1960] 1996:276, italics mine).

This type of situation should be considered for Virginia groups that had obvious Powhatan supported and installed populations, werowances, and reconfigurations of older kinship and political identities.

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Setting aside the Powhatan as a paramount chiefdom for the moment, the evolutionary model requires further explanation so as to better situate the Algonquians' deeper cultural manifestations too often overshadowed by the Jamestown-era political theater. It should be remembered that the point of this evaluation is not to select the best categorical term within the evolutionary scheme, but rather to accentuate or uncover the inconsistent and contradictory evidence and to make some inferences about those shortcomings. Appendix A explores the dominant anthropological understandings of socio-political evolution, in attempt to better situate the Powhatan political formation into the accepted cannon of theoretical thought.

Based on the evidence presented, the Algonquian-speaking groups residing in the Tidewater region of Virginia and North Carolina exhibit a fairly complex socio-cultural dynamic. Tribes, in the anthropological sense, maintain a relative level of egalitarianism among autonomous local groups. In contrast, the communities of the Chesapeake appear to have been moving towards stratification, even prior to the rise of Wahunsenacah, his predecessors, and the initial Powhatan expansion. Certain portions of the population had birth rite access to differential lifestyles – larger natal homes and families, non-seasonal food availability, and luxury goods that afforded status.

Seventeenth-century maps (e.g. Zuniga 1608) and early colonial writings (e.g. Strachey 1612) indicate local groups were dispersed, but seem to have had both ceremonial and political responsibilities to nearby communities, revealing that settlements themselves were not completely autonomous or had reciprocal relationships based on other social factors. This distinction is a key development between tribal and chiefdom societies. In tribal communities, the autonomy of related groups is stronger than

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the responsibilities associated with chiefdoms that are organized through political or other hierarchal relationships. Because of the contextual nature of autonomy, it is difficult to demonstrate the exact process and position by which the coastal Algonquians socio-politically oriented their group configurations. However, because of the emphasis placed on relatedness, kinship, and accepted hierarchal social standings, it is safe to qualify the communities as formally acknowledging hereditary and ranked associations as socially normative by the time the Powhatan rose to political power. Concepts such as tribute, hereditary leaders, ranked distinctions between lineages all point towards chiefdom-like complexes being broadly organized in the Mid-Atlantic; the only group that appears to have a different level of complexity in Eastern Virginia, was the Chickahominy River groups[1] - who may have represented an older descendant community of the region.

Groups that operate at different levels of social evolution, through continual contact with one another, tend to transfer ideas and concepts in an unequal exchange. Cultural materials may flow freely in both directions, but conceptual frameworks pertaining to social structures typically transfer towards more complexity, rather than less (Whitehead 1992). Can groups living in close geographic proximity readily exchange members and share identical social organization exist as separate and distinct social forms of chiefdoms and tribes? Allowing multiple tribes and chiefdoms to coexist within the same geography for long periods of time does not parallel most understandings of cultural exchange or diffusion. The fluidity of the cultural and political boundaries also denies this possibility. The inconsistent population densities, sparse areas of occupation,

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[1] As may be evidenced by the unusual characteristics of the region, other factors should be considered for the situation of the Chickahominy River communities as a tribal group, embedded among chiefdom polities.

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and general "misfit" appearance of the Tidewater probably was due to the processes by which many of the territorial units became chiefdoms, or were integrated into the Powhatan paramount chiefdom. This conflict of population vs. social complexity as a causal relationship is difficult to reconcile, warrants further consideration, and is a key point in the reassessment of the ethnohistorical record.

Untangling the "Fringe:" The Algonquians Beyond Wahunsenacah

In describing the relationship of numerous communities to Wahunsenacah, Helen C. Rountree (e.g. 1989) employs the use of several terms, describing various Algonquian groups' socio-political integration into the Powhatan paramount chiefdom. Her use of "core" communities and "fringe" groups is an attempt to describe the level of inclusion or incorporation of various polities into the reciprocal exchange network orchestrated by Wahunsenacah at the turn of the seventeenth century. Equally, she finds the same terminology acceptable when describing later eighteenth and nineteenth-century families and individuals vis-à-vis their perceived relationship to nucleated geographical lineage groups. Unfortunately in both cases, the terminologies are arbitrarily applied in measurement and inclusion - creating and artificial perception of experience and socio-political position. Without any standard or constant rate of measurement, "core" and "fringe" entities are denied differential experience, agency, and create concepts of boundedness, marginalization, and inequality. The political theater of the late sixteenth century produced unusual population distributions / densities. European writings from the seventeenth century detail the English witnessing an uneasy, conflicting, and infighting Algonquian population that may be described today as a general "misfit" appearance.

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Investigated by contemporary researchers, literal readings of these English records provided the motivation for the construction of concepts like "core and fringe." However useful these concepts may have been at one time, what must be done now is to reconsider and reanalyze the primary source materials – being critical of earlier research in order to "untangle the fringe," or simply put, deconstruct the more recent assumptions and essentializations about the Powhatan. In discussing the broader organization of the Powhatan, it will be necessary examine the wider socio-political forms within the Virginia / Carolina Tidewater and identify similarities of deeper structure that remain present throughout.

Among some segments of the Algonquian population, communities were small and areas were thinly settled. In other cross-cultural examples, these small population groups are usually considered to be closer to band or tribe level organizations - but the social complexity of the Chesapeake indicates that chiefdom structures dominated the modes of organization prior to the rise of Wahunsenacah. Indeed some groups, such as those occupying the Nansemond area, were multi-village chiefdoms - with numerous werowances governing fairly large populations. However based on the available evidence, some territories like Kecoughtan and Chiskiack barely had enough population to occupy a single village - let alone be considered prior chiefdoms in their own right or as represented c.1607 in the English documents. Equally, it is disconcerting to see single, small village polities represented as either a distinct "tribe" or "chiefdom." These small communities were not band level organizations; they exhibited a high degree of social stratification for their size, and surprisingly, retain a level of political semi-autonomy from other groups. These villages were however, cross cut by extensive reciprocal and

expected relationships both within their community and across the region, indicating a level of connected relatedness that has not been well described.

The incongruent population distribution and density of settlements observed during the initial years of European colonization were a result of the political climate of the preceding decades, not the social organization of the communities represented. This is to say that, no matter the population deficit and community placement, each group concurrently recorded by the Jamestown residents (excluding those at Chickahominy) was a member of a chiefdom organization – in either the recent past as a separate multi-village polity, or by induction into the groups forming the paramountcy. It could be suggested that some areas recently had tribal structures, but those forms had been replaced by increasing social complexity, as represented throughout the Chesapeake as being normative in the contact era. By 1607, groups outside of the upper James and York drainages (to include the southern banks of the Rappahannock, the lower James near the Carolina border, west to the fall line, and east to the Chesapeake Bay) that remained organized in a different form during the proto-historic had been conquered, rearranged, and replaced with a chiefdom styled organization by Wahunsenacah.

It can be assumed that the ease by which communities could expand and contract was related more to broad foundational structures, such as kinship (lineage and clan affiliations) than to the recently constructed political conglomerates of the contact era. Identities situated in place and through kinship structures were understood more than the identity of "group" situated through autonomy and political divisions. Hence, numerous local groups could disperse among other groups within the first decade of Jamestown's settlement without maintaining political autonomy or group name – and in a sense,

abandoning superficial political constructions. The native communities could be adaptive through mechanisms that were easily transferred. Those modes of organizing relied on shared kinship systems and segmentary structures such as moieties.

In most tribal settings, the leadership figures are ephemeral and based on situational acquisition of social standing, such as through accomplishment or other non-ascribed motivations. Among the Virginians however, leaders were organized through hereditary lineage-based ascription, often appointing lesser leaders through a series of understood ranked social arrangements that were organized through kinship, accomplishment, and age grades. One characteristic of tribal organizations that are comprised of various clan and lineage structures is exogamy. While this trait appears to be present among the Algonquian groups (Speck 1938:11), there is considerable evidence for preferential marriages between lineage lines of the "better sort," or upper strata. This form of endogamy is usually a manifestation of chiefdom level societies, creating a significant stratification based on lineage affiliation with class, and ranked associations within those distinctions. The best evidence of this among the Virginia and North Carolina groups are the references to the relatedness of dominant lineage members across territorial boundaries and the practice of bride capture between aristocratic or chiefly lineages – which sometimes occurred across political divisions. The foundational material related to the coastal groups points to tribal structures, but the arrangement of stratified distinctions, tribute, and hereditary leaders moves this classification towards chiefdoms. Fried (1960) suggests that the development of social stratigraphy "encourages the emergence" of communities that are comprised of "kin parts and non-kin parts," as can be demonstrated for the Virginia Algonquians undergoing the shifts in social

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organization for systems of descendency, residency, and cross cutting sodalities. As a whole, these emergent social forms tend to "operate on the basis of non-kin mechanisms" (ibid:276), which is consistent with the evidence presented in Chapters II-III concerning wide shifts in the Chesapeake away from a subsistence based matrifocus towards a wealth / power based patrifocus. In truth, the recent increase in social complexity left considerable vestiges of previous forms – forms that were integral to Tidewater social maintenance and cohesion, however conflicted with broad shifts in socio-political organization.

As has been stated, prior to the rise of the Powhatan, it is most likely that the dominant groups situated throughout eastern Virginia and North Carolina organized as chiefdom polities. These local groups were comprised of major and minor lineages, with the occupation of hereditary lands defining partial group boundaries and territorial distinctions. The areas immediately outside of Wahunsenacah's direct influence retained these types of chiefdom level compositions; comparison to the broader southern area of the Mid-Atlantic reinforces the general shifts in Algonquian community development. These exterior areas of consideration have been termed as the "fringes" of Powhatan society and subject to an expanding "ethnic identity" (Rountree 1989). What is of merit is not their alliance with or against Wahunsencacah, but their socio-political appearance in absence of being integrated into the Powhatan polity. That is, their configuration should both support the broader organizational shifts and mirror the types of forms present in the Virginia Tidewater prior to the Powhatan expansion. In turn, hegemonic structures imposed by Wahunsenacah evidence less of an expanding "ethnic identity," but more of a

political form that emphasized already important types of elite exchanges of power and authority.
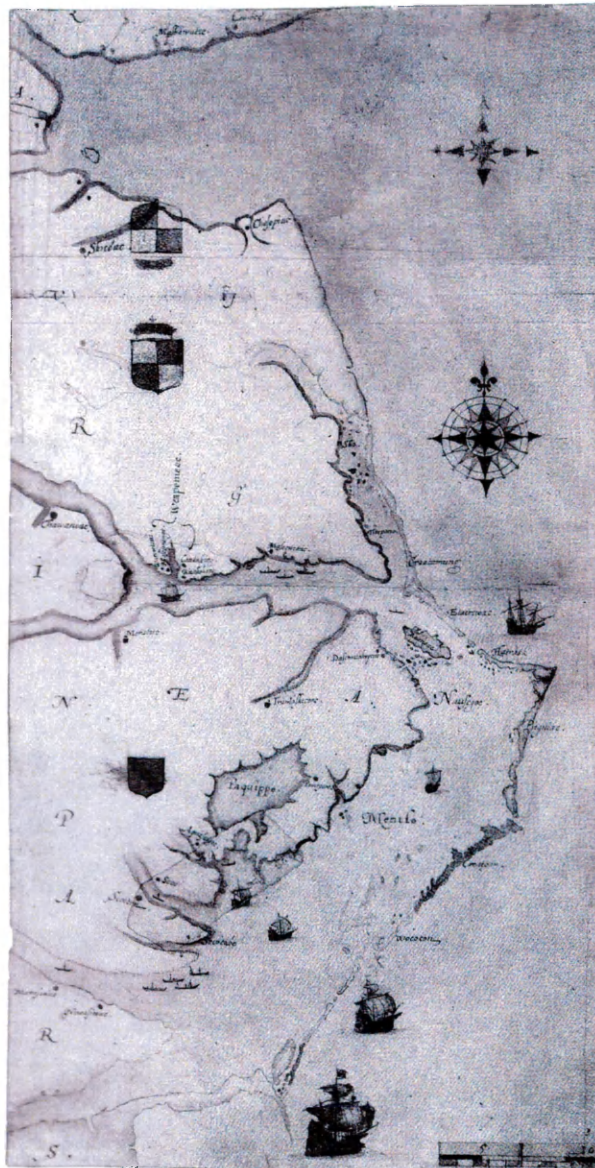
Map 1. *John White's Map of Carolina Algonquians c.1586.*
British Museum, London.

To the south, the separate precincts of Roanoke and Weapemeoc (Map 1) were occupied by loosely allied groups of autonomous communities, with a "tendency towards ranking" but less social stratification than seen among paramount chiefdoms (Binford 1991:107). Similarly, the area of Chowanoke was occupied by a populous series of

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villages; their "socio-cultural system (appears) to have fallen between the Roanoke and Weapemeoc and the Powhatan" (ibid). The Chowan seemed to have a more coherent political unity, numerous villages with lineage headmen that were presided over by the
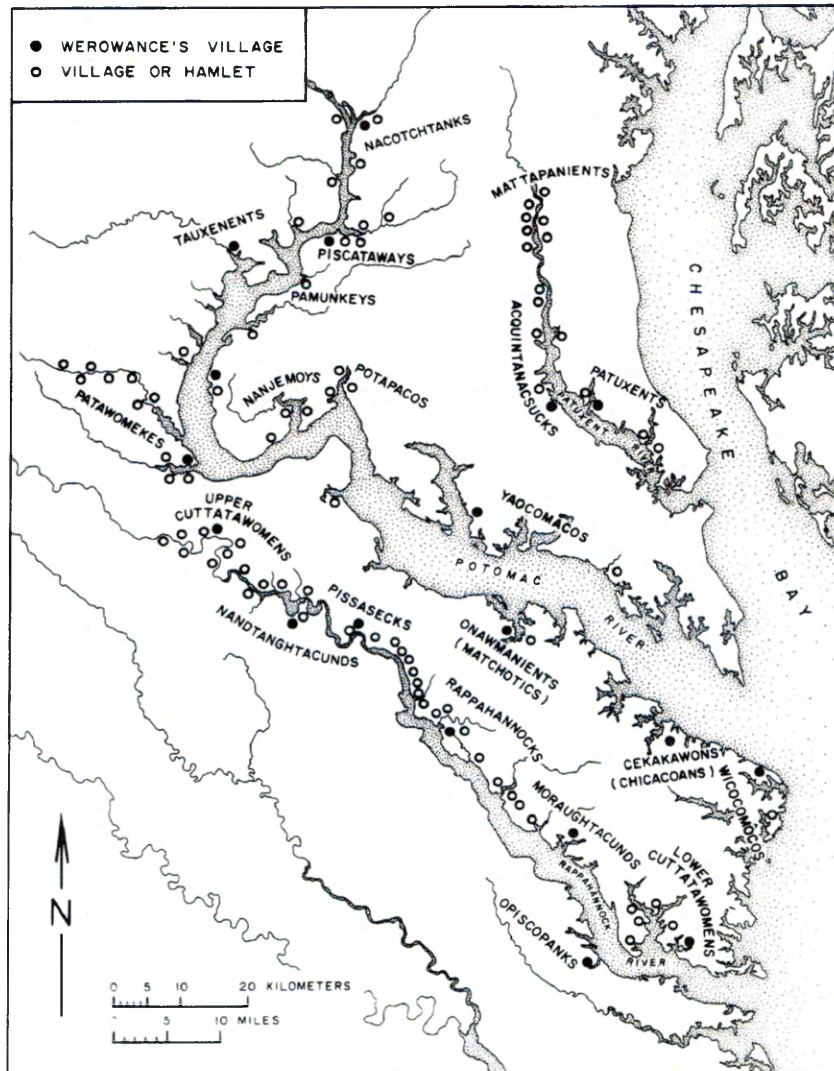
Map 2. *Algonquian Settlements of the Virginia Northern Neck and Southern Maryland c.1608* (Map by G. Robert Lewis in Potter 1993:10).

dominant lineage of Menaton. Hence, the southern Algonquians of the Carolina sound region also exhibit varying levels of social complexity and hierarchy, evidencing the transitional period the coastal Mid-Atlantic as a whole was undergoing.

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To the north, the Patawomeke and Piscataway districts appear to have formed chiefdom complexes (Cisna 1986:88-89), though older associations indicate a series of district alliances that included lineages of the Eastern Shore may have reflected an earlier paramount chiefdom in the Potomac Valley (Potter 1993:150). Additional groups were situated within Maryland's western shore, notably around the Patuxent River (Feest 1978a:242). Historically, these small chiefdoms were known as the Patowomeke and Conoy respectively, with term "Conoy" designating a wider boundary to include the area of Patuxent (Cissna 1986:49). Other local groups with similar socio-political stratification, but an unclear level of alliance may or may not have formed chiefdom level organizations independent of other commitments and communities (Map 2). To this end, the Chicoan, Wiccomicco, Yeocomicco, Rappahannock, Matchotic, Cuttatawomen, and Moratico groups occupied Potomac River districts were similar to that of the Roanoke and Weapemeoc in the Carolina sound. They tended to have a stratified society made up of multi-village aggregates with autonomy between districts, but cultural and political alliances situated in local geography. Within areas of specific geography the local lineage system governed community affiliations, use rights to land bases, and functional elements of cross cutting social forms that were able to expand and contract as associations and conditions required.

Like at Patawomeke, the lower Eastern Shore groups appear to have had a chiefdom organization that was situational in deference to Wahunsenacah (Potter 1993:180). Two territories, Occohannock and Accomac (Map 3) were governed by a single dominant lineage; after the mid-seventeenth century unraveling of Algonquian

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alliances on the Shore, multiple lineage heads sprang into dominant positions within several new reconfigurations (Rountree and Davidson 1997:50-59).

Unquestionably, I would argue, the communities of the Potomac River and Eastern Shore were organized as local groups with multiple lineages houses. Varying

Map 3. *Algonquian Communities of the Eastern Shore c.1608*
(Rountree and Davidson 1997:6).

within the community would be dominant lineages presiding over minor or lesser lineage cognates, all levels of ranking consistent with the socio-cultural factors presented in Chapters II and III. That these groups collapsed, rotated, changed names, and appeared to

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have imploded into more ephemeral organizations during the initial decades of seventeenth-century encounters supports this position.

Summary

The transitions of societies into more complex social forms, such as chiefdoms, can be predicated by numerous causal factors. While those exact processes are varied, the Powhatan expansion in the Virginia coastal plain heightened the socio-political complexity of an already stratified region. Local lineage groups were not completely autonomous and maintained reciprocal political and ceremonial responsibilities to nearby communities. The indigenous inhabitants of the Chesapeake placed a high degree of emphasis on relatedness, kinship, and accepted hierarchal social standings. Thereby, hereditary and ranked associations were socially normative prior to the time the Powhatan rose to political power. The Virginia Algonquians' physical placement and population appearance (c.1607) was a result of the political climate of the preceding decades, not the underlying structure of the social organization of the communities. This is to say that while the social structure is integral to understanding the event level, the conjuncture between them must be considered to appreciate the relationship. Based on the ease by which communities could expand and contract, more substantial structures – such as kinship, allowed for disparate members to be reinserted into new configurations of the contact era. Slower to change, the cultural undercurrents of Chesapeake society help situate communities through an era of upheaval.

The support and installation of populations and werowances, along with the reconfigurations of older kinship and political identities produced a general "misfit"

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appearance of the Virginia Tidewater. As Fried (1960) indicates, a "sharper" investigation into the abnormalities may reveal a level of artificiality to the intensity of the stratification, where some figurehead leaders and populations "have no genuine local identities." Below the surface of the political theater remains the deeper structure of the system, continuing to operate modified under new social conditions.

The groups along the margins of the Powhatan expansion, such as the Carolina Algonquians and those of the Potomac Valley also exhibit social complexity and hierarchy, evidencing the transitional period the coastal Mid-Atlantic *as a whole* was undergoing. Thereby, while peripheral groups' relationship to Wahunsencacah is of interest, considering these communities as static "core" and "fringe" elements does little to help our understanding of socio-political forms or connectedness. What is important about the appearance and social position of these groups is their condition in absence of being integrated into the Powhatan polity, and therefore exampling wider trends in socio-evolution and heightening complexity in the Chesapeake. The Algonquian communities surrounding the Powhatan expansion tended to be semi-permanent stratified multi-village aggregates with some level of autonomy between districts, but cultural and political alliances situated in local geography. The functional nature of the local lineage system operating in tandem with other cross cutting social mechanisms allowed group's memberships to expand and contract as associations and conditions required. Understanding parallels in social composition between broader Mid-Atlantic Algonquians and the Powhatan helps reconcile the "misfit" nature of groups directly affected by the Powhatan expansion, and offers an opportunity to consider the processes

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by which those communities became intensified and altered, obscuring the deeper

structures that promulgated community solidarity.

Chapter V

Building the Framework

The goal of this chapter is to outline several components of the Powhatan groups'

formation and to present a reassessment of the enthnohistorical material pertaining to the

Powhatan state of affairs at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The evidence will

now be presented for the composition of the Powhatan groups being made of *lineage*

houses, or aggregates of localized corporate kin groups, replete with major and minor

internal divisions that utilized other (sometimes competing) forms of social organization.

First, I construct and discuss the probable set of circumstances that lead the rise of

lineages prior to the birth of Wahunsenacah to develop the initial Powhatan paramount

chiefdom. Second, I suggest the creation of the chiefdom and the processes by which

Wahunsenacah expanded his influence over wide swaths of the Virginia coastal plain.

Through that discussion, I provide evidence of Algonquian kinship structures in order to

highlight them as the major conduits by which the expansion and proliferation of the

Powhatan political organization took place. Using the documentary record, inferences

based on previous case studies and cross cultural examples, as well as "cultural logic"

(Fischer 1999), I argue that kinship was *the* cultural currency of the tidewater, and the

most accessible dynamic Wahunsenacah could use to manipulate the social politics of the

Chesapeake.

At its height, the boundaries of Powhatania included multiple aggregates of

previously semi-autonomous local groups. The "condition" of these groups as seen by

European chroniclers during the period of 1607-1612, was the result of the longer social

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trends in Algonquian society - but more directly, the result of the processes linked to the Powhatan expansion. It merits mentioning that while we cannot know the personal reasons for Wahunsenacah's political expansion, it is reasonable to surmise that the on-going presence of Europeans would have been a contributing factor.

The Paramount Chiefdom of Powhatan

Feest (1966:77) argues that the joining of two separate chiefdom complexes may have laid the groundwork for the eventual rise of Wahunsenacah, and the initial political impetus for the Powhatan paramount chiefdom. Based upon the importance and use of kinship in solidifying and legitimating alliances, I agree with Feest and suggest that a strategic marriage between the upper York and upper James River chiefdoms united previously tenuous relations between disparate groups. This union would have included the communities surrounding what became later known as Pamunkey Neck. Prior to the advantageous partnership, the communities situated within the environs of Pamunkey Neck appear to have been a very major force in the Chesapeake. Here, the rivers of Pamaunk (York), Youghtanund (Pamunkey), and Mattapanient (Mattaponi) converged and these territories formed what would be seen in the seventeenth century as the "Powhatan heartland" (Rountree 1993:7). The descriptions by Smith (1608) and Strachey (1612) evidence that Pamunkey Neck was densely populated with multiple chiefly residences, and that the region was apart of Wahunsenacah's original inheritance. Based on the cultural geography, the Powhatan oral history recorded by the English, and the later seventeenth century documents concerning Pamunkey Neck, it is logical to view the political territory of these three upper drainages as having significant unity and time

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depth. While the exact configuration of this polity during the sixteenth century is unknown, best evidence suggests that it was a paramount chiefdom, formed from the alliances of those upper York communities (Binford 1991).

Uttamussak, the primary native religious center, stood near the rivers' convergence of the rivers within this province (Map 4). Strachey described the location of

Map 4. *The Environs of Pamunkey Neck and the Religious Center of Uttamussak* (Smith 1612).

Uttamusak as "Their principall Temple, or place of superstition…at Pamunky" and that "this place they count so holie" (Strachey [1612] 1953:95). Three sixty-foot temples stood at Uttamussak, and appear to have been revered by native people beyond the bounds of Pamunkey Neck. As discussed in Chapter III, if secular and religious

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government did form a type of dualism in the Chesapeake, as has been indicated by Gleach (1997), Williamson (2003), and Custalow and Daniel (2007), then Uttamussack would have been a center of several spheres of authority and the likely location of that intersection. Gallivan (2007) suggests at Werowocomoco, Algonquian use of landscapes had significant symbolic meaning in contexts of perceived power, many times deeper in time depth than the current political situations and layered in multiple frameworks of understanding. Therefore, any lineages that controlled Pamunkey Neck were likely also in control of significant authority frameworks that cross cut overlapping spheres of Algonquian political-religious structures.

Separately on the upper James River, another set of districts appears to have been unified under the dominance of Powhatan. Situated atop hills rising above the falls, Powhatan was linked to Arrohateck along the James shores towards the east, Orapaks to the northeast at the headwaters of the Chickahominy River, and Appamatuck at the confluence of the Appomattox and James Rivers. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that based on geographical proximity, the alignment of the upper James communities was fairly secure. Strachey states, "these are their great kings inheritance, chief alliance, and inhabitance," meaning that these territories were linked prior to the rise of Wahunsencah (Strachey [1612] 1953:44). Binford (1991) outlines the separate settlement patterns of the upper James and York drainages predicated by the resource availability along the transitional zones of fresh and saltwater. These settlements can be linked in similar forms along river drainages and thus may indicate not only a level of specialization in ecological zones, but also a degree of relatedness in socio-political settlement types. Therefore, the named areas of Wahunsenacah's inheritance identified by territory

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(excluding Chiskiack and Werowocomoco, to be described below) suggest that a political unity existed prior to his accession to the head of the paramount chiefdom, and that a political unity may have previously been divided along river drainages for separate groupings among Algonquians.

Additional evidence for the union of upper James and York paramount chiefdom can be seen in the placement of Wahunsenach and his brothers as heralding from differing locations. Wahunsenacah's natal town of Powhatan provided some level of elite descent associated with the lineages of that locale. In contrast, the brothers of Wahunsenacah appear to have been the werowances of Pamunkey Neck, and thereby associating them with a different geography. As matrilineal cognates, this creates a situation in which the lineage descent becomes an issue. As has been shown, however, marriage and kinship ties were traditional forms of solidifying Algonquian political and social alliances in the Chesapeake, and these brothers' lineages are an excellent example of such networks. Wahunsenacah had already been enculturated to understand the usefulness of kinship relatedness as a powerful and authoritative device, to be manipulated among other structures of influence and supremacy.

It is reasonable to assume Wahunsenacah was an individual with political aspirations, possibly augmented by divine right and ceremonial position because we see that he used power and authority of leadership to facilitate a wide level of influence and dominion during his reign.[1] Wahunsenacah solidified his position with multiple marriages

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[1] Gleach (1997:31-32) presents the most convincing argument for Wahunsenacah being both chiefly and priestly, referencing cross-cultural leadership examples among the Ojibway and Micmac. Naming practices for the Mid-Atlantic Algonquians are poorly understood. Based on the primary record (see Chapter II) I would argue that names reflect the nature of individuals through the use of descriptive terms, often changing over the course of ones' life through

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into several lineages of allied groups. He probably began his expansion into areas that seemed logical based on strategic kinship relations, proximity to bases of power and authority (i.e.: Pamunkey Neck and the Falls of the James), and into areas with lucrative resource development. In this manner, Wahunsenacah's process of expansion employed tactics that would increase political, military, ceremonial, and economic hegemony through territorial and lineage conquest. Entering into polygynous marriages was a strategy for consolidation of power through careful selection of marriage partners from elite lineages. The flexible forms of clan and moiety structures served as conduits of legitimacy for lineage acquisition through marriage and bride capture, and thereby hereditary rights to both resource lands and dominion over specific areas of mutual Algonquian habitation. Successful Powhatan expansion required loyalty, allegiance, and reciprocity; elite lineages controlled resources and trade. Wahunsenacah used kinship structures to develop a setting where he could manipulate both to his advantage. Since it

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accomplishment, change in status, or some other cultural device. Numerous authors (i.e. Trumbull 1870) have focused on the name "Powhatan." However, little attention has been given to considering either "Wahunsenacah" or "Ottaniack," the other names by which Powhatan (the man) was known. The documentary record is unclear as to when Powhatan began being referred to by his natal town's name - only that it was when he was "still in his youth" (Strachey [1612] 1953:56). Those werowances that were farthest away from the location of Powhatan apparently referred to Wahunsenacah as "Powhatan" more often than not. His own people referred to him as "Ottaniack," but it is unclear as to when he assumed that name or the contextual relationship of it to his other names. Strachey stated, "his proper right name which they salute him with (himself presence) is *Wahunsenacawh*" (ibid). I would only add that the name "Wahunsenacah" probably had cultural meaning, and was reflective of social position. Ahone /-ahone/ was represented by the English colonials to be one category of a deity configuration paired with Okee /o•ki•was•aw/. Strachey loosely translated "Ahone" as "god" (ibid:174). The Algonquian root /-tsena/ means "dense" or "close together" (Geary in Quinn 1955:854) Inductive reasoning leads to the conclusion that some portion of "Wahunsenacah" or /w•ahone•tsena•cah/ means "close with Ahone" or "close with god." There has been some linguistic reticence to accept Gleach's (1997:33) shamanistic interpretation of "Powhatan" (Blair A. Rudes personal communication 2006) to mean "dreamer hill" or as a literal reflection of a place's name transferring to an individual "one who dreams." However, combined specific cases strongly speak to a broader generalization about Algonquian perceptions of Wahunsenacah being a sacred individual.

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may be argued that not all of those unions were voluntary, indicates that the social landscape of the Chesapeake was a complex theater of coercion, incorporation, and tactical prose. Designed marriage arrangements, forceful removal of populations, and agreements reached after violence detail the ways in which Wahunsenacah's Powhatan expansion acted as a colonizing entity, decades before the first permanent English settlement in Virginia.

The residual effects of Powhatan expansion can be seen in the varying conditions of multiple districts during the initial years following the spread of Wahunsenacah's dominance. The appearance or characteristics of individual districts described by the English during the earlier years of the Jamestown settlement reflect the process by which communities were folded into the Powhatan organization. Wahunsenacah's expansion was not uniform. Each district's future trajectory of socio-political position was a differential experience, predicated by the events and contexts in which they became apart of the Powhatan paramountcy.

During the period in which the majority of districts became a part of Wahunsenacah's organization, I use the term Powhatan "expansion." The temporal period associated with that expansion (c.1570-1597) is corollary both to the processes and types of ways communities negotiated with or succumbed to Wahunsenacah's dominion. As with other colonial encounters, the exchange was unequal, and multiple groups were subjugated through the use of military force. The result of expansion was not however, a forgone conclusion. Thirty years of expansion had produced the successful combination of kinship alliances, new lineage heirs, and territorial control of resources, trade, and authority structures. The fall of Kecoughtan in 1597 removed the last powerful

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hold out of the York peninsula, securing Wahunsenacah's political position from the Piankatank River to the south side of the James River. After this period, I use the term "proliferation" to describe roughly the decade of empire that Wahunsenacah enjoyed prior to the arrival of the Jamestown colonists. To be described in detail below, it was during this time (1597-1609) that a domino effect placed the populous Nansemond chiefdom into tributary status, the Chesapeake chiefdom was annihilated beyond recovery, and the former district of Opiscapank / Piankatank was rubbed out.

The Powhatan proliferation became truncated by the English presence. The inability of Wahunsenacah to extract expected responses from the Jamestown colony, folding them into the fabric of the paramountcy, marked the beginning of the decline of the Powhatan polity. The native confidence built through English alliances on the Eastern Shore and Potomac Valley acted as a deterrent to further Powhatan advancement in those directions. Both the inability to subjugate the Jamestown colony through warfare and the refusal of the English to relocate to Capahowasick, coupled with Wahunsenacah's loss of control over the gift exchange and trade materials - placed Powhatan sovereignty in peril. The retreat from Werowocomoco in 1609 began the gradual, but steady, erosion of Wahunsenacah's political dominion over Eastern Virginia, turning proliferation into decline.

Ironically, the Jamestown narratives capture the final years of a period of Algonquian colonialism: a political form expanding into areas previously autonomous of Powhatan. Historically, we view the settlers at James Fort as colonists. I however, argue that Wahunsenacah was also employing a native-centered colonial strategy based upon his manipulation of kinship structures, resource management, and population

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rearrangement. While the English described the Virginia Algonquians as unified (e.g. Strachey [1612] 1953:63) I argue that they were anything but unified. Thus, *history has been held hostage by the presentation of a colonial force that was colonizing a colonial force*. This is to say that the contemporary construction of Virginia's history of colonization by Europeans has obscured the history of native colonization that preceded it. The "Powhatan" as a unit were forced together by political theater; that they were able to do so without complete disruption of internal forms suggests that deep seeded social structures allowed for such new configurations and upon political duress and fragmentation, allowed for reconfiguration within accepted socio-cultural practices. As with the rise of earlier chiefdom complexes, the most effective socio-cultural mechanism to accomplish this would have been kinship.

Examples of Residual Effects of Expansion

It is reasonable to assume that Wahunsenacah began his systematic conquest of the tidewater within the environs that availed the best situation for alliance and coercion. One of the earliest accounts of coastal plain interactions of kinship and alliance from beyond the upper James and York territories is from the Spanish mission records 1570-1572 (Lewis and Loomie 1953). A young Algonquian convert, Paquiquineo, guided a Spanish mission to be settled in his homeland, nestled on the peninsula between the lower York and James Rivers. Baptized in Mexico, Don Luis, as Paquiquineo was known to the Spanish, lived and traveled among the Spanish for almost a decade. Promising his Spanish captors converts and support, Don Luis helped facilitate the founding of a Jesuit Mission within the Chiskiak territory. After settlement, relationships among the

Spaniards, Don Luis, and the local natives soured, eventually leading to the destruction of the mission and the killing of the Jesuits.

Chiskiack: The First Strike

Salient to the present discussion, the Spanish accounts of Paquiquineo's relatedness to local elite status lineages indicate both an interwoven social setting between political districts and hint at the possible impact of the newly rising paramount of Wahunsenacah. These interactions can be discussed within several areas of foci: broad relationships, local relationships, and socio-political relationships vis-à-vis the position of the Powhatan.

First, Paquiquino was captured while visiting Algonquian speakers to the south of his homeland – a swath of land from the lower James to the Albemarle Sound. Turner (1993) argues that the percentages of ceramic assemblages from the period suggest there was an exchange of marriage partners established between groups in the Carolina Sounds and those along the lower James. Following Turner and Spanish documents we may assume that Paquiquineo was a young emissary from the north, visiting or living among his southern extended kin. The Spanish describe him as the "son of a petty chief" (Lewis and Loomie 1953:16). This documented event suggests the permeable nature of both political and marital boundaries of the region, highlighting the difficulty in essentializing an individual's groupness at the "tribal" level when exchanges occurred across territories that were defined by lineage relations associated with place.

Second, in 1570 Paquiquineo returned with the Jesuits to the north side of the James River, easterly of the mouth of the Chickahominy River possibly at College Creek, where his relations along the margins of Paspehegh and Chiskiack territories received

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him warmly (Parramore, Stewart, and Bogger 1994:4; Lewis and Loomie 1953:89). In the interim years after his departure, Paquiquineo's older brother and father died and his younger brother became a werowance. There is some debate over the group to which Paquiquineo belonged. Some have suggested that the local group in question was within the Paspehegh district (Rountree 2005:26) while others have attested that the lineage in question was that of at Chiskiack (Parramore, Stewart, and Bogger 1994:5). But I argue that his placement was relative to lineage, and conveyed access to resources and associated lands. Paquinquineo's natal home appears to have been on the north side of the James, placing it somewhere southeast of the future site of Jamestown, opposite by a day's journey of the primary Chiskiack settlement. The younger brother offered the werowance position over to Paquinquineo, as would have been appropriate for the eldest male within the lineage, thus suggesting his mother was the heir of the dominant descent line. If we consider that the younger brother of Paquiquineo was werowance to either the dominant lineage of Chiskiack or Paspehegh, and that a lateral secession within the lineage head was among these series of brothers, the protocol of the matrilineal descent system would suggest we identify the mother's community.

Following matrilineal succession, cultural logic demands that we consider the kinship system. Thus, several points should be illustrated here to further the argument. As the sons of a petty werowance, Paquinquineo and his brothers could not succeed him as the local lineage head. Since the brothers *do* take places of importance within the local dominant lineage of some area, it may be assumed that their mother's lineage was primary in some nearby geography. I also assume that their father was from the middle York River / James River area, as the news of his death is paired with other familial and

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resource losses specific to the locale of Chiskiack and Paspehegh. The father's status as a "petty" werowance may indicate that his elder brother was then dominant in a main settlement. Paquiquineo declined to take the werowance position from his brother, and retired some distance away to live at yet another settlement governed by his uncle. That an uncle was living and in an elite headman position, indicates that he was not a maternal uncle – for that uncle would still retain a local position currently occupied by the lineage order of Paquiquineo, through his mother. His father's brother (either elder or younger) or father's mother's brother would be a likely individual to fill this headman position, and provides evidence that Paquiquineo's lineage was one that was linked to an adjacent local lineage via elite marriage practices. Thus, the continued lineage exchanges ensured that local groups developed a cycle of elite endogamy, even as marriages were exogamous across other cross cutting fraternities. For the Chiskiack territory, these unions could have extended east to the Kecoughtan country which was somewhat distant, or more possibly at Paspehegh on the James or Werowocomoco on the York, and truly even – all of the above.

Third, in relation to Wahunsenacah, the next discussion considers the expansion of Powhatan into other districts, and the Chiskiack section of the peninsula provides the earliest record and details of that expansion. The Jesuit narratives cover roughly the period of 1570-1572, with associated oral history from extant materials that include some information about Paquiquineo's world c.1560. From the data presented, it is clear that Paquiquineo's broader community was not under Wahunsenacah's sway in 1560. There is no mention to the Spanish of conflict or expansion or deference to any chief, beyond that of Paquiquineo's lineage relations. However, by 1570 several changes had probably

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occurred in the immediate region. Upper James relations with Siouan speakers to the west had deteriorated to the point of on-going seasonal raids (Hantman 1990). Additionally, raids in the west may have been directly related to consolidated Algonquian powers along the upper regions of both the York and James drainages. That being said, Wahunsenach maintained a balance to the west, and began directing his attentions towards the east. It is unclear which tactic Wahunsenacah employed first – it might have been marriage alliances, trade deals or coerced alliance that folded into domination; it may have been war. It is also uncertain when Wahunsenacah assumed the hereditary position at Powhatan; most have suggested that it took place sometime around c.1565-1570 (Feest 1978a:254; Rountree 2005:39).

One later Spanish writer noted that after the Jesuit mission was destroyed, the associated religious objects were distributed through several channels, including a silver chalice that went to "an important chief in the interior" (Lewis and Loomie 1953:111-112). Inference could place this "chief" as Wahunsenacah, undeniably the most important chief to the immediate interior, beyond the Chickahominy River. In as much, by 1571 the inhabitants (and more importantly the elite) of the lower James / York peninsula were acutely aware of a chief that needed to be pacified with gifts of distinction. The inclusion by Strachey (1612) of the Chiskiack territory as being a "chief alliance" may indicate that the communities of this area were some of the first to be folded into the growing political league of Wahunsenacah's design.

Chickahominy: The Egalitarians

A large population of Algonquian speakers living along the Chickahominy River repeatedly repulsed movement of Wahunsenacah's authority from the upper Chesapeake

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Map 5. *The Chickahominy Territory c.1608* (Smith 1612).

drainages towards Chiskiack in the east. Geographically, the Chickahominy River communities separated the easterly portions of the peninsula between the York and James drainages. In concepts of power and geography, the people of the Chickahominy represented a very large population on the immediate bounds of the recently unified polity.[2] Any expansion from Powhatan would, at some time, have to contend with the Chickahominy socio-political organization (Map 5).

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[2] Population estimates for the Chickahominy River have been based on ratio estimates of bowmen to overall residents (3:10, 1:4, 1:4.25, and Turner's (1976) sliding scale of probability) against Smith (200), Strachey (300), Hamor (500), Smith [editing Hamor] (300) warrior counts. Combined, these equations point to a total population between 900-1500, of which 1000-1250 is probably most accurate (Feest 1973).

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As discussed in Chapter I, the Chickahominy groups contrasted with the other documented Algonquian communities of the coastal plain. It may be supposed that they were the vestiges of the once more egalitarian society, with a lesser degree of hierarchy among their leadership. As can possibly be inferred from the name of the region, "Chickahominy" refers to a characteristic of the area - the processing of corn.[3] Based upon the abundant horticultural produce and resources available for gathering, women's spheres of interaction may have been more prominent along the Chickahominy. Combined with a more secluded riverine location than the James or York, Chickahominy communities may have had less interaction with Europeans until late in the sixteenth century.

One possible causal factor for shifting descent systems is strife and stress within a community. Other combinations of factors that may have converged during the years of initial European exploration could have included the increase in warfare, epidemic, and unification / defense mechanisms triggering the tightening of control of access to resources. This pattern may have contributed to wide shifts in kinship reckoning among coastal Algonquians across the eastern seaboard (Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, personal communication 2006). That Chickahominy communities may have been resistant to some of these situations could have been a result of more geographic isolation to sea-faring

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[3] Chickahominy: PEA /*ci•hci•nkwe•mini/; from root PA /*ci•?t-/ 'jab or prick,' medial PA /*-i•nkwe-/ 'eye,' and PA final /*-min-i/ 'berry, grain, fruit.' Or conversely Chickahominy: PEA /*ci•hci/ + /*apwahwemina/; from root PA /*ci•?t-/ 'jab or prick,' and root PA /*apw-/ 'heat,' /*-ahw-/ TA instrumental 'by tool or medium,' and /*-min-i/ 'berry, grain, fruit' (Siebert 1975). In either case, the result is the same: the name Chickahominy has to do with the processing of hulled grains, most likely corn. The regions alluvial soils were well suited for the endeavor and early English records indicate that an abundance of maize was found within those river communities. The name, however, in Algonquian is clearly about action, not people. Hence the name relates to the activities found in that area, as so many other Algonquian names reference.

ships, larger sedentary populations grounded in mixed horticultural pursuits with less

social stratification because of abundant resource availability. All of which can be

reflected in their high population density and lesser degree of social hierarchy. Strachey

commented that the people of the Chickahominy River were a

> "warlick and free people, albeyt that pay certayne dutyes to Powhatan, and for Copper
> wilbe waged to serve and helpe him in his Warrs, yet they will not admitt of any
> Werowance from him to governe over them, but suffer themselves to be regulated, and
> guyded by their Priests, and the Assistaunce of their Elders whome they call
> Cawcawwasoughs..." (Strachey [1612] 1953:68-69).

From Strachey's description, the people at Chickahominy may be examined from several

vantage points. First, they were actively engaged in warfare and resistant to the

installation of a werowance from Wahunsenacah. This indicates that Wahunsenacah had

tried, possibly numerous times, to insert these communities into the chiefdom hierarchy,

but had been repulsed - possibly through denied access to marriage partners, but more

likely through warfare. Second, the Chickahominy warriors could be "hired" as

mercenaries for Wahunsencacah's other conquests. More than likely, an early attempt at

coercing the Chickahominy communities into the paramountcy resulted in the secondary

settlement or agreement of alliance for a price. Chickahominy men could wage war and

receive credits in their exploits against outside groups - the partial result being a

mercenary force for Wahunsenach, and relief from retaliation because of political design.

Third, the social hierarchy of the Chickahominy lineages was not completely egalitarian,

although they tended to be, viewed against the spectrum of inequality in the Chesapeake.

Copper as a controlled substance, could be used as incentive to wage war for

Wahunsenacah, indicating that there were select persons who could covet, store, or

manage the valued material. However, an alliance of priests and elders appear to have served a similar function of sacred / secular duality in governance as other various Algonquian settlements.

The Chickahominy communities appear to also have been unified in their resolve to not be subservient to Wahunsenacah. The socio-political form present among them may also allude to the earlier antecedents of Algonquian hierarchy. Priests and eight "mangoap," or literally "great men," governed the dispersed settlements. The secular representatives were probably related to clan or lineage divisions within the broader communities. Strachey described cawcawwasoughs as "elders" or "assistants" and Smith equated them with "captains" and "werowances." Properly, they are distinguished from werowances, noting Strachey's quote above, the council of eight counters the dominance of one lineage over others.

It may be that "eight" cawcawwasoughs is significant. Iroquoian groups to the southwest appear to have had at least eight clan divisions (Swanton 1979:658-661). Based on the cultural similarities and exchanges that are probable with the Iroquoians and Chickahominy groups (or other Southside Algonquians in general) as presented in Chapter III, the retention of an older, stronger clan system is consistent with the differing qualities of stratification compared to the other tidewater Algonquians. Thus it is probable that the matricentered Chickahominy groups retained stronger clan systems than the patricentered Powhatan groups who became more focused on lineage / moiety divisions, more functionally maintainable per their differing cultural practices and social evolution. Among the Maryland Algonquians the "chiefe men of accomplishment" were referred to as "wiso" (Anonymous 1635:73). This term is related to cawcawwasough, as

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/–wasough/ and /–wiso/ are of the same cognate, meaning, and references *the retention of the older social form in the tidewater, masked by the hierarchy of the contact era.* Rebuffed by the Chickahominy power and conservatism, Wahunsenacah probably moved around the to the north side of the peninsula choosing to take on weaker communities and considered what direction to approach the lower York territories of Chiskiack and Werowocomoco.

Werowocomoco: Alliances of the Sacred and Profane

As Gallivan (2007) has aptly described, the territory of Werowocomoco had a long history of symbolic importance in the Chesapeake. The archaeology of the village itself evidences multi-generational usage as a ceremonial center, with the geography divided between the core settlement along the York frontage and a possibly restricted space deeper within the interior. Wahunsenacah's move to Werowocomoco has been characterized as an attempt to solidify his expansion through the occupation of a symbolic center, and in effect "emphasized Werowocomoco's centrality" to those expansive designs (ibid:19). Possibly for generations, Werowocomoco or the "dwelling place of the antler wearers" may have been a ceremonial gathering location for elite discussions and decision-making.[4]

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[4] It is unclear when the locality of Werowocomoco received its name. The evidence presented by Gallivan (2007) suggests that the settlement has been a center of special importance for several centuries. As a name, Werowocomoco can be loosely translated from PA /*wi•wi•la/ "a horn", which was "restructured as a nondependent |noun| in some languages." With a plural /-ak/ or /-aki/: Fox /owi•wi•naki/ "antlers," Shawnee /kaskwiwilaki/ "sharp horns," Menomini /awi•wi•laki/ "horns," EA (except Penobscot) /awiwilak/ "antlers." Also PEA /*wesemowa/ "antler;" Delaware (Unami dialect) /wsðmo/ "antler or horn," plural /wsðmowak/ "antlers;" Penobscot /wðsðmo/ "antler," plural /wðsðmðwak/ "antlers" (Siebert 1975:354-355). It should be noted that Virginia Algonquian converted /r/ from /*l/ (Geary in Wright and Freund 1953:209) and therefore *wawirak* from Strachey is from PA /*wiwilak/. In addition, /n/ appears to have developed in some dialects from /*l/. Compare Menominee /ne•wen/ "my horn" and /we•wenan/

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The movement to such an important ritual space immediately evokes questions

about who occupied Werowocomoco prior to Wahunsenacah's arrival, whether there was

bloodshed involved, and to what degree other cosmological factors legitimized his

invasion of the immediate area. With Wahunsencah's connection to Uttamussak, both via

kinship and priestly engagement, it is difficult to imagine a violent takeover of such

hallowed ground as Werowocomoco. Possibly, because of Wahunsenacah's descendancy

from territory that controlled Uttamussak and as a semi-divine leader, the acquiescence of

Werowocomoco's leadership to Wahunsenacah may have been in part designed through

additional kinship arrangements and a vision of combining elements of the sacred and

profane, authority and power. As Wahunsenacah continued his expansion, his presence at

Werowocomoco probably overshadowed his marriage-made alliance, and regulated the

previously dominant lineage of the district to secondary settlements.

There may have been some relationship between Chiskiack, Werowocomoco, and

Paspehegh. As was mentioned above, Paquiquineo was related to at least two dominant

lineage groups within the wider lower York / James peninsula. His return to a native

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"his horns" as an isolation of /-wen/ and /-wenan/ for PEA /*-wil/. Some languages however constructed the PA as a dependent noun /*-i•wi•la/ "horn" or plural /*-i•wi•laki/ "horns, antlers;" compare Shawnee /wi•wi•la/ "horn;" Miami /awi•wi•la/ "horns," plural /awi•wi•laki/; Massachusett (Nauset dialect) /wiwin/ "horn." Delaware (Munsee dialect) /wi•la•wan/ "horn" (reshaped) (Siebert 1975:354-355). This last example can be evaluated against Virginia Algonquian *werow-* /wi•ro•w/ as the Munsee Delaware reshaped *wilawan*, positioning /l/ from PA /*l/ as the Virginians positioned /r/. The recognition of mD *wilawan* for Po *wirowan* should be apparent. The ending of Werowocomoco is a common Algonquian locative /-ah•kamikiwi/ or /-comoco/ "dwelling place" (Geary in Quinn 1955:854). Geary's etymology has been confirmed by Blair A. Rudes (personal communication, 2004). Thus, Werowocomoco is the "dwelling ground of the antler" or more properly, "the dwelling place of the leader." Compared between *werowance* and *Mamanatowick* I think the evidence is strong that Werowocomoco was a gathering location for broad Tidewater Algonquian lineage leaders during ceremonial occasions over a longer duration of time than Wahunsenacah's era.

position of status can be evidenced through his quick acquisition of several wives, and his direction of the attack against the Jesuits. Possibly, Paquiquineo was lineally related through his father to communities in close proximity to Werowocomoco, directly across from Chiskiack. He lived with his uncle some distance away from the Jesuits, but it is unclear where settlements were located for the various lineages. As an inheritor of either Chiskiack or Paspehegh dominant matrilineal succession, he may have married his agnatic parallel or cross cousins at Werowocomoco, as with other Algonquian preferred elite endogamous unions; equally, he may have married other important lineal women from Werowomococo, Paspehegh, or Chiskiack.

One clue to this union may have come from informants at Chickahominy, who when detailing their supposed hatred of the Spanish, remarked that

"Powhatans father was driven by them [Spanish] from the West-Indies into those [Chickahominy] parts" (Hamor [1615] in Haile 1998:811; brackets mine).

Here, we may see Wahunsenacah not as an actual "son" of Paquiquineo, but possibly as a relationship that had some quality imbued with particular connotations vis-à-vis Werowocomoco, and Wahunsenacah's crafted alliance. Could Paquiquineo have been the maternal uncle of a bride for Wahunsenacah, sealing the union of Uttamussak and Werowocomoco? Possibly Wahunsenacah's authority was conferred by his movement to Werowocomoco through a kinship alliance that spawned, or gave life to, his position as the Mamanatowick. In these contexts, the imperfect translations from Algonquian to English could have confused terminologies and glossed Don Luis as Powhatan's "father." In tandem, it is possible that the union was more equal while Paquiquineo lived. As an ally, he may have contributed to, or led the continued attacks against the Chickahominy

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river communities, creating a hatred for *his* return from the West Indies via the Spanish, and in particular *his* being "driven...into those parts" of the Chickahominy territory. Possibly with the death of Paquiquineo, Wahunsenacah took ultimate authority at Werowocomoco, his birth as Mamantowick paved by the death of that lineage's "father."

This supposition is a key feature to the movement of Wahunsenacah to Werowocomoco. As an affine kinship relation to Paquiquineo through marriage to appropriate women of a head lineage, Wahunsenacah would gain a valuable, and legitimate lineage use right to the locale of Werowocomoco. As Sahlins (1995) suggests, a *cultural logic* exists within the cosmology, language, and empiricism of a specific society. If we are to consider "how natives think," "pensee savauge," and in this case "Virginia Algonquians," then we should consider cultural categories, possibly based on utility and then intelligibility (ibid:152; Levi-Strauss 1966:2-3).

Basing the usefulness of ideas upon actions, the joining of the lineages of the highest sacred space (Pamunkey Neck - Uttamussak) with the lineages of the longest held secular center (Middle Peninsula - Werowocomoco) would be seen as politically, spiritually, and culturally practical and advantageous – particularly in light of recent movements on the ground by Europeans and Siouans. What I argue, is that Wahunsenacah's movement to Werowocomoco occurred after a change in the lineage head within that district; the possible death of Paquiquineo, his uncle, or the like provided an opportunity for movement into the region. With this strategic maneuver, Wahunsenacah eclipsed the previous union of power. As the leader wielding the most authority in the entire coastal plain, Wahunsenacah was already in position to move beyond the status of werowance. His residence as the joint leader of *both* the secular and

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the sacred – would confer the title of the *Mamanatowick*, or the joint union of spiritual

and chiefly authority and power, but only via his identity as *situated in geography and*

cosmology.[5]

Paspehegh: A Different Colonial Exchange

Geographically significant in proximity to Werowocomoco, Chiskiack

Chickahominy, and Paspehegh may examplify the earliest territories coerced into

submission or alliance by Wahunsenacah. Chickahominy villagers mitigated the conquest

through alliance, though not subjugation. However, the other precincts did not remain

completely autonomous. As an early territory subsumed under Wahunsenacah, it is

interesting to consider the placement of Paspehegh within the James River geography.

Ceramic assemblages point to an earlier affiliation with groups along the lower

peninsula, the south James, and North Carolina; Roanoke Simple Stamp sherds are found

all along the lower portion of the northern banks, but in concentrations only as high as the

mouth of the Chickahominy (Rountree and Turner 2002:43). Significantly, to the north of

the peninsula, Townsend ware appears to dominate the assemblage during the terminal

Late Woodland. As the ebb and flow of Algonquian communities rotated the control over

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[5] Mamanatowick: from root PEA /ma•mnw-/ 'joint, junction, joined' (compare Powhatan /Mamanassy/ and /Mamenasi/ "first element means 'junction, joining'; Abenaki /Mamnw-/ 'join' (of water); Mohegan-Pequot /Mamanasco/ 'joined outlets") |Barbour 1971|; middle PA /-anit/ "spirit" (compare Delaware /manito, manitto/ "god, sacred;" Nanticoke /mann!-itt/ "god" /gecht•anet•towit/ "god" |Salvucci 2004|); ending PEA /-toweck/ "greatest power, supreme, chiefly" (compare Piscataway /tayac/ "emperor" |Jesuit Letter 1639:124|; Nanticoke *tall!ak* /tal•ak/ "king," and *tall!kesk* /tal•ak•esk/ "queen" |Salvucci 2004|. Thus, the Nanticoke /-towit/ ending for term glossed as "god," probably relative to "supreme god" or "chief god" Delaware /allokak•asin/ "to have power over another" |Brinton 1996|); Clearly, the term /mamanatowick/ refers to the joined powers imbued within a person as sacred possessor of spirit and holder of supreme secular dominion; such a person is only reflected in Wahunsenacah as the lineage *controlling Uttamusack while reigning from Werowocomoco*. Hence, the term comes into being *only in his lifetime, and departs with it as well.*

certain territorial areas, some movements and interactions appear to be able to be traced through ceramic variability. Interestingly, this places the occupation of proto-historic people of Chiskiack (Townsend) opposite Paspehegh and Kecoughtan (Roanoke Simple Stamp).

As will be discussed further below, the power of the lineage at Kecoughtan was significant during the latter half of the sixteenth century. Marriages across the territory boundaries of the peninsula may have been seen as an advantage to strengthen relations and alliances through kinship and the exchange of women. However, research at Jamestown Island suggests that there is a significant break in the ceramic deposits, or simply put, Roanoke Simple Stamp overlays Townsend assemblages with complete replacement (Dave Givens, personal communication 2004). This break may indicate an invading population of southerly Algonquians, pushing north towards the Chickahominy, and displacing previous Townsend ware makers – possibly later inhabitants from along the Chickahominy and at Chiskiak. The removal likely caused some tensions, but relations appear to have been smoothed by the 1570s with those at Chiskiack, as was discussed with the arrival and placement of the Jesuit mission. Equally, the Chickahominy groups seemed amiable to those at Paspehegh, and their migration to the mouth of the Chickahominy River appears to support that direction. Ceramic evidence from Paspehegh town points to a proto-historic Roanoke occupation at that locale, some small amounts of Townsend and Gaston ware may indicate the period of Powhatan influence and expansion that included incoming populations from the upper James (Gaston) and Pamunkey Neck (Townsend).

When the English arrived at Jamestown, the werowance of Paspehegh – Wowinchopunk, was considered to be a favorite of Wahunsenacah and a fierce war captain. There is no reference in the seventeenth century documents of the Paspehegh warriors having had any significant previous understanding of European firepower. Any previous interaction with European warfare would have resulted in an understanding of tactics, armaments, and limitations - as may have been the case with descendants of Paquiquineo or allied villagers. They in fact, initiated several demonstrations of firearms and armament comparisons (Rountree 1989:31). Equally, they do not relate (at least not in extant records) any information about the Jesuits – that is left to the group who was there when the Jesuits landed – those of Chickahominy.

I would argue that by inference and based upon action, that the Paspehegh territory was a *colonized* precinct by Wahunsenacah. As a tactic used later against the communities of Kecoughtan, Chesapeake, and Piankatank, Paspahegh was attacked and emptied of the majority of the male population, with some members of the residence sent to Pamunkey Neck and the north side of the York to be quartered among "loyal" followers of Wahunsenacah. Likely, some element of Chiskiack participated in the raids, possibly with the understanding that excess lands of Paspehegh lineages would be further intermarried into Chiskiack lines, and the settling of old scores. As bearers of the lineages, women's familial use rights to the landscape would have been crucial to the colonization of new territories.

Strategically, Wahunsenacah developed a very resourceful tactic used by conquers throughout global history: eliminate the men, redistribute the women, and use sexual domination to produce a new population that had ties to both the old lineage for

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legitimacy and allegiance to the new figures of power and authority. With a remnant population of key women and children (primarily those of dominant elite lineages), new Powhatan settlers secured use rights and authority through intermarriage, while maintaining and reproducing power structures secured through tribute to Wahunsenacah. Key evidence for this scenario may be seen in several points.

First, the placement of Paspahegh farther up the James demonstrates the communities' significant movement away from relations at Kecoughtan – leaving a wide swath of shoreline along the northern banks of the James as "wasteland" between the two precincts. The main village of Chiskiack was located midway between the two as the inheritors of new territory, but had not expanded into those use areas – as may be represented by a single chief's house by Smith (1612); the more densely populated villages of Pasoughtacock, Poruptanck, Mattacock, Cantaunkack, and Capahowasick (see Map 25, Chapter VII) across the York may represent both fleeing aggregates from the warfare of the peninsula and those refugees under the watchful eye of Werowocomoco.

Second, Wowinchopunk appears only to have liminal amounts of support from his surrounding werowances in dispatching the European arrivals. This may be seen as a tenuous relationship with colonial replacement populations; participants in raids from other communities may have been precipitated by mercenary (as with Chickahomimy) or out of reciprocal clan obligations, regardless of political positions. Wahunsenacah himself professed to the English that even he had "unruly people" and werowances that acted on their own accord against them, without his direction (Strachey [1612] 1953:58). Urging the English to take up residence at Capahowasick may have also been a subtle way to free Wowinchopunk from the hassle of contending both with the newcomers and

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with the Chickahominy, who were still perceived as having the need to be "wrought," or exerted influence over, and not to be trusted (ibid). Equally, as with the refugee populations, Capahowasick was territory for keeping the English (and trade associated with them) close – and with the local lineage eclipsed by Wahunsenacah's presence – the land usage was probably at his discretion.

Third, it has been suggested that after three years of combating the English, the Paspehegh people abandoned the fight and melted into the surrounding populations (Rountree 1990:55). Alternately, it could be argued that the residents of Paspehegh were colonizers that abandoned their acquired lands after significant losses made their stay untenable after serious disruption to the kinship alliances established. A large portion of Wowinchopunk's young family was slaughtered - those children of the strategic union between the dominant lineage heir and the Powhatan colonizer. Equally, the main matriline - Wowinchopunk's wife, was killed along with numerous other women and children. At the death of the installed werowance himself, Wowinchopunk's settlers retired to the safety of either their own natal homes or the relations of clanship, abandoning the Paspahegh lineage lands to new colonials – the English.

Weyanoke: Subdued Through the Influence of Relatives

To the south of the James River, Wahunsenacah's designs to pacifying various Algonquian communities continued to unfold during a period of Powhatan expansion. His own kinship relationship to the southwest will be discussed shortly, but firstly the district of Weyanoke will be presented as being in a state of subjugation, and as an example of the "condition" of communities resulting from the Powhatan expansion. Lucrative in trade, gateways to other communities, and political allies, the Southside

Algonquians served as emissaries for access to materials of wealth and prestige that fueled further stratification and supported elite lineage domination.

The neighbors of the coastal Algonquians were the Iroquoian speaking peoples, variously referred to collectively as the "mangoag;" later in time they would be seen as the Nottoway, Meherrin, and Tuscarora. From these regions, some sources of copper flowed from the Carolina slate belt (Miller 1997); equally important, raw puccoon – used as a pigment for mainly adorning women (but others as well) was available in sandy soils of the Nottoway (Rountree 1993:47-48). Other materials of key importance included steady supplies of fine-grained lithic materials – most common was quartz and quartzite, but significant amounts of jasper from southwesterly sources also made its way into the Powhatan center. More locally available goods included skins, pearls, shells, feathers, minerals, and medicinals (ibid:44-49).

As a province, Weyanoke territory was centered along a severe bend in the James River; settlements occurred on both sides of the drainage. Archaeology has revealed cultural practices of the recent proto-historic era that link Weyanoke and Quiyoughcohannock with both Chickahominy peoples and the Iroquoian speakers to the southwest. Specifically among those at Weyanoke, Gaston ware ceramic assemblages confirm the long-term marital exchange practices with Nottoway / Meherrin populations (Rountree and Turner 2002:42-44). As kinship ties sealed and reinforced agreements between groups of multiple orientations (including later Europeans and Africans), Weyanoke communities were engaged in continual relations with the Iroquoian speakers. Wahunsenacah sent the Weyanoke werowance on numerous trading ventures to the south and southwest (ibid). During the devastation and conflict surrounding the later colonial

encounter with the English, it should come as no surprise to see post-1644 Weyanoke settlements pull up stakes and move permanently to areas later known as North Carolina and/or deeper Southside Virginia.

At the time of English settlement, the dominant lineage seat or the werowance's residence at Weyanoke was on the north side of the James River. The minor lineage or possibly younger heir was positioned to the south; the placement of the main werowance to the north may have been a symbolic nod of allegiance to Wahunsenacah, who obviously realized the importance of maintaining southern ties. In 1607, the population of Weyanoke was at odds with those of Paspehegh (Archer [1607] in Haile 1997:114-115). I surmise this to be as a result of three factors.

First, the Weyanoke lands extended onto the northern shores of the James River; the use rights of the lineage heads may have had a conflict with their eastern boundary being encroached upon by lineages from Paspahegh. Second, the Weyanoke headmen were probably coerced into alliance with Wahunsenacah, as a result and through a series of extensive kinship networks that were played upon as examples of already shared commonality. The relationships with Powhatan, Appamattuck, and Weyanoke to southerly Iroquoians - as well therefore, eventually with each other, would have weighed heavy on Weyanoke leadership as Wahunsenacah began expanding, and rather forcefully, in their direction. It could have been a choice of lesser evils. Shared relations from the south probably played as much of a factor as intimidation from communities across the region, already loyal to Powhatan – such as Appomatuck, Arrohateck, and most likely, Paspehegh. Third, as a series of legitimate lineages to the land, the Weyanoke leadership may have felt a level of insult and indignation towards installed populations such as at

Paspehegh, particularly if they had to contend with encroachment. The eventual "cool reception" the English received at several Weyanoke locations may have had as much to do with the uncertain intentions of the new arrivals as it did with the fact that it became clear that they were settled at Paspehegh (ibid). Old wounds sometimes remain persistent.

The uncertainty must have prevailed over differences, as groups heralding from Paspehegh, Weyanoke, Quiyoughcohannock, Appamatuck, and Chiskiack soon attacked the English. This action illustrates several key points about the Powhatan expansion, Wahunsencah's hegemony, and the importance of kinship systems in the Virginia tidewater. First, the differential conditions of the various communities, their loyalties, lack of concurrence with one another, and general "misfit appearance" (Fried 1960) should be seen as the result of recent Wahunsenacah conquest for some, and a lack of homogeneity for all. Eventually, the attacks by the Paspehegh and Chiskiack community men would have been expected, as the English squatted on their turf. However, where were the men from Chickahominy? Obviously no one either paid them duties to fight, called upon other loyalties (sodalities), and / or they remained (for a time) fairly secluded by the nature of the river system on which they lived.

It merits mentioning that the English were not well received at Appamatuck. As one of the original inherited territories described by Strachey ([1612] 1953:44), Appamatuck appears to be in conflict with her sister districts. Pamunkey, Powhatan, and Arrahateck all entertain the English with much more welcome. Appamatuck also participates in the first raid against the English. Possibly, Appamatuck's loyalties were always divided between the more negotiable Southside relations and the northern-banked paramount. They may have objected to expansion in that direction, because new trading

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allies would create a diminished position for Appamatuck resource relations to the south. This may be why both Arrohateck allies against Appamatuck, informing the English of their treachery (Archer |1607| in Haile 1997:117). and Wahunsenacah later specifically singles out Appamatuck women of status for public submission (Smith |1608| in Haile 1997:167).

Another important aspect of the first major attack against the English reveals, as have other examples in Chapter III, is that not all members of each district participate in all endeavors, at all times. This is evidence for other types of grouping mechanisms that cross cut the communities, beyond simple agency. The primary documents offer numerous examples of groups of native men seen in action – with warrior numbers exceeding the local district, but not the entire warrior population of a united district effort. One example would be Wowinchapunk arriving at Jamestown with 100 warriors, when his entire district only housed an estimated 40 (Strachey |1612| 1953:67). Obviously he drew upon other social grouping factors, responsibilities, and commitments to rouse twice his warrior population into the field, and then some. For the current attack under consideration, an estimated 275 to 370 warriors would have been involved in the first Jamestown attack, if all districts involved participated - even if they left a skeleton population at their respective villages (Turner 1973:60).

"there came above 200 of them with their king, and gave furious assault to our fort" (Archer |1607| in Haile 1998:117).

It is possible that in the heat of battle, warrior estimates would have been either exaggerated or under represented. However, it is quite clear that the grouping of men was

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not the entire available population of the region, however politicized, and that "their king," who was possibly Wowinchopunk led more than his district force into battle. Again I would argue that these groupings of men are related to types of clan responsibilities and crosscutting social mechanisms. In political terms, it confounds social organization to suppose that reluctant aggregates of a new paramount could be so fluid in their allegiance, aspirations, and political designs if there were not other modalities operating beneath the surface. This undercurrent would allow groups of men jockeying for achieved positions to unite, fight, and dissolve back into their local groups without complicating the political, jural, and authority structures of their patron lineage leaders - all the while fulfilling expected obligations of clan responsibilities and sanctioned acts that accumulated personal achievement.

> "the before remembered Weroance of Paspahegh, did once wage 14. or 15. Weroances to assist him in the attempt on the Fort of James Towne for one Copper-plate promised to each Weroance" (Strachey [1612] 1953:107).

Strachey's statement highlights the diffuse nature of the term "Weroance," as referring to multiple types of headman – both as the primary dominant lineage leaders and the lineal inheritors of specific local groups - as well as the leaders of embedded minor lineages within those communities. In addition, the initial Jamestown attacks usually included five primary territories: Paspehegh, Weyanoke, Quiyoughcohannock, Appamatuck, and Chiskiack. To rouse the support of "14. or 15. Weroances," should be seen as not "14. to 15." different "tribes," but rather as a series of allied lineage heads, both from within local groups and across local territories. That this number of werowances were allied in the field, suggests also that their may have been a cross

section of werowances and cockarouses (cawcawwasoughs) that pulled lineage, clan, and other sodality influences to bear on providing warriors. As well, the gifts of copper reinforce the nature of "tribute" as being one where gift exchanges occur across status positions, and not necessarily always in an upward fashion. Reciprocal obligations associated with gifting often link and bind people into differing levels of mutual transference of ideas and materials (Mauss 1990:74). These types of exchanges are codified in the specific contexts of the gifting and in the materials themselves, nevertheless bonding them into other categories of association.

The articulation of multiple werowances from a limited number of local districts suggests something about the organization of the village structures as well. Cross culturally, we may consider the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois), where decisions to go to war were often first debated and decided by women of social rank within a clan system. There, choices made by clanships appeared to have effected a larger body of united tribal settlements. In the South, Muskogee-speaking communities retained stronger autonomy between villages and decisions for warfare often resided with the individual village leadership. Thus, while both groups were matrilineal and matrilocal with strong clan systems (Swanton 1979; Engelbrecht 2003), the process by which war was decided and conducted indicate differing types of power / authority structures. The Virginia Algonquians involved in the Paspehegh initiated attacks, appear to politically favor the Muskogee model (John H. Moore, personal communication 2007). However, variation within each system can be expected, as the Yuchi towns after political incorporation into the wider Creek Confederacy appear to have been somewhat at the mercy of Muskogean decision making about matters of war (Speck [1909] 2004:68). Hence, when considering

Strachey's comments about fourteen or fifteen werowances from possibly as few as five groups, structures within "group" settings should be evaluated for motivating socio-political factors, like kinship organization. Based on the documentary record and ethnographic extension, I believe the argument is strong for both semi-autonomous local groups and sodalities that cross cut lineages from those communities.

Returning to the divisions among the leaderships, the third area of discussion revolves around the level of autonomy among local groups, even in a tributary state with Wahunsenacah. Consistently, groups throughout the Chesapeake adhere to commitments with their lineage leaders at a community level, clanships at a multi-provincial level, and the paramountcy at a regional level. The people of Weyanoke may have been coerced through military threat and cajoled by relations at Appamatuck, but they retained a level of autonomy to interact at an effectual level of governance among themselves while continuing broader reciprocity with other local groups, to include Wahunsenacah's. The processes of strategic position, unions made to support alliances, reciprocal obligations in warfare including defense, and the dialogue of gift exchanges as contributions of tribute towards the paramount evidence a complicated, calculated, and tactical maneuvering of social groups through a very complex political theater. The seriousness of this metaphorical chess game in play exacerbates the inquiry of the residual effects of the Powhatan expansion and alludes to the strengths and weaknesses of varying local Algonquian groups of lineage clusters.

Further compounding the intricacy of unraveling nuanced presentations, disputes between lineage leaders (i.e.: elite vs. elite status members) of opposing local groups is not the same as "group" vs. "group." Archer's comment that the "King of Paspeiouh and

this [Weyanoke] king is at odds..." (Archer [1607] in Haile 1998:103, brackets mine)

may indicate that the dominant lineage heads quarrel, however community members may

or may not be directly involved. Instead they may have been motivated by individual clan

prerogatives and personal (i.e. minor) lineage alliances. So, while the "kings" were at

odds, at the district level, some men would still follow their countrymen into the field,

particularly against a common enemy with sanctioned (politically by another lineage and

clan affiliate) opportunities for personal achievement. In addition, the duality of the

coastal Algonquians cosmology relied heavily upon religious officials to devise direction,

particularly in matters of war. Lineage leaders aside, conflicts between those of secular

prominence may have been overshadowed by devised plans guided by sacred inspirations

(Strachey [1612] 1953:104).

Kecoughtan: Strategic Planning

From all of the varying groups influenced and dominated by Wahunsenacah, the

province of Kecoughtan is the best documented during the period prior to the colonial

encounter with Europeans, in terms of the Powhatan expansion (ibid:68). The English

colonists from the island of Roanoke, in the Albermarle Sound region of North Carolina,

visited numerous southern Algonquian communities and interviewed scores of

individuals about the alliances, strengths, and politics of the region. Significantly, an

English visit under the direction of Ralph Lane stayed with the native communities

within the Chesapeake territory during the winter of 1585-86 (Quinn 1955:244-46) and

confirmed the cool relations between the upper and lower James drainage. At

Chesapeake, among the native visitors to receive the English were Southside community

representatives – but strikingly no upper James River members at all came to Chesapeake

(Rountree 1990:21). Between visits with native people at Chesapeake and Chowanoke, the English learned of a somewhat powerful werowance who lived within the Kecoughtan district and that there was a level of alliance between him and the people at Chesapeake (ibid:247). From this important information, it may be surmised that Wahunsenacah's movement down the peninsula was halted after the acquisition and colonization of Paspehegh and Chiskiack. It is probable that he made attempts to advance into the lower region, but found resistance strong from a population with a charismatic and influential leader, particularly if that leader was able to garner support across territorial lines from other local lineage headmen. As of 1586, Kecoughtan was beyond Wahunsenacah's reach.

However, during the mid 1590s, the elderly Kecoughtan werowance died and the lineage leadership passed to a younger, but ineffectual headman (Strachey [1612] 1953:68). Soon after the transition, Wahunsenacah seized the moment and struck a decisive blow to the lower James communities. Kecoughtan was attacked, the new werowance killed, along with most of the male population. The remainder, probably mostly women and children, were spirited away, to be quartered among the growing population in the "heartland" of Powhatania on Pamunkey Neck (Rountree 1990:25). As with the previous territories, select members of the female elite were sparred and joined to "loyal" lineage members of Wahunsenacah, thereby legitimately transferring land use and political territory to a new generation of Kecoughtan inhabitants. This type of attack and reconfiguration of the population may be termed *strategic patricide*. A young son of Wahunsenacah's, Pochins, was placed as the werowance at Kecoughtan, probably with a series of new wives as well. Kecoughtan represents the best example of Wahunsenacah's

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expansion / colonization policy – undoubtedly perfected through his experiences on the upper portion of the peninsula. Far from being a separate tribe, chiefdom, or ethnic group, the Kecoughtan now represented a geographically specific, set of local lineages that had been invaded, deposed of its male leadership and population, and colonized by multiple lineages that were loyal to Wahunsenacah through marriage and kinship alliances. The community that met the English of Jamestown was a colonial population, replete with installed leaders who applied kinship vices to legitimate occupation of a forced political coup. The fall of Kecoghtan marked the point where Powhatan expansion shifted to Powhatan proliferation.

Chesapeake: Annihilation

In matters of war, there appears to have been a great deal of consultation and deliberation amongst the Virginia Algonquians. Strachey (1612) clearly describes the process:

> "When they intend any warrs, the Weroances usually advise with their Priests or Conjurors, their Allies and best trusted Councellors and Freindes, but commonly the Priests have the resulting voice, and determyne therefore their resolucions either a Weroance or some lusty fellow is appointed Captayne over a Nation or Regiment to be led forth" (ibid:104).

Hence, whenever a large assault was being considered, much deliberation and consultation could be expected between various factions. Likely, this would have been the process at the local level, but more importantly, the discussions were carried to other settlements:

> "and when they would press a number of Soldiers to be ready by a daie, an officer is dispatcht away, who comming into the Townes, or otherwise meeting such whome he hath order to warne...and byds them to be ready to serve the great king" (ibid).

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Strachey's observations reveal several aspects about the nature of Algonquian warfare in Virginia during the turn of the seventeenth century. As with most of the period's English writing, the kernels lay between the lines. First, it can be seen that the elite male members of the community were the critical instigators of warfare. Among the lower strata populous' grievances could be answered through some other social mechanisms – such as obligatory reprisals by clan members for wrongful deaths. However, wide scale warfare must have been legitimated through individuals with proper social position. Once civic leaders established intent for warfare or raiding, consultation occurred between the secular and the sacred. Priests and conjurors foretold the outcomes, protocols, and processes by which warfare could take place. The decision to engage in combat then moved back down through the ranks, resulting in the formation of a coalition of appropriate individuals to participate. Significantly, not all men partook in all events at all times.

Second, Strachey details the process of warfare under Wahunsenacah. In as much, the presented abstraction is one of enlargement and complicated by colonialism. By the time Chesapeake was assaulted, multiple aggregates had been induced into the expanding Powhatan paramount, some with less interest in defying Wahunsenacah, the spirits, and more so protecting personal, familial, and socio-political position than others. As has been demonstrated in Chapters II-IV however, much of the obscured Powhatan political theater was constructed on top of deeper foundational structures of Algonquian society. It is reasonable to expect that some form of the hierarchal exchange detailed by Strachey in 1612 existed during the preceding century and possibly earlier. In as much, the material

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Strachey presents is a foreground to discussing the Chesapeake raid. It is important because it outlines the components needed to conduct serious, community wide, multi-lineage related activities.

These last series of components to Strachey's quote involve key information about the way communities functioned within a segmentary structure and how that structure crosscut local groups beyond the single district. As previously stated, this system worked on the local level, but was easily manipulated to function on the regional level by Wahunsenacah through alliance and coercion centered on kinship. At the top of the local level, werowances or dominant lineage leaders, worked in tandem with the religious order, roughly glossed as priests and conjurors. This bilateral alliance may be seen as the dualism of power and authority discussed by Gallivan (2007), Gleach (1997), and Williamson (2003). The gathered advisors were comprised of "Allies and best trusted Councellors and Freindes." Here, the second tier of organization can be identified as "Councellors" the minor lineage heads and/or trusted affiliated lineage heads from within the community. Equally because of the size of the induction and the increased weakness of the clan structures, representatives of the stronger moiety divisions rather than clanships, would fall into this category. Often described as "cawcawwasoughes," "wisoes," and "cockarouses," these were men of distinction from within the sodality order, dually divided along the lines for warfare as described by Gleach (1997). The term "Freindes" has already been shown in Chapter II to represent seventeenth century English variations of native "kin;" in this case, the dominant lineage is composed of multiple heirs with ancillary groupings of lineage members – those relatives of direct lineage to the werowance would have proved "trusted" and more importantly, loyal by blood.

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Lastly, "Allies" of the werowance, describe wider affiliations beyond the local group. At the district level, these would be "allied" lineage heads of adjacent territories – complete with a similar construction of their own descending down through the lineage, clan, and moiety tied to another geography. That "some lusty fellow" or a "Weroance" would be appointed to lead the "Nation or Regiment" confirms that an appropriate trustee of the local group (lineage or clan/moiety leadership figure) could lead local community assemblages as an equivalent (albeit lesser) lineage – clan/moiety chief of a "Nation" – all from one district. Conversely, a werowance (in a larger configuration) would have the position as an equivalent leader in a multi-district combat force, or a "Regiment" comprised of various aggregated sodalities answerable to congruent socially positioned leaders. The distinction is the complexity of the segment, based on scale or socio-political factors.

Intermarriage and crosscutting social constructions could promote unity among Algonquian speaking peoples of the Virginia tidewater, particularly at the immediate regional level. That these mechanics could both nurture the formations of more complex social forms at the district level and advance wider regional strategies of Wahunsenacah, speak to the foundational nature of the kinship materials presented. The fall of Kecoughtan had residual effects upon the Southside native communities. Once the northern ally was subdued, it was only a matter of time before an advance was made on the mouth of the James.

Significant prophecies were made with regard to the mouth of the James, specifically recounted as "from the Chesapeake Bay a Nation should arise, which should dissolve and give end to his [Wahunsenacah] Empier" (Strachey [1612] 1953:104;

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brackets mine). Possibly it was under this oracle cloak that all of the Chesapeake Bay provinces were subdued. At any rate, on or about the year 1607, the Chesapeake district was invaded,

> "destroyed and put to the sword, all such who might lye under any doubtfull construccion of the said prophesie, as all the Inhabitants, the weroance and his Subjects of that province and so remayne all the Chessiopeians at this daie, and for this cause extinct" (ibid:104-105).

The annihilation of the Chesapeake community has been described as having "completely obliterated that people with a thoroughness unusual in Virginia Algonquian warfare," (Rountree 1990:25-27) a sentiment with which I concur. What is unusual about Chesapeake is that Wahunsenacah does not import populations to colonize the district. It may have been at his marginal limits to manage such a long distance arrangement. Equally, he may have considered the prophesy as an omen towards not breathing new life into the targeted landscape of the Chesapeake. That portions of the population were taken captive is likely, as are refugees that hid within Nansemond and/or the surrounding backwaters of Hampton Roads. Chesapeake represents a different kind of warfare – one that was bent on elimination as opposed to subjugation (Trigger 1990). It also may have been a signal to the occupants of the surrounding geography. Chesapeake lineages may have been resistant for some time to Wahunsenacah, defying his advancements publicly and in turn creating unrest among the more recently acquired communities. The total annihilation of Chesapeake made an example to other provincial leaders. The complete destruction of Chesapeake society without a resettlement population must have served as a bold and unforgiving message to any of wavering loyalty. Equally, the unification of warriors from across Powhatania probably solidified the allegiance of lineages to the new

political organization. As can be expected however, some level of resettlement did occur – that population was probably from Nansemond.

Nansemond: A Chiefdom Pacified

Directly to the west of Chesapeake, the Nansemond territory was occupied by an independent polity; in the years leading up to the attack at Chesapeake the local group at Nansemond exhibited some of the best inferential documentation for a single district chiefdom in the coastal plain. Binford (1991) details the evidence for seeing the Nansemond communities as being separate from those of Powhatan, mainly arguing for a lack of participation in the redistributive network lorded over by Wahunsenacah. Here, I agree with Rountree (1989) that Wahunsenacah did not actually possesses a full tribute / redistribution system; rather, tribute and redistribution fell into cycles of gift exchange, influence, and acknowledgements of power / authority structures among allied and related elite. In the case of the Nansemond lineages, it would appear that they participated in a measured manner with Wahunsenacah prior to the attacks along the lower James, and then engaged in obligatory exchanges for a limited time during the seventeenth century:

> "[those] that were seated far from him, and in the Territory of those Weroances which did in no sort depend on him, or acknowledge him…" (Strachey [1612] 1953:106, brackets mine).

> "the Weroances of Nansemund…are now at peace with him [Wahunsenacah], howbeit they maie peradventure be drawne form him for some rownd Rewardes and plentifull promise of Copper thus much (and not unnecessarily) digressed" (Strachey [1612] 1953:108, brackets mine).

Hence, I am partially in agreement with both Binford and Rountree. The Nansemond communities were a separate polity up until the unsettledness within the

Chesapeake territory, at which time Wahunsenacah made a coercive maneuver to incorporate the Nansemond leadership into alliance. However, to completely suggest that they were apart of the Powhatan organization dilutes the nature of Wahunsenacah's conquest as engaging multiple local groups in differential ways. The Nansemond district was not colonized or eradicated, but forced into a hierarchal exchange. This process may have differed from that of at Weyanoke, where kinship ties probably played a more significant role in their submission.

From this vantage, the Nansemond communities can be seen as suffering from pressure following the serious, and graphic progressive annihilation of other surrounding autonomous local groups. I would suggest that the events at both Kecoughtan and Chesapeake served as motivators for the Nansemond chiefdom to enter begrudgingly into a tenuous relationship with Wahunsenacah, with the Nansemond leadership bowing to enter into reciprocal tribute. Possibly, Wahunsenacah approached the Nansemond lineage heads in advance of the Chesapeake attacks, offering some level of ultimatum that was not negotiable, suggesting that either their participation or ignorance in the attack would be preferred without room for protest. Afterwards, the Chesapeake lands may have been offered as eventual territory that Nansemond lineages might ultimately access, but sparingly, as evidenced by the light occupation during the initial years surrounding the founding of Jamestown. Unlike some of the previous exploits of the Powhatan campaign, the Nansemond province did retain its headman, population, and lineage use rights to the lower James, and remained as a semi-autonomous local group. Their eventual stronger affiliation with the Powhatan peoples probably occurred as a result of the impact of the European colonial exchange, situating alliances against a common English threat.

A limited, but early, example of Nansemond werowances acting as incomplete subjects of Wahunsenacah can be gleaned from the interactions revolving around the exchange of items of prestige. Smith commented that what the Indians

> "stole today durst come again the next day...Their custom is to take anything they can seize of – only the people of Pamaunke we have not found stealing. But what others can steal, their king receiveth" (Smith [1608] in Haile 1998:174).

Likely, these artifacts of value were sent to local werowances and incorporated into the gift exchange of local group elites. Equally, some of these items went to associate allies of lineage leaders and across territories, and in some instances towards Wahunsenacah. The lack of thievery at Pamunkey probably reflected the relationship that was being established between Wahunsenacah and the English "elite." It would have been improper for local group members at Pamunkey to antagonize or insult visiting leadership through this type of action, as directed by protocol and Wahunsenacah's communicated wishes for interaction. It was also during this time that Wahunsenacah exchanged swords for turkeys. The Chickahominy communities wanted to trade corn for hatchets and the Paspahegh men had ferreted away hatchets, shovels, and other tools for which they were brokering the release of prisoners. It may not seem odd that the Nansemond werowances would send a single hatchet to the English fort as a returned stolen item of value, or more properly - a gift.

Like the resistant communities at Chickahominy, the first official encounters with the Nansemond population described them as being "proud and warlike nation" (ibid:173). After a series of violent exchanges, John Smith was enticed ashore for trade and diplomacy, where he was feasted and the two parties exchanged symbolic items of

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friendship. The Nansemond leadership impressed Smith, as did their environs and stature as a community, able to place over 200 warriors into the field. The area surrounding the settlements contained

> "over 1000 acres of most excellent...ground...so strong a prospect for an invincible strong city with so many commodities" (ibid:174).

After a level of mutual agreement and possibly the sizing up of each other's intentions, the English departed for Jamestown. Within several days, a messenger appeared from Nansemond, having traveled thirty miles to deliver a single stolen hatchet. While it does not seem odd for the stolen hatchet to be returned - as that was the goal of other contemporaneous Indian / English discourses - it would seem out of place for a community who was only lightly engaged with the newcomers in trade, having actually spent more time firing volleys of arrows and shot. Why didn't the hatchet stay at Nansemond, enter into the elite exchange, or even make a trip to Wahunsenacah? More than likely, it was because the werowances at Nansemond were attempting to win the alliance of the English and offer a different type of relationship. Such was the climate during the earliest years of the Jamestown venture. The exchange of a single hatchet (at the time in which it occurred) evidences that the Nansemond leadership were behaving in a very different mode than that of the Chickahominy and Paspehegh, and may reveal that they were exercising a level of autonomy in an environment were symbolic exchanges of controlled goods meant more than simply returning a stolen hatchet.

It is important to consider the differing ways in which local groups engaged with Wahunsenacah during the initial years of European settlement. Newly allied entities made strategic choices based on need, proximity, and varying factors of local strength,

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kinship alliance, and the pressures of hostility. That is to say that the Nansemond territory was similar to Patowomeck in its independence as a local chiefdom, but because hostilities from Wahunsenacah engulfed the surrounding geography, situational abdication of Nansemond lineage hegemony deferred to Wahunsenacah through a committed tributary relationship. However, there may have been a perceived opportunity for a change in the course of that tribute with the arrival and settlement of the English. Unfortunately, the pressure from the English did not move in that direction. Rather, because of conflict, southern alliances with Wahunsenacah increased in importance as English hostilities and hegemony escalated.

Patawomeke, the Eastern Shore, and the Northern Neck: Cases of Situational Tribute

At times, Wahunsenacah appears to have had to contend with warfare on two fronts of expansion and proliferation, the southern territory along the James River and the peninsulas north of the York. It would seem that due to the state of affairs c.1607, that he had been significantly more successful on the southern front, or at least that he had directed more intensive strategy there. As will be demonstrated in Chapter VII, this may have been because of Wahunsenacah's own kinship relatedness, and thus stronger motivation and alliance. To the north, the Rappahannock and Potomac drainages exhibited another set of configurations, as did the groups on the Eastern Shore.

As discussed in Chapter IV, the Potomac River groups (in particular that of Patawomeke) had a long standing tradition of alliance with varying chiefdom polities and coalescent communities along what is today the Potomac Valley and Patuxent River along the Virginia border with southern Maryland (Cissna 1986; Potter 1993). As of 1607

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these alliances were in a recent state of flux. The multi-lineage communities had varying situations of deference, autonomy, and influence from numerous political sources.

"The groups of the Rappahannock River, and the Accomac and Occahannocks of Virginia's Eastern Shore were part of what Helen Rountree (1989:14) has called Powhatan's 'ethnic fringe' – peripheral chiefdoms strongly influenced, though not absolutely dominated, by Powhatan. Other groups with lands along the right bank of the Potomac River – the Patowomekes and Tauxenents – probably were not part of Powhatan's ethnic fringe. Apparently, at the same time of Smith's explorations, the Patowomekes were attempting to maintain their autonomy, while the Tauxenents were influenced by the Conoy Chiefdom" (Potter 1993:19).

The Maryland Conoy and Pautexent areas were distinct from that of the Virginia political configurations. The Patowomeke communities formed a separate chiefdom complex and only situationally allied with relation to Wahunsenacah, as evidenced by the use of kinship terminologies described in Chapter III, and as has been described by Potter and Feest (1978a). The weak influence of Wahunsencah was probably only viable as long as there were reciprocal levels of gift exchange and advantageous political associations. The shunning of tributary gifts from Wahunsenacah and the quick alliance with the English place the chiefdom of Patawomeke apart from the other Virginia coastal plain Algonquians. Those at Patawomeke would be removed from the initial hostilities of the first Anglo-Powhatan wars that would force the Nansemond communities to stay allied to Wahunsenacah. The light hold of obligation to Wahunsenacah faded with the strategically and more lucrative association with the English. Hence the Patowomeke communities may have shared kinship with those within Powhatania, but appear to have had a rather fluid or situational level of alliance, and more importantly *allegiance*. Patawomeck was beyond the reach of conquest for Wahunsenacah.

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Very similar to the Patawomeke district, the Eastern Shore possessed several southerly chiefdoms as well as other groupings of lineages weakly developed into centralized authority structures (Rountree and Davidson 1997; Feest 1978b). It has only been suggested by previous authors (e.g. Rountree 1990) that the southern most of these groups were under Wahunsenacah's domination – Accomac and Occohannock. Apparently the Eastern Shore groups produced annual amounts of shell beads that Wahunsenacah sent canoes to collect; their tribute to the paramount was limited, fairly recent, and short lived (Rountree and Davidson 1997:48-51). Wahunsenacah's expansion continued eastward after 1596 (Kecoughtan) and proliferated towards Chesapeake c.1607. More than likely it was after or during this period that politicized reciprocal, but coercive, gift exchanges began between the Western and Eastern Shore chiefdoms.

Smith (1608) and Strachey's (1612) early accounts of the Eastern Shore indicate that the southern werowances there deferred to, or at least acknowledged, tributary status towards Wahunsenacah. I argue that their answer to European inquiries could be seen as much a "True Relation" as it could be situational acknowledgment of a known allied strength towards an unknown present danger. The English presence made multiple native groups uneasy - at times hostile, at times entering into trade. One can imagine the inquiry by the English leadership to the strength of the local forces, alliances, and enemies as being cause for alarm. Easily one can also consider the Eastern Shore response to the uncertain English intentions, as allying themselves quickly alongside of the native powerhouse in the region – which was true to a degree. However, by the time of the death of Wahunsenacah and the attacks of 1622, the Eastern Shore groups had begun to break ranks and renege on the reciprocal exchange network. They actually refused assistance to

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Opechancanough in the 1622 raids and alerted the English of Opechancanough's plans of poisoning them in 1621.

I argue that the early refusal of political, military, and trade reciprocity for both the Patawomeke and Accomac communities indicate a very situational relationship with Wahunsenacah, and that it must be stressed that any hegemony over those regions was more incomplete than in other areas. The balance between the polities was much more exchange oriented towards being mutually beneficial. When the benefits and advantages began to wane, so did the alliance of reciprocisity to Wahunsenacah and his heirs. This also supports Feest's (1978a) and Binford's (1991) position of placing the boundary lines around Wahunsenacah's firmer political organization south of the Rappahannock River, and not including the Potomac or Eastern Shore.

The closer Algonquian communities were to Wahunsenacah's proliferating paramount polity, the more difficult it was to ignore or deny some level of alliance with or against the increasing political influence. Kinship exchanges, rising stratification among related chiefly elite, the courting of proficient ceremonial figures, and the occupation of important geographies tended to influence and ally multiple aggregates prior to the rise of Wahunsenacah. Under the circumstances of a growing polity that incorporated the older forms of relatedness and utilized regional understandings of power and authority, it would be difficult for Rappahannock drainage populations to ignore a growing threat to their autonomy.

Previously, loosely allied groups of lineages occupied both sides of the Rappahannock River valley; only at the outbreak of hostilities and coercive activities from the Powhatan area did local populations reorient themselves to distance the

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challenges then presented. At the time of the Jamestown colony, an overwhelming majority of the documented village conglomerates were situated on the north side of the Rappahannock River. The exodus can be seen as an attempt to mitigate Powhatan expansion through geographical proximity. The comparative thirty odd villages on the northern bank to four along the southern bank, before the narrows, clearly illustrated the intensity of the reconfiguration.

The groups of the Northern Neck appear to have been less unified across territorial bounds, or at least within the compressed geography, exampled more lineages to have occupied specific use areas. Half of the total Northern Neck population resided within the Nantaughtacund district at the falls of the Rappahannock (Turner 1973:60). The lineages there seems to have been the largest concentration of Algonquians, and may account for their several villages (and truly only those of merit) being on the south side of the river (Map 6). Later, this population would have the same staying power as those at Weyanoke, then under the colonial name of Nanzatico until the beginning of the eighteenth century (Feest 1973; 1978a). Equally, other local groups became enmeshed in the Anglo-Indian conflicts spilling out of the James-York drainage, with much movement occurring around the Northern Neck and vicinity through the latter half of the seventeenth century (ibid:256; Potter 1993:194). It has become difficult to unravel the groups associated with specific geographies during this period due to poor records, general upheaval in settlement patterns. Also, the Algonquian practice of utilizing local names indicative of environs, compounded with European practices of essentializing Algonquian naming practices of geography with specific groups – even when they moved away.

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Several points can be made about the Rappahannock populations with regard to Wahunsenacah and the social organization of local lineages. First, the lineages of the Northern Neck were not completely subjugated by Wahunsenacah during the opening years of the seventeenth century. They may have been vulnerable, they may have engaged in reciprocal tribute exchanges, and they may have continued to participate in

Map 6. *The Territory of Nantaughtacund and the Segmented Groups at Cuttatawomen and Pissaseck* (Smith 1612).

kinship / socio-cultural affairs (albeit guarded) – but they were not firmly in Wahusenacah's "camp." I argue this based on some Northern Neck groups "neutrality" during the first series of Anglo-Indian wars (Rountree 1990:75) and their then lack of participation and resulting pursuit by the English after the 1644 hostilities. Logically,

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they were not "detached from Opechancanough's organization" by this time (ibid:87) but rather, they were never fully integrated or apart of the paramount that Wahunsenacah had developed. As early as 1615 Ralph Hamor described them along with Potomac River peoples as being separate from "Powhatan's subjects" (Rountree 1993:6). Even earlier, Strachey describes the river environs, the population and werowances thereof, to include the Rappahannock, (Strachey [1612] 1953:45) but *neglects to include them, along with those of the Potomac and Eastern Shore* in the

> "Catalogue of the severall petty Weroances Names within the precincts of Tsenacommacoh, *under the commaund of the great King Powhaton*, with the Denomination of the perticuler shyre (as it were) wherin they govern, together with what forces for the present they ar hable to furnish Powhatan in his Warrs.." (ibid:63; italics mine).

The communities of the Potomac drainage, the Eastern Shore, and the Rappahannock *were not* part of the paramountcy and did not act with the level of loyalty and conviction that the strong kinship and intimidation had produced in the south. Beyond individual agency, the broader evidence is just not there. Strachey's passage above *is not an omission* - it is *a commission*. It is not the Rappahannock neutrality that speaks to this evidence - it is the absence of the unification in war. As has been shown, war parties could be populated in a variety of manners through the authority of dominant lineage leaders and other social headmen. Companies of men organized across territorial divisions, even when leadership figures were at odds, calling upon kinship commitments that crosscut the broader society. The absence of the Rappahannock River, Patawomeke, and Accomac communities in this framework speaks loudly to their affiliations. They

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may have been Algonquian speakers, shared similar social-cultural forms, but they were not an "ethnic fringe" nor were they politically incapacitated.

Secondly, under the presumption of situational tribute to Wahunsenacah, the groups on the Northern Neck act with a level of equality during both the early years of English interaction and during the later period of colonial domination. During the first weeks of May 1607, the English survey of the James River encountered the "werwoance of Rappahanna" who came calling the English to visit him at the neighboring province of Quiyoughcohannock (Percy |1608| in Haile 1998:92). The werowance "seemed to take displeasure of our being with the Paspihes" and eventually convinced the English to cross the river for a formal introduction and gift exchange. There, he greeted the English by the waterside with a retinue of chief men; the werowance was highly adorned, wearing

"a crown of deer's hair colored red in fashion of a rose fastened about his knot of hair, and a great plate of copper on the other side of his head, with two long feathers in fashion of a pair of horns placed in the midst of his crown, his body painted all with crimson, with a chain of beads about his neck, his face painted blue, besprinkled with silver ore as we thought, his ears all behung with bracelets of pearl, and in either ear a bird's claw through beset with fine copper or gold; he entertained us in so modest a fashion as though he had been a prince of a civil government, holding a countenance without laughter or any such ill behavior. He caused his mat to be spread on the ground, where he sat down with great majesty, taking a pipe of tobacco, the rest of his company standing about him" (ibid:93).

Several comments can be made from this English description about the Rappahannock werowance and his associated actions. Primarily, because he carried such dignity, presence, and deference among men, the English saw him as royalty – and indeed, he was of a northern chiefly lineage. His ability to maneuver among Paspehegh, Quiyoughcohannock, and Rappahannock not only confirms his elite status, but also discloses that he may have carried more weight as a visiting dignitary – and not recently

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installed or deposed of autonomy. His "displeasure" with the English presence at Paspehegh may have been because of an interest in diverting alliances away from the upper James towards the Northern Neck (as with his compatriots at Patawomeke)[6] as much as it may have been in disdain for the colonial population installed at Paspehegh. Like the werowance at Weyanoke, the Rappahannock leadership may have had a level of insult from having to deal or compete with the "colonial" werowances of Wahunsenacah.

Several months later, during John Smith's captivity processional, Opechancanough elected to tour the heartland of Powhatan controlled provinces, but eventually headed north, taking Smith to Rappahannock "a kingdom upon another river" (Smith [1608] in Haile 1998:160). There, a general discussion ensued about the identity of Smith, some supposing that he might have been the captain of a European sailing vessel that assaulted the general vicinity and killed the previous Rappahannock werowance several years earlier. From Smith's account, it would appear that the current werowance of Rappahannock was related to the previous one – hence the concept of retribution discussed in Chapter III. The lineage of the two kinsmen must have been substantially respected, both for the way the werowance displayed himself as described by Percy, but more importantly, because Opechancanough took serious effort to arrange Smith's presentation at Rappahannock prior to arriving at Werowocomoco. Smith's captivity tour (Zuniga 1608) to Rappahannock indicate that Opechancanough's continuing overtures were made to cajole lineages of the Northern Neck that were still autonomous from the political domination of Wahunsenacah. These efforts were

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[6] The "silver ore" described by Percy was undoubtedly antimony traded from Patawomeke; the relationship between the two districts was probably strong via kinship and reciprocal exchanges.

probably seen as a combination of acknowledgement, such as tribute, and a chance to utilize obligatory commitments through clanship that may have waned beyond district bounds. In a sense, Smith's captivity trail to Rappahannock offered the leadership of Powhatania a situation that may have been perceived as the right set of circumstances to cultivate alliances.

The lineal succession of Rappahannock werowances in close proximity to 1607 indicates that Wahunsenacah did not previously take advantage of an opportunity that was similar to that at Kecoughtan. The village placement also points to a general distancing from Wahunsenacah, which might have been different if a werowance had been installed earlier. The retained prominence of the Rappahannock lineage can also be demonstrated in the ability of the werowance to maneuver fairly independently between polities; the visitation to the Southside provinces may have also indicated a safe proximity to engage the English, dealing with more recently acquired districts that still wavered in their political alliance.

Northern Neck communities also appear to have been engaged in some infighting among district werowances, possibly in competition for dominant lineage women. Smith's later voyages to the region described the Rappahannock communities as quarrelsome, and at considerable odds with the werowance at Moraughtacund because of recent bride thefts (ibid:269). Their relationship with Wahunsenacah was varied; at first arrival of the English, Sekakawon, Patawomeke, and Onawmanient warriors gave Smith's company a hearty welcome of arrows, per Wahunsencacah's request (ibid:260). Soon though, the relations with the English turned warmer, which must have frustrated

the Powhatan leadership as the English made firmer alliances with populations "more distant" and not under his domination.

Later in the century, the coalescent communities collectively referred to as Rappahannock, brokered several treaties with the counties of Lancaster (Lancaster County Orders 3:125-126) and Rappahannock (Old Rappahannock County Records 1:12-13). The treaties of 1653 and 1655 respectively, were outside of the 1646 treaties signed at the end of the 1644-46 hostilities. For the most part, the Northern Neck communities did not participate in that conflict, hence their absence from the Necotowance Treaty and reservation petitions prior to 1650 (Billings 1975:65-66). By the middle of the seventeenth century, whatever portion remained of Wahunsenacah's previous paramount organization was in shambles; the majority of all native groups began interacting with the English on their own terms (Rountree 1990:96). During this time, many of these groups became permanently known by their former territories of occupation.

Whether by English preference for dealing with one Indian leader as opposed to multiples, or because some semblance of the old paramount remained, at the close of hostilities from Bacon's Rebellion, the "Queen of Pamunkey" signed the treaty of Middle Plantation for large groups of native people in tidewater Virginia (Bill et al. 1677). Significantly, the headwoman of Weyanoke signed separately, as did the headman of Nansemond. Some independent groups were counted under Pamunkey, as later there were complaints from the Chickahominy and Rappahannock leadership, who refused to

pay the annual tribute to Cockacoeske,[7] the Pamunkey headwomen (Rountree 1990:103). Interestingly, other Northern Neck groups signed the 1680 version of the treaty - Portobacco, Nanzatico, and Nanzemond, indicating that the majority of the amalgamated peninsula was understood to be beyond the reach of the "traditional" Powhatan organization.

The last major, independent populations to be added to Wahunsenacah's paramount (Weyanoke, Nansemond) and the groups that remained in a variously autonomous and/or courting relationship with him (Chickahominy, Rappahannock) continued to function as independent polities soon after the dissolution of the organization. Although the tide of Europeans would engulf them, these groups operated at a functional level of autonomy to suggest that their forms remained submerged under the surface presentation of the Powhatan paramount, as representative of the foundational structures of socio-political organization in the Algonquian Chesapeake.

The last point of discussion, with regard to the Northern Neck, involves the difficulty, inconsistency, and misfit appearance of the region's population and social

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[7] Cockacoeske was the wife of Totopotomoy, the Pamunkey headman who followed Necotowance as the leader of that group after the death of Opechancanough. Cockacoeske was described by one seventeenth century author as being a descendant of Opechancanough. If Totopotomoy was also a lineal heir, then Cockacoeske "may have been his |Totopotomoy| cousin, as well as his wife" (McCartney 1989:175; brackets mine). That Cockacoeske succeeded her husband as "Queen of Pamunkey" supports earlier arguments made in Chapter II for elite endogamy and a preference among Algonquians for cousin marriages. I also would suggest that the name "Cockacoeske" is related to the terms "Cawcawwasough," "Cockarouse," and "Wiso" that delineated "chiefe men of accomplishment" (Anonymous 1635:73). I argue that it may be unclear as to what Cockacoeske's actual name might have been. Rather, I see "Cockacoeske" as a late century female version of names like "Cockarouse Tom" (Rountree 1990:109). Other Pamunkey headmen were also listed in the records of the c.1677 period, indicating the probable series of other lineages within the environs of Pamukney Neck (Bill Deyo, personal communication 2007). Their later successors or contemporaries were known as "Ms. Betty Queen ye Queen" and "Queen Ann" (McCartney 1989:190). Clearly, the /-eske/ or /-squa/ ending is the Algonquian feminine marker for the /caw•caw•wa•sough/ term, anglicized as /co•cka•rou•se/ and /co•cka•co•eske/. Compare /we•ro•wan•ce/ and /we•ro•wan•squa/.

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evolution. The groups between the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers have been portrayed with a varying degree of complexity as "chiefdoms" (Potter 1993), "small states" (Feest 1978a), and "tribes" (Rountree 1990). Turner (1973), with a hint of the problematic considerations discussed previously in this thesis, chose "territorial units" to describe the breakdown of coastal plain districts and associated polities. Easily, the foundational features of Algonquian society based around the lineage and the use of associated lands adequately portrays the communities of the Northern Neck for purposes here. I suggest that the majority of the community territories were organized at a lower level of stratification than other chiefdom complexes, possibly resembling the structure previously discussed for the Weapemoc and Roanoke of North Carolina. Surely, if each district was considered on Turner's population estimates, Nantaughtcaund (+750) at the maximum end of the scale would be a candidate as a standalone polity, as would possibly Wicocomoco (+520) and Rappahannock (+400) at the smaller end |compare Nansemond +800; Chickahominy +900; Patowomeke +800; Weyanoke +500| (ibid:60). During the latter half of the seventeenth century, these same groups are the more visible ones out of the original collection recorded by Strachey (1612) and Smith (1612). As Feest has outlined (1973:73) there are a number of problems with the Rappahannock River population data; in agreement, I also see the general appearance of the groups presented to be adequate enough in ratio to make some general statements.

There is not enough total population on the Northern Neck, at either Smith's figures (+1265) or Feest's recalibrated estimates (+2500-4000) to support *nine* independent chiefdoms: Lower Cuttatawomen, Moraughtacund, Rappahannock, Pissaseck, Nantaughtacund, Upper Cuttatawomen, Onawmanient, Sekakawon, and

Wicocomoco. What I believe to actually be present in the data are several conglomerates of dominant and minor lineage aggregates situated across their traditional geography. These groups may have been engaged with the former Patawomeke / Conoy paramount chiefdom, been independent communities with alliances across the region (which appear to have been in the past both on the middle peninsula and southern Maryland), apart of a previous separate unit,[8] and more recently - truly in upheaval because of the Powhatan expansion.

As discussed in Chapter III, when the size of communities reach over 500 individuals, the progression of evolutionary developments usually rely on some form of segmenting structure, like the moiety, to manage socio-political relations. Large populations, such as those over 1000, tend to segment "into local districts or wards which possess the outstanding characteristics of communities" (Murdock 1949:81). Goodenough (1941) suggests that communities require certain population densities to manage both subsistence and social forms. Groups organized as "neighborhood(s), with...families scattered in semi-isolated homesteads" usually average 250 individuals and "village(s), occupying a concentrated cluster of dwellings near the center of the exploited territory" usually maintain a median of 300 people. Steward (1936) argues that these averages were dominantly based on the type of resource exploitation, the ecology, and the technology of the cultural group. There, he agrees with Goodenaugh and estimates an average population of fifty to be the most likely size of a community

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[8] The old name for the river was Opiscatumeck, probably relating to Smith's single chief village of Opiscopank at the mouth of the Rappahannock River. Suspiciously near the conflict area of Piankatank on the Middle Peninsula, some communities along the southern shore of the Rappahannock may have represented refugee populations from a defunct chiefdom that included the lineages at Piankatank and Opiscopank. The period in which Smith produced his map condensed time elapses that would have altered the geopolitical landscape c.1607-1612.

invested in a hunting, gathering, or fishing economy with the exploitation range to be an average area of 100 square miles (ibid:333). Moore (2001) agrees with these estimates based on both ethnographic analogy and fieldwork from diverse groups across North America.

Moore and Moseley (2001) suggest that critical factors in population sustainability should also evaluate "sibships and lineages" to better understand the requirements of long-term viability, based on incest prohibitions. Further, they argue that the marriage practices, demography (sex ratio and distribution of sibship size), and fertility (birthrates and death rates) have an immense impact on statistically considering the probability of sustainability (Moore 2001:397). Moore's argument suggests that population estimates for some Virginia Algonquian groups (e.g. Turner 1973:60 [Cuttatawomen +80; Sekakawon +120]) would have had to rely on continued cross-territory exchanges for continued viability over a fairly narrow window of time.

Similarly, Swanton's (1979) data on the distribution of clanships among Southeastern groups, such as the Muskogee Creek, indicate that oldest villages possessed the lowest number of clan variables while the newer or fissioned villages had the highest (John H. Moore, personal communication 2007). Hence, it is probable that among settled groups of significant time depth (factored with Moore's marriage practices, demography, and fertility viability needs) village neighborhoods would have had varied population sizes, but that the sustainability of groups would be dependant upon a continued marriage exchanges across district lines (Moore 2001:405). Thus, I feel that there is a strong argument based on demographic probability that the local groups of the Northern Neck reflect a series of "sibling" fissions (Moore and Moseley 2001:528) and not independent

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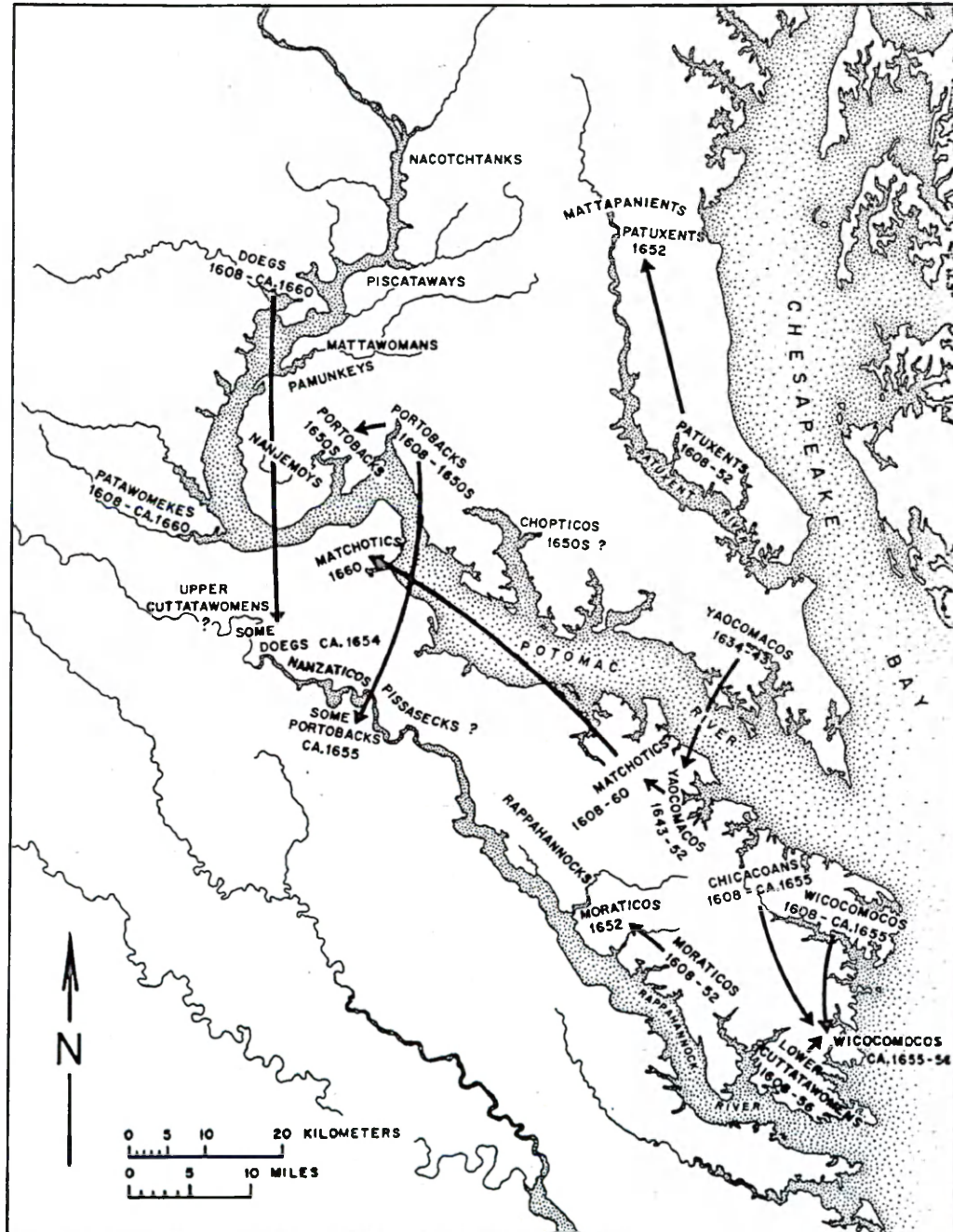
Map 7. *Movement of Northern Neck Groups c.1643-1660.*
Map by G. Robert Lewis (Potter 1993:194).

chiefdom polities of any considerable time depth. The small demographics of the overall

peninsula deny the likelihood that political autonomy for all nine groups would be

possible with the presence of the kinship exchanges needs.

Later in the colonial period, several of these groups "collapsed," "disappeared," (Rountree 1990) and or "lost their identities" (Potter 1993). The shift in population may also reveal the artificiality of the original presentation, as minor fissioned lineages coalesced back into dominant groups – in a sense the reverse of the social complexity evolution. Segmenting units returned to older affiliations and "collapsed" into the dominant and stronger forms (Map 7). From here, the Sekakawon (Chicoan) and Lower Cuttawomen lineages bonded under the Wicocomoco by the mid 1650s (Potter 1993:221); the Nantaughtacund (Nanzatico) appear to have taken in the Upper Cuttawomen and possibly Pissaseck minor groups by 1655 (Rountree 1990:120); groups from Maryland referred to as the Portobaco and the Doeg seem to have settled in the midst of the Nanzatico around 1655, complicating matters (Potter 1993:194); the Moraughtacund (Moratico) group moved up the peninsula among the Rappahannock communities around 1652 (ibid) only to follow that dominant lineage towards the combined settlements along the upper drainages of the Rappahannock River in 1683-84 (Rountree 1990:120); the Onawmanient group, then known as the Machodoc, moved up the Potomac River leaving their locale by 1657-59 (Feest 1978a:256) and possibly had allied under both those at Nanzatico (Rountree 1990:122) or at Patowomeke c.1660 (Bill Deyo, personal communication 2007).

In brief, the dominant lineages of the Northern Neck subsumed the minor divisions, lesser groups, and lower populations. The major groups were left standing c.1650, with most of the minor affiliates already sheltered by the more substantive groups. Equally, it should be remembered that lineage prominence in the early seventeenth century Algonquian world was predicated on matters of wealth building and

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alliance, both of which involved women and hereditary use rights to land bases. Once the traditional elements of wealth were corrupted during the first quarter of the century and new power alliances were brokered with the English, it would only require land loss to upset a lineage's prominence – and eventually upset the entirety of the Algonquian social structure (Rountree 1973). Small groups that lost land because of encroachment or forced debt repayments for trade were then dependant on previous underlying kinship relations to harbor and subsume the faltering lineage bands. By the mid seventeenth century, the communities referred to as the Nantaughtacund (Nanzatico), Rappahannock, and Wicocomoco were the remaining dominant groups – all others were allied under these or other local groups (such as Patawomeke).

All the name flopping tends to deny the real undercurrent: lineages had certain rights and descent rules governing who was in charge and who occupied certain geographies. The move by groups from Lower Cuttawomen and Sekakawon to Wicocomoco consolidated two smaller populations with one larger one; if those groups' populations were viewed as one during the initial years of European settlement, they might have looked a bit more like a stratified chiefdom [+ 760] (Turner 1973:60). However, the point is to illustrate that the communities of the Northern Neck were less hierarchial, which can partially be exampled by their various seemingly equal leadership divisions within both a small geography and small populations. The shoring up of the group divisions during the mid seventeenth century appears to have been defensive, but surely was reliant on previously understood alliances, kinship divisions, and lineages. Otherwise, why might the English have known the group within the Wicocomoco territory as the Sekakawon or Cuttawomen? Most of the consolidation would have been

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relatively easily accomplished, albeit with more stress on the lineage heads, via the crosscutting societal divisions of clan and moiety structures. Not only present on the Northern Neck, but truly across the Chesapeake, the recurrent theme for the Algonquian communities relied on situating themselves through understandings of kinship.

Piankatank – The Troubled Outlier

The last group to be added to Wahunsenacah's paramount chiefdom occupied southern shores of the Rappahannock River, off a small tributary referred to as Piankatank. Most of the communities along the northeastern portion of the Middle Peninsula had fled to more secure residences across the Rappahannock, probably in the wake of the Powhatan expansion. The Piankatank province, a "small, apparently inoffensive...group," was attacked and emptied of its population in the fall of 1608 (Strachey [1612] 1953:44; Rountree 1990:27). While the cause of the attack was reputed to be "unknown" to the English, the Powhatan aggression, broadly in the region, should be considered as an appropriate context for the native perspective.

In developing a composite of the Piankatank socio-political environs, scanty references by Smith (1608) and Strachey (1612) provide the majority of the first hand accounts of the tumultuous times. Smith mentions being escorted by the headwaters of the Piankatank during his captivity, and later adjusts his recollection to include visiting the villages of the lower drainage (Smith (1624) in Haile 1998:237). During his subsequent voyages through the region, Smith (1612) recorded four settlements between the Rappahannock and Piankatank drainages: two dominant lineage houses of Parankatank and Opiscopank, each with unnamed minor villages within the vicinity.

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Strachey provides additional insight into Powhatan practices of warfare, political coupe

detat, and forced assimilation through lineage domination:

> "Powhatan surprised the naturall Inhabitants of Payankatank his neighbors, and subjectes, the occasion was to us unknown; but the manner was thus performed: First, he sent divers of his men to lodge amongst them one night, (pretending a generall hunt,) who were to give the Alarum unto an Ambascado, of a greater Company within the woodes, who upon the sign given at the hower appointed, environed all the howses, and fell to the execucion: Twenty fower men they kil'd, (the rest escaping by fortune, and their swift footemanshipp) and the long harye of the one side of their heades, with the skyne cased off with shells, or reeds, they brought away to Powhatan: they surprised also the women, and Children, and the Weroance, all whome they presented to Powhatan; the lockes of haire with their skyns, they hanged on a lyne between 2. trees..." (Strachey |1612| 1953:44).

Strachey alludes to the relationship between the lineages of Piankatank and that of

Wahunsenacah as being in the courting or coercive stage of engagement, being both "his

neighbors, and subjectes." The communities of Piankatank, like those of the Northern

Neck, were engaged in the customary reciprocal exchange network of trade, alliances,

and kinship interchange. The result intended by Wahunsenacah was to be aimed at

inclusion into the wider labyrinth of Powhatan hegemony, the Piankatank probably at

marshaling a strategic union that would secure their stasis of power in a vacuum of

independent alliances along the southern shores of the Rappahannock. In a sense, the

Piankatank leadership may have been attempting to resist outright submission through

posturing, possibly utilizing previous prominence in the region in association with the

then defunct Opiscopank territory. The cause of the Opiscopank's falter in importance is

unknown; clearly the river on which the communities lived was then referred to as

Rappahannock (ibid:45). Equally, Strachey is unclear as to which settlement was attacked

out of the four in the vicinity, or if indeed it was simultaneous at all locations. One can presume at the very least, Parankatank itself was the main thrust of the assault.

Feest (1973:73) agrees that the information surrounding the Piankatank and Opiscopank province is scanty, likely owing to Smith's short time in the region and the rearrangement of the district by the time of Strachey's involvement. Smith offers no information about Opiscopank, although he marks the township with a king's house in his 1612 map. Similarly, Strachey does not record any significant insight into Opiscopank being a province in its own right per Smith. Considering the river's name and Smith's drawing, we may infer that Opiscopank was a province at some point, but events surrounding the Powhatan expansion have obscured the native tenure on the Middle Peninsula. However by 1608, it's clear that Piankatank was the remaining lineage seat with prominence in the area, possibly subsuming the Opiscopank lineage relations. The 1608 strike at Parankatank may have been a "finishing off" of a previously begun siege, eradicating what remained of a previously substantial independent polity. I argue that Piankantank was actually a minor lineage to Opiscopank, and that the last move of Powhatan proliferation exercised an act of brutality against a group that was already fairly subdued – in a sense replicating the message of the Chesapeake annihilation for display to the native inhabitants as much as for the English.

Furthering the arguments presented above for the Paspehegh and the Kecoughtan, after Wahunsenacah deposed the remaining lineage werowances of Piankatank, he allowed a "new" population to resettled the province. Significantly, this population was comprised of the previous "Kecoughtan" membership, having been quartered in the heartland of Powhatania for eleven years.

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"the Inhabitants whereof are but fewe; not nowe above 40. or 50. and are the remayne of the conquered Kecoughtans, who Powhatan transported thither for in the yeare 1608 (Strachey [1612] 1953:44).

Clearly it would seem that the Kecoughtan youth of the 1597 raid had come of age, and having been loyal, intermarried, and reoriented towards Wahunsenacah's vision were then able to argue for their "freedom" from Pamunkey Neck. More than likely, the population installed at Piankatank was heavily interwoven into the Powhatan kinship alliances and perceived to have been "rehabilitated" and not representing a threat to Wahunsenacah. Equally, select captive women from elite Piankatank lineages were also available as marriage partners, furthering the colonization process. What the events represent surrounding the Piankatank conquest and the installed population from Kecoughtan is the fairly comfortable position and security Wahunsencah felt during the brief period of proliferation. The control Wahunsenacah exhibited during these proliferative years (1597-1609) can be demonstrated by his ability to annihilate entire provinces, coerce large chiefdoms into tributary status, and replace conquered districts with subjugated populations.

Chapter VI

Roughing In the Argument

Algonquian speaking peoples of the Mid-Atlantic experienced a period of transition, upheaval, and reorganization during the years leading up to the founding of the Jamestown colony in 1607. Over the course of several centuries, horticultural pursuits and resource management contributed to increasing social complexity across the Chesapeake. Increased populations and shifts in subsistence strategies predicated the development of more extensive kinship ties and reliance on reciprocal exchange networks. Differential access to resources and consolidation of social power structures gave rise to more extensive wealth building (i.e. women, rare trade goods, non-seasonal foods), furthering the social stratigraphy. Gradually, Algonquian societies that had come to be organized based on matrilineality began to shift various types of social organization rules such as descent reckoning, marriage practices, and residency. Rising members of elite lineages began focusing more heavily on wealth building and masculine political dominion through exchange networks that centered on kinship and status. Facilitating the development of more extensive reciprocal responsibilities, cross cutting social mechanisms (i.e. clan and moiety) bound communities across territorial use lands. At the time of Wahunsenacah's rise to power, the politics of war, crafted alliances, and an increased social stratification had become the currency in the Mid-Atlantic.

Prior to Wahunsenacah's ascension to the head of the joint lineages from Powhatan and Pamunkey, I have argued that his ancestors consolidated power structures along the upper James and York drainages, forming an alliance between chiefdoms.

Thus, Wahunsenacah inherited a paramount chiefdom composed of Powhatan, Pamunkey, Mattaponi, Arrohateck, Orapax, Youghtanund, and Appamattuck. Governed by elite lineages, local groups controlled territorial use lands, resources, and trade routes. As discussed in the preceding chapters, the catalyst for the expansion of this organization can be attributed to a number of environmental, historical, and situational factors.

As shown in Chapter V, the socio-political appearance of Virginia Algonquians at the turn of the seventeenth century had more to do with their social position and political condition vis-à-vis the expansion and proliferation of Wahunsenacah than it did with their socio-political organization. Between the lines of ethnohistory, the deeper structures remain. However, this section of my discussion is not directed towards the expansionist motivations of Wahunsenacah or his ancestors' increased socio-political complexity. The causal components for change in the Chesapeake are as varied as their academic abstractions. I am however, interested in the review of the primary record and evaluating the evidence presented by previous researchers as to the composition of Wahunsenacah's political organization – which I argue was heavily influenced across Algonquian society by understandings of kinship.

During this chapter, I argue that there are problematic areas with academic interpretation of the primary record (e.g. Feest 1973) that are in need of being addressed, as opposed to discarded. In several instances in the past (i.e. Mook 1944), academic inquiry has dismissed conflicting primary sources in favor of focusing on accounts that fit neatly into a proposed abstraction, particularly when dealing with a lack of uniformity in Algonquian descent reckoning and the composition of the Powhatan chiefdom. In contrast, I suggest that areas of inconsistency in the primary record are windows of

opportunity to explore new ideas and seek solutions to problematic areas of analysis. Before examining which groups composed the Powhatan Chiefdom, I investigate the academic criteria used to distinguish or identify groups. As will be shown, this section of the inquiry reveals complications of arbitrariness and a misunderstanding of the basic grouping mechanisms of the kinship system. Equally, by not addressing the processes by which communities within Powhatan's organization became apart of the paramountcy, issues develop surrounding the uncritical application of "grouping criteria" to sets of communities that have uneven or differential experiences. This section is as much about questioning the boundaries and division by which these groups historically can be demonstrated to have developed, as it is about reexamining the historical careers of identified groups in question. Cautiously, I do not enter into this discussion with a level of absolutism. My interest lies in the reassessment of the primary record and challenging the accepted interpretations in areas where there have been omissions, avoidance, and a lack of comprehension.

A Critical Reassessment of the Evidence: Confronting the Documentary Record

As outlined by Christian Feest (1973:66) any serious inquiry into the seventeenth-century Virginia Algonquians must contend with several "problems" presented by the data available. In particular, when studying the population and the political / geographic position of communities, there is difficulty in assessing the "reliability and accuracy" of Smith's and Strachey's writings. Some of the challenge develops because of inconsistencies and contradictions, others because of an obvious lack of depth and understanding of some the Algonquian cultural practices. Cartographic evidence for the

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Algonquian landscape is stressed as much by poor handwriting as it is by omissions between these authors. Most relevant for discussions of "groupness" and political placement within Wahunsenacah's organization are William Strachey's "extra" tribes – recorded and discussed by him, but not by John Smith. Weighing the reliability between mutually valuable and important primary sources has been a thorn for Virginia researchers for some years. In addition to Feest's outlined "problem" areas, I see conflict among contemporary academic discussions of socio-political complexity, political boundaries, and what Turner (1973:57) has discussed as the number of "territorial units" comprising the Powhatan Chiefdom. That is, there is a sharp contrast in the primary document's names and number of groups available for influence by Wahunsenacah on the one hand, and the boundaries devised by researchers of his political organization on the other. This last challenge is the subject of Chapter VII.

When considering the primary sources there are challenges with the conditions under which the documents were created, as well as temporal differences that affect the calculated results. Smith appears not to have had as complete or comprehensive understanding of the upper York drainage as he did the environs closer to Jamestown, and therefore at times make his reports incomplete (Feest 1973:72). Strachey seems to have a firmer grasp of the geo-political landscape through comparing Smith's accounts and probable "interviews with native informants" (ibid).

Two conflicts emerge from comparing the written sources and cartographic information. First, there are inconsistencies between the records (i.e Smith vs. Strachey) as well as a lack of correlation with the written accounts to the cartography (i.e. Smith and Strachey vs. Zuniga and Smith). Examples here include Smith's notation of "Kings

houses," such as at Opiscopank, but without discussion of the groups in the text; Strachey's enumeration of werowances and warriors in Pamunkey Neck, such as at Paraconos, that Smith completely omits; the illustrations of "Kings houses" along the Upper York on the Zuniga map that Smith counts as "groups," such as at Youghtanund, but that are not indicated on the Smith map in name or with any "Kings house."

Second, the temporal period during which the Virginia data was collected has been condensed, obscuring changes in village compositions and political affiliations. The relationships among groups changed vis-à-vis their social position and political posture towards both the English and Wahunsenacah during the period in which the Jamestown narratives unfolded. The following examples includes

1) Smith's 1607-1608 discussion of the Piankatank / Opiscapank and Chesapeake districts prior to or near the time in which they were assaulted by Wahunsenacah (having their populations rearranged) and the inclusion of their precincts in his 1612 map;

2) the movement of Wahunsenacah from Werowocomoco to Orapax may have resulted in Smith including Orapax as a "Kings house" on his map, but not in his earlier warrior count;

3) the native evacuation of Paspehegh occurred soon after 1610, but Smith includes the territory as occupied with a "Kings house" on the west side of the Chickahominy River in 1612, where as the Zuniga map notates two locations on either side of the river's mouth for the werowance's residence. Possibly, as the Paspehegh province began to distance it self from the reaches of Jamestown, the capital town shifted west - producing varying reports by the English about its location.

The challenges associated with the "flattening" of time in depictions of the geo-political landscape requires further discussion, but first there needs to be an evaluation of academic presentations of the primary record to better understand how ignoring this

important concept has lead to an essentialization of the Powhatan political landscape and an obscuring of kinship relationships that shaped Algonquian society.

Setting the Stage for the Powhatan: A Review of Scholarly Abstractions

At the turn of the twentieth century, James Mooney described the Virginia Algonquians as the "Powhatan Confederacy." As Frederick Gleach (1997:23-24) correctly points out, Mooney's "Confederacy" was not meant to be a "voluntary alliance," but rather a confederation of groups "founded on conquest and despotic personal authority" via Wahunsenacah (1907:136). Mooney saw a varying relationship with Virginia Algonquians to Wahunsenacah, deeming some to be more in league with "their master" than others (ibid). However, Mooney failed to recognize the relationship of Wahunsenacah within the cosmological and kinship system that positioned him to engage in expansion beyond the bounds of the upper York and James Rivers. Instead, he identified Wahunsenacah as acting outside of Algonquian socio-political practices "governing rather by his own personality than according to tribal custom" (ibid).

Mooney explored Wahunsenacah's use of kinship as a mechanism to affect political change, discussing captive women, population transplants, and the installation of werowances. To "make his position more secure, he placed his sons or brothers as chiefs in several principal towns, while he himself ruled from his own capital" (ibid). Unfortunately, lacking an understanding of the significance of both Werowocomoco and the patterns of elite marriage exchange within the Chesapeake, Mooney's view of the "Powhatan Confederacy" was based on varying degrees of groups' political submission to Wahunsenacah as a tyrant. Never fully articulating the connection between the degrees

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of relatedness and political manifestations, Mooney's "Confederacy" uncritically included wide swaths of the coastal plain, but in so doing diluted the cultural mechanisms associated with Wahunsenacah's expansion in favor of the political theater of his proliferation.

During his research in the 1950s and subsequent dissertation in 1964, Lewis Binford identified kinship development as one of the key processes by which the original Powhatan Chiefdom evolved. However, he spent the majority of his thesis on cultural diversity - calculating resource values as related to social complexity and the "functional specialization" of numerous settlement types (1991:84). While some of his arguments do not always appear to be culturally based [i.e. work + time = value] there are some correlations within his rating of socio-political manifestations based on ecological / habitation zones. Based on his methodology, it is not surprising to see Binford focused on the use of measurements and scales, calculating an argument that presents his desired results. Binford was not particularly critical of the figures cited in the primary documents of the seventeenth century. He however did, take great care to elucidate key points through the use of direct quotes, mostly from Smith and Strachey.

Challenging Binford's settlement descriptions and population estimates does little to alter his conclusions. Truly, despite the variability or arbitrary nature of some of the material presented, there is a general pattern that appears to be consistent throughout his argument. However, by accepting some conflicting primary records at face value, Binford added to the growing trend by Virginia researchers to not critically engage areas where factual accounts contradicted or disturbed the hypothesis. In this case, Binford did not wholly reject "the possibility of 'historical' factors contributing to the disproportionate

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population distribution," settlement locations, and political groupings – but preferred to argue that the varying factors were "adaptive" strategies related to ecology and that those factors were primary in the appearance of the Powhatan chiefdom (Binford 1991:76).

For purposes here, the strongest contribution Binford made to the socio-political context is his definition of the "political area" of the Powhatan as described by Speck (1928:232); it is both ironic and unfortunate that he did not elaborate more fully in how he came to his conclusion of fourteen territorial communities, aside from following Speck (1928:Plate 1). His inclusion of the districts of

1) Kecoughtan	6) Appamattuck	11) Pamunkey
2) Paspehegh	7) Quiyoughcohannock	12) Werowocomoco
3) Weyanoke	8) Warraskoyack	13) Chiskiack
4) Arrohateck	9) Youghtanund	14) Orapax
5) Powhatan	10) Mattaponi	

were apparently based upon Smith and Strachey, only wavering from Speck by including Warraskoyack and Quiyoughcohannock. The irony revolves around the fact that his group-count and "village" capital count are equal, although not exactly coterminous – owing mostly to his "types of recognized settlement patterns" (Binford 1991:83). Thus, Binford used the data and figures presented by Smith and Strachey to argue for types of structural functionalism within populations, settlements, and social complexities without explaining anomalies in the primary record about relative levels of "groupness."

Equally, he seemed unconcerned with the implications of unfolding historical events that alter the political landscape, such as the invasion of Chesapeake and Piankatank as relevant to his arguments about ecological adaptation / determination of

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settlements and population densities. That these native interactions took place before intensified European settlements began to alter the socio-political landscape creates a curiosity in Binford's choices surrounding the incorporation of some groups, but not others, within such a narrow time frame of the Powhatan expansion. Acknowledging his later chapters on "direct historical approaches," it seems counterintuitive to slice the Powhatan timeline so thinly during a period where settlements and populations were shifting in close geographies.

One might wonder why Binford would consider Orapax as a group within the political area of the Powhatan chiefdom, but discount the Chesapeake or the Piankatank. Orapax is not figured on the Zuniga map in a named form, absent from Smith's early warrior count – but is present in Strachey's writings and Smith's later map. During the interim between the records (1608-1612) Orapax was occupied by Wahunsenacah, Chesapeake was annihilated, and Piankatank invaded. I am not debating whether it is appropriate to include Orapax as a group or not, but rather how Binford made decisions about which sets of figures and data to include in his statistical analysis. Without some discussion as to the motivations behind incorporating certain political geographies and excluding others, Binford left room for speculation about the how the layering and dissection of evidence took place. Even so, and despite marginal irregularities, Binford may have been more accurate than the researchers that followed him in describing the dominant groupings of Algonquian lineages that composed the Powhatan paramountcy. But it would appear that he arrived at that determination without fully divulging an explanation of the reasoning for that portion of his argument.

During the early 1970s, E. Randolph Turner III investigated the development of the Powhatan as a chiefdom (Turner 1976) arguing that by 1607 the political organization of Wahunsenacah "had expanded through warfare...to include approximately thirty territorial units" (Turner 1973:57). The boundaries of the chiefdom, as described by Turner, stretched from the southern shores of the Potomac River in Maryland, east over the Eastern Shore, and west along the fall line to the North Carolina border (ibid). Acknowledging some flexibility, Turner portrayed the northern Rappahannock and Eastern Shore portions of the region as being loosely affiliated with the Powhatan organization (Turner 1976:129-133). An evaluation of Turner's (1973) population estimates and "unit" groupings present certain opportunities to reveal areas of problematic interpretation that widely plagued Virginia researchers during an earlier period of inquiry, but have been more recently ignored, overlooked, and discarded.

Turner, like other researchers of the middle quarters of the twentieth century (e.g. Speck 1928; Mook 1944) grappled with the conflicting accounts from numerous seventeenth-century sources about the number and names of groups under (or in league with) Wahunsenacah. Some of these debates were primarily focused on establishing reasonable Pre-Columbian population estimates for the Americas (e.g. Dobyns 1966). Like Feest (1973:66), Turner noted that the seventeenth-century population of Virginia was not a pre-contact population, owing that there may have been both disease and warfare that altered the population densities of the coastal plain. In agreement with Mook (1944:202-203), Swanton (1979:257), and Binford (1967:196) Turner argued that there was a significant correlation between the population distribution / mass and the "physiographic characteristics" of upriver ecological niches (Turner 1973:59). However,

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while Mook observed the pattern between population and ecological zone, he argued that historical factors "rather than physical environmental factors seem more pertinent in an explanatory hypothesis," suggesting that the differences between the population densities of saltwater and freshwater habitats was a result of "Powhatan's conquests in the east and the later pressure of the earliest English settlements on the lower course of the rivers" (Mook 1944:203). While Turner (1973) remained silent on the historical vs. ecological debate, Binford tasked the "historical" premise presented by Mook, correctly questioning Mook's example of how English settlers could both affect and record the population of the coastal area simultaneously (Binford 1991:75). However, Binford muddled his own research design by arguing that there were no recorded accounts of large population movements away from coastal areas "at the first sight of English ships" (ibid). Unfortunately for Binford's retort, large populations *did* shift during the immediate years surrounding the founding of Jamestown – particularly away from coastal areas (Kecoughtan c.1597, Chesapeake c.1607, Piankatank 1608). Thus, highlighting examples of defects in Binford's argument should allude to difficulties with Turner's population distribution / ecological zone theories, as they are based on similar premises.

Turner (1973) evaluated population densities per square mile of the Virginia coastal plain, using Mooney's (1907) population estimates of three and one-half to five multiplied times Smith and Strachey's warrior counts. For districts not calculated by Mooney, Turner used a median between Smith and Strachey multiplied times four. The result appeared to show a higher settlement density along the upper reaches of the tidewater river systems, particularly along areas where there was a transition from one ecological zone to another. Turner was quick to note however, that two areas along the

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lower reaches of the Chesapeake peninsulas contrasted significantly in his expected averages. First, on the Rappahannock River, the lower Northern Neck was calculated to be the densest of all regions within the coastal plain. Second, immediately across the river, the lower Middle Peninsula was measured to be the "lowest population density within the coastal plain" (Turner 1973:58-59). Turner adjusted these saltwater zone anomalies by averaging them together before inserting them into the larger framework. Collectively, I argue that while there is some merit to accepting Binford and Turner's hypothesis of population density and eventual social complexity as correlate to the "carrying capacity of the ecological zones utilized through aboriginal subsistence systems" (ibid), Mook's (1944:203) argument of historical factors influencing the data cannot be ignored or overlooked.

Obviously the lower portion of the Northern Neck would be a densely inhabited area if the entire southern shore of the Rappahannock River fled across the water to shield their communities from Wahunsenacah's expansion. Equally, if the lower Middle Peninsula c.1607 was an area under continued reprisals or punitive attacks, it would result in to the evacuation / depopulation of the region in favor of the safety of the Northern Neck as well as the fading of prominence of the territory of Opiscopank. Thus the assault on Piankatank could clearly lead to the removal of residents from that general vicinity.

In tandem, the district of Chesapeake is also problematic for population density arguments. Smith (1608) enumerated them at 100 warriors, possibly prior to the invasion by Wahunsenacah; Strachey discounts considering their warrior count because of extinction ([1612] 1953:105). Therefore, I am left to conclude that either Smith recorded

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a pre-attack estimate, or more likely that Smith recorded the number of a transplanted population that Strachey referred to as the "new Inhabitants that now people Chessapeak again" (ibid:108). If the latter is the case, the Chesapeake population, like that of the upper peninsulas, reflects a political reorganization that cannot be considered reliable for comparative purposes based solely on subsistence carrying capacity. Equally, as I shall detail below, the upper reaches of the York River's population reflected a higher density based on settlements swollen with transplant populations as a result of Wahunsenacah's expansion and proliferation. Thus, while I believe that Binford and Turner are accurate in generalizing the relationship between ecological specialization and increased sociopolitical complexity, like Mook, I argue that historical factors must be considered when evaluating the appearance of settlement distribution, population density, social organization, and political affiliations.

Turner (1973) relied heavily on corroborations between Smith and Strachey when devising his "territorial units," allowing almost exclusively only groups recorded and named by both authors. He varied from that practice only slightly when comparing Smith to Strachey, as with the example mentioned above for Chesapeake. When viewing Strachey's materials compared to Smith, Turner tended to ignore or discount completely groups counted and named by Strachey, but not recorded by Smith. The pattern of ignoring Strachey's enumerations appears to have begun earlier, during colonial times, when the memory of groups faded and access to the archived material of the Virginia Colony was an ocean away. Early academic inquiry substantiated the practice, with most researchers favoring the neat, clean package of Smith's writings and map over Strachey's troublesome "additional" groupings (e.g. Mooney 1907). Third quarter twentieth-century

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investigators began to address and debate the issue, resulting in a divide between those who accepted Strachey's data (e.g. Feest 1973, 1978a), those who continued to ignore Strachey's data (e.g. Turner 1973; Rountree and Turner 2003), or those who took a conservative approach and only accepted small portions of both Smith and Strachey (e.g. Binford 1991). Surprisingly, the academic commentary over the last quarter century has been a complacent and deliberately ignored the issue, in favor of more convenient explanations for the anomalies and a disregard for the implications behind the essentialism now prevalent. Figure 6 in Chapter VII best summarizes these divisions within the academy, and highlights both the contrasts in the interpretations and accentuates the complications of not continuing the scholarly discourse on the subject.

A prime example that may be illustrated here would be the consideration of Turner's "territorial units." Understandably, Turner was hesitant to label these socio-political groups as "tribes," (as Gleach [1997:22] surprisingly has), reticent to consider them as chiefdoms in their own right (as Potter [1993:1] discouragingly has), and not willing to use the terms interchangeably (as Rountree [1990:6, 10] unfortunately has). While it is conveniently easier to categorize larger aggregates of these "units" as chiefdom complexes (e.g. Rountree 1989:117), it is wrong to consider individual precincts as operating in social and political isolation. Thus, analyzing previous researcher's inclusion or exclusion of groups named, discussed, or illustrated in primary documents allows for an illumination of the inconsistency and problematic areas of interpretation. Relative to Turner's "territorial units," would be his decision to consider Werowocomoco as a unit but not Orapax, Piankatank a unit but not Opiscapank, Pamunkey a unit but not Kupkicock, among others.

Wahunsenacah remained on the York River at Werowocomoco until 1609, at which time he retired from the vicinity and moved his residence to Orapax along the upper Chickahominy River. Smith (1612) does not include Orapax in his list of district warrior counts, but does include it on his map (1612) with the figure of a "Kings house." Strachey includes Orapax within his set of additional groups, enumerating the district to have had fifty warriors (Strachey [1612] 1953:69). The Zuniga (1608) map does not include the location of Orapaks within the upper Chickahominy environs, however the Velsasco (1610) map does record its location above the narrows of the river. Therefore, there are two omissions of Orapax before 1609, and three confirmations of it by 1612. In addition, while Werowocomoco features prominently in the early literature and is featured on all contemporaneous maps, it leaves the primary record fairly shortly after Wahunsenacah's departure. Despite the omissions, it is doubtful that either location "remained unoccupied during [Wahunsenacah's] absence" (Feest 1973:68). More importantly, it is improbable that either location was without a dominant lineage, managing the local group's use lands and negotiating relations with satellite towns; both Orapax and Werowocomoco are surrounded by "ordinary houses" scattered along the banks of the Pamunkey and York Rivers.

Thus, Turner's choice to include Werowocomoco, but omit Orapax within his count of "territorial units" evokes questions about the methods he employed to establish the parameters for his "units." Comparatively, the Northern Neck subgroup of Pissasec made the list without population estimates from Smith, or ever being mentioned by Strachey. While I disagree with the placement of any groups north of the Rappahannock River being enumerated within the Powhatan Chiefdom, my main objection with

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Pissaseck being included on Turner's list is not the omission of one group over another, but that there appears to have been an uneven application of the methodology used to determine "groupness." In turn, the omissions and inclusions have been continually repeated by researchers, without enough clarification or presented evidence to resolve the conflict. Hence, the acceptance of academic arbitrariness has perpetuated "units" to constitute "groups," fostering a snowball of tribal / chiefdom essentialism.

At the close of the twentieth century, Helen C. Rountree emerged as the foremost scholar in Virginia Algonquian studies. Having wrestled with the late century debates herein described, she appears to have outlasted other scholarly arguments with great fortitude and conviction - publishing more manuscripts on the Powhatan than any other individual. However, the plethora of material doesn't equate to having resolved the complex issues debated, nor produced the best argument – only that it is the last argument to be heard. Further, Rountree's work has unfortunately reinforced inconsistent or uncritical thinking about the social politics of kinship and thus produced a codification of possible errors.

Few contenders have taken Rountree to task on her lack of vigor for social theory, the absence thereof, or her socio-political presentation of the Powhatan (e.g. Gleach 1997:28-29). Others have focused on aspects of Algonquian society that looked for deeper cultural meaning (e.g. Williamson 2003). While Rountree has remained the pillar of Algonquian studies in the Mid-Atlantic region, there has been little movement towards resolving the discussions of the mid-century, in favor of accepting a rationalist[1] view of

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[1] Here, I am using the term "rationalist" to refer to "rationalism," or the "doctrine which holds that knowledge can be derived from reason without the necessity of prior experience" (Barnard

the Powhatan polity. There are still similar issues surrounding concepts of "groupness," the acceptance of some primary sources with the discount of others, and thinly sliced temporal representations that do little more than assist the construction of the event level without deeper appreciation of the mechanisms that form the conjuncture between the timeline and the deeper structure. Further, it would appear that Rountree, for all of her attention to detail and scrutiny of documentary evidence, has like others, overlooked kinship analysis as significant to "pensée sauvage," and thus producing an improper or incomplete evaluation of the primary sources.

Recent responses to Rountree have focused on the last of these issues, tending to reorient the Powhatan discussion towards a more anthropological methodology (e.g. Gallivan 2007). Gleach's theoretical perspective focuses on the conjuncture level, arguing that while Rountree produces "an excellent synthesis" of the Powhatan, she as many others, narrowly focuses on the unfolding events of the seventeenth century without having sufficient perspective on the cultural system that produced them (1997:6-21). While Gleach attempts to reconcile the historical process with the cultural structure, Williamson turns attention directly towards the Powhatan structural foundations, arguing that a revision of Powhatan studies needs to be constructed from deeper "cultural categories" that include cosmology, symbolism, and dualisms of power and authority mediations (2003:1-15). Thus, Rountree has more recently (2005) defined herself as tackling the Powhatan from the perspective of an ethnohistorian, relying less on anthropology and more on the historical record to form her constructions of the

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2000:208). Sahlins (1995:148-189) positions "practical rationality" against native empiricism or "cultural logic."

Chesapeake. Possibly, this distancing from anthropology under the safer methodological cloak of history has allowed Rountree to stave off criticisms that are directed towards a more anthropological investigation of culture. However, even areas that have previously relied on direct historical approaches, such as archaeology, are beginning to access the merits of revisiting concepts of constructivism (Kohl 1998) and essentialism that has been prevalent in the last quarter of the twentieth-century's versions of the Powhatan (Gallivan and Klein 2004).

A common expression or notion found in Mid-Atlantic Algonquian studies is the problematic use of the term "tribe." Few have attempted to address the social hierarchy / population density issues outlined by Binford:

> "The [Algonquian] stratified, complex examples were relatively small sociopolitical units, whereas the less-stratified examples (e.g., the Iroquoian speakers) seemed to be less sociopolitically complex but nevertheless institutionally integrated much larger human populations...This observation seemed to fly in the face of the commonly accepted generalizations of the time that increases in sociopolitical complexity were also accompanied by increases in the social scale of systems and that more complex systems were necessarily larger systems, demographically speaking" (Binford 1991:vii, brackets mine).

Binford investigated the diversity of socio-political within the Chesapeake, trying to differentiate the evolutionary types through a sampling of traits found in the documentary record and evidence of ecological adaptation (1991:xix), hopefully to demonstrate the variations in "sociopolitical complexity." Defining the boundaries of typologies associated with evolutionary characteristics most widely applicable to anomalous groups like the Virginia Algonquian has plagued anthropology for half a century (e.g. Flannery 1972).

Rountree (1989) grapples with the same issue in her first volume investigating Powhatan culture. In Rountree's estimation, the Virginia Algonquian's political

boundaries formed "ethnic groups" that were synonymous with "chiefdoms," with the exception of the groups at Chickahominy (1989:8-9). It is difficult to consider Virginia Algonquian's socio-political geography divisions as "ethnic groups," particularly when the same groups are characterized as possessing synonymous cultural, linguistic, and historical evolutions (ibid). Frederik Barth clearly establishes the base of ethnic studies to show that "ethnic boundaries are maintained in each case by a limited set of cultural features. The persistence of the unit depends on the persistence of these cultural differentiae," however noting that "culture matter" is not constrained by ethnic boundaries (Barth 1972:38). Barth argues that when culture variation is studied through time, it is not simultaneously viewing boundaries that maintain ethnic differences (ibid). Hence, it is inconsistent to evaluate political divisions, sharing the same cultural milieu as being defined as ethnic "units" without other specific types of evidence for division or grouping mechanisms. Groups that continue to maintain concepts of membership despite cultural modifications can also be viewed as having continuity. Among the Virginia Algonquians, what distinguishes the groups is not ethnicity, but political affiliations associated with consanguine use rights of specific geographies. The exchange process between these groups also denies the concept of separate ethnicity, for the extension of kinship is beyond that of several generations (and the ability to track ethnic divisions deep in time), and rather, associated with similar social mechanisms such as clan structures that allow for more distant kinship reckoning across deeper temporal and territorial divisions. Thus as discussed in Chapters II and III, the concept of local groups as aggregates of lineages, situated against other groups of similar compositions can be viewed as preferable to Rountree's concept of "ethnic groups."

Generally speaking of culture, Rountree confers the use of "groups" to delineate the polities, acknowledging that the term "tribe" is somewhat "overworked," "politically limited," (Rountree 1989:9) and "hackneyed" (Rountree and Turner 2002:37). Generally, this makes sense, but Rountree often sways from her own terminology using "chiefdom," "tribe," and "ethnic group" interchangeably in close proximity in her writings (1990:10-11). As Gleach notes, the debate is not about the proper selection of terminology, but rather an identification of particular "attributes" associated with certain types of socio-political organization (1997:24). However, when the purpose of the research is to accurately portray social and political grouping, cohesion, and continuity (e.g. Rountree 1979, 1986, 1988; VCI 2003) the clarity of definitions and the application of boundaries need not be arbitrarily defined or overlooked as relevant to the analysis.

Like Turner, some of the challenges with Rountree's definitions of "groupness" revolve around the sole use of Smith's (1612) census records and map with those sections that can be corroborated by Strachey (1612). At times, Rountree is fairly critical of the primary record (1989:13), however she tentatively establishes groups of Virginia Algonquians as "Powhatan" based on a sliding scale of inclusion. Following Turner (1973), Rountree repeats the previous pattern with the inclusion of Werowocomoco as a group, but with the exclusion of Orapax (Rountree 1989:9-12). Equally, one might inquire about the time depth of groups' established boundaries at Chesapeake and Kecoughtan. If those territories were invaded and depopulated / reconfigured, then who does Rountree assume composed the groups as defined? That is to say if groups of Virginia Algonquians were "ethnic groups," "tribes," and "chiefdoms," then what type of group reoccupied the districts of Kecoughtan and Chesapeake? Surely those colonial

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occupiers could not be defined as separate and distinct "ethnic groups," "tribes," or "chiefdoms" during such a narrow time depth – yet they appear to act and behave in the Jamestown narratives similarly to the surrounding populations. I would argue that this situation has more to do with the process by which these communities were formed than it does with their evolutionary status or ethnic configuration.

Equally, when groups dissolved early in the primary record (e.g. Paspehegh), one might again inquire as to their level of distinct "groupness," wedded to identities that would maintain levels of cohesion beyond the political theater of the early contact era. Rountree hints at an understanding of these complexities when she allows for groups' shifting "tribal" names to be relative to the landscape in which they lived, but struggles with the essentialism that came along with her colonial counterparts in labeling the native communities through fixed identifications associated with their lineage boundaries at the time of the Jamestown colony (i.e. the "Pamunkey" of the Mattaponi Reservation, Rountree 1990:189; "Chickahominy / Mattaponi" of the Mattaponi Reservation, Rountree and Turner 2002:171-172). That is to say that there are issues with essentializing groups' identity in such bounded forms, when it is clear through the later colonial period that groups adapted and shifted to needs presented, including the transference of names for themselves associated with their settlements (i.e. Nansemond = Pochick). Again, as discussed in Chapter III, the relative ease by which many groups collapsed, dispersed, and or coalesced with surrounding entities indicates a relatively artificial presentation of "groupness" that confounds an appreciation of deeper structures in motion as motivators for grouping mechanisms.

Christian F. Feest (e.g. 1978a) attempts to resolve some of the challenges presented above, conservatively considering differences between "Powhatan Groups" and "Virginia Algonquians." Feest's discussion dominantly centers on the documentary sources of Smith (1612, 1624) and Strachey (1612), but also of later historical accounts that correlated the earlier data (e.g. Hening [1669] 1809-1823). Feest appears to understand the complexities of evaluating Smith and Strachey, and realizes that there needs to be more attention paid to the anomalies between the authors. Thus, Feest argues for "solutions" to the differences between Jamestown narratives and acknowledges that researchers investigating the seventeenth-century Chesapeake need to contend with the "problems" of the data *and* that a reassessment of both the primary sources and that the "conclusions drawn from them" is warranted (1973:66). In agreement, I argue that the temporal period in which the primary record was developed has placed an unfortunate imbalance towards a narrower depth of time that has obscured longer, deeper patterns and structures present in tidewater Algonquian society.

In contrast to earlier authors (e.g. Mooney), Feest tends to discount Smith's accuracy more often than Strachey, suggesting that Smith's early reconnaissance was based on incomplete knowledge, particularly along the upper regions of the York River and areas farthest away from Jamestown (1973:72-73). Feest views Strachey's writing as confirming most of Smith's groupings of indigenous communities, but that Strachey added considerable knowledge of the upper York territory through differential access to several key native informants. Rountree also acknowledges that by 1610-1611 when Strachey was collecting his data, the intelligibility between the Algonquian and English languages had significantly improved, and therefore considers his interviews to have been

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more "extensive" and his writing more "detailed," although she allows for Strachey to have copied directly from Smith where he knew the least (1989:4). However, my main focus is on those James / York drainages directly associated with the Powhatan expansion. I assume because of Strachey's placement on the James, his corroboration and correction of Smith's writing was accurate, and because of his informant's intimate knowledge of Pamunkey Neck (see below), his improvements or corrections of Smith's data was warranted. As Rountree notes (1989:155) Smith's description of the upper York was a first hand account, but I argue that it occurred during period in which Smith and the colony were under the duress of, first, captivity and second, starvation. Both of Smith's second and third excursions to explore the Chesapeake environs avoided the upper York drainage, in favor of safer or unexplored territory. Hence, Strachey writing with the assistance of native informants appears to have had as equal or better perspective of the upper York.

Feest is more conservative in his political demarcations of the Powhatan and surrounding socio-political groups (1978a, 1978b). However, his focus on the population estimates of those territories again reveals some confusion resulting from discrepancies in the primary record. Allowing that Strachey is accurate in his listing of additional werowances and settlements within Pamunkey Neck, Feest situates these "additional" groupings within the domain of Powhatania (Feest 1973, 1978a). Aside from Strachey's population estimates (Figure 19 in Chapter VII) I differ from Feest only in his groupings *within* the Powhatan organization, questioning several of the identities he placed around some groups and suggesting others should be viewed as units as opposed to singulars (see Chapter VII, Figures 19-23).

Within the "additional" groups listed by Strachey, Feest incorrectly identifies Strachey's (1612) Ochahannauke with Smith's (1612) Quackohowan and Zuniga's (1608) Quacohamaock (Feest 1973:72). Following Strachey's list, the villages are listed along the Pamunkey River:

21. Mummapacun (Smith's |1612| Menapucunt, Zuniga's |1608| Menapacunt),

22. Pataunck (Smith's |1612| Potaucac, Zuniga's |1608| Potawuncack),

23. *Ochahannauke* (Smith's |1612| *Acconoc*, Zuniga's |1608| *Oquonock*).

While there is some variation between the order within all of the references, they are all within very close approximation on the Pamunkey River (within the first two bends) and phonetically exchangeable. In contrast, Feest's Quackohowan is on the Mattaponi River, completely beyond the immediate geographical grouping and on a separate river system. Phonetically, when compared to other territorial designations, */Ocha•hann•auke/* is similar to */Acco•han•ock/* on the Eastern Shore - the variation easily seen in Smith's Pamunkey River name of */Acco•n•oc/* and Zuniga's */Oquo•n•ock/*.

Feest's other faulty identification centers on the village of Cassapecock. Following Mooney (1907) Feest supposes that this name might have referenced Chesapeake (Feest 1973:71). Again, out of the appropriate region, Cassapecock is properly placed on the Pamunkey River between Ochahannauke and Caposepock:

23. Ochahannauke (Smith's |1612| Acconoc, Zuniga's |1608| Oquonock),

24. *Cassapecock* (Smith's |1612| *unnamed village*),

25. Caposepock (Smith's |1612| Kupkipcock).

While the insertion of Strachey's Cassapecock for one of Smith's unnamed villages may seem haphazard, there is further evidence for its placement there than just convenience;

Strachey does appear to have been loosely listing the villages based on the general order along the York River. As will be discussed in Chapter VII (Figure 19) Cassapecock's placement next to the werowance's settlement of Kupkipcock is crucial to understanding its significance. Without a doubt though, Cassapecock is not Chesapeake; it makes no logical sense in the context of Strachey's discussion of villages' and werowances' placements based on river systems and the Chesapeake group as "extinct."

In his summaries of Virginia and Maryland Algonquian populations, Feest at times describes Smith's figures as "being too low" and Strachey's to have been "too high," and allows that there may be a wide margin of error (1973:73). In most cases, Feest follows other twentieth-century researchers (e.g. Mooney 1907; Mook 1944) in presenting Smith's calculation of "bowmen" to total village population, using a 3:10 ratio (1973:67, 1978a:257, 1978b:242). However, Feest argues strongly for considering Ubelaker's (1973) analysis of ossuary remains to arrive at a 1:4 ratio of warriors to villagers, and allows that a compromise between the archaeology and the historical record would be "preferable" (1973:67). Here, I am in agreement with Feest's argument, and suggest that using a 1:4 ratio as being more reliable than a blanket acceptance of Smith's warrior count and with that in general, Strachey's overall dataset may be more reliant. As M.D. Kerby notes, the more conventional use of "classical source(s)" reflects an "older methodology," while that of Feest represents "the newer ethnohistorical thinking" - revealing that "changing methodology produces marked differences" in interpretations (Kerby 1973:65). Thus, for the population figure(s) that appear in Chapter VII, I have relied on Strachey and used a 1:4 ratio of warriors to villagers in computing the estimates. While Feest is more conservative in his constructions and more critical of

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the primary records, he neglects to consider the implications surrounding the expansion of the Powhatan polity. That is to say, that Feest does not evaluate the residual results of the expansion process or consider how kinship strategies, the rearrangement of populations, and the installations of Algonquian colonials affected the appearance of the coastal plain communities, and in turn the data recorded by Smith and Strachey.

When Wahunsenacah began raiding other Algonquian communities, as discussed in Chapter V, portions of the local groups that became folded into the paramountcy were removed from their traditional use lands. In cases of strategic patricide, select women and children were sent to the Powhatan heartland in Pamunkey Neck, while the ruling dominant lineage males (werowances) became subservient captives in Powhatan werowance's homes. To propose a scenario to account for changes within the socio-political landscape, we should consider the underlying, orienting system that would empirically produce a culturally logical result. As has been shown, the "thin indelible red line"[2] embedded within all constructions of Chesapeake cosmology, geography, and peoplehood was the guiding force behind relatedness – or more simply, *kinship*.

Thus, the dominant lineage women, particularly those who were both of a child rearing age (or soon to be) and in line to inherit the lineage seat became the new wives of installed Powhatan leadership figures of the occupying force. New Powhatan colonists either brought wives to the new settlements, or commonly took wives from lesser lineages within the conquered precinct, adopting captive children along the way. Adopted

[2] The late Thomasina E. Jordan (Wampanoag) described the continuity of Atlantic Indian people through four centuries of interaction with Anglos and Africans as an "indelible red" line or thread. Jordan was the first American Indian chairwoman of the Virginia Council on Indians and supportive of Virginia Indian self-determination. A legislative bill was named in her honor during late twentieth-century political efforts by the Virginia descendant communities to receive federal recognition.

women and children in Pamunkey Neck became a part of local groups settled there, and eventually intermarried with the surrounding lineages. This process not only produced a new population, but positioned loyalty to both the local group's lineage and the invading force's. As young boys matured into young warriors, new wives and children became the progenitor of a continued, but intensified and expanded kinship exchange system. The size, strength, and influence of the Pamunkey Neck population to the surrounding coastal plain provinces should be apparent. From the southern shores of the Rappahannock River to the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, examples of the varying degrees of the Powhatan expansion process can be found as characteristics within all of the dominated groups, accounting for their misfit appearance and socio-political constituency differences.

From this vantage, Feest's and other researcher's concerns about Strachey's accounts about the size, distribution, and socio-political composition of Pamunkey Neck populations need to be revisited for analysis. The Zuniga (1608) and Velasco (1610) maps bear out some of these groupings, as does portions of Smith's (1612) map (Feest 1973:72). Combined, the primary record eludes to more socio-political complexity along the upper York drainages than has been adequately addressed by recent scholarship. By not accounting for the process by which the groups considered to be "Powhatan" became "Powhatan," discounting large sections of the primary documentary record that do not fit neatly into academic abstractions, and the not being critical of incongruent historical presentations that collapsed time, academic constructions have continued to perpetuate a problem of essentialism that few researchers have been willing to address. I argue that mechanisms present within the broader foundation of Algonquian society, such as lineages, clans, and moiety groupings, facilitated Wahunsenacah's expansion and

eventual proliferation. Since Feest (1973) has been the only recent scholar to suggest more attention should be paid to Strachey's "additional tribes," it seems fitting to insert the above argument into his abstraction (1978a).

There is some indication that villages along the upper York River were significantly larger than the average provincial size. Smith described the area around Cinquateck, Kekataugh's district residence:

> "the great king hath four or five houses, each containing fourscore or an hundred foot in length...an hundred houses and many large plains are here together inhabited" (Smith [1612] in Haile 1998:159).

As Feest (1973:72) notes, Smith described "the whole region along the Pamunkey River... (as being) 'inhabited with aboundance of warlike and tall people'" (Smith [1612] in Haile 1998:163, parenthesis mine). The largest number of warriors noted in or from the environs of "Pamaunkee" was recorded by Smith to be around 700 (Smith [1924] in Haile 1998:347). Ralph Hamor reported that below Matchut on the Pamunkey River, the English "burned in that very place some forty houses" (Hamor [1615] in Haile 1998:807). Thus, even without cartographic evidence and warrior counts, the lower shoreline of Pamunkey Neck appears to have had a significant population.

Using Smith's estimates, 700 bowmen would equate to a total population of 2335 associated with those warriors; adjusted following Feest's (1973) and Ubelaker's (1973) ratio preference, the figure rises to 2800. As Feest describes, Smith's calculations of residential occupants ranged from six to twenty people per house (1973:68), which would place Hamor's community mentioned above to have ranged in size from 240 to 800; adjusted to an average of thirteen individuals per house, the population may have been 520. Using cartographic evidence, it can be demonstrated that local groups along the

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Pamunkey River, as the majority of the coastal plain, were dispersed settlements that had clusters of houses that formed town and hamlet centers. Thus, Hamor's burned Pamunkey River community was one of a series of settlements that reflected similar averages of populations to the surrounding Pamunkey territory.

As shown in Chapter VII (Figure 19 Pamunkey) a werowance's main settlement within the province of Pamunkey could have easily supported forty houses and / or 520 villagers. Groupings within Pamunkey Neck appear to range in population size from 400 to 2160, averaged among respective settlements of four to five centers, the village populations averages range from 240 to 435 without accounting for size differences or levels of importance. Thus, supposing Hamor's village to be more populous and that the English targeted the werowance's habitation, an estimate of 540 individuals would not be uncommon for a primary residential center in the Powhatan heartland of Pamunkey Neck. Additionally, Smith's account of 100 houses at Cinquoteck, with five settlement centers, of which I estimate to be populated at roughly 1200 individuals, would average twelve people per household – well within the averages discussed by Smith and Strachey as presented by Feest (1973:69). The number presented is strikingly larger than the other townships within the precincts of Wahunsenacah's organization, but that is precisely the point. The upper York environs around Pamunkey Neck is *Tsenacommacah*, or the "densely inhabited dwelling place"[3] (Geary in Quinn 1955:854).

To consider the origination of Tsenacommacah within the Jamestown narratives, it is useful to evaluate Williams Strachey's sources, or primary informants, as they are the

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[3] Tsenacommacah /tsen-/ "close together," "dense" + /-ah•kamikiwi/ or /-comoco/ "dwelling place." Geary's etymology has been confirmed by Blair A. Rudes (personal communication, 2004).

sole contributors to the modern understandings of the term. Strachey's informants of 1610-1611 were two Algonquian speaking young men - Kemps and Machumps, who had become proficient enough in English to become translators and guides (Rountree 1989:4). Kemps has been identified as properly residing at Paspehegh (Rountree 2005:140). This placement, per the discussion in Chapter V, would position Kemps as either a colonial occupier of the district, but more likely as the descendant from the 1570s invasion unions. Thus his understandings of the Powhatan world would therefore be strongly tempered between Paspehegh and Pamunkey Neck.

Machumps, brother to Winganuske – one of Wahunsenacah's favorite wives (ibid:115), was probably also a product of the expansion period unions or adoptions. Therefore he as well had loyalties that linked him to Pamunkey Neck in some significant kinship capacity beyond his sister's marriage. Possibly he was the youngest male sibling in a chiefly lineage that had been deposed well before he came of age, placing him among other lineages in Pamunkey Neck. His ascension to werowance status may have been truncated or overshadowed by his sister's union to Wahunsenacah, as was the case at Quiyoughcohannock. At any rate, he was an interpreter for the English and provided information between Jamestown and Wahunsenacah - so closely at times he has been described by Rountree as having "gone over entirely to the enemy" (ibid:154). His continued negotiation between the English of Jamestown and the Algonquian of Pamunkey Neck indicate that he was indeed a complex figure. However, his guidance of the English into Nansemond territory in 1611, for which Rountree makes the above conclusion, may have had less to do with his English associates - and more to do with the

recent interactions between the Powhatan and of those at Nansemond as described in Chapter V.

Owing to the nuanced presentations that Strachey developed based on these two informants, I argue that inquiries as to the native name of Wahunsenacah's domain produced a term that had multiple meanings.

"The severall territoryes and provinces which are in chief commaunded by their great king Powhatan, are Comprehended under the denomination of Tsenacommacoh" (Strachey [1612] 1953:37).

While the definition of Tsenacommacah by Strachey places many physical territories into Wahunsenacah's hands, the etymology in Algonquian of "densely inhabited dwelling place" denies the wider meaning to indicate coastal plain Virginia. This is to say, that while Strachey's expressed meaning is physical, the physical population across the conquered districts is lacking in the uniformity of dense population. In fact, within Wahunsenacah's political boundaries as described by Feest (1978a), few districts outside of Pamunkey Neck had above 500 individuals residing within their bounds. Only the powerful, semi-autonomous late additions of Nansemond and Weyanoke territories could boast figures that might be considered "close together" or "dense" among the scattered local groups of the coastal plain. Surely Kecoughtan, Chesapeake, and Chiskiack – each with single township district settlements c.1607, would not be considered highly populous. In contrast, Pamunkey Neck was swollen to exceed the 1000 mark in numerous provincial divisions.

The interpretation of Tsenacommocah must rely on Algonquian cultural logic – of which I argue integral components of place and kinship figure prominently. There has

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been increasing evidence to suggest that the interior, or piedmont region of Virginia, was more densely populated during the Late Woodland period – an area surely known to both of Strachey's informants (Klein and Magoon 2007). Possibly, Strachey's guides were referring to the lineages of those "severall territoryes and provinces which are in chief commaunded by their great king Powhatan," and thereby referenced the kinship associations of power and authority - the legitimacy of use rights to conquered lands (authority) coupled with the dominion of Wahunsenacah (power). In this context, Tsenacommocah references the seat of those unions along the York River. Strachey's inquiry post dates Wahunsenacah's formal departure from Werowomococo and directs the answer towards the Powhatan heartland of Pamunkey Neck (although Wahunsenacah was still said to make Werowomococo his "principall Residence" (Strachey [1612] 1953:69). Thus, Machumps and Kemps informed Strachey of the location of the seat of power and authority that "commaunded" the "territoryes and provinces" as being a densely inhabited living place, or Tsenacommocah – and thereby described their perception of Powhatan's boundaries associated with kinship. This argument makes better sense within the Powhatan world-view or cultural logic, the socio-political geography of the region, and substantiates Strachey's census figures compared to other districts. Further justification can be found in Strachey's own admittance that his associations of Tsenacommacah, to include boundaries beyond Pamunkey Neck, are more by European associations of title and land - with little reference to the kinship system that conferred those use rights. Saying of *his* comprehension of Tsenacommacah,

> "we may [comprehend] the *more by experience* speak being the place wherein our abode and habitation hath now well neere sixe yeares consisted" (Strachey [1612] 1953:69, brackets and italics mine).

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Therefore, I argue that Tsenacommacah was the name Machumps and Kemps applied to Wahunsenacah's domain, or base of power and authority. The lineage exchange network of women, and the use rights associated with their respective provinces, was centered through Powhatan expansion to Pamunkey Neck – where multiple elite lineages were gathered as a source of legitimacy to the control over most of the coastal plain. Swollen with the influx of multiple numbers of captives, refugees, and reconfiguring socio-cultural groups, the York River environs became known as Tsenacommacah, or the "densely inhabited dwelling place." The English extension of this term to include boundaries beyond the Powhatan heartland was based on a level of cultural confusion.

For the English, the conquering of land was related to physical occupation and / or the securing of title; the Algonquian perspective may have acknowledged forceful occupation as acceptable, particularly against foreign Indians - but legitimate control of Algonquian speaking territory was executed through a lineage's use rights. Thus the expansion of the Powhatan polity operated within its own cultural milieu – exchange, negotiation, kinship alliance, bride capture, and wealth building that focused on elite lineages, women, and resource control - compounded with a modulation between the sacred and profane structures of the physical and the ethereal. Strachey's extension of Tsenacommacah to include Wahunsenacah's physical territories was through his "experience" or "comprehension" of Powhatan dominion. The locus of that sovereign however was blood – not soil. Tsenacommacah *was a place,* but it was a place where the legitimacy of physical occupation was conferred through consanguinity rooted in the unions of lineage representatives of physical geography. Like the Mamanatowick and

Werowocomoco, Tsenacommacah can only be understood in the layered meaning of time, space, and place.

To Make a Group: The Process of Defining Peoplehood in Algonquian Studies

Resolving the meaning of Tsenacommacah orients the present discussion towards ideas of "groupness" as defined by both the seventeenth-century chroniclers and the more recent academic interpretations thereof. An assessment of the evidence presented by those primary sources and used by modern researchers is further warranted. Previous researchers tasked themselves with defining the "groups" of Virginia Algonquians that composed not only the Powhatan polity, but also those that might be considered separate and distinct from one another – politically, socially, or otherwise. As has been shown in Chapters II-V, that was never a reality for groups centered on kinship, exchange, and wealth building - focusing on power and authority structures that cross cut socio-political groups rarely produced bounded forms. Based on the seventeenth-century chronicles and maps of Virginia's first permanent English colonists, multiple "territorial units" have been identified throughout the Mid-Atlantic. Their alliance to Wahunsenacah will be discussed in Chapter VII, but first a standard must be established to consider what constitutes a "group," even if they may be a semi-autonomous, an allied, or an independent one. Establishing this standard will help illuminate problems with interpretations of "groups."

For the early seventeenth century, the evidence most often used to establish Algonquian speaking groups comes from the writings of John Smith (1612, 1624), William Strachey (1612), and the maps that have come to be known as the Smith map

(1612), the Zuniga map (1608), and the Velasco map (1610). A summary of the qualifications used to by previous academics to establish a political entity's "groupness," based on the primary source's references include being:

1) Listed by Smith (1612) in his census data
2) Listed by Strachey (1612) in his census data
3) Recorded by Smith (1612) in both name and a "Kings house" on his map of Virginia
4) Recorded on the Zuniga map (1608) in name
5) Recorded on the Velasco map (1610) in name
6) Discussed in Smith's text as a group (1612, 1624)
7) Discussed in Strachey's text as group (1612)
8) Discussed by any other corroborating seventeenth-century author speaking of groups (e.g. Hamor 1615)

Based on a combination of conclusion through inclusion and exclusion, local groups of Virginia Algonquians have been defined by academics to have been aggregates of "tribes" or "chiefdoms," generally using the traits described in Appendix A. Here, the task is not to establish socio-political complexity, but rather how groups have been identified, counted, and substantiated through scholarly abstractions. This is to say that I am arguing for a review of the "groupness" of entities as has been defined by Virginia researchers, and direct the inquiry back towards the mid-century debate that developed out of the initial discussions about the Powhatan era socio-political configuration. As time has moved forward from the original abstractions about the native landscape and political geography, there has been a tendency to accept incremental scholarly inquiry and conclusions as firm foundations on which to build additional work.

Through a continual engagement with the primary documents, the archaeology, and the broader field of social science we must be urged to invite multiple perspectives into the academic study of Virginia's native heritage (e.g. Gunn Allen 2003; Custalow and Daniel 2007), which hopefully engender healthy discussion and discourse about social perceptions and reinvigorate regional studies of the Mid-Atlantic. In addition, we need to continually question and redefine how we perceive the construction of the past and address tendencies to accept essential categorizations of social groups that help resolve incongruencies and justify the forms of the present (i.e. Trouillot 1995). Equally important, although not the focus of this thesis but meriting mention, the academic focus on the Powhatan polity has impacted the way in which modern descendant communities present and organize themselves in relation to history, in both the constructions of the past and as subjects to the past (e.g. Sider 2003).

There is as much variability in the historical sources as there is in later academic interpretations of them, the latter creating an impressionistic lens through which multiple contemporaries of the present must gaze – be they researcher or not. Here, the unresolved academic discussions of the Chesapeake from the 1960s-1980s have done as much to obscure our understanding of the past, as have the inconsistencies in the primary record. Several examples of the conflicts between academic abstraction and the evidence presented from the primary record may illuminate the argument. These cases are not exhaustive by any means. They are meant to illustrate key challenges facing researchers, and add points of discussion in the reassessment the primary record.

Case 1: Pamunkey

As not to confuse the presentation between "groups" as "groups" and "groups" which composed the Powhatan, a review of the most conservative and loyal districts may expose the oppositional nature of viewing them to be anything but static or clearly defined. Territories listed to have been inherited by Wahunsenacah during his rise to power included Youghtanund, Pamunkey, and Mattapanient. Indeed these areas were the backbone of the Powhatan polity through the early seventeenth century. However, when defining the nature of "groupness," as defined by the criteria described above, some immediate challenges may be seen.

Smith (1612) lists these "groups" in his census data as Youghtanund, Pamunkey, and Mattapanient. Strachey (1612) lists Youghtanund and Mattapanient by name, but does not specifically identify Pamunkey as a polity. Instead, he lists a large assortment of additional towns "Upon the Pamunkey or the Princes River" which included Youghtanund, Kiskiack, Werowocomoco, and an assortment of other York-Pamunkey River "groups" identified elsewhere ([1612] 1953:69). While this exclusion of Pamunkey as a named group is not exactly unexplainable, it places a shadow over the criteria that was established for the construction of "group" by academics. If there is no named Pamunkey group in Strachey's data, who compose the Pamunkey? Most researchers have evaded this inquiry in favor of seeing Powhatan's three brother's principal residence as combining "Pamunkey." However, Strachey clearly notes

"All three Powhatan brethren, and are the Trium-viri as yt were, or 3. kings *of a Country called Opechancheno upon the Head of the Pamunkey river*, and these may make 300. men" (ibid, italics mine).

Thus, the brothers are not "kings" of Pamunkey – according to Strachey, they are "kings" of "Opechancheno." To confuse matters, the head of the Pamunkey River has been previously widely identified as Youghtanund (e.g. Feest 1978a, Rountree 1989), of which Strachey already listed a werowance in residence. However if Strachey was referencing the confluence of the Youghtanund and Mattapanient Rivers as the "Head of the Pamunkey," we are still left with the name of Opechancheno for a region that has been identified as Pamunkey. Further, the village of *Pamereke* as described by Strachey housed 400 warriors and corresponded to Smith's map (1612) as *Pamuncoroy*, and Zuniga's (1608) as *Pamakeroy*. Thus, the inclusion of "Pamunkey" as a group to have 300 bowmen and the exclusion of Pamereke's as a group with 400 warriors is problematic. The location of Pamereke has been traditionally seen as Pamunkey territory, and is within the environs of the contemporary Indian reservation by that name. In as much, the questions needing to be addressed up to this point:

1) Pamunkey is named by Smith in his census, but is not identified on his map in name or with a "Kings house" as such – only the river is named Pamaunk and an "ordinary house" as Pamuncoroy.

2) Strachey does not identify Pamunkey as capital or group, but rather Pamareke – equally, he defines Powhatan's brothers to be three kings of Opechancheno.

3) The Zuniga map does not identify Pamunkey as a location or a group with any village clusters, but rather as a name for the river or territory.

4) The Velasco map is silent on either a river or group known as Pamunkey or derivatives; instead the area of Pamunkey Neck is titled Raptestank.

The saving grace in the case for Pamunkey's evidence as a group comes from Smith and Strachey's additional writings. There, the group is discussed at length as a place and a people. However, one must inquire about the lack of actual census data and

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cartographic support for Pamunkey – I argue this not because I believe Pamunkey's "groupness" to be in jeopardy, but rather that other groups are almost entirely defined by the census data and cartographic concurrence. How are we to reconcile the disparity between the depths of evidence? Is Pamunkey an anomaly of the primary record? An inquiry into the two other selected "loyal" Powhatan groups reveal otherwise.

Case II: Youghtanund

Youghtanund is clearly identified in both Smith's and Strachey's census tables, with only a slight wavering in the warrior estimates. However, the placement of Youghtanund to a fixed geography is less clear; Smith's map (1612) identifies the modern Pamunkey River by the name Youghtanund, but no village capital or town appears by that name. The Zuniga map (1608) also identifies the Youghtanund River, but no settlements reflect the title. The Velasco map (1610) omits the name completely. In fact, Youghtanund as group is only mentioned sparingly in the writings of both Smith and Strachey, usually only being referenced as one of the countries inherited by Wahunsenacah or as one of the constituents of the party that captured Smith in 1607. Beyond that, most writings of Youghtanund reference it as a literal territory: "people of Youghtanund," "upon Youghtanund," "King of Youghtanund," and "country of Youghtanund" (Haile 1998:603-604, 117, 163). Only Spelman identified Youghtanund as a town in the vicinity of Powhatan's later residence at Orapax (Spelman [1609] in Haile 1998:485-486). Therefore, the identification of Youghtanund as physical geography is fairly firm, the identity and boundaries of a group known by that name is less clear.

Within the upper reaches of the Chickahominy River in the region known as Youghtanund, Smith's map (1612) identifies the nearest "Kings house" of Orapax. Zuniga's map (1608) identifies the primary region residence at a village known as Maskunt. Velasco's map (1610) titles the main town as Cattachipico. Thus, one wonders how to define the position of Youghtanund as a group. All transferences of locality names to peoplehood that occur in the English documents place known township names aside known occupants as means of identification. Youghtanund is one of the few cases where this did not occur. Like the Chickahominy groups, the Youghtanund communities became known by the name of the river. The challenge of course, is that there are multiple groups on the river with multiple names and locations; however, the majority of the writing about these areas and groups has occurred in the twentieth century, not the seventeenth. We are left with several questions:

1) If the Smith and Zuniga maps do not note a "Kings house" for a group, how do we establish the group?

2) If Smith and Velasco's maps do not name villages at all with a "group's" name, how do we establish the group?

3) Can places that have "Kings houses" and no historical career be considered a group within the "territorial unit" count – such as at Opiscapank?

4) How do we justify the discounting groups that have a "Kings House," with a known territory name, and a historical career (such as being on the census and inherited by Wahunsenacah)? This is the case with Orapax.

The answers to these questions are somewhat rhetorical. However, the implications behind answering such questions reveals that Virginia Algonquian studies have not resolved many of its earlier debates. Inquiries into the size and distribution of groups that

are considered to be apart of the Powhatan political organization at the beginning of the Jamestown era need to address these types of conflicts.

Case III: Mattapanient

The Mattapanient River group is the last of our case examples. Enumerated by Smith and Strachey in bowmen tallies of local groups, the Mattapanient River communities appear to have only been loosely known to Smith; Strachey's significant increase in their warrior count indicates that his information is probably more accurate (Feest 1973:73). However, Smith says the area was less populated (ibid), which he supports with only a slight number of settlements on his map (1612). No "Kings house" takes the name of Mattapanient, nor local village, only the river. Zuniga's map (1608) details a similar village array, but identifies the village of Martoughquaunk as the capital of the region. The Velasco map (1610) does not identify Mattapanient or any of its derivatives, nor Martoughquaunk, but instead labels the villages on either side – Utcustank to the northwest and Muttumussinsack to the southwest. Smith (1612) corroborated these village locations and names.

References to the Mattapanient group are few in the major primary sources. They are of course enumerated among Wahunsenacah's original inheritance and described as being one of "severall Nations" that took "their names from those rivers" (Strachey [1612] 1953:43). Archer identifies the "King of Matapoll" as being that of an ally to the English (Archer [1607] in Haile 1998:117). Again, like Youghtanund and Pamunkey, the "country of Mattapanient" is referred to most often during the early narratives as a physical territory within a specific geography (e.g. Smith (1612) in Haile 1998:311).

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Hence, like Pamunkey and Youghtanund, the territory of Mattapanient is fairly secure; a river was well documented by that name, as was a provincial territory surrounding it. Only Strachey alludes to the people, or group of those river districts, placing the geographical name as a moniker of identity.

From these examples, the definitions and constructions of "groupness," designed as much by seventeenth-century chroniclers as by twentieth-century researchers, must be considered on several levels of relativism. First, seventeenth-century emic understandings of "group" may be never fully known, but there is some indication that Virginia Algonquians had multiple categories of identity. Setting aside social distinctions, gender roles, and sacred / secular orientations, members of local groups appear to have had a close affinity to the landscape that was heavily influenced by kinship relations. In some cases, the leadership figures used the names of places as certain types of identification; such is the case with Wahunsenacah as Powhatan, his natal town and a country called Opechancheno lead by Opechancanough.

Secondly, in other situations territories were known by the names of certain attributes within the locality, such as Weyanoke or "at the encircling, surrounding, winding around,"[4] referencing the severe bend in the James River where the local group's lineages resided. The *complete* extension of place names to persons in the form of chiefdom names or tribal identities is less clear in the historical record. For sure, the English extended those names to native groups, leading to some confusion in the primary sources as groups resituated themselves on the landscape, identifying new names at new

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[4] *Weyanoke* is from PEA /*wiweni/ (ADV) "encircling, surrounding, winding around" +
PA /*-enki/ "at" (Trumball, 1870:18).

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locales (i.e. Nansemond division known as Pochick). Further, native names appear to have been used in multiple locations, describing similar environments or concepts (i.e. Ozinies on the Chickahominy River and Ozinies on the upper Eastern Shore; Wighcocomoco on the Wighcocomoco River of the Eastern Shore and Wighcocomoco on the Potomac River on the Northern Neck).

Lastly, I argue that kinship mechanisms such as the lineage and the clan were organizing and identifying segmentary structures at the village, district, and regional levels. Thus, like other comparative southeastern communities (e.g. Etheridge 2003) social relations were organized at the town level through lineages and sodalities that were situated against associated use rights to the physical environment. Members of local groups were strongly tied to the lineage to which they belonged; clanships and moieties crosscut the divisions, and civic responsibilities further linked town centers within a provincial geography. Outside observations identified regions of habitation and extended the associated names to communities who clearly also identified themselves through other grouping mechanisms such as the town centers of minor and dominant lineage clusters. Hence, local groups like the Youghtanund River communities were sometimes identified together (the people of Youghtanund), by their separate dominant lineage seats (Cattachiptico and Maskunt), or more recently by their modern political ascription (Powhatans). Both the Powhatan expansion's reorganization of many provincial populations and the over zealous contemporary focus on narrow slices of temporal socio-political boundaries from the Jamestown era has obscured the "groupness" of the Virginia Algonquian. Native people of the Chesapeake were, and still are, primarily grouped

through kinship and identities associated with lineages situated in known, specific

geographies.

Chapter VII

The Flattening of Time and Space

In this chapter, I employ an analytical device, called the "flattening of time." By exploring the "flattening of time" by seventeenth-century writers, cartographers, and modern ethnohistorians I hope to uncover the residual effects of collapsing, condensing, and skewing narrow bands of that era's time and space. I argue that this process has resulted in a static presentation of the contact-era Chesapeake socio-political environs and obscured deeper cultural mores. Due to an obsessive focus on the event level of the Jamestown colony, wider shifts in Chesapeake Algonquian society have been overshadowed and processes of socio-political change have been obfuscated.

As John Smith scouted and investigated the environs of eastern Virginia, he notated and recorded the resources and strengths of the indigenous inhabitants. Time elapsed and the events of the early Jamestown narrative unfolded. In December of 1607, Smith was captured while touring the upper Chickahominy, taken to Werowocomoco, and later returned to James Fort. Near the time of the founding of Jamestown, Powhatan forces annihilated the province of Chesapeake. Through the summer of 1608, Smith's voyages explored the territories throughout the tidewater, positioning him and the English to make new alliances, trade, and develop influence with the native peoples of the region. During that same year, Wahunsenacah, finalizing the Powhatan invasion of the Middle Peninsula, assaulted the Piankatank district.

By the time William Strachey was completing his volume of *Virginia Britania* (1612), one unofficial version of Smith's earliest narratives had already been published

(1608) and a *General Historie* and *Map of Virginia* (1612) were being overseen at the press by Smith himself. During the three years since Smith had been in Virginia and the previous year since Strachey's return, much had changed in the Algonquian communities of the Chesapeake. By 1610 the Kecoughtan and Paspehegh populations had dispersed in favor of more secure territories; the historical record became silent after 1612 concerning the communities of Quiyoughcohannock and Arrohateck (Rountree 1990:307). Relations with the Patowomeck province had improved for the English, but soured for Wahunsenacah. In fact, Wahunsenacah's expansion and proliferation had turned to decline and retreat; after 1609, the heartland community of Orapax replaced the Middle Peninsula capital of Werowocomoco. Much had changed in the geo-political landscape in five short, but turbulent years.

When considering the early narratives of Jamestown, researchers must address the process by which Smith and Strachey (among others) constructed the primary record, as well as understand the temporal layering of the early documents. This is to say, that both Smith and Strachey write about Virginia in the ethnographic present, but in so doing present the Virginia Algonquians in a skewed light, collapsing vast rearrangements within the social, political, and cultural landscape. The events that unfold during these early years can be seen as thin sheets of glass, being layered on top one another in the writings of Smith and Strachey. Reconnaissance information that changed quickly during narrow depths of time has been portrayed as static windows into Virginia's past. Segments of both Smith and Strachey's narratives collapse the events and conditions under which the Powhatan socio-political organization and broader Virginia Algonquians operated.

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Borrowing from the trade of graphic design, I term this collapsing of time and space *rasterization*. When working within computer design, multiple windows of digital worksheets are constructed each with a design element, filter, or altered property. When layered on top of one another, these panes compose a final product, or finished view of the designed piece. Separated, each layer is a subset of the total composition, singularly producing key elements of the graphic that alter and shape the final design's appearance. When the construction of the product is completed, the disparate panes may be condensed into one final window – this is referred to as a rasterizing of the layers. Smith's *Map of Virginia* is such a product. Multiple temporal views were condensed to present a rasterized view of Virginia at the time of the Jamestown colony. In so doing, Wahunsenacah occupied Orapax and Werowocomoco simultaneously; Arrohateck and Kecoughtan hosted both Indian settlements and new English forts; the Paspehegh and Quiyoughcohannock provinces were at the same time occupied and dispersed; Chesapeake and Piankatank were both independent and conquered – being colonially occupied and having retained indigenous inhabitants. Powhatania had been rasterized.

In order to discuss both the lineage interaction and the control of associated use lands that composed the Powhatan paramount, one must recognize and delineate between the layers, and accept the primary record as accurate in depiction, however collapsed in time-depth, and all but obscuring the native interactions relative to kinship and socio-political composition. In this chapter, what I offer is a fresh look at the written record of the seventeenth century, the cartographic evidence of Virginia's Algonquian local group settlements, and some resolution to the inconsistencies of population estimates provided by John Smith and William Strachey. Further, I argue that Wahunsenacah's kinship

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network was more limited than has been previously accepted (e.g. Rountree 1990) and that the firmer boundaries of his territory rest in the socio-political condition of surrounding groups as evidence of his expansion and proliferation.

Separating the Raster Image: Evaluating the Layers of the Powhatan Chiefdom

Mooney (1907) argued for the entire coastal plain of Virginia to be included within the dominion of Wahunsenacah. Following earlier colonial authors such as Thomas Jefferson ([1832] 1954), Mooney applied the name "Powhatan Confederacy" to twenty-six to thirty-six "tribal" groups. Acknowledging some confusion within the primary sources, Mooney viewed the similarity of culture and language as indicators of affinity, but was not terribly critical of the seventeenth-century presentations of political organization. Bushnel (1907), MacLeod (1928), and Mook (1944) offered additional computations of population estimates, but wavered little from Mooney in "uncritically" accepting the primary record (Feest 1973:66). Mook adjusted the "tribal" count to thirty precincts, as did Bushnel, following the average established earlier in colonial writings (Mooney 1907:132). However, Bushnel argued for thirty-two "kingdoms" unified under a "sort of league" based upon a document penned by a Thomas Martin in 1622, housed in the Ashmolean Museum (Bushnel 1907:32).

Turner (1982, 1985) and Rountree (1989) followed Mooney and argued for the inclusion of the entire coastal plain of Virginia, and possibly parts of the Eastern Shore, and northern banks of the Potomac in Maryland. However, Turner acknowledged the difference in "territorial units" to range from twenty-six to thirty-two, depending on the "interpretations of the data" presented by Smith and Strachey, ultimately settling on thirty

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districts as an approximation (1973:57). Rountree enumerates the "Powhatan" to have consisted of twenty-nine "groups" (discounting the Chickahominy), agreeing with Mooney's correlation of language, culture, and alliance as acceptable grouping mechanisms of socio-political affiliation, but allows for Feest's argument of describing the "Powhatans" as "Virginia Algonquians" with disputable boundaries of affiliation (1989:7-14). Admittedly, Rountree states that the academic use of "Powhatan" to describe the entire coastal plain of Algonquian peoples was out of convenience (1990:13), but maintains that usage along with Turner for arguments posed to associate political boundaries and cultural affiliation during a very narrow depth of time (Rountree and Turner 2002:36-39). Rather than focusing on the deeper structures that appear during a longer period of social discourse, researchers have been distracted by Wahunsenacah's brief political manifestation - continuing to cloud contemporary representations as much as unnecessarily obscuring the Virginia Algonquians into "Powhatans" - all the while stressing their lack of homogeneity and being non-monolithic (Rountree 1990:13-14).

Christian Feest (1978a) argues against incorporating the more peripheral territories into the concept of the Powhatan Chiefdom, considering only the immediate communities east of the fall line, around the James and York drainages to be integrated into the expanding political form. Feest considers the Eastern Shore, Rappahannock, and Potomac regions to be "Virginia Algonquians" but not "Powhatans." In concurrence with my discussions in Chapter V, Feest's evidence for his determination revolves around the situational nature of these groups' (such as at Patawomeck) engagement with Wahunsenacah, sometimes agreeing to alliances, other times rebuking or acting in direct conflict with his requests. Feest describes the "Powhatans" only as those groups directly

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under the influence of Wahunsenacah along the James and York drainages, and identifies "more recent acquisitions" such as those communities along the Southside of the James River as never being "fully integrated" into his organization (ibid:255). Accordingly, Feest presents "Powhatan Groups" as those listed by Smith, but relies more heavily on Strachey – placing the number at twenty-seven (ibid:257).

Lewis Binford's (1991) work was in agreement with Feest, but Binford pushed the Powhatan territory slightly past the fall line, into a lightly occupied region that Jeffrey Hantman (1990) describes as a "hunting preserve" buffer between the Powhatan and the Monacan to the west. In addition, Binford excluded the Nansemond and Chesapeake areas as being "Powhatan" and elected only to enumerate fourteen groups within the "sociopolitical system" (Binford 1991:69). Frederick Fausz (1977; 1985) reflects a similar interpretation of the Powhatan polity as Feest, however he incorporates portions of the southern Middle Peninsula along the Rappahannock and along with Binford, discounts the involvement of the lower James River Nansemond / Chesapeake areas. Figure 6 represents a summary of both the primary record and contemporary scholarship's calculations of Virginia Algonquians deemed to be "Powhatans."

I have organized the chart to include seventeenth-century accounts that enumerate communities considered to be "groups" within Wahunsenacah's jurisdiction (such as Smith and Strachey's warrior counts) as well as Smith's mapping of "Kings houses." However, I have only marked groups within each column that appear to have been noted by the authors to actually be under Wahunsenacah. That is to say, while Smith is wider in his inclusion of groups across the coastal plain, Strachey clearly distinguishes between those "precincts…under the commaund of the great King Powhatan" (Strachey [1612]

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Virginia Algonquian Group	Smith (text) 1608	Smith (map) 1612	Strachey 1612	Mooney 1907	Binford 1991	Turner 1973	Feest 1978a	Rountree 1989
Accomac	X	X	-	X	-	X	-	X
Accohannock	X	X	-	X	-	X	-	X
Appamatuck	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Arrohateck	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Cantauncack	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	-
Caposepock	-	X	X	-	-	-	X	-
Cattachiptico	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	-
Cinquoteck	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chesapeake	X	X	-	X	-	X	X	X
Chickahominy	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-
Cuttatawomen I	X	X	-	X	-	X	-	X
Cuttatawomen II	X	X	-	X	-	X	-	X
Kecoughtan	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Chiskiack	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Mattaponi	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	X
Menapecunt	-	X	X	-	-	-	X	-
Moraughtacund	X	X	-	X	-	X	-	X
Nansemond	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	X
Nantaughtacund	X	X	-	X	-	X	-	X
Onawmanient	X	X	-	X	-	X	-	X
Opiscopank	-	X	-	X	-	-	-	X
Orapax	-	X	X	X	X	-	X	-
Pamereke	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	-
Pamunkey	X	-	-	X	X	X	X	X
Patawomeke	X	X	-	X	-	X	-	X
Paraconosko	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	-
Paspehegh	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Pissasec	-	X	-	X	-	X	-	X
Potaunk	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	-
Piankatank	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	X
Powhatan	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Quacohamaock	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	-
Quiyoughcohannock	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rappahannock	X	X	-	X	-	X	-	X
Sekakawon	X	X	-	X	-	X	-	X
Shamapent	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	-
Tauxenent	X	X	-	X	-	X	-	-
Warraskoyack	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Weyanoke	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Werowocomoco	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Wicocomico	X	X	-	X	-	X	-	X
Youghtanund	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	X
Total 39	29	30	24	31	14	30	26	29

Martin 1622	32
Mantle >1638	34
Archer 1607	20

Figure 6. *A summary of the primary record and recent scholarship's view of the Powhatan constituent populations.*

1953:63) and those "Names and Numbers of People" (ibid:41) residing broadly within the Chesapeake region. Other documents (Martin 1622; Archer 1607) and artifacts (Powhatan's Mantle) provide some indication of the total number of groups within Wahunsenacah's organization, but do not detail the specific groups being referenced.

Revealing the Powhatan

As has been discussed in Chapter V-VI, the boundaries of the Powhatan Chiefdom vary depending on when the viewer enters into the historical record. Thus, I am in agreement with Binford (1991) when he describes the Powhatan Chiefdom as including territories east of the fall line - the southern Middle Peninsula, east almost to the mouth of the James, and to incorporate all of the Southside except the Nansemond and Chesapeake districts. This is a snapshot of the Powhatan expansion c.1600, or during the proto-historic period that dominantly interested Binford. Rountree's concerns about Binford's inclusion of the Nansemond groups (Rountree 1989:14-15) are unnecessary - as the period in which he was "slicing" the view of the Powhatan complex, the Nansemonds precinct was independent. Only after c.1600 can we discuss the inclusion of the Nansemond and Chesapeake territories within some tributary relationship to Wahunsenacah. It was during this slice of the record that Feest (1978a) is correct in identifying the changing socio-political landscape to include swaths of the Southside towards the Atlantic Ocean, and an increasing pressure on the northern Middle Peninsula. Further, I agree with Fausz (1985) and position the southern shores of the Rappahannock as becoming fairly submissive to Wahunsenacah after the fall of Piankatank in 1608. That domination was fairly short lived, weakening after 1609 when the Powhatan primary

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residence was moved to Orapax. Therefore, at the apex of Powhatan expansion and proliferation (c.1609), I agree with Feest's (1978a) placement of the Powhatan boundaries (Map 8).
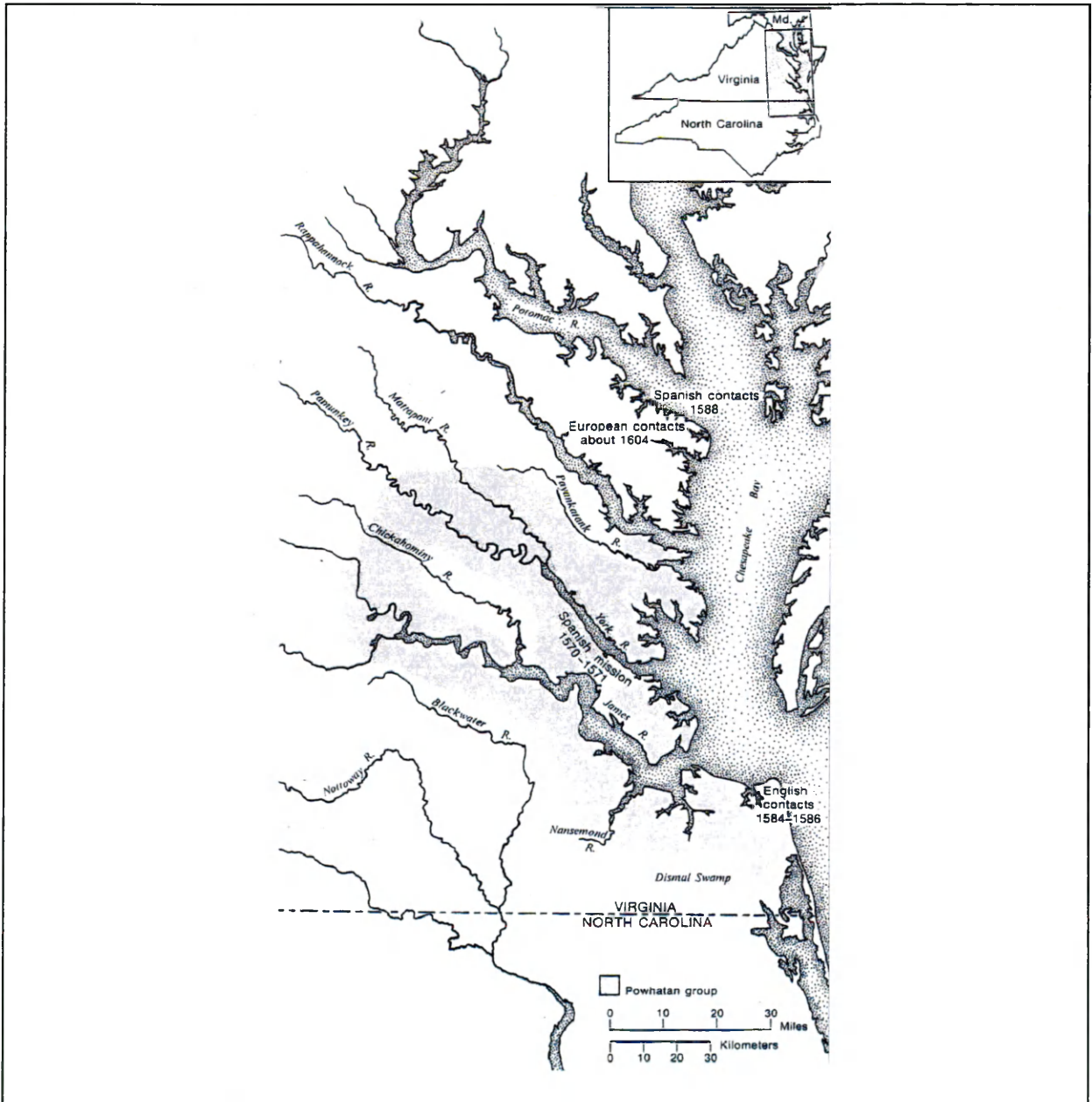
Map 8. *The Socio-political boundaries of Powhatania at the height of the Powhatan Expansion and Proliferation (After Feest 1978a).*

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It is necessary to understand these temporal differences in boundary disputes. Because the Chesapeake was in a period of transition and reformation, the instances at which we observe a given context is indicative of the processes in motion during that interval. When these instances become rasterized, either by the seventeenth-century authors or twentieth-century academics, the processes becomes obscured. In Chapter V, I detail the expansion and proliferation processes that produced the varying appearances of the Powhatan and Virginia Algonquian groups at the beginning of the Jamestown era. One important aspect of the Powhatan expansion and proliferation process was the way in which kinship and obligatory relationships were manipulated to produce Wahunsenacah's desired results. By balancing kinship and social roles against political hegemony, Wahunsenacah was able to exert more influence into some Algonquian communities than others. Thus, I argue that the dominant lineages under Wahunsenacah were both tributary to him as the Mamanatowick, but also invested in him because of traditional exchange practices that he expanded and manipulated. Hence, groups less invested through kinship designs, or not subject to unions that would alter the balance of authority away from the local group, were less invested in committed relationships with Wahunsenacah.

English (and to some degree scholarly) ignorance of kinship importance to the organization of worldview and socio-political formation led to various and often-contradictory accounts. Combined with the rasterization of the temporal period, both in the flattening of time and space, and the essentialism prevalent in subsequent presentations of Algonquian group's historical careers, the Powhatan have been left in a fog of ambiguity. Like the unraveling of the expansion process, the historical record has

left some clues to the resolution. While not absolute, the placement of a segmentary kinship system into the cultural context of the Powhatan Chiefdom reveals intriguing patterns for further consideration. The dominant elite Algonquian lineages from portions of Virginia's coastal plain formed for a brief time, a paramount chiefdom under the domination of Wahunsenacah. These groups were inextricably linked through kinship exchanges that conferred the authority of local group's use rights to land over to new power conduits prescribed by obligations and cosmology. Under the hegemony of Wahunsenacah, I argue that there were sixteen of such local groups, or dominant lineages woven into Powhatan's mantle.

Dominant Localized Lineage Aggregates of Powhatan Algonquians

"The emperor of Virginia has sixteen kings under his dominion" (Maguel |1610| in Haile 1998:450).

While Smith and Strachey record multiple groups and werowances in Virginia, Gabriel Archer gave the earliest numerical grouping of "kingdoms" in 1607 as "20ty" (Archer |1607| in Haile 1998:122). A complicated Spanish spy ring produced an additional document dating to 1610 that enumerated the number at sixteen (Maguel |1610| in Haile 1998:450). Thus, prior to later groupings, tallies, and headcounts - the earliest *numerical* accounts of the Powhatan organization appear to ally sixteen to twenty Algonquian "kingdoms" under Wahunsenacah. This may not seem significant, until further evidence is presented.

The map found within documents sent to King Phillip of Spain in 1608 by Don Pedro de Zuniga offers a very early glimpse of the English exploration of the Chesapeake

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environs around Jamestown (Map 9). It may have been that this map represents an earlier version of Smith's 1612 map, hastily copied from Smith's field notes during the first eighteen months of the English occupation. The rivers north of the York appear to be poorly recorded and indeed Smith's investigations there (June 2nd – July 21st and July 24th – September 7th, 1608) were taking place while the Zuniga material was en route to
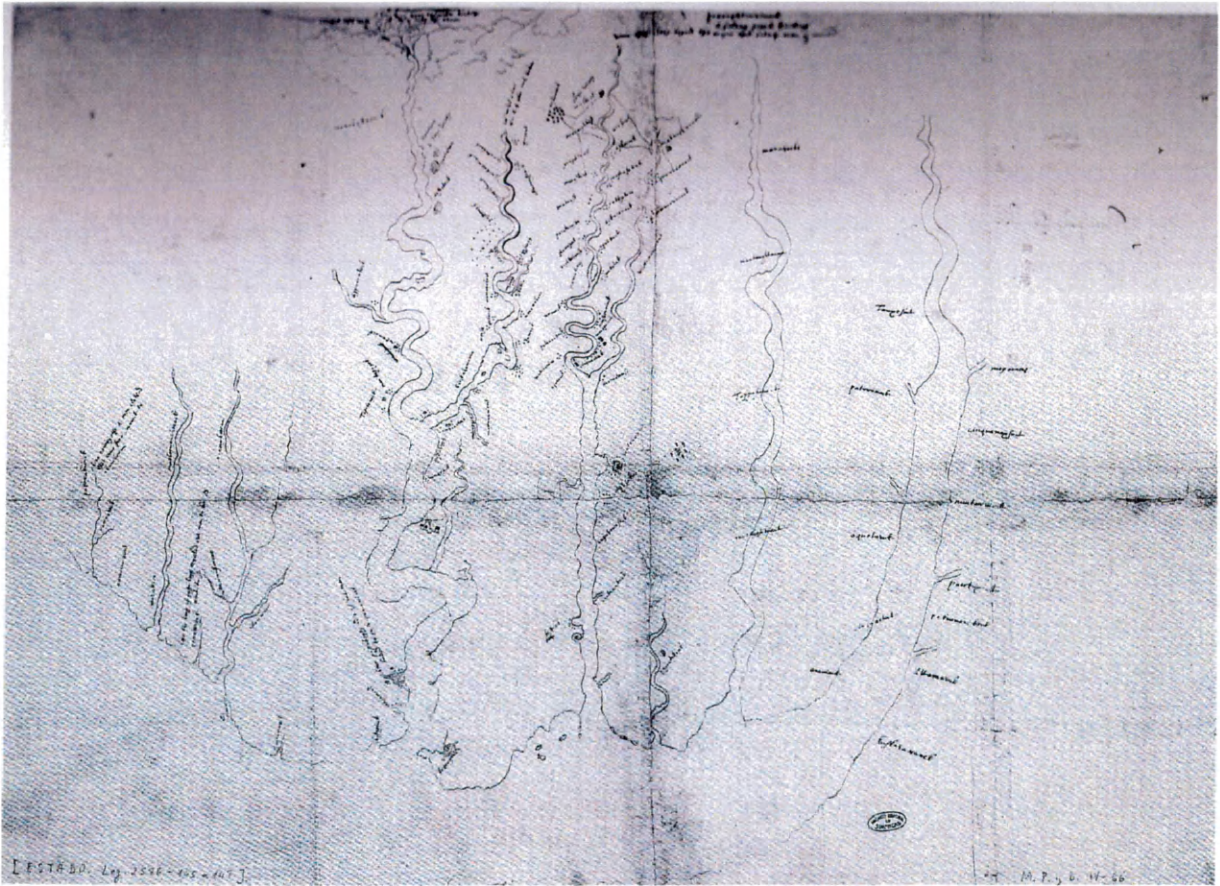
Map 9. *The Don Pedro de Zuniga Map (1608).*

London (penned to Madrid in September 1608). However, the upper York seems to have more accuracy than Smith's later version, indicating possibly that the document sent to England was crafted by Smith himself, and subsequently lost to the Spanish, or that native informants supplemented Smith's reconnaissance information from his time in captivity. At any rate, the Zuniga map reveals eighteen "King's houses." Notably, four

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houses are within Pamunkey Neck, two are associated with Werowocomoco, two are associated with Powhatan, and two are associated with Paspehegh. Counting the names associated with the groups described by Smith to be distinct between the York and James environs, there are sixteen. Correlating the "King's houses" of Zuniga with Smith's text, the results are such (Figure 7):

Smith's Group	Zuniga's Number of King's houses
Chesapeake	0
Nansemond	1
Warraskoyack	1
Quiyoucohannock (Tappahannock)	1
Weyanoke	1*
Appamatuck	0†
Powhatan	2
Arroahateck	1
Paspehegh	2*
Kecoughtan	0
Chiskiack	0
Werowococomoco	2
Pamunkey	4
Youghtanund	1
Mattaponi	1
Piankatank	1

Total	16	Total	18

Figure 7. *Smith Census Groups and the Zuniga Map "King's houses."*

*Weyanoke and Paspehegh King's houses may be confused on the north side of the James River. Accounts place a major and minor capital on either side of the James for Weyanoke. Possibly also may reflect the migration of the Paspehegh werowance distancing himself from Jamestown.

†Appamatuck King's house may be depicted upriver on north side of the James, below Arrohateck, moving the Powhatan figure to one King's house, and Arrohateck to occupy that lower Powhatan icon. However, as the last alignment of the original Powhatan Chiefdom, the Appamatuck lineage line may have actually been elsewhere. The "queen of Apamatuc" served Smith in captivity at Werowocomoco. There, she is described as "a comely young savage" (Smith [1608] in Haile 1998:167), which, contrasts greatly from Archer's "fat, lusty, manly woman" (Archer [1607] in Haile 1998:112). In absence of a male heir, like Wahunsenacah's sisters (Smith [1608] in Haile 1998:164), the "Queen" may have only had daughters. Therefore the placement of Appamatuck's oldest female lineage line at Werowocomoco as one of Wahunsenacah's wives makes sense. Opussunoquonuske was the mother of Smith's "Apamatuc" "queen," and thus she was the lineage that Wahunsenacah probably created a union with, creating eventual loyalty to both lines.

Additional evidence for a low number of groupings within the Powhatan domain can be found in other cartographic references. A map made for England's King James I of the Atlantic coastline was copied and sent to King Phillip of Spain by Don Alonso de Velasco. A portion of this map, dating to March 22nd 1610, depicts the coastal plain of Virginia, Carolina, and Maryland. Within the environs of the York and James Rivers, twenty-one "townes" are described on the "Chessepiock Bay." While not directly correlate to Smith's later map or the Zuniga map, there is a remarkable amount of consistency between the provincial territories and the district centers indicated by both illustrators. With the aide of the other primary documents detailed in this thesis (i.e. Strachey 1612), it is possible to group portions of the Velasco map's townships into territorial groupings. From there, the settlement centers correspond to

1) Nansemond / Mattanock   8) Chiskiack

2) Chesapeake   9) Kecoughtan

3) Warraskoyack   10) Orapax / Catachiptico

4) Quiyoughcohannock   11) Pamunkey / Raptestank

5) Appamatuck   12) Mattaponi / Ucustank/ Muttamussinsack / Mamanassi

6) Powhatan   13) Werowocomoco / Poruptank / Capahowasick

7) Paspehegh   14) Piankatank / Opiscapank

- or fourteen of the territorial units described elsewhere. It is regrettable that Youghtanund and Weyanoke were not enumerated, but that may have been due to a misunderstanding of "extra" townships indicated on the Southside (i.e. Nansemond / Mattanock) or the upper York (i.e. Orapax / Catachiptico) that were intended to designate provinces.

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Further, while not completely detailing the upper York River or the political landscape of the Rappahannock, Robarte Tindall's 1608 "draught" of Virginia depicts thirteen of the same lineage centers:

1) Nansemond
2) Warroskoyack
3) Quiyoughcohannock
4) Weyanoke / Pamunkey

5) Appomatuck
6) Powhatan
7) Arrohateck
8) Paspehegh

9) Kecoughtan
10) Chiskiack
11) Werowocomoco
12) Pamunkey.

The map's cartography is unfortunately incomplete; it is however important to recognize the thirteen centers Tindall displays (including Pamunkey with Weyanoke). Had he illustrated the upper York, it is possible that the districts of 1) Mattapanient, 2) Orapax / Catachiptico, and 3) Youghtanund would have been included, but unfortunately all are off the map's bounds. In addition, if Tindall had penned his map later than May of 1608 when he returned to England, news of the 4) Piankatank invasion would have left a memory strong enough to imprint itself in ink. However, the Rappahannock remained incomplete and Piankatank without enumeration. Had the upper York geographically and Piankatank temporally made the map, Tindall would have provided sixteen Powhatan districts.

The Powhatan Revealed

Using the documentary and cartographic record of the early Jamestown era, I have organized the dominant Algonquian lineage aggregates below. Each section represents not only the dominant local group lineage, but also the minor lineages of specific territories, and in some cases the embedded "captive / adopted" lineages from the

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Powhatan expansion. Charts are organized by province, and enumerate village centers, major and minor werowances, warrior counts, and total population estimates. A small section of the Smith map (1612) is included with each section, with a highlight of the general use areas for each group. Further notes detail each group's position as lineage elements within the expansive socio-political organization of Wahunsenacah.

Nansemond

As one of the last independent territories to become tributary to Wahunsenacah, the province of Nansemond (Map 10, Figure 8) remained fairly autonomous. As detailed in Chapter V, the Chesapeake annihilation appears to have had a significant impact on the Nansemond's leadership; the brokered peace with Wahunsenacah may have included both exchanges in women and an understanding of the jurisdiction of the Chesapeake lands. Unlike Kecoughtan and Piankatank, Chesapeake was not immediately occupied by a Powhatan colonial force and installed with a new werowance. I surmise this to be as a result of the complete annihilation of the Chesapeake lineage, "all the Inhabitants, the werowance and his Subjects of that province" "destroyed and put to sword" (Strachey [1612] 1953:104-105). Thus, the Chesapeake lands that are reoccupied do not appear to have been done so by an entity that had separate status. Strachey refers to them as "extinct" but also comments on "such new Inhabitants that now people Chessapeak again...together with the Weroances of Nansemond, Warroskoyack, and Weanock are now at peace with him [Wahunsenacah]" (ibid:108).

I argue that the "new" Chesapeake inhabitants were an extension of the local groups from the Southside, most likely from the immediate area of Nansemond. The single Chesapeake village was more than likely a coalescent community composed of

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Map 10. *The Nansemond-Chesapeake Province* (Smith 1612).

refugee minor Chesapeake lineages, which had either fled the conflict or having married

out at an earlier time, returned to the region from the other Southside communities. More

than likely, the local groups had exchanged women for some generations prior to the

chaos of Wahunsenacah – these families may have urged their kin extensions within

Nansemond, Weyanoke, etc. to return to familial lands. Equally, as districts with fairly

high populations, Weyanoke and Nansemond may have seen an opportunity for access to

more resources. Wahunsenacah may have even leveraged the use lands in exchange for

their cooperation. While Strachey described the Chesapeake group as "extinct" it is

unlikely that the lineage members were completely rubbed out. Owing to the exchange

practices described in Chapter II-III, the local Algonquians probably recognized the

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Village Centers		Werowance(s)	Smith (Men)	Strachey (Men)	Turner	Feest (3:10)	Woodard (1:4)
Nansemund		Weyhohomo (main)	200	200	800	665	800
Mattanock Teracosick Mantoughquemed		Annapetough (lesser) Weywingopo (lesser) Tirchtough (lesser)					
Chesapeake (?)			100		350	335	400
Total	4-6	5≤	300	200	1150	1000	1200

Figure 8. *Nansemond-Chesapeake Territory c.1610: Village Centers, Leadership, and Population* (Zuniga 1608; Velasco 1610; Smith 1612; Smith 1624; Strachey 1612; Percy 1612; Quinn 1955; Turner 1973; Feest 1973; Feest 1978a; Haile 1998).

remaining lineage's authority to the use lands, and assisted in positioning appropriate reoccupation of the district with previous unions.

The "Great Werowance" or dominant lineage leader was Weyhohomo; the "lesse Werowance" was Amapetough, which was probably a younger brother. Two additional werowances were Weywingopo and Tirchtough – who may have represented siblings, enumerated in birth order of ascension. Equally, Weywingopo and Tirchtough may have been lesser lineage leaders; for sure, all had cross cutting social responsibilities that extended beyond just the status of werowance. While not detailed in the Smith map, there was at least one additional major Nansemond village on an island, being described during its destruction by George Percy in 1609 (Percy 1612). Thus, it is probable that these leadership figures were a series of brothers, and that additional leadership figures were composed of yet more Nansemond lineages such as those at the unnamed Nansemond village center, hamlets, and at Chesapeake.

Warraskoyack

The province of Warraskoyack (Map 11, Figure 9) was a minor territory along the south bank of the James River. Illustrated by both the Zuniga (1608) and Tindall (1608) maps as being in close proximity to Nansemond, it is likely that the two districts were highly intermarried. On several occasions, the werowance at Warraskoyack assisted and fraternized with the English (e.g. Smith [1608] in Haile 1998:150), demonstrating the interest in the Southside groups in possibly positioning the English alliance in their favor. However, as described for Nansemond in Chapter V, the proximity and continued needs of the English would make an alliance untenable. The werowance, Tackonekintaco was an elderly man, but apparently had a nephew of age that assisted him in strategy (Strachey [1612] 1953:65-66). As a small local group, the inhabitants of Warraskoyack appear to have had remarkable staying power, suffering punitive attacks from the English through the 1620s. However, by the mid century, Warraskoyack inhabitants had left their traditional lands (Rountree 1990:82), possibly in favor of more secure territories still occupied by their neighbors.

By the early 1660s, a group known as the Pochick began having a conflict with those from Weyanoke (Anonymous 1897:49). Surmised to have been a segment of Nansemond, the Pochick group may have equally been comprised of remnants of the Warraskoyack communities. Equally, it is unclear if there was a relationship between the Nansemond communities of the Southside and with that of a group referred to as "Nanzemond" that appeared along the upper Rappahanock River before the 1660s (Rountree 1990:95). A 1655 land patent named Nanzemond and *Warisquock* among the towns settled near Nanzatico (ibid:120), indicating a possible continued relationship

between the two southern refugee communities. Recognizing the difficulties associated with native naming practices for landscape features, and the English tendency to equate those names with distinct "polities," it is unlikely that a resolution to these relationships will be found without further evidence.

Map 11. *The Province of Warraskoyack* (Smith 1612).

Village Centers		Werowance(s)	Smith (Men)	Strachey (Men)	Turner	Feest (3:10)	Woodard (1:4)
Warraskoyack		Tackonekintaco	40	60	200	135-200	240
Alokete Mathomauk							
Total	3	1≤	40	60	200	135-200	240

Figure 9. *Warraskoyack Territory c.1610: Village Centers, Leadership, and Population* (Zuniga 1608; Velasco 1610; Smith 1612; Smith 1624; Strachey 1612; Percy 1612; Turner 1973; Feest 1973; Feest 1978a; Haile 1998).

The miniature population of Warraskoyack creates a question of its origins, as it would seem small for an independent precinct. Noting that fission is a natural process of socio-political groups, it may be that Warraskoyack represented a westward segment of the Nansemond district with a relatively short time depth; Tackonekintaco's advanced age may be a clue that the separation was deeper than one generational cycle of werowances. The proximity of the group to the chiefdom at Nansemond leads me to argue that the comparative size differences between Nansemond and Warraskoyack example a minor lineage's rise to prominence as the result of fission. The later westward movement Nansemond groups to Pochick and / or the possible associations of the Nazemond / Warisquock Northern Neck groups of the 1660s supports this determination.

Quiyoughcohannock

The Quiyoughcohannock precinct (Map 12, Figure 10) was occupied by a deposed werowance, Pepiscunimah (a.k.a. Pipisco) who lived at the small village center of Nantapoyac. The process by which Quiyoughcohannock became a territorial unit of Wahunsenacah is not completely clear, but it would seem that pressure from those at Paspehegh and possibly at Appamatuck and Weyanoke played a major role in the development that lead to these group's provincial entanglements already described in Chapter V. Pipisco may have been a begrudged tributary after the union between his eldest sister and Wahunsenacah; the exchange may have also been negotiated as opposed to the result of conflict resolution. Strachey's comment that the "Weroances of Nansemond, Warroskoyack, and Weanock are now at peace with him [Wahunsenacah]" (Strachey [1612] 1953:108, brackets mine) is suspiciously absent of Quiyoughcohannock

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as a combative Southside polity. Other groups' independence was lost by force, but Quiyoughcohannock's may have been lost through love.

The relationship between the male leadership of the province with Wahunsenacah appears to have remained strained through the early years of Jamestown's settlement. Based on the young age of Tatacoope (Pipisco's nephew and Wahunsenacah's son) the addition of Quiyoughcohannock to the paramountcy may have been as recent as c.1598. The marriage of Pipisco's eldest sister (Oholasc) to Wahunsenacah resulted in a child that would eventually inherit the dominant lineage seat. It would have become apparent relatively early; through the kinship exchange, Quiyoughcohannock's lineage would soon be regulated to second fiddle against the negotiated prominence of Wahunsenacah's heir. Pipisco may have exiled himself to the smaller hamlet of Nantapoyac while he reconciled his position. In the interim, it would seem that his younger brother Chopoke assumed leadership duties for the local groups, rising to some level of prominence. However marginalized, Pipisco elected to resolve some of his loss through a traditional Algonquian practice that had been developing among the Chesapeake elite for generations – bride capture. The capturing of a favorite wife from a leadership figure of Wahunsenacah's dominant lineage served as a symbolic, but widely understood gesture. Opechancanough's loss was Quiyoughcohannock's gain. The formal placement of Oholasc as the de-facto werowansqua of Quiyoughcohannock probably occurred soon after this elite status conflict. Tatahacoope being yet too young to govern became a werowance in waiting, while Chopoke appeared to have managed most of the precinct's affairs. Pispisco retained his diminished lineage position and his new wife (Strachey [1612] 1953:65).

Map 12. *The Province of Quiyoughcohannock* (Smith 1612).

Village Centers		Werowance(s) *Werowansqua*	Smith (Men)	Strachey (Men)	Turner	Feest (3:10)	Woodard (1:4)
Quiyoughcohanock		*Oholasc* (female regent) Tatacoope (young werowance)	25	60	125	85-200	240
Chawapo		Chopoke					
Nantapoyac		Pepiscunimah		few			
Unnamed Unnamed - *Possibly dispersed*							
Total	3-5	3≤	25	60	125	85-200	240

Figure 10. *Quiyoughcohannock Territory c.1610: Village Centers, Leadership, and Population* (Zuniga 1608; Velasco 1610; Smith 1612; Smith 1624; Strachey 1612; Percy 1612; Turner 1973; Feest 1973; Feest 1978a; Haile 1998).

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Like Warraskoyack, Quiyoughcohannock's size may have also been the result of early fission from regional local groups. The district's proximity to the more populous Weyanoke territory may be indicative of the groups' relationship. The Velasco (1610) map omits the Weyanoke completely in favor of Quiyoughcohannock, while Smith (1612), Zuniga (1608), and Tindall (1608) all illustrate a relative association with Weyanoke's position on the James River. Archaeological investigations (i.e. Blick 2000) indicate a strong cultural relationship between the two provinces that is unlike their surrounding counterparts. Acknowledging both the short historical career of the Quiyoughcohannock (Rountree 1990:307) and the wide unoccupied swath of the southern James shore, it would seem that Warraskoyack and Quiyoughcohannock might have had recent originations with the larger local groups that were their immediate neighbors. Nonetheless, they had emerged by the Jamestown era as lineages with increasing prominence.

Weyanoke

As described more fully in Chapter V, the Weyanoke territory (Map 13, Figure 11) represented one of the few chiefdom polities along the southern James, both in comparative size and temporal depth of historical career. Few groups of Algonquian lineages would sustain themselves as independent groups beyond the initial years of the Jamestown colony. While their numbers position them at the lower end of the population spectrum, the tenacity of the Weyanoke lineages as an enduring, cohesive group sustained them throughout the colonial era. Signing both the 1677 treaty and eventually allying themselves with Iroquoian extended kin to the south, residents of Weyanoke would remain identifiable well into the nineteenth century.

Map 13. *The Province of Weyanoke* (Smith 1612).

Village Centers		Werowance(s)	Smith (Men)	Strachey (Men)	Turner	Feest (3:10)	Woodard (1:4)
Weyanoke		Kaquothocum (main)	100	100	500	335-500	600
Cecocomake		Ohoroquoh (lesser)		50			
Unnamed Unnamed Unnamed Unnamed Unnamed *Possibly dispersed*							
Total	3-7	3≤	100	150	500	335-500	600

Figure 11. *Weyanoke Territory c.1610: Village Centers, Leadership, and Population* (Zuniga 1608; Velasco 1610; Smith 1612; Smith 1624; Strachey 1612 [1953]; Archer 1607; Turner 1973; Feest 1973; Feest 1978; Haile 1998).

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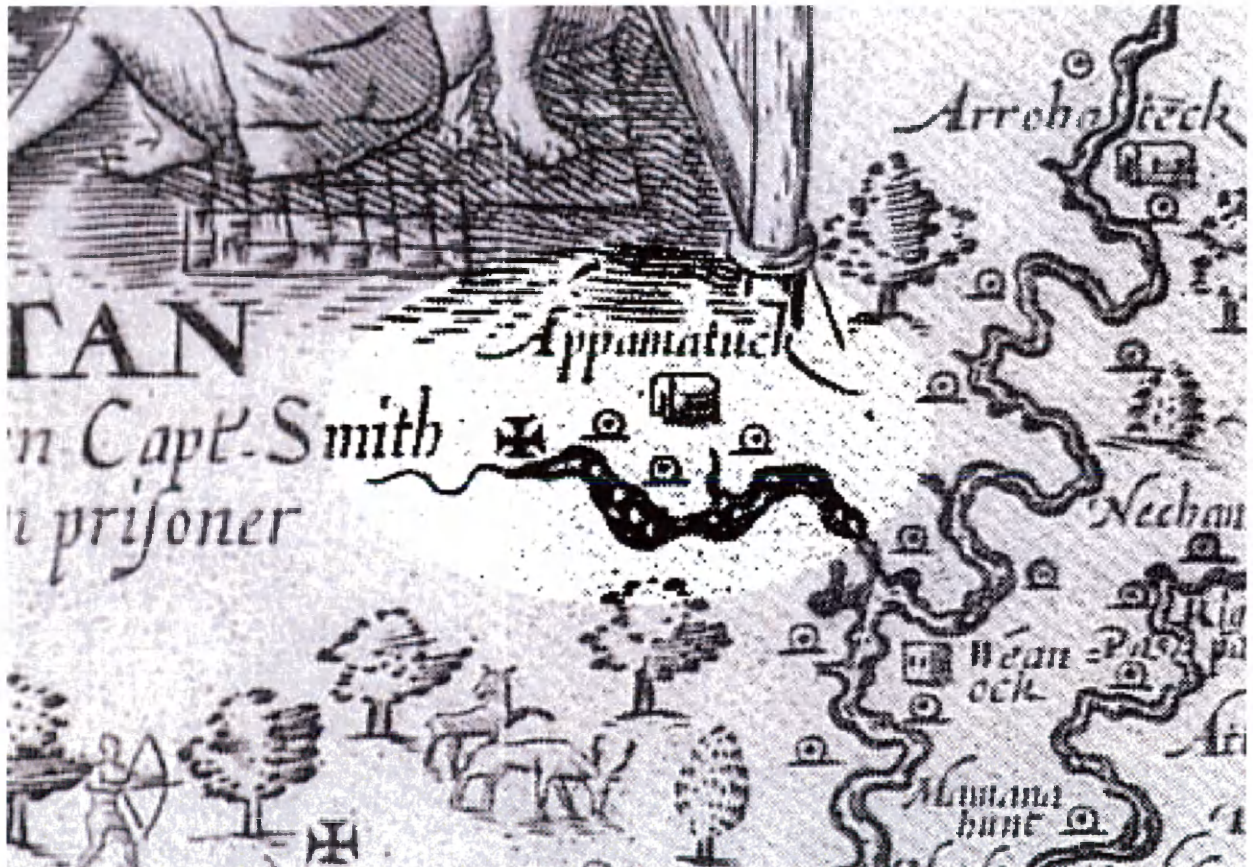
Appamatuck

Map 14. *The Province of Appamatuck* (Smith 1612).

The communities of Appamatuck (Map 14, Figure 12) were situated along the confluence of the James and Appomattox rivers. From there, they appeared to have managed an early gateway for Powhatan communities into Southside region. Marriage alliance and trade networks allowed the Appamatuck lineages to broker relationships between their immediate Powhatan neighbors at the falls of the James River with more distant networks to the southwest. As the western most territory of the original Powhatan paramountcy, I also contend that Appamatuck was the last of the six to seven districts of the James-York union to be incorporated. As discussed in Chapter V, the relationship among her sister communities seems to have been strained during the years surrounding

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Village Centers		Werowance(s) Werowansqua	Smith (Men)	Strachey (Men)	Turner	Feest (3:10)	Woodard (1:4)
Appamatuck		Coquonasum (main)	60	100	360	200-400	400
Unnamed		Opussoquonuske (lesser)		20			
Unnamed Unnamed Unnamed Possibly dispersed							
Total	4-5	3≤	25	120	500	335-500	480

Figure 12. *Appamatuck Territory c.1610: Village Centers, Leadership, and Population* (Zuniga 1608; Velasco 1610; Smith 1612; Smith 1624; Strachey 1612 [1953]; Turner 1973; Feest 1973; Feest 1978; Haile 1998).

the Powhatan expansion. In apparent agreement, Feest noted that the Appamatuck lineages appeared to have had a noticeably larger population that allowed them to be sustainable until after 1700 (Feest 1973:70). Like the Weyanoke province, the autonomy of Appamatuck positioned them as signers of the 1677 Treaty of Middle Plantation and as distinct political unit in absence of the tumultuous era of Wahunsenacah.

Arrohatteck

The minor province of Arrohateck (Map 15, Figure 13) straddled the upper James below the Powhatan territory at the falls. Although the early narratives (e.g. Archer 1607) detail much interaction with the residents of Arrohateck and the werowance Ashuaquid, the community as a whole had relatively little staying power. Owing to several armed conflicts and English occupation of the surrounding territory, the Arrohateck disappeared relatively early from the historical record (Rountree 1990:307).

Strachey's positioning of Arrohateck as among the original territories of Powhatan (|1612| 1953:44) and following Feest's suggestion that the original paramount chiefdom Wahunsenacah inherited was developed from strategic marriage alliances from along the upper James and York drainages (1966:77), the position of the Arrohateck as a lineage seat is fairly secure. I also suggest that Arrohateck / Powhatan formed one chiefdom unit as oppositional to separate ones along the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Rivers during an earlier period. In this way, while the dominant lineages of the two James River provinces were distinct c.1607, their association was more recently united. The population size of the Arrohateck is easier to recognize as a chiefdom complex when viewed as a subset of the Powhatan district. Thus, Arrohateck (240) and Powhatan (200) combined resemble a stronger unit as a chiefdom (440) and owing to their role in the nascent political form of Wahunsenacah's ancestors, the upper James districts were probably associated more fully several generations back. Proto-historic ceramic assemblages also support this hypothesis. It is interesting to consider that Arrohateck may have been the minor fissioning lineage, due to the evidence suggested by Smith and Strachey that they surpassed Powhatan in total population. Hence, a suggested timeline for the original Powhatan paramount may have consisted of two united chiefdoms from the upper York River systems partnering with a chiefdom complex along the upper James River. Appamatuck was added to the paramount after the successful James-York union gained stability and was able to exert hegemonic influence into southwesterly trade routes.

Map 15. *The Province of Arrohateck* (Smith 1612).

Village Centers		Werowance(s) *Werowansqua*	Smith (Men)	Strachey (Men)	Turner	Feest (3:10)	Woodard (1:4)
Arrohatteck		Ashuaquid	30	60	180	100-200	240
Unnamed Unnamed Unnamed Unnamed Unnamed *Possibly dispersed*							
Total	2-5	2≤	30	60	500	100-200	240

Figure 13. *Arrohatteck Territory c.1610: Village Centers, Leadership, and Population* (Zuniga 1608; Velasco 1610; Smith 1612; Smith 1624; Strachey 1612; Turner 1973; Feest 1973; Feest 1978a; Haile 1998).

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Powhatan

The Powhatan precinct (Map 16, Figure 15) offers a particular opportunity to explore the networks of social exchange among the Virginia Algonquians. Located at the falls of the James River, Powhatan was the natal home of Wahunsenacah. A relatively small province, Powhatan was at the heart of a complex series of kinship unions that united several portions of upland freshwater riverine territories. At the time of the Jamestown colony, Powhatan was lorded over by Parahunt, or Tanxpowhatan. As a young man, Wahunsenacah had become known throughout the Mid-Atlantic by the denomination "wherein he was borne" (Strachey [1612] 1953:56). Possibly through tradition, Parahunt or Little (tanx-) Powhatan, became known by the same moniker. Parahunt ruled over four (or five) village centers scattered about the vicinity of the James River rapids. Smith's (1612) map places the village clusters south of the rapids, but Archer placed a village on an island (1607 in Haile 1998:106-107) that Feest identifies as Mayo Island (Feest 1973:69), within view of the rapids as described by Archer. Thus, the village array may be higher than estimated by Smith; Feest also argued for a higher population, possibly over 300 individuals (ibid).

Considering both Parahunt and Wahunsenacah to have been born and lineally related through the Powhatan elite posses certain challenges within the matrilineal kinship structure of the Virginia Algonquians. Constructing a probable pattern within the Algonquian kinship system may explain certain anomalies that have previously been overlooked (e.g. Gleach 1997:143). Using the conventional understanding of Virginia Algonquian descent, the son of Wahunsenacah governing at Powhatan would position Parahunt's mother as being from a Powhatan lineage. While the power of Wahunsenacah

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was undeniable, the authority of the matriline still required lineage descendancy. Wahunsenacah was born at Powhatan, but *his mother was from Pamunkey Neck.* Opitchapan (Itoyatin), Opechancanough, and Kekataugh were all described as Wahunsenacah's brothers and able lineal descendants through the matriline. Their chief place of residency and position as werowances was within Pamunkey Neck. Thus, without debating Wahunsenacah's relationship to his "brothers,"[1] his elite lineage matriline was also from Pamunkey Neck. Therefore, a marriage to a Powhatan elite male would position Wahunsenacah's mother to have resided patrilocally on the upper James.

Following the marriage and birthing practices of the Powhatan elite household, it may have been possible that Wahunsenacah was born at Powhatan, and that his mother was sent back to her maternal homeland in a matrilocal pattern to Pamunkey Neck. There, Wahunsenacah would have stayed until he was old enough to join his father's home, returning to a patrilocal pattern. It is possible that the marriage was dissolved and Wahunsenacah's brothers were from a secondary union with other lineages, as has been suggested by Rountree (2005:27). At any rate, the shifting residency practices of the Chesapeake evidence a degree of irregularity that has been discussed in Chapter II as indicative of societies undergoing stress and transition, such as may be experienced during a socio-political evolution to a paramount chiefdom. Thus, in the ways of elite household practices - Wahunsenacah was raised in an initial residency that was patrilocal, with his mother returning to her matriline (matrilocal), and the young heir eventually joined his father patrilocally at an appropriate age. Technically, this pattern is a form of

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[1] As discussed in Chapter II, Opechancanough has been previously suggested to be a parallel cousin (Gleach 1997:41; Rountree 2005:27).

ambilocal residence (see Appendix B). Conversely, Wahunsenacah's mother may have remained at Powhatan, having all of her children there, eventually resulting in their movement back to Pamunkey Neck as the lineage seats of werowances became available.

It would appear that one of Wahunsenacah's initial marriages, possibly his first, duplicated the endogamous elite practices common to the coastal Algonquians. A cross cousin marriage to his father's eldest sister's eldest daughter would produce the appropriate lineage descendancy for Parahunt to become werowance. Equally, Wahunsenacah could have married his eldest paternal aunt, particularly if they were in the same age grade, as has been noted for elite lineages elsewhere in the Atlantic (Bragdon 1996:165).

However, one reference indicates that some portion of Wahunsenacah's lineage was from outside of James-York drainages. Robert Beverly, writing about the Powhatan from the comfortable vantage of a century after the English had founded Jamestown, remarked that "he [Opechancanough] was a foreign Prince of a Foreign nation, and came to them a great way from the South-West," which Beverly assumed to be quite southern, near Spanish controlled Mexico (Beverly [1705] 1947:61, brackets mine). As Rountree notes, "a closer southwestern origin is entirely possible," (Rountree 2005:28) if not in fact probable, based on several other lines of evidence.

Marriage exchange across linguistic boundaries appears to have been relatively common during the Late Woodland period; ceramic assemblages point to a pattern of lineage ties between upriver James communities of Algonquians with interior coastal plain Iroquoians (Turner 1993:84-88). Indeed Wahunsenacah relied on Southside werowances for a continued trade exchange of southwesterly commodities (Strachey

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[1612] 1953:56-57). During the initial years of the James Fort settlement, investigations into the whereabouts of the "Lost Colonists" of Roanoke called upon capable Southside guides at Quiyoughcohannock to direct the English deeper into the territory of the "Mangoag" or Iroquoian speakers (Smith 1624 in Haile 1998:323). Further degrees of comfort pushed the Weyanoke into Mandoag territory after the hostilities of 1644, taking refuge among the Iroquoians (Binford 1967:134). In 1650 Edward Bland headed south out of Fort Henry, near what is today Petersburg, Virginia towards trading opportunities among the Mandoag; he enlisted the assistance of a young Appamatuck man who had a "sweat-heart" among the Meherrin (ibid:133). Strachey, at an earlier date, even supposed that Wahunsenacah's domain stretched into the territory of the Iroquoian speakers, "he seems to commaund South and North from the Mangoags" (Strachey [1612] 1953:56). Thus, it would seem appropriate that one of Wahunsenacah's grandparents, engaged in the marriage exchange of the Southside, may have been "Mandoag" - an Iroquoian speaker.

Rountree reaches a similar conclusion (2005:29) but does not account for Wahunsenacah's birth at Powhatan as heralding from the matrilineage of Pamunkey Neck (thus having a Powhatan father per patrilocal residence) and the simultaneous placement of Parahunt's matrilineage at Powhatan. Owing that Wahunsenacah's father was of an elite lineage in line to inherit the werwowance seat at Powhatan, his mother (Wahunsenacah's paternal grandmother) had to be from Powhatan. The resulting inference places Wahunsenacah's paternal grandfather from Mandoag territory, or more properly Nottoway, Meherrin, or Tuscarora (Figure 14). It would not have been uncommon for the elite lineage women to be "married out," strengthening exchange

6) Mother born c.1510   7) Father born c.1510
      Powhatan Lineage   *Nottoway (Mandoag)*
                         \   /
                          \   /
4) Mother born c.1530   5) Father born c.1525
  Pamunkey Neck Lineage   *Powhatan Lineage*
                      \   /
                       \   /
2) Mother born c.1550   3) Wahunsenacah born c.1545 at Powhatan
  Powhatan Lineage   *Pamunkey Neck Lineage*
              \   /
               \   /
      1) Parahunt (Tanxpowhatan) born c.1565-1570
              Powhatan Lineage
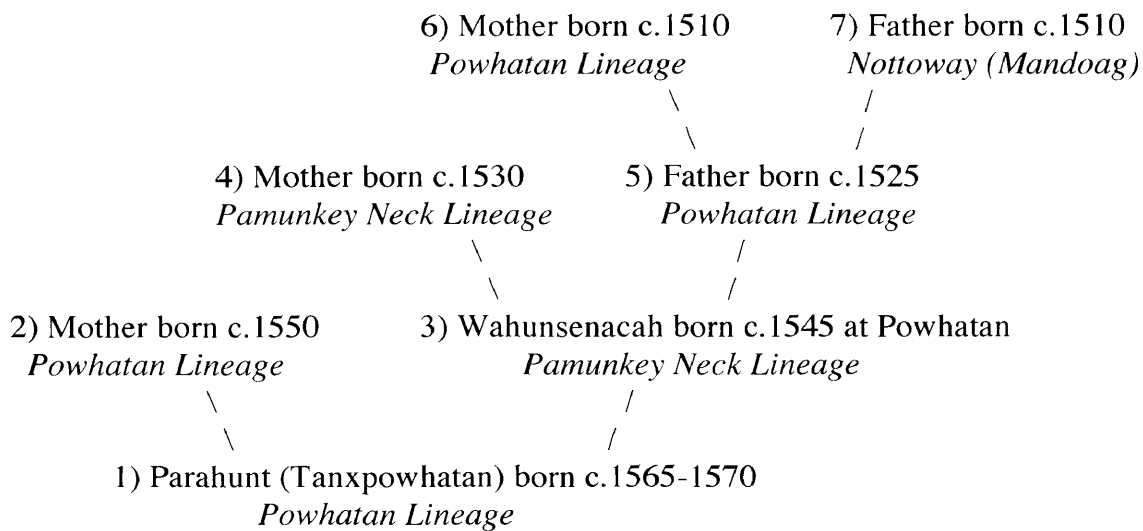
Figure 14. *Hypothetical Lineages of Parahunt.*

Possible marriage between #4 and #5 continue to solidify paramount York and James River chiefdoms. #4 moved to live with #5 after marriage, resulting in #3 being born and coming of age at Powhatan, but #3 may have taken lineage position at Pamunkey or Powhatan by choice - owing to shifting rules based on the development of a nascent chiefdom form. #3 married at Powhatan, further solidifying his parents union. #5 mother from Powhatan elite lineage, however #5 may have been raised amongst the Nottoway, living with his father's people (#7). He would have left at some point – definitely when the lineage seat became available, although possibly earlier to be able to marry into the York drainage with probable assistance of elder lineal heirs.

networks across geographical and linguistic territories. Their progeny though, particularly males in line for the lineage seats, would have returned to claim their positions of prominence when the opportunity presented itself. Recognizing the importance of kinship among the Algonquian peoples, the comments made by Beverly's informants as to Opechancanough (some 150 odd years after his birth) being a "foreign Prince of a Foreign nation" can be both explained and used as an argument about the worldview of the Algonquians being centered in place and relatedness.

Map 16. *The Province of Powhatan* (Smith 1612).

Village Centers		Werowance(s)	Smith (Men)	Strachey (Men)	Turner	Feest (3:10)	Woodard (1:4)
Powhatan Unnamed Unnamed Unnamed Unnamed *Possibly dispersed*		Parahunt	40	50	150	135-165	200
Total	4-5	2≤	40	50	150	135-165	200

Figure 15. *Powhatan Territory c.1610: Village Centers, Leadership, and Population* (Zuniga 1608; Velasco 1610; Smith 1612; Smith 1624; Strachey 1612; Percy 1612; Archer 1607; Turner 1973; Feest 1973; Feest 1978a; Haile 1998).

Paspehegh

Map 17. *The Province of Paspehegh* (Smith 1612).

As I have argued in Chapter V, the Paspehegh group (Map 17, Figure 16) that greeted the English was that of a colonial occupier. The werowance Wowinchopunk had secured the territory through a union with the local group's lineage. Upon the death of the lineage heirs and continued conflict with the English, the Powhatan colonials dispersed in favor of more secure residences with their lineage groups. As discussed with the lineages of Appamatuck, Nansemond, and Weyanoke the determination of corporate groups to remain entrenched in the face of continued adversity speaks to their resiliency as a "group." The disappearance of other populations, such as at Paspehegh may reveal a

level of artificiality and lack of corporate cohesion without the dependency of a parent population.

Village Centers		Werowance(s)	Smith (Men)	Strachey (Men)	Turner	Feest (3:10)	Woodard (1:4)
Paspehegh		Wowinchopunck	40	40	200	135	160
Namqosick Cinquaoteck Marinough							
Unnamed *Possibly dispersed*							
Total	4-5	2≤	40	40	200	135	160

Figure 16. *Paspehegh Territory c.1610: Village Centers, Leadership, and Population* (Zuniga 1608; Velasco 1610; Smith 1612; Smith 1624; Strachey 1612; Percy 1612; Turner 1973; Feest 1973; Feest 1978a; Haile 1998).

Kecoughtan

An important province in the case of the Powhatan expansion, Kecoughtan (Map 18, Figure 17) represented the turning point for Wahunsenacah's expansion into proliferation. As with the residents at Paspehegh, the population that greeted the English of Jamestown were transplanted colonials. Of interest however, the lineage of Kecoughtan clearly persisted beyond the invasion. Quite possibly, the new provincial residents retained appropriate dominant lineage women and children, but for sure, many captive secondary lineage members were housed among the heartland of Powhatania in Pamunkey Neck.

Following the assault of Piankatank in 1608, Kecoughtan lineage members requested safe transport to the newly emptied lands along the Piankatank River of the former prominent Opiscapank lineage (Strachey [1612] 1953:68). This important

disclosure demonstrates not only did Wahunsenacah engage in colonial enterprise, but that the population of Kecoughtan was able to retain corporate cohesion fifteen years after being embedded in Pamunkey Neck's communities. This last point is crucial because it evidences continued descendency acknowledgement by both Wahunsenacah and the remnants of Kecoughtan, as a corporate group beyond the domination and intermarriage among Powhatans. Similar cohesion was not seen among other transparent or less established lineages from the early historical documents.

Thus, the chart below details the various stages of Kecoughtan's lineage, both the colonial occupants and the original descendants. The first row (c.1595) is related to Strachey's approximation of residents ([1612] 1953:67), prior to the Powhatan invasion. The second row details Smith's early account of Kecoughtan warriors during the English raids of 1607 on the colonized precinct (1624 [1884]:393). The third tier is based upon the census records of Smith (1612) and Strachey (1612) under Pochin's leadership of the occupied district. The fourth section details Strachey's estimate of the population of Piankatank after the Kecoughtan lineages' reoccupation (Strachey [1612] 1953:68). The final row is of particular interest, as it both acknowledges the rasterizing process and reveals an interesting pattern not well discussed in the scholarly literature.

As has been described at Powhatan, the dominant leadership figures appear to have often taken their lineages capital location's designation as a "throne name" (Rountree 1989:7). Therefore, Wahunsenacah was known as "Powhatan," Parahunt was known as "Tanxpowhatan," Ashuaquid was known as "Arrohateck," and Opechancanough's domain was conversely known as "Opechancheno." It is of interest then to recognize one of Strachey's "additional" group werowances within the Pamunkey

Neck environs as "24. *Keyghaughton* Weroance of Cassapecock – 100" (Strachey |1612|
1953:69).

Missing from the Smith (1612) map in name, Cassapecock is situated in
Strachey's Pamunkey River group list between "23. Ochahannauke" and "25.
Caposepock" or more properly via Smith's map along side of "Acconoc" and
"Kupkipcock." The next named werowance township by Strachey is "Pamereke"
(Strachey |1612| 1953:69), or what Smith's (1612) map accounts as "Pamuncoroy." The
other candidates for "Cassapecock" below Pamuncoroy are "Attamtuck,"
"Accossumwinck, and "Potaucac" – none of which appear to match the phonetics of
"Cassapecock." There is however, one unnamed village below "Pamuncoroy" next to
"Kupkipcock." I argue that this village is Cassapecock, as detailed by Strachey's
approximate village order and due the corroboration of the other village placements on
Smith's (1612) map. Absent in name from Smith's (1612) map and not matching the
closest Zuniga designation of "Osamkateck," Strachey's village / werowance list is the
only reference for both the leader and the name of this town.

What I suggest, is that Keyghaughton was the lineage heir to Kecoughtan, as an
embedded captive population - the majority of the Kecoughtan refugees were situated
adjacent to one of the minor lineages of Pamunkey Neck at Kupkipcock. From there, the
werowance Weyamat with a healthy 300 warriors, could easily watch over and develop /
monitor the progress of young and widowed Kecoughtan lineage members. The
population of Cassapecock was roughly one third of the original Kecoughtan province
(400:1200), a figure that is plausible owing to the patricide of warriors or any male over
the age of ten, along with possible distributions of some women / children to other

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Map 18. *The Province of Kecoughtan* (Smith 1612).

locations. It is also possible that Strachey's Cassapecock and Piankatank figures are distinct populations, one set being the new colonial Kecoughtans "allowed" to inhabit Piankatank, the other remaining embedded in Pamunkey Neck, or unwilling to relocate after at least ten years of intermarriage and settlement. Combined, the two groupings would have equaled half of the former Kecoughtan population's lineages (600:1200). While not exact, these figures should be seen as approximate realistic representations of the invasion / colonialism / recovery demographics, easily following a 3:10 or 1:4 consideration of warriors to villagers.

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Village Centers	Werowance(s)	Smith (Men)	Strachey (Men)	Turner	Feest (3:10)	Woodard (1:4)
Kecoughtan c.1595			300		1000*	1200
Kecoughtan c.1607	Pochins	60-70		260†	100	240-280
Kecoughtan (Peninsula) c.1610	Pochins	20	30	100	65-100	120
Piankatank (Repopulation of Middle Peninsula) c.1610			40-50		135-165	160-200
Cassapecock (Embedded in Pamunkey Neck) c.1610	Keighaughton		100			400
Total	1	1≤	As above per date	As above per date	As above per date	As above per date	As above per date

Figure 17. *Kecoughtan Territory c.1595 / 1610: Village Centers, Leadership, and Population* (Zuniga 1608; Velasco 1610; Smith 1612; Smith 1624; Strachey 1612; Percy 1612; Turner 1973; Feest 1973; Feest 1978a; Haile 1998).

*Computed based on Feest's (1978a:257) use of Smith and Strachey's 3:10 (x ÷ 3.333) scale of warriors to villagers. Strachey's account (|1612| 1953:67) indicates 1000 native inhabitants resided at Kecoughtan prior to Wahunsenacah's invasion.
†Computed based on Turner's (1973) average between warrior estimates (in this case 65) multiplied using the 1:4 ratio. Based on Smith's account (1624 |1884|:393). 60-70 warriors were present at Kecoughtan during English attacks in 1607.

Chiskiack

The precinct of the Chiskiack (Map 19, Figure 18) was one of the first territories to be enveloped by Wahunsenacah into his expanding chiefdom form. It is unclear how Chiskiack was approached about the future arrangements. Possibly a marriage alliance or commitments of continued reciprocity initiated the tribute exchange. Whatever the

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Map 19. *The Province of Chiskiack* (Smith 1612).

Village Centers		Werowance(s)	Smith (Men)	Strachey (Men)	Turner	Feest (3:10)	Woodard (1:4)
Chiskiack		Ottahotin	40-50	50	200	135-165	200
Middle Peninsula *Possible refugees*							
Total	1-2	1≤	40-50	50	200	135-165	200

Figure 18. *Chiskiack Territory c.1610: Village Centers, Leadership, and Population* (Zuniga 1608; Velasco 1610; Smith 1612; Smith 1624; Strachey 1612; Turner 1973; Feest 1973; Feest 1978a; Haile 1998).

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motivator, it was clear that by 1607, Chiskiack was one Wahunsenacah's "chief

alliance[s]" (Strachey [1612] 1953:44) and that it had been so for over thirty years

(Lewis and Loomie 1953:111-112).

Still, it is surprising to see Ottahotin, the werowance of Chiskiack, only managing

the use-lands of 200 lineage members settled in fifteen to twenty-five dispersed houses.

The single village center was nestled between Queen and King Creeks along the southern

shores of the York River, but the environs are rich enough to support a higher populated,

more intensive settlement pattern (Blanton 2007). The conflict surrounding the lineages

of Kecoughtan and Paspehegh undoubtedly produced some unrest, as the some of the

lineage members, particularly at Paspehegh must have been intermarried. Possibly, some

members of the Chiskiack local group joined relatives from the original dominant lineage

of Werwococmoco at the southern York settlements of Capahowasick and Cantaunkack,

distancing themselves from the native hostility of the Peninsula and the apparent,

continual visitation by Europeans with questionable intentions.

Pamunkey

The confines of the Pamunkey territory (Map 20, Figure 19) are difficult to

ascertain during the early years of the Jamestown narratives. A combination of lacking a

village or capital "Kings house" bearing the Pamunkey name (Smith 1612), an apparent

"Triun-viri" and multiple other werowances governing the territory, as well as an

extensive population (Strachey [1612] 1953:69) have all seemingly been ignored for

explanation by the majority of Virginia researchers for decades (e.g. Rountree 2005). The

writings of William Strachey (1612) are crucial to understanding the local groups at

Pamunkey. His early census of the York River is unparalleled during the seventeenth

century and has usually been widely discounted (e.g. Rountree 1989:155,167), although as discussed in Chapter VI, credited by others (e.g. Feest 1978a). In terms of describing the dominant lineage aggregates of the nascent Powhatan Chiefdom, the group at Pamunkey warrants special consideration.

We may also question the production of history (Trouillot 1995) when detailing the case of Pamunkey. Based on previous abstractions (i.e. Mook 1944) it would seem that the qualifications for "groupness" presented in Chapter VI have not been used at Pamunkey. Having both werowances and census figures from Strachey ([1612] 1953:69) and cartographic representations of multiple "King houses" by Smith (1612) should immediately raise questions about why previous researchers have not considered Menapucunt, Kupkipcock, or Cinquoteck as small groups. Considering the shallow historical careers of other ephemeral "groups" counted by Smith and Strachey, it is important to note that this area has not been adequately discussed or debated in the scholarly literature. Cautiously, I do not present evidence to the contrary, but rather, highlight the deficit in the discussion and reveal that the focus has been unevenly directed at the boundaries and "units" of the Powhatan Chiefdom. Without considering the avenues for explanation of problematic areas of interpretation, windows of opportunity have been discarded in favor of ignoring portions of the record that "do not work." The burying or "silencing" of the evidence has only led to essentialized notions of tribalism and static identities, as opposed to constructive debate about social process.

There can be no doubt about the prominence of the region; multiple early accounts (i.e. Smith 1624 in Haile 1998:304) detail the locality as the home of prominent leadership figures, such as Opechancanough, on the southern branch of the upper York

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River. Robarte Tindall (1608) even transferred the name "Poetan" for Werowocomoco, and likely did the same for area known by numerous other village titles in Pamunkey Neck as "Pamonke." However, as history has come down through the ages, the river's name was altered to reflect this English impression – the Youghtanund Flu. of John Smith (1612) became the Pamunkey River, but not at first.

Herman's 1673 map of Virginia and Maryland was the first improved revision of the Chesapeake's cartography since Smith's original. Prior to that, engravers had been copying and embellishing the 1612 version – adding little new cartographic information, but a healthy amount of fantasy (e.g. Hall 1636). Herman's map details the shift in nomenclature of the Pamaunk River to be called the York River, which included the southern branch of Youghtanund. While there is an enormous amount of information published on the seventeenth-century Pamunkey Indians, Herman's map is the first broad geo-political representation of the Chesapeake since Smith to include them in a cartographic setting; the 1673 four-part map places the "Pamaomeck Indian" township in the vicinity of the modern Pamunkey Indian Reservation.

This revelation may not seem startling, nor is it meant to be. What is of interest is the gradual transference during the seventeenth century of native "places" to Indian "groups," probably for "business purposes" as much by the indigenous inhabitants as by the English arrivals. Thus, at the time of the Jamestown colony, we may consider the "place of Pamunkey," as does Smith, Newport, Archer, etc. but we have to careful in transferring the name to broad groups of lineages. While it is easier to talk about the people of Pamunkey, it is less certain who the "Pamunkey" are within the landscape. This argument points to the heart of the essentialism prevalent in current depictions of the

culture, history, and life ways of the "Powhatan." One only has to look as far as National

Geographic (2005)[2] to see scholarly debate over names for people vs. names for towns

vs. names for regions.

It is less difficult to ascertain what the relationship was between the local lineages

of Pamunkey and the village given the closest phonetic approximation: Pamakeroy

(Zuniga 1608), Pamauncoroy (Smith 1612), and Pamareke (Strachey 1612). The

werowance of the village center was named Attasquintan and he apparently had a

population of a substantial size – 400 warriors or a total of 1600 villagers dispersed over

three, possibly four village centers. Weighing the other population estimates Strachey

gave for the York region, Pamereke is the best candidate for the center of a lineage group

broadly known as Pamunkey. The rivers were reportedly named "according to the name

of a principall Country that lyeth upon the Head of yt" (Strachey [1612] 1953:41). Based

on the size of Pamereke and the political figures associated with its lineage, I argue that

Pamunkey's central lineage house was at *Pamereke / Pamakeroy / Pamauncoroy* on the

Pamaunk River. Carrying further weight, downstreaming to 1673 places Pamereke on

Herman's map in the location of the "Pamaomeck Indian" villages (Map 22), as does a

modern map (DeLorme 1989:59) of the Pamunkey Indian Reservation.

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[2] Case and point: the National Geographic Map (2005) designed to celebrate a Chesapeake Bay
400 year retrospective as apart of conservancy and historic ventures (such as the John Smith
Gateway Project) essentializes numerous Algonquian places into polities and vice versa. The
most egregious occurs on the upper York River, where Youghtanund becomes a river, a territory,
and a capital town. A quick survey of Smith (1612), Zuniga (1608), Velasco (1610), Strachey
(1612), etc. never define a capital by the name of Youghtanund, only Spelman (1609:485)
mentioned it as a place of a specific village. Therefore it is striking to see Youghtanund so clearly
marked by visual abstractions such as this. Equally problematic are the representations of capital
villages (even single villages) as "tribes" and some "tribes" with named village capitals differing
from their "tribal" names. Not counting some "tribes," such as at Pamunkey, by "Kings houses"
and counting others as "tribes" based on "Kings houses" requires some explanation as to the
arbitrary definitions used for "tribe" thereof.

Thus, the Pamereke of Strachey's 1612 census tally was the dominant lineage seat of a broad region eventually known to the English as Pamunkey. The evolution of both the upper York chiefdoms and the Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom probably obscured the relative importance of the lineage's use lands and "principall" geographical position, but being too close to the period of transition, the common names remained intact. The elevation of Wahunsenacah's lineage overall and the specific heightened position of the lineage members to statuses such werowance and Mamanatowick, probably created contexts in which the ancestral home of the constituent members of the leadership began utilizing hereditary spaces in different types of ways that represented expanded power and authority structures, like at Werowocomoco and Uttamussak.

The relationship of the "Pamunkey" werowances listed in Strachey's (1612) census to other figures better known to history, such as Kekataugh and Itoyatin, will regrettably probably never be known. However, based on the presented thesis, it should be safe to qualify the leadership figures of the local groups were related through a series of kinship networks, be it marriage, lineage, or clan. Hence, it is probable that the events surrounding the expansion and proliferation of the Powhatan Paramount upset some traditional elite lineage trajectories or placed other types of social factors into motion that resulted in multiple types of systems operating in tandem and crosscutting one another.

The focus of the English on the lineage heirs following Wahunsenacah may have also confused the importance of some native centers, based on the temporal residency of those members. It is possible that the region around Pamunkey Neck *did not* possess "King's houses" in the same fashion as other local groups, owing to the notation being made by the English of the prominent residents in Wahusenacah's lineage (i.e.

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Opechancanough at Menapucunt). In addition, it would seem likely that alterations to the native settlement and residency practices had been well underway for some time in the Chesapeake – but would have been further altered based on the conditions surrounding the Powhatan expansion. The incorporation of dozens of new lineage members on a fairly regular basis would require adjustments and reconfigurations of social and residency structures to accommodate what would eventually equal hundreds of incoming refugees, adoptees, and captives over the course of a thirty to forty year expansion.

When considering the province of Pamunkey, account must be taken of the multiple lineages from the surrounding invaded and depopulated districts that remained imbedded within Pamunkey territory as village constituents. From this vantage, Strachey's population estimates that have been previously termed "ignorance" (Rountree 1989:167), "too high" (Feest 1973:73), "supernumerary," and "exaggerated" (Mook 1944:195-196) melt away towards a more practical and richer explanation that is directly related to the process by which those local groups were formed and their condition as seen near the height of the Powhatan proliferation. Thus, correlating werowances to capitals to districts or "tribes" and "subtribes" (ibid) ignores the socio-historical process in favor of socio-political evolution. I argue that Strachey's estimates for the upper York to be reflective of dominate and minor "Powhatan" lineages housing portions of integrated aggregates from the other coastal plain provinces – and thereby creating Tsenacommacah. This position is supported by the size differences in semi-autonomous chiefdom populations (i.e. Nansemond, Weyanoke, etc.) against invaded colonial hybrids (i.e. Paspehegh, Kecoughtan, etc.) and reconfigured loyalist populations needed to manage both native colonies and embedded populations (i.e. Powhatan, Arrohateck, etc.).

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The Powhatan expansion produced both the heightened position of Wahunsenacah's lineage and the need for increased social structure within the Powhatan heartland. While the English focus on Wahunsenacah's brothers cannot be overlooked because of the Euro-centered perspectives on the relevancy of royal lineage descendants, the "Kings houses" of Pamunkey Neck probably did serve as centers of lineage power and authority over use lands and submissive transplant populations that needed them.

Map 20. *The Province of Pamunkey* (Smith 1612).

Therefore, groupings of "Kings houses" with surrounding centers managed by extended lineage headmen or minor lineages of the local groups can be seen in both Strachey's (1612) writings and Smith's (1612) map. Figure 19 represents the combination of the primary source depictions of village leaderships and populations as well as selected

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contemporary academic abstractions of total population estimates and local group

divisions and subdivisions based on the presented information.

Village Centers	Werowance(s)	Smith (Men)	Strachey (Men)	Turner	Feest 3:10	Woodard 1:4
Cinquoteck Mamanasy Matchut Oquonock* Unnamed *Possibly dispersed*	Kekataugh	300	300	1000	1000	1200
Menapucunt Matchutt Uttamussak (Temple) Mattchamins*	Ottondeacom-moc Opechanca-nough, Itoyatin		100		335	400
Ochahannaukeǂ / Acconoc Pataunckǂ / Potaucac	Uropaack Essenetaugh		40 100		135 335	160 400
Cassapecockǂ / Unnamed Caposepockǂ / Kupkipcock Weanock*	Keyghaughton (lesser?) Weymat (main)		100 300		 1335	400 1200
Pamerekeǂ / Pamuncoroy Accossunwinck Osamkateck* Unnamed *Possibly dispersed*	Attasquintan		400		1335	1600
Total 18≤	9≤	300	1340	1000	4475	5360

Figure 19. *Pamunkey Territory c.1610: Village Centers, Leadership, and Population* (Zuniga 1608; Velasco 1610; Smith 1612; Smith 1624; Strachey 1612; Turner 1973; Feest 1973; Feest 1978a; Haile 1998).

*Included on Zuniga Map, but not elsewhere
ǂSpelling variation included within Strachey's writings

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Youghtanund

As has been mentioned previously, the Youghtanund province (Map 21, Figure 20) poses special problems in the documentary record – both being named and unnamed, or more properly, enumerated but poorly mapped. Adding to the dilemma, Youghtanund is discussed very sparingly in the historical literature, being a phantom lineage at times. Most of its light treatment is owed to the territory's placement - deep above the other provinces on the frontier edge of the coastal plain. Because the district was so far up the Youghtanund (Pamunkey) River, the Jamestown colonists rarely ventured en mass that far into the interior until later in the seventeenth century. Hence, Youghtanund is placed by Smith (1612) next to one of his crosses delineating the boundaries of "what hath bin discovered." It is of interest however, that the Zuniga (1608) map clearly details the names of upper Youghtanund villages centers, and even marks a "Kings house," while Smith (1612) simply illustrates them with the more ambiguous "ordinary houses." Strachey's native informants were more intimate with the lineage of the landscape, and provided the only known name of a werowance – Pomiscutuck.

As mentioned in Chapter VI, the majority of the early records discuss only Youghtanund's physical geography, and thus like Pamunkey, Mattaponi, and Chickahominy when discussing Youghtanund, we are dealing with a name only associated with a region (or more properly a province) as opposed to a specific location in the form of a district capital. Conversely, Henry Spelman – who was both well acquainted with the people and the Algonquian language, gave limited details of a "town about xvi miles off called Yawtanoone" (Spelman 1609 in Haile 1998:485). There, he

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indicated that like at Orapax, a graven image of Okee stood within a temple specifically built for the purpose (ibid:486).

For all of Spelman's experience, his narrative is sometimes confusing. In a draft version of his account, Spelman related that the English visited Wahunsenacah at a location from which Youghtanund was sixteen miles away. In a revised and expanded version, Spelman indicated that Captain Ratcliffe called upon Wahunsenacah for corn, taking a ship to Orapax "and then leaving his ship there, came by barge...to Powmunkey" (Spelman 1609 in Haile 1998:485). Despite the conflict that the town of Orapax was in a location that required a very shallow draft, the trip to Pamunkey by barge makes little sense; Pamunkey was on the lower Youghtanund River, and Orapax proper on the Chickahominy. Within a few miles of the Pamunkey shoreline, Orapax is approachable by land. Possibly, Spelman was indicating that Ratcliffe arrived at Pamunkey by ship, anchored and proceeded further upriver by barge, and then to Orapax by land. Equally, as will be discussed below (see map 23), Spelman could have been describing Orapax in a regional district context, describing the Pamunkey River where the lineage seat was located. Thus, the conflict about the locality of Youghtanund is based on whether Spelman was referring to Pamunkey or Orapax as a the measuring point for "xvi miles off."

Using a modern topographic map (Delorme 1989), the distance between the environs of Pamunkey to the Youghtanund capital from either (A) the confluence of the York or from (B) the Pamunkey reservation (as central locality of "Powmunkey") can be measured approximately. From the confluence, Youghtanund's capital was (A) thirty-two miles as the crow flies, or an estimated seventy-four nautical miles from "Powmunkey."

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From the reservation it is (B) nineteen miles as the crow flies, or approximately fifty nautical miles. Conversely, the distance between the Youghtanund capital and the town of Orapax is almost exactly sixteen miles by land. Thus, despite the confusion in Spelman's narrative as to where Wahunsenacah received Ratcliffe, it is clear that Spelman departed from the Orapax township towards Youghtanund's capital "xvi miles off." In as much, the last Youghtanund settlement marked on the Zuniga map as a "Kings house" was *Maskunt* – or more properly the lineage seat of the Youghtanund province.
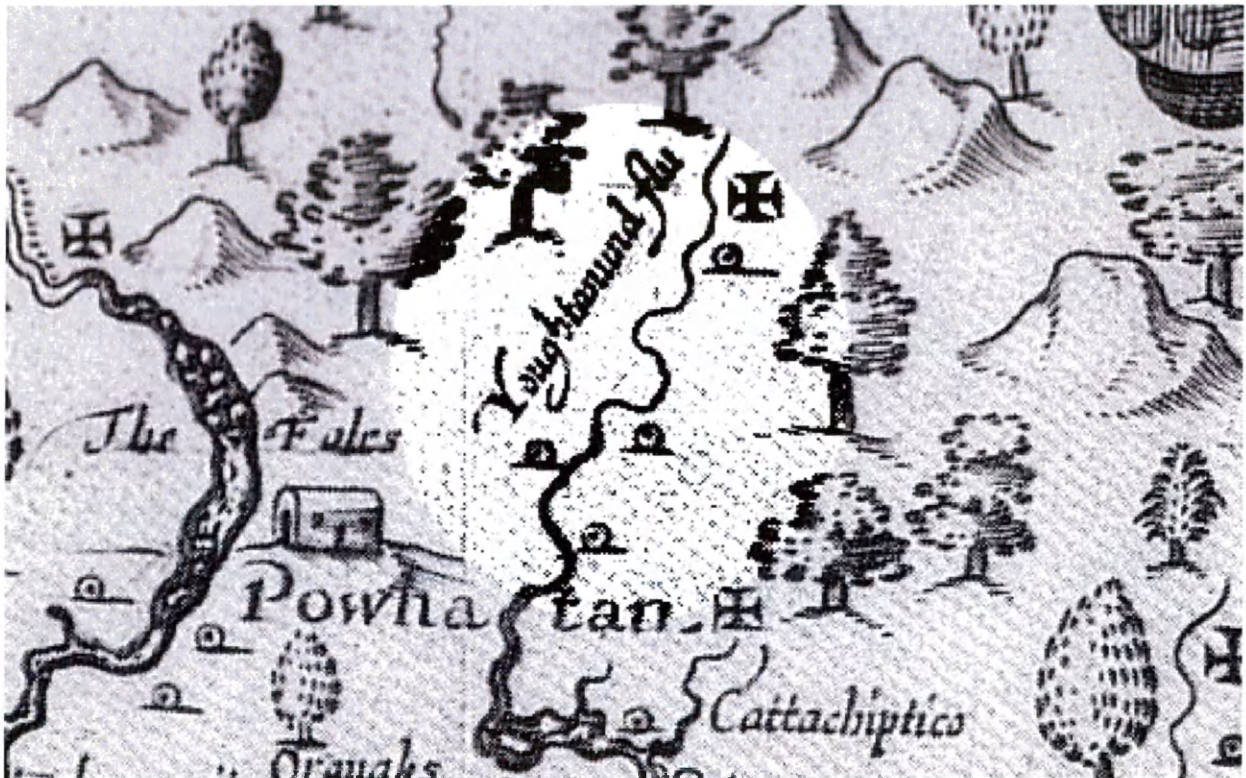
Map 21. *The Province of Youghtanund* (Smith 1612).

Further evidence for the importance of Maskunt can be found by downstreaming to the period of Herman's 1673 map (Map 22). Near the vicinity of Totopotomoy Creek,

a series of Indian houses were illustrated as a settlement and referred to as the *Manskin* Indians. This location corresponded to the Youghtanund village of Manaskunt from sixty

Map 22. *Indian Settlements c.1670* (Herman Map 1673).

years prior (Zuniga 1608). What I argue, is that while Youghtanund had a light historical career in the primary record, the villages by which lineages recognized their local groups and use lands prevailed in the names of the settlements. Thus, Youghtanund was a province with a capital center named *Maskunt*, with a lesser easterly settlement called *Manaskunt*, who's local group residents became known as the *Manskin* Indians in the latter portion of the seventeenth century.

Village Centers		Werowance(s)	Smith (Men)	Strachey (Men)	Turner	Feest (3:10)	Woodard (1:4)
Maskunt*		Pomiscutuck	60	70	240	200-235	280
Enekent* Menoughtass* Manaskunt* Askecack*							
Total	5≤	1≤	60	70	240	200-235	280

Figure 20. *Youghtanund c.1610: Village Centers, Leadership, and Population* (Zuniga 1608; Velasco 1610; Smith 1612; Smith 1624; Strachey 1612; Turner 1973; Feest 1973; Feest 1978a; Haile 1998).

*Included on Zuniga Map, but not elsewhere

Orapax / Cattachiptico

No other province has been more debated as to its inclusion as a "group" among those of the Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom than Orapax (Map 23, Figure 21). Grappled with by Mooney (1907:133-134), discounted by Mook (1944:194), ignored by Turner (1973:60), accepted by Feest (1978a:257), and discounted again by Rountree (1989:11), Orapax poses yet another special problem in any consideration of seventeenth-century Algonquian studies. As a capital, Orapax comes into view after 1609 when Wahunsenacah moved his residence there from Werowocomoco. As a district, or lineage group, Strachey mentioned Orapax as being an area of "Inheritance" and "chief Alliance" to Wahunsenacah (Strachey [1612] 1953:44), placing it alongside other notables such as Powhatan, Arrohateck, and Appamatuck. Like Werowocomoco, Orapax's prominence seems to be related to the entrance and exit of Wahunsenacah. Acknowledging Werowocomoco's almost immediate decline in the historical record after Wahunsenacah's departure, it is confusing to see Werowocomoco counted by researchers

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as a "group" and Orapax to be discounted as such when both have the same type of documentary evidence and historical career as "groups," just in opposite directions of prominence based on Wahunsenacah's residency.

The issue with viewing Orapax as a group then, is based on the historical record's lack of discussing it as group of people, not because of it being a single village. However that should not deter us, because as has been demonstrated for Youghtanund, there are districts with only slight mention in the primary documents as well others as represented as single village centers (i.e. Chiskiack) that have been counted as "groups." In fact, some authors have slid between qualifying provinces such as Werowocomoco as a "district chiefdom" (Rountree 1989:221) and at other times not as a "tribe," but as a single "town" (Rountree and Turner 2002:258). This is to say that while some "groups" are accepted as single village centers, other "groups" are portrayed singularly as "towns" without sufficient explanation. Despite the political theater of Wahunsenacah's residency, the residents of Orapax, like Werowocomoco, had to have belonged to some socio-political form that managed the local group and oriented the population into the wider Algonquian social structure. Thus, Orapax was apart of a provincial territory of a local lineage, albeit overshadowed by the presence and absence of Wahunsenacah.

Strachey detailed the werowances and territorial centers of the Orapax vicinity. Above Pamereke, the first new series of groups described in his census were Shamapa (Zuniga [1608] Shamapent), Orapaks, Chepeco (Smith [1612] Cattachiptico; Zuniga [1608] Cakkiptico; Velasco [1610] Cattachipico) and Baraconos (Zuniga [1608] Parakonosko). The next enumerations moved on to Youghtanund. Both the distance between the settlements along the bends of the Pamunkey River (Smith 1612) and the

population estimates associated with provinces on either side (e.g. Pamereke 400 bowmen) support the division of Strachey's list at these entries (Strachey |1612| 1953:69). The cartographic support for these province settlements is also compelling. Documents from both sides of the temporal period around Wahunsenacah's movement to Orapax appear to confirm the existence of these clusters of lineage members.

Strikingly, while Smith neglected to enumerate Orapax in his census (1608 / 1612) he did illustrate the settlement on his map as a ""Kings house." This discrepancy may be related to Wahunsenacah's reposition at Orapax, as Smith depicted Menapucunt, Cinquoteck, and Kupkipcock as "Kings houses" as well, without a bowmen count; I surmise this to be related to the perceived importance of the "royal" residents distracting the more traditional lineage seats. Equally, Cattachiptico appears to have been the only settlement in the region to receive a name from Smith (the others being unnamed "ordinary houses"). This revelation seems unremarkable until realizing that Strachey enumerated 300 bowmen under this village, or a total population of 1200 souls. Thus I argue that like at Pamareke, the lineage seat of the local group (probably at Cattachiptico) was overshadowed by the dominant presence of Wahunsenacah at Orapax.

Orapax was some distance away from the Pamunkey River, possibly seven miles through the woods towards the upper Chickahominy River. This undoubtedly provided Wahunsenacah the protection and distance from the English of Jamestown that he was counting on. Equally though, Spelman (1609) and Strachey (1612) both discuss a large temple at Orapax, where much of Wahunsenacah's tributary wealth was stored. Combined with location, Orapax's expansive temple may indicate that as a place, Orapax

was similar to other designated spaces (i.e. Uttamussak), holding a level of cosmological

significance. Wahunsenacah's placement there may have been more symbolic than his

Map 23. *The Province of Orapax-Cattachiptico* (Smith 1612).

locating at the region's lineage seat. Nonetheless, Opopohcumunk appeared to have

maintained his hereditary position as werowance, and armed compliment at Cattachiptico

while Wahunsenacah was in residence just a few miles south. The total village assortment

for the Orapax vicinity appears to have been six centers of dispersed settlement (Zuniga

[1608]; Smith [1612]) with a total warrior population c. 1610 around 460 (Strachey

[1612] 1953:69). Total villagers are estimated to have been 1840 for the region.

Continually, the presence of Wahunsenacah and his lineage would distract the

seventeenth-century authors from more nuanced presentations of authority; the same

would hold true in the twentieth century as lineages of local groups have remained submerged in portrayals of the colonial narratives under the weight of Wahunsenacah.

Village Centers		Werowance(s)	Smith	Strachey (Men)	Turner	Feest (3:10)	Woodard (1:4)
Orapax		Wahunsenacah		50		165	200
Chepeco† / Cattachiptico		Opopohcumunck		300		1000	1200
Shampa† / Shamapint*		Nansuapunck		100		335	400
Paraconos / Parkohosko*		Attossomunck		10		35	40
Askecokack* Matunsk* Washasatiack* Opawnkack* Righkahauck*							
Total	6≤	4≤		460		1535	1880

Figure 21. *Orapax-Cattachiptico Territory c.1610: Village Centers, Leadership, and Population* (Zuniga 1608; Velasco 1610; Smith 1612; Smith 1624; Strachey 1612; Turner 1973; Feest 1973; Feest 1978a; Haile 1998).

*Included on Zuniga Map, but not elsewhere
†Spelling variation included within Strachey's writings

Mattapanient

Along the Mattaponi River, yet another territory emerges from the Jamestown narratives that appeared not to be associated with one particular village name or district capital (Map 24, Figure 22). Mattapanient, like Youghtanund, Pamunkey, and Chickahominy was a term used by the early English chroniclers for a prominent district that was located on the river by that name. Some portions of the documentary record

reflect references to Mattapanient in regional geographic contexts. During an excursion to search for corn available for trade, Smith related that the English had searched the "countries of Youghtanund and Mattapanient, where the people imparted that little they had..." (Smith 1624 in Haile 1998:311). While in his December 1607 captivity, Smith recalled,

> "Having feasted me, he further led me to another branch of the river, called Mattapament. To two other hunting towns they lead me, and at each of these countries a house of the great emperor of Powhatan..." (Smith 1608 in Haile 1998:159).

Later he described the river environs and that the region was not "so well inhabited" (ibid:163). Strachey described the local group and the river:

> "|The York River| devideth yt self...into twoo gallant branches, on the south branch enhabite the people of Youghtanund, on the North-branch Mattapanient" (Strachey |1612| 1953:43, brackets mine).

> "the Countrye...Mattapanient |is| said to come to him by Inheritance" (ibid:57, brackets mine).

However, even early on, the English began using the names of major village locations and the names for river localities somewhat interchangeably or in an indiscriminant manner. That is to say, that some provinces appear to have been known by the names of their dominant lineage seats or "Kings houses" and some became known by the river on which they lived. What I argue, as I've established for Youghtanund, Orapax, and Pamunkey, is that there were actual provincial centers to these regions. An uneven application of naming practices in the seventeenth century, whether by lack of discovery, confusion based on prominent political figures / situations, or generalization, resulted in the obscuring of dominant lineage residences and the beginning of the Powhatan essentialism.

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In an early relation of power structures in the Chesapeake, Gabriel Archer detailed the alliances of Wahunsenacah's original territories as being friendly with the English, and the less cooperative groups as his more recent acquisitions. Archer described the "King of Matapoll" has he had for the "King of Pamunke, King of Arrahatec, [and] King of Youghtnamong," (Archer 1607 in Haile 1998:117, brackets mine). Here, there is an immediate coupling of broad territories without specific towns mentioned by those names (Matapanient, Pamunke, and Youghtamong) alongside of districts known by the names of their dominant lineage seat (Arrohatec). Further, some of the groups Archer describes as having a single "King" are noted elsewhere as having multiple "Kings houses," while yet others have none at all (Smith 1612). While this is not problematic for purposes of anthropological abstraction (recognizing that both names of towns at locations and names for regions could both be used to identify groups), there is a problem with simply equating the "Kings houses" of the English documents with specific lineages of local groups. In some cases there were more dominant lineages embedded within one "group" (i.e. Pamunkey), lineages that had ceased to be functioning as dominant (i.e. Opiscapank), and groups that had been described with local centers that have not been adequately described in contemporary literature (i.e. Orapax / Cattachiptico).

It is clear though, that the English considered certain geographical local groups to be corporate entities, even those of colonial occupation, such as at Kecoughtan. Smith described the groups that initially captured him in a hunting party to be consisted of several "nations," including Mattapanient (Smith 1608 in Haile 1998:179). While Smith documented the Mattaponi River villages better than he did along the upper Youghtnanund, he still neglected to identify the dominant lineages' "Kings house."

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Map 24. *The Province of Mattapanient* (Smith 1612).

Strachey was clearer in his record of both the name and position of the werowance (Figure 22); possibly the chiefly lineage's seat was coterminous with the village discussed concerning a performance on the manner of warfare, described as "at Mattapanient" (Strachey [1612] 1953:109). The Zuniga (1608) map details the location of lineage seat to be at Maroughquaunk, while the Velasco (1610) map overlooks the town in favor of Utcustank and Muttamussinsack on directly west and east of it respectively. Combined, the evidence is strong for the Mattapanient River's chiefly residence to be in that vicinity.

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Village Centers		Werowance(s)	Smith (Men)	Strachey (Men)	Turner	Feest (3:10)	Woodard (1:4)
Martoughquaunk		Werowough	30	140	340	100-465	560
Mattamussinsack Quackcohowaen Amacaucock* Myghtuckpassu Utcustank Passaunkack *Possibly dispersed*							
Total	7≤	2≤	30	140	340	100-465	560

Figure 22. *Mattapanient Territory c.1610: Village Centers, Leadership, and Population* (Zuniga 1608; Velasco 1610; Smith 1612; Smith 1624; Strachey 1612; Turner 1973; Feest 1973; Feest 1978a; Haile 1998).

*Included on Zuniga Map, but not elsewhere.

Werowocomoco / Cantaunkack

Discussed briefly in Chapter V, the former dominant lineage of the north bank of the York River had kinship associations with the lower Peninsula groups prior to the rise of Wahunsenacah (Map 25). After the incorporation of the local group into the expanding Powhatan political organization, it appears that the previous union - made on more equal footing, defaulted into oppression under the dominant presence of Wahunsenacah at Werowocomoco as the Mamanatowick. While the importance of Werowocomoco as a chiefly location with generational civil authority cannot be overlooked, another location on the Middle Peninsula appears to have also remained strategic to the local lineage group. Directly across from Chiskiack, the township of Cantaunkack is figured prominently on the Zuniga (1608) map. Despite Smith's (1612) rearrangement of the

location with Capahowsick farther upriver, his approximate placement of both towns on the lower peninsula across from Chiskiack is significant.

As the balance of authority and power of the Middle Peninsula shifted towards Wahunsenacah, it would appear that the former kinship relations with Chiskiack motivated the local group to shift their attentions eastward. Possibly, with Wahunsenacah controlling the dominant lineage hereditary rights over most of the upper peninsula York shoreline, the minor lineage began to circumvent some of its then severely diminished position through accessing use lands to the east. Siphoning off available dominant lineage women and continuing the martial exchange with Chiskiack may have allowed the secondary lineage to achieve some mobility against their diminished position. Equally, the overshadowed dominant lineage may have retired farther downriver, attempting to distance itself from the uncertainty of Werowocomoco, while maintaining a presence within the traditional landscape of the community.

It would seem odd that Werowocomoco was reported to have forty able bowmen by both Smith (1612) and Strachey (1612), or a total population of 160 (Figure 23), while Cantaunkack to the east was recorded by Strachey to house 100 warriors, or 400 residents (Strachey [1612] 1953:69). For *the* central locality of the paramount chiefdom, Werowocomoco appears to have been *very* lightly occupied compared to its neighbor. One might also wonder about what would have become of the villagers at Capahowsick, had John Smith accepted Wahunsenacah's invitation to relocate the English to that locale (Smith 1608 in Haile 1998:162). From the Algonquian perspective, incorporating the English as trading and military partners into the kinship network that Wahunsenacah controlled would have been seen as advantageous, if not expected. Jamestown's men

would have had opportunities to unite with a local lineage that Wahunsenacah had immediate oversight and hegemony over. This proposal reinforced the importance of local kinship systems and the lineage's place in the social, political, and cultural geography. However, from the point of view of the residents at Capahowsick, the idea may have had less favor – partially because the lineage prominence had already been disturbed and usurped, and partially because the access to the resources of the lineage's lands was central to their continuity. Wahunsenacah's offer to the English may have been a further insult directed towards the easterly remainder of the old lineage's prominence, clarifying their position as subservient and dominated.

When estimating the remainder of the Werowocomoco population, Wahunsenacah's movement to Orapax must be considered. Smith (1612) notated forty warriors at Werowocomoco, as did Strachey (1612). Strachey enumerated Orapax as having fifty bowmen. Knowing that Wahunsenacah traveled with a compliment of forty to fifty elite guardians (Strachey [1612] 1953:59) the question rises about whether Smith's forty bowmen at Werowocomoco c.1608 and Strachey's fifty warriors at Orapax c.1610 were the same population. Considering that both locations were occupied, regardless of Wahunsenacah's residence, it may be acceptable to view the two figures as accurate. Turner (1973) followed Mooney (1907), and estimated that Werowocomoco's total population was under recorded, and adjusted the warrior count to equal a total population of 200. Surprisingly, neither author considered combining Strachey's Cantaunkack and Werowocomoco bowmen count to arrive at a local population for the general vicinity. From the "extra group list," Cantaunkack was one of the few villages to be enumerated by Strachey that lay outside of Pamunkey Neck. Possibly, previous

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researchers recognized the slippery slope of counting some information in the primary record, but discounting others – particularly in close geography, literally and metaphorically.

Within his contested census, Strachey listed Cantaunkack immediately after Werowocomoco, describing the werowance Ohonnamo to control 100 warriors. The Zuniga (1608) map also portrayed villages along the north bank of the York River, but sparingly; that Cantaunkack was singled out may be seen as further support for its importance. The Velasco (1610) map only listed Capahowsick, but based on the available intelligence – which appears to have partially come from John Smith, it is not clear whether the marked village environs were that of Capahowsick or Cantaunkack and thus switched in location as Smith had done. While Capahowsick persisted into the present as a place name (Capahosic), the group residing at Cantaunkack seems to have had more of a historical career in the first half of the seventeenth century.

Upstreaming from the Jamestown era to the 1630s, Cantaunkack remained rather entrenched on the York River – attempting to stave off attacks in the wake of the Indian-English conflicts of 1622 (Rountree 1990:81). By 1623 the Chiskiack community had removed from the Peninsula and settled elsewhere; the villagers of Cantaunkack had retreated by 1640 from their traditional lands (ibid). In all probability, the lineages at Chiskiack maneuvered across the York and allied themselves alongside of their extended relatives at Cantaunkack during the 1620s. After the series of devastating assaults made against them by the English during the early years of the 1630s, the combined lineages migrated directly north of Cantaunkack towards the Piankatank, where those from Chiskiack were documented to have been by 1650 (ibid:79).

Map 25. *The Province of Werowocomoco / Cantaunkack* (Smith 1612).

Both the longevity of Cantaunkack and the significant relationship with the Chiskiack local group supports the argument for Cantaunkack being a significant northern York lineage seat at the time of Jamestown. In addition, combining the population estimates from Werowocomoco and Cantaunkack produces a more realistic figure for a small chiefdom: 560 individuals (compare Weyanoke and the Northern Neck – Chapter V). Dispersed over six villages centers, each village would an average of ninety-three inhabitants. Estimating a median of eight persons per house, the average village size would have been eleven to twelve houses for the York shoreline of the Middle Peninsula. While not exact, the figures dovetail nicely into Feest's (1973)

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reconstructions of the Chesapeake population tallies, using standards based on primary documentation by Smith, Strachey, Archer, and others.

Village Centers		Werowance(s)	Smith (Men)	Strachey (Men)	Turner	Feest (3:10)	Woodard (1:4)
Werowocomoco		Wahunsenacah	40	40	200	135	160
Cantaunkack Capahowasick Wighsakan* Mattacock Poruptanck Pasoughtacock *Possible Refugees; Possibly dispersed*		Ohonnamo		100		335	400
Total	7≤	2<	40	140	200	470	560

Figure 23. *Werowocomoco Territory c.1610: Village Centers, Leadership, and Population* (Zuniga 1608; Velasco 1610; Smith 1612; Smith 1624; Strachey 1612; Turner 1973; Feest 1973; Feest 1978a; Haile 1998).

*Included on Zuniga Map, but not elsewhere

Summary

It should come as no surprise to see sections of the coastal plain articulated as semi autonomous allied local groups prior to the rise of Wahunsenacah; those same alliances coalesced into social evolutionary forms of weak chiefdoms comprised of related affiliated and allied local communities. These confederated, but semi-autonomous lineage groups, formed miniature emerging chiefdoms. Under the duress caused by the expansion of the Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom, local forms became enlarged and integrated into a nascent political form of the Chesapeake. For a brief time, the transitional forms that were co-operating appeared to have been moving towards a

resolution, albeit through social strife and upheaval – such are the characteristics of societies undergoing the stress of structural fluctuation. However unfortunate for history, the emergence of the Powhatan Paramount became truncated by the English presence at Jamestown. The seventeenth-century documents of the early European chroniclers witness an indigenous society experiencing a high degree of inconsistency, uncertainty, and change. Those early documents serve as opportunities to observe both the socio-political *conditions* as well as the *transitions* of Mid-Atlantic Algonquian societies.

Based on the evidence presented, I argue that the broad social organization of the Chesapeake was made up of a series of semi-autonomous, but politically and socially related local lineage groups. Within these groups, some elements of the population were dominant, having risen to elite statuses through generations of multiple environmental, social, political, and historical factors. These dominant lineages controlled local areas of important resource lands and brokered reciprocal kinship and exchange networks with other similar groups to maintain a level of regional cohesiveness - culturally, socially, and politically. The rise of Wahunsenacah and the eventual expansion and proliferation of the Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom obscured the evolutionary process. The English documentary record is steeped in political theater, overshadowing deeper seeded cultural manifestations. Thus, in addition to producing primary documents that condensed and flattened temporal periods (where groups were being colonized and eradicated) the documentary record obfuscated the process by which the initial local groups and paramount was formed.

Figure 24 summarizes the dominant local group lineages and their condition at the time the Jamestown narratives were unfolding. Together, they represent the "sixteen

kings" described by Maguel (1610); variations of minor lineages and colonial occupiers produced Archer's "20ty kings." Other numeric representations, such as from Martin (1622) confused the minor and dominant lineage werowances, counted local groups that were not either directly under Wahunsenacah, or misunderstood divisions between kinship groups divided on traditional lineage use lands. Further, the roles of clan chiefs and minor village headmen produced an unclear picture of the moiety structure as possibly represented by Powhatan's Mantle. Hence, Martin's (1622) figure of thirty-two groups is representative of sixteen duplicates; the Mantle's (>1638) thirty-four rosettes could represent the rise or incorporation of an additional dominant lineage group. Equally, Powhatan's Mantle may be recognition of the rise of the Mamanatowick, or a supra-lineage that was not bound to local use lands.

The movement of Wahunsenacah across broad boundaries could have called for an additional "mobile" social group, replete with bowmen, household women, clan representative council, and in turn, moiety divisions. This new social form, was truly emerging at the time the of Jamestown chroniclers, so that sixteen dominant lineages represented thirty-two sets of moiety divisions, with the Mamanatowick paramount residence (the Man between the Wolf and Deer on the Mantle) adding an additional grouping, or seventeen couples – equal to thirty-four shell rosettes.

Dominant Lineage District	Figure 24. Condition of the Group at the Time of Jamestown Colony
1) Nansemond - 1a) Chesapeake	1) District of pacified chiefdom, tributary to Wahunsenacah. Dominant lineage seat at Nansemund. 1a) Possibly extinct lineage district. Remnant lineage members embedded among the Nansemond province or in Pamunkey Neck; possibly combination of minor Nansemond lineages, refugees, and or colonial Powhatans seated at Chesapeake.
2) Warraskoyack	2) Tributary to Wahunsenacah through recent conflict; splinter lineage from Nansemond, now minor dominant lineage of Southside use lands. Dominant lineage seat at Warraskoyack.
3) Quiyoughcohannock	3) District tributary to Wahunsenacah. Kinship exchange of women played a significantly role in the social position of the lineage. Possibly an original branch of the local group from Weyanoke through fission. New fused lineage seat at Quiyoughcohannock; former seat at Chawapo.
4) Weyanoke	4) District tributary chiefdom to Wahunsenacah through recent conflict. Dominant lineage seat at Weyanoke.
5) Appamatuck	5) District of the last of the local groups to be added to the "original" Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom. Socially tied to the Southside. Dominant lineage seat at Appamatuck.
6) Powhatan	6) District of local lineage group of the Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom. Dominant lineage seat at Powhatan.
7) Arrohateck	7) District of local lineage group of the Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom; possibly a fission from Powhatan. Dominant lineage seat at Arrohateck.
8) Paspehegh	8) Colonized precinct; additional lineage members embedded in Pamunkey Neck. Fused lineage seat at Paspehegh.
9) Kecoughtan	9) Colonized precinct; additional lineage members embedded in Pamunkey Neck; a portion of the corporate group relocated to the Piankatank River drainage. Fused lineage seat at Kecoughtan.
10) Chiskiack	10) District of tributary local group to Wahunsenacah. Probably one of the first lineages to be incorporated in the Powhatan expansion. Dominant lineage seat at Chiskiack.
11) Pamunkey	11) District of local lineage group of the Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom. Dominant lineage seat at Pamuncoroy.
12) Orapax – 12a) Cattachiptico	12) District residence of Wahunsenacah; geographical area of the dominant local lineage often glossed as Orapaks. 12a) Dominant lineage seat of the local lineage group glossed as Orapaks of the Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom.
13) Youghtanund	13) Territory of local lineage group of the Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom; primary seat at Maskunt.
14) Mattapanient	14) Territory of local lineage group of the Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom; primary seat at Martoughquaunk.
15) Werowocomoco – 15a) Cantaunkack	15) District residence of Wahunsenacah; geographical area of the local dominant lineage often glossed as Werowocomoco; centurial local of civic interaction between dominant lineage heads. 15a) Emerging or dominant lineage seat of the local lineage group; tributary to Wahunsenacah. Population probably one of the first lineages to be incorporated in the Powhatan expansion.
16) Piankatank – 16a) Opiscapank	16) Newly colonized precinct (<1608); additional lineage members embedded in Pamunkey Neck; remnant population of dominant Opiscapank local group. 16a) Former residence of dominant lineage group; possibly partially incorporated into Powhatan paramountcy by the time of Jamestown.

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Chapter VIII

Concluding Summary

Through the course of this thesis, I have sought to demonstrate deeper structural underpinnings in the Chesapeake Algonquian world that have been obscured by the political climate of the early seventeenth century. European chroniclers of the Mid-Atlantic have contributed to the shrouding of the cultural frame as much as has the contemporary focus on the events that unfolded during the era of prolonged contact. The attention that has been paid to the timeline of the Chesapeake political theater has all too often obfuscated the cultural orientations, motivations, and logic of the Virginia Algonquians. In this way, deeper cultural constructs that produced the actions of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century have been confused for the more narrowly defined durations of the event level. This is to say that the conjuncture of events with the culture that produced them references deeper seeded, longer held orientations – such as understandings of relatedness and worldview (Sahlins 1991). While actions spurred reactions, the cultural grounding of choices within a network of understood structures – like power and authority, continually motivated and oriented social actors within the Chesapeake. Misunderstanding the influences has often confused the event level with the conjuncture, and thus made the processes of cultural change less clear.

Prior to the rise of Wahunsenacah, the socio-political groups of the Mid-Atlantic coastal plain were composed of semi-autonomous allied local groups. Multiple Algonquian lineages became intertwined over long periods of time through reciprocal marriage exchange practices. Within the cycle of "structural alteration" a combination of

factors contributed to the gradual reliance on different subsistence practices and increased sedentism; the social stratigraphy that followed saw a rise in inequality and differential access to resources. Such interactions within the conjuncture had a gradual impact on the broader culture of the Algonquian people. While more resistant to change, kinship systems that defined descent reckoning, marriage practices, and residency rules continued to adapt and shift through the Late Woodland era.

Virginia's primary documents of the seventeenth century only offer windows into portions of those continuing cycles. The accounts of divisions in social standing based on ascription, a continual pattern of patricentric decision making, bride wealth, bride theft, and differing social practices based on both region *and* social position indicates further support for systems shifting away from matrilineal orientations towards the patriline and the emergence of differing types of authority structures. I have also argued that women's social positions were transferred into equations of wealth that resulted in the increased competition between elites over available brides from prominent lineages, as well as the diminishment of women's political power in favor of consanguine authority controlled by men.

The absence of women's control over lineage heirs, the lack of jural authority, the presence of male usufruct, and the prominent position of the avunculate all confirm the shift away from a matricentric society (Poewe 1981). As with conflicts over kinship reckoning, I have argued that there were competing residence systems in motion in the Chesapeake during a time that strife had corrupted or rearranged many of the recent traditional forms. Patrilocal, matrilocal, and ambilocal situations appear to all have been

operating at some level, indicating a period of extreme change, predicated by the situation, but relying on previous cultural practices.

During the Late Woodland alliances coalesced into weak chiefdom structures, comprised of related and affiliated local groups. These confederated, but semi-autonomous lineage groups, formed miniature emerging chiefdoms. However, I have argued that during the emergence of the Powhatan polity as a paramount chiefdom, kinship systems that were already under structural stress, began to expand beyond the local region and enlarged, integrating into the nascent political organization. The "tribes" of the "Powhatan" may be seen as groups of dispersed corporate lineages of Virginia Algonquians. In this sense, political forms were constructed based on lineages' fusion with other socio-political elements. Following Evans-Pritchard, I argue the deeper cultural milieu provided a "conceptual framework" for the "political system" which functioned as an "organizing principle through the expression of political fission and fusion in terms of their segmentary structure" (1951:5). The later colonial and contemporary constructions of "tribal" segments of the Powhatan actually identify groups of Virginia Algonquian's lineage structures embedded within political contexts.

During the era of Wahunsenacah, his hegemony overlaid traditional lineage based authority. Beneath the surface of that dominion, the deeper foundation continued - subsumed under new political manifestations that resembled the lineage structure, but that was now subject to a higher-level ministerial configuration. The condition of the local groups, or as Fried (1960) styles it "their misfit appearance," supports my argument for differential experience reconfiguring structures that were slower to change and relied on cultural orientation to modify. That Europeans caught this process in mid-stride

explains some of the anomalies present in the documentary record. I present evidence that demonstrates the incongruencies of social practice was in transition into universal normative structures and thus, the historical record witnessed a "work in progress," fluctuating, vacillating, and meandering with the remains of previous social forms competing with new social realities. In summation - *history has been held hostage by the presentation of a colonial force that was colonizing a colonial force.*

Further, I argue that these communities were cross cut by extensive reciprocal and expected local and regional relationships, indicating a level of connected relatedness that has not been well described in the contemporary literature. Intermarriage and crosscutting social constructions promoted unity among Algonquian speaking peoples of the Virginia tidewater, particularly at the immediate regional level. As Binford suggested in 1964, and I have more fully incorporated in my argument, the mechanics of fictive kin nurtured the formations of more complex social forms at the local level. That Wahunsenacah used these sodalities to advance his wider regional strategic conquest, speaks to the foundational nature of the kinship materials presented.

Supported by the historical record, comparative ethnography, and archeological evidence of reciprocal cultural practices - both in mortuary and material cultural remains, larger types of social organization beyond the immediate family facilitated communal activities of warfare and subsistence across local groups and assisted the coalescence of regional populations both in ritual contexts and in times of duress. I have argued that the Virginia Algonquians possessed weak clan structures that were under the same significant stress as the descent system, and that moiety divisions were rising in prominence. The weakening of the clan system and the elevation of the Deer and Wolf

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moieties occurred both because of social function and because of the increased prominence of region-wide ritual acknowledgements, particularly with the emergence of more complex chiefdom polities, their cultural practices, and the exchange of women over larger distances. The appearance of the Mamanatowick joined sacred and secular spheres of the Algonquian world through *kinship ties* – politically, geographically, and ritually. The elevation of Wahunsenacah's and related werowance's lineages probably created contexts in which the ancestral homes of the leadership figures began utilizing hereditary spaces in different types of ways that represented expanded power and authority structures, like at Werowocomoco and Uttamussak.

At the local level, I have presented evidence for the autonomy of corporate groups submerged beneath the temporal and political weight of the Powhatan era. Examples included the local major and minor lineages of Kecoughtan, Weyanoke, and Nansemond to have had corporate groups prior to and after their coercive or forceful inclusion in the larger Powhatan polity. The fact that the Kecoughtan population could and did emerge out of a larger incorporation in Pamunkey Neck is an important portion of the argument, because it speaks to deeper levels of cohesiveness. My argument demonstrates continued descendency acknowledgement by both Wahunsenacah and the remnants of Kecoughtan, as a corporate group beyond the domination and intermarriage among Powhatans. Similar cohesion was not seen among other transparent or less established lineages from the early historical documents (e.g. the colonial occupiers of Paspehegh and Kecoughtan). As I have stated, other groups who were less incorporated into the Powhatan polity, such as those at Weyanoke and Nansemond, continued to function as independent polities soon after the dissolution of the Powhatan organization. Although the tide of Europeans would

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enguif them, these groups operated at a functional level of autonomy to suggest that their forms remained submerged under the surface presentation of the Powhatan paramount, as representative of the foundational structures of socio-political organization in the Algonquian Chesapeake.

I have also presented evidence that demonstrated that the incorporation of dozens of incoming refugees, adoptees, and captives into Pamunkey Neck required adjustments and reconfigurations to the social and residency structures, and thus accommodating what eventually equaled hundreds of new lineage members over the course of the forty year Powhatan expansion and proliferation. The same factors that contributed to Wahunsenacah's lineage's elevation contributed to the significant increase in Pamunkey Neck population and the need for modified social forms. Discarded by numerous researchers, I argue for the inclusion of William Strachey's census data, community list, and werowance roster. Based on a triangulation of evidence and a cultural logic grounded in deeper structures of language and kinship (Fischer 1999), I present an argument that explains the origins of the Algonquian term Tsenacommacah. This provision is richer and more culturally viable – being both directly related to the process by which those local groups formed and their condition as seen near the height of the Powhatan proliferation.

From this vantage, I argue that the Powhatan political organization was comprised of sixteen dominant lineage clusters. Some, like those at Warraskoyack and Quiyoughcohannock were recent fissions that were coming into prominence prior to the upheaval of the Powhatan era; other like the Chesapeake and Piankatank lineages were in complete disarray and decline because of Wahunsenacah's proliferation. Some communities were less evident in the colonial record because of the dominant stature of

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nearby lineage leaders, such as those at Cattachiptico (Orapax) and Cantaunkack (Werowocomoco). The evidence that I present also suggests that Wahunsenacah was developing a supra-lineage that was independent of a single geographical use lands, or actually, tied to *all* of the lineage use lands in the geography. His intermarriage with over a hundred Algonquian women insured that his children would have both access to local areas, but ties to Tsenacommacah. The evidence is strong for this supra-patrilineage to substantiate my argument for the transition of a matricentric society to a patricentric one. His mobile residence, replete with status items, wives, children, servants, and fifty warriors supports my argument for the emergence of this form. Accompanying this new mobile supra-lineage, the responsibilities of the moiety system probably developed a new series of social groupings, as it must have done in colonized districts such as Kecoughtan. Thus, in my view, it follows that the "sixteen Kings under him" represent the dominant lineage heads of multiple geographies, with Wahunsenacah's residency counted as the seventeenth division, or the thirty-four halves of the Wolf and Deer moiety.

For a brief time, the transitional forms that were co-operating and emerging appeared to have been moving towards a resolution. The characteristics of societies undergoing that type of stress and structural fluctuation can example social strife and upheaval. The emergence of the Powhatan polity became truncated by the English presence at Jamestown. The seventeenth-century documents of the early European chroniclers witness an indigenous society experiencing a high degree of inconsistency, uncertainty, and change. Combined with linguistic, archaeological, comparative ethnographical and ethnohistorical, and biological / demographic evidence, my argument serves as an opportunity to reassess the interpretive and documentary record. Through

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this argument, I seek to bring resolution to problematic areas of content and reconcile differences, both from the primary sources and the interpretations of those materials.

Future Research

Beyond the seventeenth-century Virginia Algonquians, my experience in contemporary Indian communities has influenced me to consider degrees of relatedness as a barometer of social position. For me, that orientation began in Virginia and has stretched across Indian Country, from the Gulf Coast Panhandle to the rim of the Pacific Northwest. In rural Virginia, a common thread of initial interaction between native people consists of identifying geographical origination and family lineage. The arguments that I have presented in this thesis still have strong cultural roots among Virginia's former Algonquian speakers. A portion of this project initially emerged from research that was directed towards a much more recent period of history – the end of the nineteenth century.

Having disappeared from the majority of historical documents, and only maintaining loose levels of group cohesion, Virginia's native descendants of the nineteenth century were barely visible to the wider general public. Some self identified as "Indian" but did not maintain a tribal identity in name, or in some cases only loosely defined themselves as of Indian descent. In 1889 James Mooney began to investigate the remnant population of indigenous descendants in Virginia. His investigations revealed a variety[1] of groups that had a public visibility – some with more identity as "Indian" than

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[1] In this context, I use the term "variety" to indicate the varying conditions of community's physical and social solidarity. This "variety" included two state reservation populations, a series of other scattered kin networks without formal organization, groups with and without links to

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others. However, forty years later, Frank Speck working in the same region, documented numerous "tribal" entities, complete with formal organization and group charters, with specific tribal affiliations. What remains of interest, is how those groups modified their public perception and to what degree the researchers from the BAE (Bureau of American Ethnology) influenced the internal dynamics of these groups. In retrospect, it is of equal interest to review how the modern descendant communities are organized, possibly based on the former essentialized notions transferred from researchers to subjects during the previous series of anthropological inquiries. Problematic are the groups that maintained less visibility and appear to have become further embedded in the general population after the Second World War. There appears to be a direct correlation between the "recognized" tribes of Virginia today, and the groups most focused on by the BAE. In contrast, groups that received little attention, or were not studied at the turn of the twentieth century, have remained obscure and continue to suffer from the maladies present in all of the descendant communities c.1890.

In addition, the climate of racial segregation present during the wider historical period is directly linked to particular strategies employed by some groups at maintaining distinct rights and identities as separate groups. The discussion surrounding the "amalgamated" nature of these groups appears to have had direct consequences that divided communities down racial lines. While not conclusive, native populations appear to have created some levels of strategic knowledge based on the legal classificatory system of the dominant culture; in a sense, internal group dynamics of membership, marriage practices, and partnerships of exchange previously based dominantly on kinship

known communities of the past - all with varying degrees of culture loss and retention, localized identities, and legal conflicts over racial classification.

became dominantly codified into specific practices based on perceptions of race. However, not all communities addressed these external pressures in the same way, resulting in multiple outcomes for future descendants. To make matters even more complicated, groups with a clear relationship to the BAE appear to have implemented particular strategies – indicating a level of influence on the internal indigenous practices. What is problematic is the socio-political comparison between the late nineteenth-century "groups" documented by Mooney, the early twentieth-century "bands / tribes" recorded by Speck, and the array of descendant communities identified at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Carrying the argument of this thesis farther, I would like to more fully incorporate the ideology of kinship into an investigation of the contemporary tidewater communities. Early declarations by academics of essentialized notions about the Powhatan may have lead some descendant populations to accept scholarly declarations as accurate; constructivist activities by emergent political organizations of some descendant communities rooted in expressing visible Indian identities, has lead to the continuation and adoption of those concepts. I suggest that the older kinship forms still operate in Virginia, based on modified lineage systems, rooted in specific geographies. This is a deep structural form, and older than the current superimposed political framework that has difficulty operating because of its superficiality and its lack of ability to reproduce the social form through exchange and adaptation – including fission and fusion. I suggest a comparative study between those descendant communities still dominantly centered on a kin-based organization, and those communities who are kin-based, but "tribally government" run.

Appendix A: Evolutionary Forms of Social Organization

Bands

The *band* is thought to be the once dominant and oldest organizational form world wide - prior to 10,000 years ago, when societies began to develop farming and pastoralism (Haviland 1999:345). When subsistence depends mostly on hunting, gathering, and mobility, several families will form communities that usually "habitually camp together" (Murdock 1949:80). In these societies, local groups are politically autonomous usually forming common bonds of kinship, marriage, and residence. Leadership structures are "informal and ephemeral," where labor is divided along gender roles, and key concepts of territory control and lineage descent are "weakly developed" (Flannery 1972:401). Ritual and ceremonial life are situational, usually developing as needed or when sufficient members and resources coalesce (ibid).

Tribes

Separate bands or villages usually integrated by kinship factors, such as clans, lineages, kindreds, etc. may be referred to by a broad term: tribes.[1] Sahlins (1968) stresses the importance of crosscutting institutions, such as age-grades or clans, which help facilitate larger political cohesiveness. In contrast, Fried rejects tribes as an evolutionary tier, seeing the tribe as a "secondary" product of interaction with a more complex social form (Fried 1975:71-72). Haas argues that a tribal organization is a network of communities integrated by a series of social and political ties, usually sharing the same language, culture, and ideology (1990:172). Most importantly, when compared

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[1] This term has found disfavor during the late century among anthropologists, but is convenient in the absence of other trait-label combinations for discussions of social evolution and debating attributes thereof (Flannery 1972:401). However, the ubiquitous term has been applied widely by different groups, and carries different associations in varying context: 1) any group of people "not organized as a state;" 2) civilized vs. tribalized or Western European concepts of superior and inferior; and 3) as a "distinct legal meaning in the United States," with reference to "centralized political organizations imposed upon American Indian communities" (Haviland 1999:364). Here, the discussion is primarily one classifying what anthropologists characterize as a "rank society" or a tribal organization.

to more complex societies, tribal groups are economically autonomous with no centralized political hierarchy (ibid). Instead, social solidarity appears to rely more intensively on ceremonial activities. Community ritual functions are determined by a calendric cycle, that often help regulate or mitigate differences between groups or individuals (such as through trade and limiting inter-group warfare) that might "threaten" relative "egalitarian" society (Flannery 1972:401). However, rank is introduced in more specified ways with this type of organization, whether it be through reckoning of birth order or some other "narrowing device," creating a "framework of statuses" that lead towards small, but incremental, changes in access to some facet of human experience (Fried [1960] 1996:272). Many times, despite strong egalitarianism and political and economic autonomy among groups, the political organization is vested in leadership positions associated with the communities' social institutions. Thus, the automatic positioning of leadership figures as representing lineage, clan, or kindred heads provides a differential status that is often marked by "sumptuary specialization and ceremonial function" (ibid:273).

Chiefdom

As opposed to a ranked society, a chiefdom is stratified,

> "distinguished by the differential relationship between the members of the society and its subsistence means – some of the members of the society have unimpeded access to its strategic resources while others have various impediments in their access to the same fundamental resources" (Fried [1960] 1996:275).

Characteristically, a "chiefdom is a regional polity in which two or more local groups are organized" under one or a series of stratified, ruling individuals (Haviland 1999:352). Status among the population is usually conferred based on the degree of relationship to the leadership figures; those in closer affiliation receive differential access to goods and services from those in lower ranks. Leadership in ranked societies is usually hereditary, but also "divine;" situating particular relationships to gods that are "denied commoners and which legitimize their right to demand community support and tribute" (Flannery 1972:403). Often chiefdoms have elaborate ceremonial complexes and full-time religious specialists, such as priests; the chieftain position also may confer ritual responsibilities.

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Unlike the leadership in the band or tribe, the "chief" is generally a true authority figure, frequently building elaborate retinues of followers and assistants – many of who are usually relatives (ibid). Chiefdoms have a recognized hierarchy, consisting of a series of major and minor divisions, sub-divisions, and jural authority – so constructed as to link the leadership together in all affairs. Whitehead argues that chiefdoms are also characteristically always surrounded by foreigners from outside "lineage[s] or networks" of lesser social organization, populations that tend to lack agriculture and "key cultural techniques" (Whitehead 1992:130). However, Wolf argues that many economic and political features of chiefdom complexes may have arisen because of their direct interaction with more complex societies (1982:96-100).

Leadership figures customarily control the economic activities surrounding chiefdoms. Typically chiefdoms are redistributive – where surplus is collected and dolled out by the chief or his authorities. Some level of craft specialization occurs in these settings, but not as a full-time occupation, as a class, or a caste. The recruitment and expectation of individuals specifically for their tribute, labor, and military capacity is also a characteristic of a chiefdom - placing people, territory, and status goods directly into stations governed by hereditary rulers (Haviland 1999:352). Hence, the development of generational wealth and prestige goods associated with status. The emergence of various control mechanisms, designed both to continue the development of power structures and the regulation of access, is associated with the "shift of prime authority from kinship means to territorial means and describes the evolution of complex forms of government associated with the state" (Fried [1960] 1996:273).

State

A state is a centrally governed polity, with a "professional ruling class" of individuals – usually no longer bound by kinship structures to the general population. States are highly stratified with diverse compositions, tending to have settlements devised by occupational specialty as opposed to kinship groupings (Flannery 1972:403). Within the state, political power and law are regulated by coercion; taxes, conscription, and tribute can all be extracted of the population (Haviland 1999:353).

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States have powerful economic systems, constructed of various types of exchange systems including reciprocal, redistributive, and markets. Craft specialists reside within urban complexes, developing a high degree of refinement because of continued demand and support of trades by the state (Flannery 1972:404). The higher elite classes, from whom a series of extensive managerial positions are appointed in a hierarchical setting, usually control the economic activities. As in chiefdoms, the offices of the elite and the managerial class outlive the individuals who fill them. Populations for state level societies usually range into the hundreds of thousands (ibid). Competition for resources within these highly populated settings is high. Thus, populations tend to further narrow their membership criteria and division based upon ethnicity, status, language, and culture becomes pronounced. Large institutions, such as religion, or functions of large socio-political entities, such as bureaucracy, attempt to help facilitate integration of the aggregates despite the increased potential for conflict (Scott 1998).

Appendix B: Residence and Descent System Terminologies

Patrilocal – A residence pattern that usually positions a married couple to live in the locality associated with the husband's father's relatives. Also, widely used as a term to describe a pattern of residence that is patrifocal, or in general favor of the wife living with her married husband's relatives. As Murdock suggests, the rule implies "not merely that a wife goes to live with her husband, but that they establish a domicile in or near the home of his parents" (1949:16).

Patrilineal – A descent system that affiliates a person with a group of kinsmen through the relationship to males only.

Matrilocal – A pattern of residence that places a newly married couple to live in the locality associated with the wife's mother's relatives, or in the vicinity of her parent's household.

Matrilineal – A descent system that assigns a person to a group through a reckoning of female relatives only.

Avunculocal – A residence preference for married couples to reside with or near a maternal uncle. This prescription is in contrast to a preference for completely new dwelling location or with either sets of parents. Proximity and land usage may be a factor in determining avuncolocal residency, as the pattern is commonly associated with a matrilineage's rights to resource lands (i.e. Trobriand Islands [Malinowski 1922]) However, patterns that position residency in a patrifocal manner whereby male members of a matrilineage exercise some control over land use and lineage relations, as been seen as a significant development in legitimizing a shift in both a descent and residency system (Lowie 1922).

Amitalocal – An important hypothetical residence type. Patterns where unmarried females reside with their paternal aunts and upon marriage bring their male spouses to live within the vicinity of the paternal aunt's dwelling (Murdock 1949:71). This pattern would produce a residence compound of a patrilineal group of related females. The absence of amitalocal residency from ethnographic examples appears to confirm that there are only a certain number of variables in changes of residency types that societies will undergo (Goodenough 1951).

Virilocal – A variation of the term "patrilocal." Patrilocality and matrilocality, as terms, are argued to be misleading as the residencies are meant to be centered on the bride or the grooms' family, not the mother or father (Adam 1947). Thus the term *viri-* was adopted to specify the place of residence as being completely

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associated with the groom's family. If the residency is associated with the vicinity of the groom's mother's brother, an avunculocal pattern would be established.

Uxorilocal – A similar variation as described above for virilocal. The term uxorial is considered to refer to the wife's interests and a uxorilocal residence to be that of a new couple residing within the specific locality associated with the wife's family (ibid). Depending on the proximity, uxorial residencies can be avunculocal (Murdock 1949:35).

Ambilocal – Also referred to as *bilocal*, ambilocal residencies take place where there are flexible rules governing the choices a newly married couple can make with regard to residency. Often wealth, status, or preference will result in the new couple residing within the proximity of either the family of the groom or the family of the bride (Murdock 1949:16).

Ambilineal – Sometimes called *cognatic* descent, ambilineal descent systems feature an equal descent reckoning through the mother's lineages and the father's lineages.

Double Descent - In cases where the descent becomes restricted for ego though only the father's father and the mother's mother, the descent may be called double descent. There, while ego is doubly in the kin group of his father with his paternal grandfather, and his mother with his maternal grandmother, ego is not associated with the lineages of his paternal grandmother or his maternal grandfather (ibid:56). It is important to note that double descent and ambilineal descent are two different systems.

Neolocal – A residency system where the newly married couple makes a dwelling independent of either partner's family residency, and at a considerable distance from both. This rule is often confused for a patrilocal pattern (ibid:17).

Appendix C: Select Residency Patterns of the Chesapeake Algonquians

Individual Date	Description of Circumstance	Residency	Source
Wahunsenacah c.1540	Born at Powhatan. Father from Powhatan lineage, Mother from Pamunkey Neck lineage. Elite status.	Patrilocal	Strachey [1612] 1953:56
Paquinquino 1570	After returning to his native home he took up residence with a paternal uncle. Elite status.	Avunculocal	Lewis and Loomie 1953:44
Wahunsenacah Prior to 1607	Movement of primary residence to Werowocomoco. Patrilineage at Powhatan; Matrilineage at Pamunkey Neck. Elite status.	Neolocal	Smith 1608 in Haile 1998:160
	If married to a Werowocomoco lineage:	Uxorilocal	
Pochins c.1607	Residence at Kecoughtan. Father's (Wahunsenacah) lineage from Powhatan / Pamunkey Neck. Mother's lineage unknown, but probably from upper York / James drainages. Installed werowance, elite status. Probably married, unknown number of wives. Based on recent conflict, few should have been from Kecoughtan, unless by conquest (see below). Elite status.	Neolocal	Strachey [1612] 1953:67
	If Pochins secured a wife from a dominant or minor lineage of Kecoughtan:	Uxorilocal	
Pocahontas 1607	Residence at Werowocomoco. Father's family unit at Werowocomoco, mother's residency unknown, possibly with Wahunsenacah (death in childbirth?), possibly Kecoughtan at Pamunkey Neck. Elite status.	Patrilocal	Smith 1624 in Haile 1998:239
Queen of Appamatuck, the younger 1607	Residence at Werowocomoco. Mother's lineage at Appamatuck. Unknown father. Wife of Wahunsenacah (Powhatan and Pamunkey Neck lineages). Elite status.	Virilocal	Smith 1608 in Haile 1998:167
Wife of Pipsco Prior to c.1611	Lineaege unknown. Previous wife of Opechancanough, lineage of Pamunkey Neck. Elite status.	Virilocal	Strachey [1612] 1953:64
Wife of Pipsco c.1611	Residence at a small village of Quiyoughcohannock. Husband deposed werwowance of Quiyoughcohannock.	Virilocal	Strachey [1612] 1953:64-65
	Possibly a minor lineage of Quiyoughcohannock, previously married to Opechancanough during tributary negotiations? Bride theft may have been a leveling of the loss of the dominant lineage first heir (Tatahcoope). Possibly related to the location of residence.	Matrilocal?	Strachey [1612] 1953:64-65

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Individual Date	Description of Circumstance	Residency	Source
Tatahcoope c.1611	Residence at Quiyoughcohannock. Mother's (Oholasc) lineage within the environs of Quiyoughcohannock. Father's (Wahunsenacah) lineage at Pamunkey Neck, but resides at Werowocomoco. Tatahcoope could have moved between his father's and mother's residence. Elite status.	Matrilocal Ambilineal	Strachey [1612] 1953:64
Oholasc c.1611	Residence at Quiyoughcohannock. Mother's lineage within the environs of Quiyoughcohannock. Unknown father. Husband's (Wahunsenacah) lineage at Pamunkey Neck, but he resides at Werowocomoco. Elite status.	Matrilocal	Strachey [1612] 1953:64
Wahunsenacah c.1615	Movement of primary residence to Matchcot, Pamunkey Neck. Patrilineage at Powhatan; Matrilineage at Pamunkey Neck. Elite status.	Matrilocal	Hamor 1615 in Haile 1998:807
Anonymous 1634	Patuxent man making deposition to the Governor of Maryland: stating his residency, he explains he married a Wiccomiss woman and had "lived there ever since." Commoner.	Uxorilocal	Anonymous 1635:89

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