

2013

The Nottoway of Virginia: A Study of Peoplehood and Political Economy, c.1775-1875

Buck Woodard
College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd>



Part of the [Indigenous Studies Commons](#), [Labor Economics Commons](#), [Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Woodard, Buck, "The Nottoway of Virginia: A Study of Peoplehood and Political Economy, c.1775-1875" (2013). *Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects*. Paper 1539623631.
<https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-enjx-ev85>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@wm.edu.

The Nottoway of Virginia:
A Study of Peoplehood and Political Economy, c.1775-1875

Buck Woodard

Richmond, Virginia

Master of Arts, College of William and Mary, 2008
Bachelor of Fine Arts, Virginia Commonwealth University, 1997

A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the College of William and Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Anthropology

The College of William and Mary
August, 2013

APPROVAL PAGE

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

Doctor of Philosophy



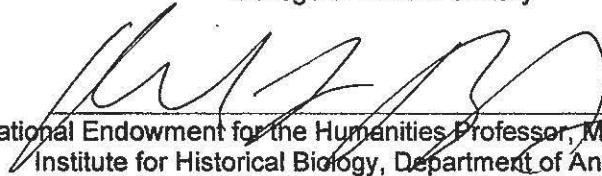
Buck Woodard

Approved by the Committee, May, 2013

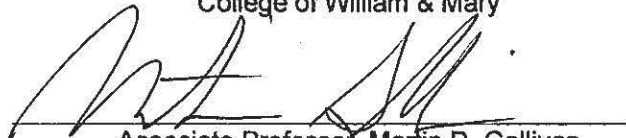


Committee Chair

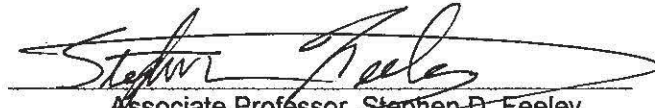
Research Assistant Professor, Danielle Moretti-Langholtz
American Indian Resource Center, Department of Anthropology,
College of William & Mary



National Endowment for the Humanities Professor, Michael L. Blakey
Institute for Historical Biology, Department of Anthropology,
College of William & Mary



Associate Professor, Martin D. Gallivan
Department of Anthropology,
College of William & Mary



Associate Professor, Stephen D. Feeley
Chair of the Department of History,
McDaniel College

COMPLIANCE PAGE

Research approved by

Protection of Human Subjects Committee (PHSC)

Protocol number(s): PHSC-2010-07-22-6769-bwwood

Date(s) of approval: 2010-08-11 through 2011-08-11

ABSTRACT

This research examines the social construction of a Virginia Indian reservation community during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Between 1824 and 1877 the Iroquoian-speaking Nottoway divided their reservation lands into individual partible allotments and developed family farm ventures that mirrored their landholding White neighbors. In Southampton's slave-based society, labor relationships with White landowners and "Free People of Color" impacted Nottoway exogamy and shaped community notions of peoplehood. Through property ownership and a variety of labor practices, Nottoway's kin-based farms produced agricultural crops, orchard goods and hogs for export and sale in an emerging agro-industrial economy. However, shifts in Nottoway subsistence, land tenure and marriage practices undermined their matrilineal social organization, descent reckoning and community solidarity. With the asymmetrical processes of kin-group incorporation into a capitalist economy, questions emerge about the ways in which the Nottoway resituated themselves as a social group during the allotment process and after the devastation of the Civil War. Using an historical approach emphasizing world-systems theory, this dissertation investigates the transformation of the Nottoway community through an exploration and analysis of their nineteenth-century political economy and notions of peoplehood.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	ii
Dedications	iii
List of Tables	iv
List of Figures	vi
List of Charts	ix
Introduction	1
Chapter 1. Theoretical Approach	27
Chapter 2. Nottoway Kinship, Language and Socio-political organization	91
Chapter 3. Indian Land Sales, Tribal Trustees and Nottoway Allotment	142
Chapter 4. Southampton Lands, Peoples, Property Ownership and Labor	201
Chapter 5. The Allotment of Nottoway Real and Personal Property	249
Chapter 6. The Antebellum South, Southampton and the Nottoway within the World-System	276
Conclusion	330
Appendix A The Etymology of “Nottoway”	345
Appendix B Tracking Nottoway Descent and Marriage	347
Appendix C Post-Reservation Era Affine and Collateral Relations	378
Works Cited	382

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude to the Nottoway people and the residents of Southampton County who have shared their family stories and experiences with me. I am indebted to Professor Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, under whose direction this research was conducted, for her patience, guidance and tutelage throughout the investigation. I am also appreciative of my committee members, Professors Michael L. Blakey, Martin D. Gallivan and Stephen F. Feeley for their careful reading and criticism of the manuscript.

Thanks to Lynette Allston, Rick Francis, Leroy Hardy, William Lamb Howell, Patricia Phillips, Alfred Whittaker and Maxine Winston who supported and contributed to the research, and to Willie Balderson and Bettye Gorman for seeing me through the process.

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents who have encouraged and helped
me countless times along the way.

LIST OF TABLES

1. Event-level evidence of Nottoway territorial and community incorporation within the periphery of the world-system	49
2. Comparison of Nottoway and Tuscarora kinship terms collected in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries	99
3. Nottoway Town surname shift, 1773-1808	106
4. Aspects of Nottoway socio-political organization	108
5. Tuscarora clan divisions	110
6. Post-removal Tuscarora chiefly clan titles	115
7. Tuscarora and Nottoway leadership terms	117
8. Select examples of Nottoway, Meherrin and Tuscarora triadic headmen configurations	121
9. Select nineteenth-century Indian land allotments, sales and leases within the Eastern United States	149
10. Nottoway 1794 land sales and purchasers	157
11. "Debt and credit of the Nottoway Tribe on the first day of January 1809"	161
12. Taxed Indian Town residents, 1801-1822	227
13. Indian Town households, c. 1830	232
14. 1830 Census reconfigured for Nottoway matrilineages	232
15. Indian Town households and neighbors, c. 1860	233
16. Nottoway allotments of real and personal property, 1830-1840	251
17. Nottoway allotments of real and personal property, 1845-1875	258
18. Defendants in the suits <i>Trustees of the Nottoway and Nansemond Indians vs. Jeremiah Cobb, et al.</i> and <i>Trustees of the Nottoway and Nansemond Indians vs. Everett, et al.</i>	263
19. New York and Virginia direct foreign imports for select years, 1769-1840	289

20. Select Indian Town households' farmstead material goods appraised for value, purchased by cash or used as collateral on debt during the Reservation Allotment Period, c.1830-1870 292
21. Cotton exports from Norfolk and Portsmouth, 1858-1861 and 1865-1875 294
22. Norfolk and Portsmouth cotton exportation, 1874-1875 296
23. Southampton Agriculture Census, 1850-1870, cotton bales [300-400 lbs.] from Indian Town and immediate neighbors 302
24. Select Norfolk coastwise exports, September 1858 311
25. Indian Town and neighbors' select agricultural produce, 1850-1860 315
26. 1860 Nottoway farms and plantation comparative income and net worth 323
27. Nottoway farms and smallholder comparative income and net worth, 1860 325

LIST OF FIGURES

1. *A Map of that part of America, now called 'Virginia'*, 1590 44
2. *A Map of the Whole Territory Traversed by John Lederer in his Three Marches*, 1672 45
3. Close-up of Lederer's *Territory Traversed*, 1672 47
4. Close-up of *Virginia Marylandia et Carolina in America Septentrionali*, 1715 51
5. Cartouche detail from Homann's *Virginia Marylandia et Carolina in America Septentrionali*, 1715 52
6. Cartouche detail from *A map of the most inhabited part of Virginia...* by Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, 1751 52
7. Tower Hill Plantation straddling Sussex and Southampton Counties 62
8. Iroquoian communities and homes 64
9. Creek log cabin, Georgia, 1791 and Choctaw settlement, near Chefuncte, Louisiana, 1869 69
10. Catawba extended household, Catawba Reservation, York County, South Carolina and Choctaw household, Choctaw Reservation, Philadelphia, Mississippi 69
11. Iroquois kinship diagram 97
12. Nottoway matrilineal organization, c. 1800-1860 104
13. Iroquoian tutelary effigies of the Wolf and Deer 112
14. *Not-to-way, the Thinker* and *Chee-a-ka-tchee, Wife of Nottoway, Iroquois* 130
15. *Iroquois* by George Catlin 1835-1836 132
16. Nottoway Old Town within the Circle Tract Reservation on the Assamooisck Swamp and Indian Town within the Square Tract Reservation on the Nottoway River 144
17. *The Rose Hill* plantation 158
18. Major Thomas Ridley's *Bonnie Doone* plantation, c. 1930 168

19. “Nottoway Indians” petition without Trustee endorsement and signatories in Iroquoian	181
20. Alderman’s affidavit and <i>Petersburg Intelligencer</i> newspaper notice of William G. Bozeman	189
21. Nottoway Reservation survey, 1830	196
22. Late nineteenth-century image of “Ridley’s Quarter”	204
23. Southampton County Courthouse and the Jerusalem Bridge, c.1890	205
24. Southampton settlements, roadways and Indian Town environs, c.1860	206
25. The Cross Keys settlement	207
26. Carey’s Bridge, Barn Tavern and the Nottoway Indian Reservation	208
27. Indian Town environs	209
28. Cabins, cottages and huts	210
29. “The Indian seine place” and “Sheep Lamb’s field”	212
30. “free negroes, who live in about Chowan and the adjoining counties”	225
31. Nottoway Reservation survey, c.1840	257
32. Nottoway Trustee account ledger, 1855	272
33. Indian Town allotment surveys, c.1850-1855	274
34. The deck of the steamship <i>Stag</i>	280
35. Railways surrounding Indian Town, 1862	282
36. The cargo steamer <i>Southern Star</i> and Engine No. 22 of the <i>Seaboard and Roanoke Railroad</i>	283
37. Nottoway colonoware, Indian Town, mid-eighteenth century and English pearlware plate, 1780-1840	287
38. The Norfolk harbor in the 1870s	295
39. The Plank Road from Jerusalem to Petersburg	297
40. Southampton cotton crop, 2012	299

41. A mule team and common cart at the Norfolk harbor and a Southside ox team and wagon	300
42. Peanuts shocked to dry	307
43. Southside peanut picking, c.1875-1890 and twentieth-century Southampton mechanized peanut harvest	308
44. Laborers and owner of a truck garden, Nansemond County and sailboats loaded with produce	310
45. Southside hog killing and Southampton hams curing, Boykins	313
46. Select lineage segments of the Woodson <i>ohwachira</i>	350
47. Matrilineage segment of Nottoway Winifred Woodson/Bozeman-Williams	369
48. Lineage segment of Mary Woodson-Williams	372
49. Inter-marriage of a matriline from the Woodson <i>ohwachira</i> with an agnatic descendant of the extinct Scholar <i>ohwachira</i>	376
50. Woodson <i>ohwachira</i> affines and collateral kin relations	381

LIST OF CHARTS

1. Southampton land ownership, c.1840 216
2. Southampton County demographics, 1830-1860 217
3. Southampton property ownership and slaveholding, c.1850 221

INTRODUCTION

As an Iroquoian-speaking community within the modern boundaries of the Commonwealth of Virginia, the Nottoway experience represents a counter-narrative to Virginia's historical memory of Native people. It is a storyline that does not include Pocahontas or Jamestown in any substantive way, a people not connected to the origin stories of Virginia's founding, nor associated with the political reemergence of Virginia Indians during the twentieth century. The Old Dominion's history has a nostalgic place for the descendants of Pocahontas's people. Thus, the seventeenth-century colonial encounter between Jamestown's Englishmen and the Algonquian-speaking Powhatan has dominated the public and scholarly discourse about Virginia's indigenous inhabitants. As a community, the Nottoway represent an historical group whose experience in Virginia is divergent from their Powhatan-descended neighbors and a counterpoint to the Powhatan / Jamestown narrative that singularly dominates perceptions of Virginia's Indian past. However, the Iroquoian peoples of the Chesapeake, called the *Mandog* and *Nottoway* by the chroniclers of the Roanoke and Jamestown colonies, have all but faded from Virginia's historical memory.

The present research is an attempt to correct this deficit. By means of anthropological fieldwork, archival research and the theoretical perspective of political economy, this dissertation examines the social construction of the Nottoway community from the time of the American Revolution until the decade following the Civil War. This era roughly coincides with the end of the Nottoway's Reservation Period [1705-1824] through the time of the community's Reservation Allotment [1824-1878]. During the

Antebellum, the Commonwealth of Virginia permitted the allotment of the tribe's Southampton County reservation, and in so doing, concluded its trust relationship with the community's land holdings. The shift of Nottoway land tenure from a corporate body to individual ownership impacted their political solidarity, the organization of descent groups and contributed to transformative socio-economic processes already in motion. As the only Iroquoian community remaining in Virginia, the transformation of the Nottoway's Indian Town represents an understudied narrative in indigenous Chesapeake historiography and anthropology. This dissertation research provides a new historical and ethnographic perspective to an otherwise Algonquian-centered Mid-Atlantic.

Questions emerge about the ways in which the Nottoway adapted to changed economic circumstances after the conclusion of Virginia's colonial wars and the decline of the deerskin trade. Following the nineteenth-century allotment of their reservation lands, what bound Nottoway people together and through what mechanisms did the Nottoway maintain themselves as a social group? To address these questions, the present research focuses on three interrelated themes operating within Nottoway political economy c.1775-1875:

- 1) The Iroquoian kinship system, marriage practices and changes within those structures;
- 2) The social organization of reservation households and the mobilization of labor;
- 3) Nottoway peopleness and the social construction of community.

Utilizing an historical perspective within political economy (e.g. Ferguson and Whitehead 1992; Sider 2003; Wallerstein 2004; Wolf 1997) the study explores these topics more fully and makes linkages between the rise of the modern global-economy, the

Nottoway's engagement with capitalism and historical changes in Indian Town's kinship system, household organization and conceptions of peoplehood.

Historical Overview

To provide an introduction to who the historical Nottoway are, it is instructive to further illustrate who they are not. Today, the Nottoway are not residents of an Indian reservation that bears their name, nor is there any longer a corporate Indian Town in Southampton County. The Nottoway are not the Indian people who struggled to legitimate themselves as the lineal descendants of Pocahontas during Virginia's era of Racial Integrity (see Moretti-Langholtz 1998). Until recently, the Nottoway have not publicly confronted issues of racial purity or historical and cultural continuity that problematized other ethnic communities' efforts for state and federal recognition as Indians (e.g. Clifford 1988; Lowery 2010; Oakley 2005; Parades 1992; Waugaman and Moretti-Langholtz 2006). The Nottoway were neither visited by representatives from the Bureau of American Ethnology, nor the focus of significant anthropological or historical exploration. In very real way, the Nottoway have been largely overlooked.

The omission of the Nottoway's history is all the more ironic, given their proximity to Williamsburg and their central role in the Native politics and trade networks that helped expand Virginia's colonial frontier. The expression of this absence, what might be called *historical amnesia*, separates the Nottoway from Virginia's memory. Long after the bloody wars of the seventeenth century regulated the Powhatan to the edges of Virginia society, the Iroquoians continued to be key players in the colonial chess

game of power. Politically prominent as British and Six Nations' allies, the Nottoway were vital agents in the backwoods diplomacy of the eighteenth century.

Following Virginia's 1676 civil war known as Bacon's Rebellion, the Nottoway negotiated articles of peace with special commissioners representing King Charles II. Two generations later, Lt. Governor Alexander Spotswood sought the Iroquois' alliance during Carolina's Indian wars and concluded a 1713 treaty with the Nottoway in Williamsburg. These treaties politically and militarily subjugated the Nottoway as "tributaries" of the English Crown and outlined mutual rights, responsibilities and obligations of both groups. Two Nottoway Indian Towns were surveyed and the surrounding lands held "in trust" by the colony. Per the terms of the 1677 treaty, the Nottoway annually presented a political tribute to the Virginia Governor – twenty beaver skins – and offered three arrows as quit-rent for their treaty lands. At the conclusion of the 1713 treaty, the beaver skins were remitted in favor of the Nottoway continuing to send young men to the Brafferton Indian School at the College of William & Mary.

On Virginia's frontier, the Nottoway hosted William Byrd's "dividing line" party at their "Great Town," while Byrd surveyed the colonial boundary between Virginia and North Carolina. A generation later, Cherokee and Nottoway peace delegations met with great fanfare and ceremony on Williamsburg's courthouse steps. With pipes lit, they sang and danced down the Duke of Gloucester Street to the fife and drum. At the request of Lt. Governor Robert Dinwiddie, the Nottoway fought under Lt. Colonel George Washington during the Seven Years War and received accolades from the House of Burgesses for their valor against the French in the siege of Ft. Duquesne. Nottoway students attended the Brafferton Indian School at the College of William & Mary during the tenure of

Thomas Jefferson and James Monroe, and joined Virginia's patriot forces in the American Revolution. It was remarked during the eighteenth century that the Nottoway were, "the only Indians of any consequence now remaining within...Virginia" (Byrd 1967:116).

Historians indicate the Nottoway continued residence on their Southampton County lands until the end of the nineteenth century. The antebellum community was politically active: they petitioned the Virginia legislature, governors and county courts for intercedes on matters related to mismanagement of their funds, distribution of property, illegal seizure and treaty obligations. In contrast, at the beginning of the twentieth century the Nottoway were described by contemporaries as "very few left in the county," "mixed bloods" and "remnants." Families continued to live on the "Indian Town Road" that cut through their rural settlement, but all reservation lands had been allotted and their "Trustees" dismissed. The families were "very poor," mostly working as farm laborers and at "public work." Court records indicate some Nottoway sold their reservation allotments, while others used their allotments and personal property as security for loans and debt repayment; property taxes and foreclosure wrestled most remaining reservation lands away from Nottoway interests.

By the twentieth century, the "Nottoway descendants," were described as "all married other races and moved away to Norfolk and other cities," "uneducated" "surrounded by people of alien stock," "members of the black community," "identified with the Negroes," of "Indian descent...with Negroid features," "their descendants still survive as part of the Black population," of "mixed ancestry," "whose identity was black but looked decidedly Indian," with "claims openly to be descended from the Indians," but

“Black in identity” albeit “of Indian ancestry” (Binford 1964; Mooney 1907; Parramore 1992; Painter 1961; Rountree 1973, 1979a). Thus, I argue the nineteenth and twentieth-century life of Nottoway reservation allottees and their descendants is largely obscured from public view. With the sale of reservation lands, outward perceptions of cultural continuity and community cohesion became submerged in an increasingly racialized American South. While outside the scope of this research, Nottoway peoples’ experience during the Jim Crow era awaits further attention.

The formalized community organization of Mid-Atlantic Indians encouraged by James Mooney (1907), Frank Speck (1928) and others (e.g. Weslager 1943) during the first half of the twentieth century was unrealized by Nottoway kindred. The political and racial climate of Jim Crow Virginia contributed to the muting of public Nottoway identities until the end of Segregation and decades thereafter. Through the 1970s and 1980s, White / Black racial divisions problematized the potential for Nottoway political action; one researcher indicated the presence of reservation descendants, but found the pre-integration racism experienced by Southampton community members prohibited productive inquiry by a “White anthropologist” (Rountree 1973:6-8; and see Rountree and Davidson 1997:202). However, mid twentieth-century Nottoway descendants’ associations with their nineteenth-century reservation-tract lands and extended rural-urban family networks suggest the maintenance of an informal social organization (Field notes 2006-2010).

In adjacent Hertford County, North Carolina, Meherrin descendants formally organized in 1977 and received state recognition as a tribe in 1986 (Dawdy 1994:5). The enrollment of Southampton County residents into the Meherrin Indian Tribe, along with

the historic relationship between the Nottoway, Meherrin and Tuscarora, prompted a renewed interest in the “old Indian Town reservation.” During the 1990s, questions about Iroquoian treaty lands in North Carolina and Virginia encouraged visits from Canadian Six Nations tribal members. Combined, these activities eventually led to the 1997-2003 formations of several Nottoway-focused political groups (Field notes 2006). In 2010, the Virginia General Assembly recognized two organizations as “Nottoway tribes”: the *Nottoway Indian Tribe of Virginia* and the *Cheroenhaka Nottoway*. Prior to their recognition, the two petitioning groups were engaged in a pitched six-year battle with the state-level advisory Council on Indians, a supra-tribal organization controlled by Virginia’s then eight state-recognized tribes. Key issues that emerged during the recognition discourse included the social continuity of the petitioning groups as distinct communities, their exclusivity in an Indian identity through time and proving an uninterrupted documentary linkage to the historic Nottoway of the nineteenth-century.

The transformation of the Nottoway reservation community is a narrative of contradictions. Nineteenth-century Nottoway leaders petitioned the General Assembly in Iroquoian, sued their Trustees for violations of treaty status and financial mismanagement, received tax exemptions as Indians and had the Commonwealth’s Attorney General rule them “tributary Indians” exempt from “mulatto laws.” As one of three remaining groups to hold Indian treaty land in Virginia, their disappearance from public view in the twentieth century stands in stark contrast to the political activism of Virginia’s landless “citizen” Indians (see Rountree 1979b). The twentieth-century rise of Powhatan’s descendants and the “termination and dispersal of the Nottoway” (Rountree 1987) needs to be seen in cultural, historical, political and economic contexts. The

nineteenth-century dissolution of the Nottoway reservation was a process linked to wider socio-historical forces in Virginia and the South's development within the political economy of the capitalist world-system. In order to understand the mechanisms and processes by which the transformations of the Nottoway community took place, and to explore the impacts of socio-economic asymmetries on Nottoway social organization, kinship and solidarity, this historical inquiry focuses on the end of the Reservation Period [c.1775-1824] and the Reservation Allotment Period [1824-1878].

Introduction to the Research Questions

This research examines the social construction of the Nottoway community from roughly the time of the American Revolution until the decade after the Civil War [c.1775-1875], an hundred year period during which portions of the Virginia-Carolina Iroquoians removed to New York and the remaining Indian Town lands were leased, allotted or sold. During this era the Commonwealth of Virginia divested itself of the Nottoway's treaty-trust relationship, a quasi-paternalism that had existed between the colonial state and the tribal organization since the seventeenth century. The shift of Nottoway land tenure from a corporate body to individual ownership impacted the community's political solidarity and through the state's imposed legal framework, institutionalized matrilineal inheritance.

The codification of Nottoway kinship created tension within a community already reduced by demographic collapse, political isolation and tribal exogamy. Increased participation in capitalist wage-labor and an intensified agrarian plantation-system added other dimensions to Indian Town's social organization. Some Nottoway sought off-

reservation employment, while other reservation residents were non-Indian affines. The presence of non-Nottoway contractual laborers, Indian-owned enslaved peoples and seasonal slave hires also altered the strictly “Indian” characteristic of Southampton’s Nottoway Town. Tribal exogamy led to the rise of three forms of Nottoway reservation households: 1) Nottoway men and their non-Nottoway wives, and thus non-matrilineal Nottoway children, 2) Nottoway women and their non-Nottoway husbands, but with matrilineal children as heirs to Indian land, and 3) Non-lineage Nottoway households – families not of matrilineal Nottoway descent, but with Nottoway ancestry – and thus families without matrilineal rights or access to tribal lands. Hence, questions emerge about the ways in which the Nottoway resituated themselves as a social group after the allotment process separated matrilineal lands in severalty.

At the meta-level, Virginia’s eighteenth-century agricultural society began to shift during the Antebellum towards an agro-industrial economy. With the rise in mechanized transportation, improved agricultural processing and an increased import and export efficiency, Southampton became more fully connected to the wider capitalist-system. The export of massive amounts of raw agricultural products characterized the antebellum South’s position within the world-system’s axial division of labor, as a periphery of the global-economy. During the period of inquiry [c.1775-1875], Great Britain became the center of the world-system [1815-1873], benefitting from the production and resale of textiles made from Southern cotton, manufacturing and exporting finished goods as “workshop of the world” and competing with other core states for industrial market supremacy. It is clear from a close examination of the documentary record that this interstate relationship impacted the Nottoway in significant ways, as they were the

recipients of capitalism’s unequal exchange and they responded to both accommodate and resist the system’s impositions of labor, production and commodification.

Therefore, one may ask in what ways did the Nottoway community – a tribal group incorporated within the capitalist world-economy – interface with this system and what changes occurred as a result of the historical processes of their entanglement? As a tribe formerly organized around a kin-based subsistence of horticulture and hunting, how did integration with Europe’s mercantile economy, and then industrialism, shift the mobilization of Nottoway resources and production? With the uneven and asymmetrical process of kin-group incorporation into an industrializing economy, what were the ways in which Nottoway domesticity expressed itself organizationally, socio-politically and economically during this transition? In regard to the enlistment of individuals for labor and reproduction, what was the structure of family, kinship and social networks? Was the allotment of Nottoway communal lands in severally the cause or the result of changes to the deep structures of kinship and political economy; in what ways and to what extent were kin ties maintained after the allotment process? Finally, in a local economy integrated with the capitalist world-system, was Nottoway relatedness of “our people” motivated by consanguinity, socio-economics or cultural difference?

Significance of the Research

This dissertation research is significant in several ways. First, an anthropological examination of the Nottoway’s Indian Town adds new comparative data on the historical processes of cultural change for an understudied Mid-Atlantic Iroquoian community. Moreover, the majority of previous investigations in the Chesapeake region have been

archaeological, with a pre-historic or contact-era focus (e.g. Binford 1991; Gallivan 2003; Potter 1993). This research addresses the problematic reservation-era of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a period when Virginia Indians were increasingly subsumed and more fully incorporated within the expanding capitalist world-system. The research focus is on the underlying causes that propel socio-cultural change and inquires about the ways in which modifications to household organization, kinship structure and group solidarity were expressed in the community's social constructs. In this way, the work is a departure from most previous Virginia Indian research and brings the methodology and theoretical approach of cultural anthropology to an historical inquiry of the post-colonial Chesapeake.

Second, the research focus considers the social sciences' changing definition of community, as it relates to Nottoway peoplehood (Jackson 2012; Piker 2004). Anthropology's earlier interest in neo-evolutionary classificatory schemes (e.g. Flannery 1972; Fried 1960, 1967; Service 1962) eventually encouraged inquiry into the reasons and motivations for group formation and change; the discipline's attention to causation progressively transitioned toward examining the forces that sustain peoplehood phenomena [e.g. descendant communities (HUMMA 1993; La Roche and Blakey 1997); imagined communities (Anderson 1991); pan-identity indigeneity (Fischer 1999); nationalism (Kohl 1998)]. Thus, the inquiry explores the historical forces that lead to group segmentation, coalescence, transformation and maintenance – and the system that underlies those processes. Shifts in Nottoway descent reckoning and the reconfiguration of domestic spaces are but two areas that illuminate the structural modifications underway. The analysis of this progression relies on cultural theory to interpret their

intersection with other peoplehood phenomena and the community's political economy within the capitalist world-system (e.g. Dunaway 1996a, 1996b; Hopkins, et al. 1982; Meyer 1994; Sider 1986, 2003; Balibar and Wallerstein 1991; Wolf 1997). Therefore, this dissertation contributes new research to a wider conversation in anthropology by utilizing a political economic analysis to explore the historical transformation and social construction of the Nottoway community.

Previous Work

Scholarly descriptions of Virginia's Native peoples have dominantly focused on the contact-era Algonquian-speakers and their seventeenth-century interactions with the English colony at Jamestown (Gallivan 2007; Gleach 1997; Rountree 1990; Williamson 2003). Other works have addressed twentieth-century Powhatan and Monacan political resurgence (Moretti-Langholtz 1998), their strategic participation in national commemorative cycles (Gleach 2003; Hantman 2008) and their efforts to reassert control over their historical narratives through civic engagement with archaeology (Gallivan and Moretti-Langholtz 2007; Gallivan, Moretti-Langholtz and Woodard 2011).

Virginia's Iroquoian-speakers have received less attention. The majority of anthropological research on the Nottoway-Meherrin has been archaeological, with a pre-historic or contact-era focus (Binford 1964; Heath and Swindell 2011; Mudar et al 1998; Smith 1971). The Nottoway have been infrequently mentioned within the context of the colonial encounter, save for limited discussions within the histories of frontier exploration. The Nottoway have cameo appearances with the Roanoke Colony (e.g. Miller 2000), the settlement of early Jamestown (e.g. Rountree and Turner 2002), the

opening of the Virginia fur trade (e.g. Briceland 1987) and Byrd's survey of the dividing line between Virginia and North Carolina (e.g. Calcaterra 2011). Other publications have addressed Algonquian-Iroquoian comparative culture change (Binford 1967; Dawdy 1995) and nineteenth-century land loss (Rountree 1987). The overview of previous Nottoway-related work is relatively brief.

Archaeologists Lewis Binford (1964) and Gerald Smith (1971) can be credited for developing most of what is known in the modern era about pre-contact Nottoway social organization and culture history. Binford and Smith's dissertations reflect the theoretical trends of their day, utilizing a cultural ecology approach to interpret Nottoway socio-economic and political development in the environs of the Mid-Atlantic coastal plain. Binford's 1967 article in *Ethnohistory* traced Nottoway, Meherrin and Weanoke culture change through the colonial era, until about the time of the American Revolution.

Ethnohistorian Helen Rountree (1973) investigated the land sales of the Nottoway, as part of her dissertation's larger comparative study of Indian policy and land loss in Virginia. Linguist Blair Rudes (1981a) offered an historical-comparative sketch of the Nottoway language, drawing on his (1976, 1987) and Marianne [Williams] Mithun's (1974) work with Tuscarora phonology and grammar. Avocational archaeologists and local historians contributed several additional articles on the Nottoway documentary record and reservation allotments (Briggs and Pittman 1995; Painter 1961; also see Parramore 1992), most of which is best summarized in the entry for the Northeast volume of the *Smithsonian's Handbook of North American Indians* (Boyce 1978).

Rountree's 1987 article *The Termination and Dispersal of the Nottoway Indians of Virginia* was the last academic publication on the historic community, and the only one

to significantly address the nineteenth century. Regrettably, her portrait of Nottoway society is bleak: the colonial encounter led the Indians into debt, which they continually could not escape for 200 years. Rountree argues that as a result of their dependency, through alcoholism, they drank themselves into further debt and eventual destruction. The men refused to farm, based on Nottoway gendered notions about the sexual division of labor. Acculturated and indigent, the Nottoway consciously decided to detribalize and sell their remaining reservation lands. Quietly, the community disappeared through intermarriage with African Americans. During the 2006-2010 Nottoway state-recognition hearings, this article was publicly scrutinized and the subject of ethical debate at the national-level, as Rountree was a voting member of the recognition committee. Since Rountree had previously published the Nottoway were “terminated” and “dispersed,” she was seen as biased against the descendant communities’ state-recognition petitions, in an effort to protect her own scholarship (Schilling 2009).

A key criticism of Rountree’s Nottoway analysis involves her acceptance of the documentary event-level at face value, which she sees as the prime mover of social change. By misunderstanding the event-level as the main causal feature, rather than as evidence for transformations in deeper structures, Rountree reveals a lack of awareness of wider conversations and debates in anthropology during the 1970s and 1980s, particularly with regard to anthropological theory (e.g. Asad 1973; Braudel 1981, 1982, 1984; Clifford 1988; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Dening 1980; Douglas 1970; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Fabian 1983; Geertz 1973, 1983; Mintz 1985; Price 1983; Roseberry 1984, 1989; Rosaldo 1980; Sahlins 1981, 1985; Tausig 1980, 1987; Wolf 1997). Equally,

Rountree's unsophisticated construction of the event-level, without critical attention to the processes underlying colonialism, produced an unsatisfying and thin social narrative:

“The Nottoway were caught in a vise...instead of facing reality they chose to escape it through liquor. Even a compromise with the dominant society, such as adopting some new practices while keeping limited social isolation, would have helped...the Nottoway chose not to compromise, so that their days as a tribal people were numbered...Refusing to adopt intensive European economic practices...they consigned themselves to a vicious cycle of poverty, dependence...and escapism through drinking that brought on more poverty...It was all rather sad once the ‘Indian problem’ had disappeared” (1987:198-199, 213).

Rountree's handling of Nottoway agency and her conception of social-political development can also be questioned. In other writings (1990:10), she indicates indigenous communities “deliberately” remained at a tribal level of organization, rather than becoming chiefdoms, and that individual chiefs *actively pursued* creating “ethnic groups” (1990:12-13). For the Nottoway, Rountree suggests disclaiming kinship and

“detrribalization may have...indeed seemed the only solution to those Indians willing to support themselves in an Anglicized way...The Indians themselves asked for outright termination...[they] must have known that taking possession of [their] share [of land] meant detrribalization” (1987: 207-208).

Such statements call into question the definitions of “tribe” and “ethnic group,” as well as challenge models of socio-political development. Following Etienne Balibar (1991) and others, one may argue that in order to understand the concepts of “nation,” “state,” and “tribe” one should contextualize them to avoid making reified categories and thus creating a false reality. Moreover, causation forces that lead to the emergence of peoplehood phenomena are not the same that perpetuate their continuation (Balibar and Wallerstein 1991; Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:49-67; Wolf 1997:6; Whitehead 1992; Woodard and Moretti-Langholtz 2009:91).

This research is not as rejoinder to Rountree's *The Termination and Dispersal of the Nottoway Indians of Virginia*, but rather a contrasting approach. Through an

examination of archival and historical sources pertaining to the Nottoway, cross-cultural comparisons with other indigenous communities, ethnographic fieldwork with reservation-allottee descendants and an approach grounded in the anthropology of political economy and world-systems theory, this dissertation analyzes the historical processes of change and transformation within a Virginia Iroquoian reservation community.

Research Methodology

In order to develop an historical ethnographic view of the Nottoway, the research draws on a rich documentary record of Virginia statehouse and courthouse papers, census and tax records for Southampton County, agriculture schedules, Nottoway land leases and deeds. Other materials include late nineteenth and early twentieth-century inquiries by previous social scientists, such as Albert Gatschet, James Mooney and J.N.B. Hewitt whose field notes and archival sources add content not otherwise observed. Archival materials include primary documents housed at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, the Library of Virginia in Richmond, the National Anthropological Archives in Suitland, the Newberry Library in Chicago, the Southampton County Clerk's Office in Courtland, the Swem Library in Williamsburg and the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond.

Fieldwork among Nottoway descendants and Southampton County residents assisted in data triangulation, through the reconstruction of past relationships, social networks and the routines of daily life. Semi-structured and informal interviews, site visits and the collection of oral histories in Southampton County aided the development

of a more robust ethnographic portrait of the Nottoway community, particularly from elderly interlocutors who reflected on content concerning the end of the nineteenth century. This research methodology consists of five qualitative approaches:

- 1) Documentary analysis
- 2) Conducting informal interviews
- 3) Direct observation
- 4) Gathering life histories
- 5) Collecting kinship schedules [genealogical analysis]

1) Primary Documents

The Southampton County documentary record is encouragingly complete. Unlike other Virginia localities, Southampton is not a “burned county.” During the Civil War, Jerusalem, Southampton’s seat of government, was spared since Union occupation and destruction was mostly north and east of the county. Thus, tax records and land deeds for most of the colonial period and early Republic era are extant, allowing for the reconstruction of property transfer and conveyance by sale, will or court decree. The population, agriculture and slave schedules from the decades prior to the Civil War are also complete, with details about property value, agricultural industry and the farm productivity of Southampton’s residents. An 1808 report by the Trustees of the Nottoway Tribe, describes the community’s financial and social condition on the eve of the reservation’s allotment, as well as provides key political, cultural and demographic content about Nottoway individuals. County Deed Books, Chancery Records, Marriage Bonds, Minute Books, Mortality Schedules, Order Books and Will Books for Southampton County capture many subtle relationships concerning social, political and kinship affiliations and the county’s economic climate. Federal census records from

1810-1880 and 1900-1940 provide a wealth of information about family units, marriages, mortality, education, settlement patterns and occupations. After 1850, the census data are more detailed, allowing for a fuller portrait of household compositions and kinship relations.

The Nottoway filed multiple legislative petitions to the Virginia General Assembly and civil suits in Southampton County court. These documents, responses and rulings provide a window into Nottoway politics, community interests and financial affairs. Most of the petitions concern the allotment process [1824, 1830, 1835, 1838, 1840-1841, 1847-1855, 1868, 1870, 1875, 1877], tax exemption [1842], Trustee mismanagement of funds [1838-1840, 1848-1851], court-certifications of Indian blood [1837, 1855, 1861, 1864], criminal suits [1820, 1837] and inheritance of allotments among heirs [1878-1880, 1940, 1952-1953].

Like much of rural Virginia, literacy among Nottoway peoples was minimal until the beginning of the twentieth century. As a consequence, few personal papers or correspondences of Nottoway individuals survive from an earlier period. In 1977 and 1990, matrilineal Nottoway descendants conducted oral history interviews with their lineage-segment's elderly members. A body of family documents and photographs from this sub-lineage were used to triangulate data from other primary records. Ethic descriptions of the Nottoway, not mentioned in the body of documents above, include the correspondences of elite members of the county [e.g. doctors, lawyers, tribal trustees], occasional periodicals [e.g. *Gentleman's Magazine*] and local newspapers [e.g. *Petersburg Intelligencer*]. Select photographic collections, church records and personal papers of Nottoway descendants mostly date to the Post-Reservation Era [1878-].

Other documentary materials for Southampton County provide contextual information about Nottoway historical environs and wider antebellum Virginia society. Southampton is best known in American history as the site of Nat Turner's 1831 slave insurrection, an event that has made antebellum-life in the county the subject of previous historical research (e.g. Drewry 1900; Oates 1975; Styron 1967; Tragle 1971). Unpublished sources concerning Southampton County include two extensive diaries held by the Virginia Historical Society. Nineteenth-century gentlemen planters Daniel W. Cobb and Elliott L. Story provide descriptive personal narratives about daily life in rural Southampton c.1830-1870 (see Crofts 1997). Photographic collections from Southampton include a body of images owned by the county's Historical Society [c.1855-] and hundreds of homes and farms photographed by the Works Progress Administration, c.1930 housed at the Library of Virginia. Historian Thomas C. Parramore (1992) has written a general history of the county, drawing on a combination of documentary sources to illustrate Southampton societal change and local responses to wider historical events such as the Civil War. Daniel W. Crofts (1992) produced a data-rich volume on Southampton's political and economic history, c.1830-1870. An historic narrative of a local economy, Crofts's *Old Southampton* is a southern agricultural companion to other works that have addressed industrialization in the American North (e.g. Wallace 2005).

Lastly, the cartographic record of Southampton assists in conceptualizing the physical space of the Nottoway Reservation and its relationship to surrounding settlements, road systems, railways and municipalities. County survey maps from the reservation's allotment, regional military maps from the Civil War and state maps of North Carolina and Virginia provide geopolitical and infrastructural illustrations of the

historical landscape. In addition, select maps document the tribe's reservation tract, surnames of surrounding landowners and the Nottoway's proximity to other Native descendant communities.

2) Informal Interviews and 3) Direct Observation

A portion of the study draws on my anthropological fieldwork in Southampton County and surrounding areas. Informal interviews and direct observation aid the construction of the Nottoway community's historical experience. Fieldwork with Nottoway reservation-allottee descendants, community members and other county residents was conducted during 2006-2012. Through several Nottoway interlocutors, senior members of the community were identified, including the last living individuals with continuous connections to Nottoway allotment lands. In addition to Nottoway descendants, local members of the Archaeological Society of Virginia and Southampton County Historical Society were interviewed.

Interviews took the form of formal and informal conversations with open- and closed-ended questions, enabling a mostly implicit research agenda. From senior community members, oral histories of parents and grandparents stretched back into the Reservation Allotment Period [pre-1878], allowing for the collection of narratives concerning individual families' home and social life, seasonal cycles of agricultural labor and descriptions of Southampton society. Two Nottoway reservation-allottee families lost control of their reservation tracts after the Second World War: one as the result of tax delinquency c.1945, the other by lawsuit over property division in an inheritance case c.1953. Families residing on these properties were forced to relocate into adjacent areas,

although others remained as lessees on their old allotments until the late 1950s. Interviews with these community members allowed for the recording of kinship schedules, tracking settlement patterns of Nottoway households and documenting meaningful reservation locations from the end of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.

The goal of informal interviews was to generate comparative and representative data, identify common themes in local historical knowledge and capture ethnographic content of the Nottoway environs in time and space. Fieldwork with the target population was crosscut by general inquiries with other Southampton residents and the families of plantations neighboring Indian Town. Collecting oral histories, fact checking and the development of cognitive maps of the physical and cultural landscape are components of this approach. Photographs and descriptive field notes of site visits, meetings and informal interviews were aspects of the fieldwork conducted.

Direct observation consisted of guided and independent site visits to former reservation lands, select Southampton churches, historic homes and archaeological sites. The methodology assisted the reconstruction of antebellum Nottoway reservation environs through a detailed cross-analysis of period maps, documentary references and interview schedules. Nineteenth-century roadways, bridges, railways, property lines, timber tracts, agricultural fields and settlement locations were identified using this approach. The cognitive maps of elderly interlocutors assisted in detecting former reservation house sites, family burial plots, fishing areas, footbridges across the Nottoway River and other such informal pathways of a now disappeared Indian Town. Visits were made to Southampton during multiple field seasons and at different times throughout the

calendar year. *Reservation observations* were conducted from both a riverine and landside perspective, which aided a more complete investigation of the Nottoway Town environs.

Key Interlocutors: 4) Life Histories and 5) the Genealogical Method

My primary interlocutors for this research were descendants of Nottoway reservation allottees. These individuals linked the inquiry to wider kin-networks, in particular, senior members of the community born c.1915-1940 who were grandchildren, great-grand children and grandnieces and grandnephews of Nottoway allottees. Semi-structured interviews with elderly informants assisted in data triangulation and the development of representative life histories of the Nottoway experience during the Post-Reservation Era [1878-]. These interlocutors were key in providing detail information on the last residential configurations of Nottoway Indian Town. The oral histories of interlocutors' grand-relatives' social networks, family and home life, work history, education and the socio-economic conditions of Southampton provided a local perspective that can be situated into the meta-level political economy.

The reconstruction of Nottoway allottee genealogies traced the community's household composition, kinship network, marriage partners and settlement patterns. To understand the transformation and social organization of the Nottoway community, it was necessary to investigate the familial histories of select group members. Descendants of the two remaining antebellum Nottoway matrilineages were identified, which allowed an analysis and comparison of family composition, organization and marriage-mate selection. The recording of Nottoway kinship and marriage schedules permitted an

evaluation of the descent reckoning system, its changes over time and an opportunity for cross-Iroquoian comparison [e.g. Tuscarora]. Interviews with key interlocutors allowed for the crosschecking of sources and gathered data, as well as provided other insights.

Tracking mate selection and marriage alliance relied on the triangulating sources in the documentary record [census schedules, chancery cases, marriage bonds, etc.] and oral histories of Nottoway descendants. A shift from matrilineal to bilateral descent was observable in surname inventories, court records of property transfer and residence configurations during the Reservation Allotment Period, 1824-1877. The data suggest a relationship between marriage partner selection and community social organization, as well as an affiliation between economic opportunity and social mobility. The record indicates an uneven course in descent-system change, with multiple forms of kin reckoning emerging during a narrow period of time. This irregularity speaks to the transformative process of Nottoway integration into a single political economy.

Organization of the Study

Chapter I outlines the project's theoretical perspective. It situates the research within other anthropologies and histories of the Eastern Woodlands, reservation-era studies and other post-colonial Native inquiries. The discussion argues political economy is best suited to theoretically address historical processes, social and political forces, and economic frameworks operating within the capitalist world-system. Following two theorists, Immanuel Wallerstein and Eric Wolf, world-systems theory's analytical framework is broadly described and select intellectual arguments of the approach are overviewed. The incorporation process of the Nottoway territory into the world-system is

illustrated as an example of the system's mechanics. Plantation and household labor-organizations are depicted and identified as "mini-structures" of the world-system. The last section of the chapter reviews select peoplehood phenomena, the role of agency in the world-economy and criticisms of the world-systems approach. Chapter I concludes with a discussion of kinship studies, kinship within peoplehood phenomena and kinship's role in the deployment of labor and income pooling.

Chapter II explores the historical characteristics of the Nottoway community's Iroquoian language, kinship system and indigenous social organization. Utilizing historical sources, and ethnological data from the Nottoway and the closely related Tuscarora, the structure and function of Nottoway Town's matrilineages are examined. The cultural content presented in this chapter is a significant aspect of Nottoway Reservation Period [1705-1824] community solidarity and a contributing factor to their notion of peoplehood during the Reservation Allotment Period, 1824-1877. The impact of Nottoway-Tuscarora removal and the demographics of Nottoway Town are considered for issues of viability and community longevity. The framework of matrilineality provides an understanding of Indian Town's decision-making, leadership roles and matricentric organization, which allows for a more critical analysis of the community's engagement with Southampton's political economy.

Nottoway land sales, allotment and the tribe's Trustee system are overviewed in Chapter III. Through the previous chapter's operational view of Nottoway kinship, the community's social organization and leadership structures are analyzed, as are the culturally constructed responses of tribal leaders to the emerging economic system's impositions. This chapter examines examples of Nottoway peoplehood, agency, and the

community’s collective and individual resistance – and accommodation – to manipulation by state-appointed Trustees.

Chapter IV examines the physical environs and civic infrastructure of Southampton, and analyzes the county’s demography of “Whites,” “Slaves” and “Other Free Persons.” Through a careful review of census records, court documents, legislative petitions and tax papers, the socioeconomic position of Indian Town is evaluated against neighboring property owners, slaveholders and landless laborers. Nottoway peoplehood is examined in the context of Nat Turner’s slave insurrection, “Free Persons of Color” emigration to Liberia, Africa and 1830s changes to Virginia’s “Slave and Free Negro” legal codes.

Civil suits and court orders relating to the division of the Nottoway’s reservation lands and financial trust are investigated in Chapter V. One goal of the section is to explicate the tribe’s legal and economic strategies prior to the Civil War. The chapter makes linkages between Southampton’s affluent families of wealth and finance and the Nottoway’s real estate and monetary resources.

The intertwining of the American South, Southampton County and Indian Town with the nineteenth-century world-economy is the subject of Chapter VI. The deepening of market structures encouraged Nottoway participation in the capitalist economic-system, particularly as tribal members wrestled control of their real and personal property away from the Trustees. Five interrelated processes of the economic periphery are explored between Chapters IV-VI: polarization, commodification, contractualization, interdependence and mechanization. This section investigates nineteenth-century

advancements in transportation and the opening of new hemispheric markets, alongside the development of Southampton's production of cash crops for export.

The concluding discussion overviews changes in Southampton's political economy as a result of the Civil War and examines push-pull factors impacting the Nottoway community. The chapter includes select data from field interviews and oral histories, and follows the collapse of the Nottoway's traditional social organization at the end of the Reservation Allotment Period. The section highlights key aspects of the study's findings.

Three appendices provide additional research data. Appendix A is a discussion of the term "Nottoway" and its historical linguistic background. Appendix B examines one Nottoway matrilineage, its sub-lineages and marriage-mate patterns. Indian Town kinship schedules and family residence configurations are overviewed in a narrative format. Appendix C examines select Post-Reservation Era marriages and cooperation among matrilineally descended Nottoway males, agnatic Nottoway males, affines and other male collateral kin.

The Nottoway of Virginia: A Study of Peoplehood and Political Economy, c.1775-1875 is a needed contribution to the historical anthropology of Virginia Indians and adds original research to the ethnology of the Mid-Atlantic. Utilizing the theoretical approach of political economy and a world-systems analysis, this dissertation allows for a previously overlooked and obscured Iroquoian community to be more fully considered within Virginia's historical development.

CHAPTER I

Theoretical Approach

In an effort to describe the phenomena of Euro-Indian contact and the effects of colonialism, historians have examined Europe's entrance into the Eastern Woodlands of North America utilizing rubrics of culture contact and frontier models (e.g. Aquila 1997; Axtell 2001; Braund 1993; Calloway 1995; Cayton and Teute 1998; Horn 2008; Jennings 1984; Kupperman 2000, 2007; Richter 1992, 2001). The "New Indian" school of history has dominated much of the literature on the region (see Deloria 2004; Hagan 1997; Krech 1991; Sheridan 2005; Shoemaker 2002; Thornton 1998; Trigger 1982, 1986) despite increased recognition for the need to address anthropological topics of change and transformation in colonial-era Native labor and subsistence, political organization and socio-linguistics (e.g. Gallay 2002, 2010; Merrell 1989a, 2012; Rushforth 2012; Saunt 1999, 2005; White 1983; and see Jackson 2012:xxi-xxxiv).

While effective at organizing and describing the events of the contact and colonial periods, the methodology of the New Indian History is not adequately equipped to address long-term processes of cultural change (see Hudson 2002:xi-xxxix for a discussion), in particular, for indigenous groups that remained in the East long after the frontier moved west. These approaches set the groundwork for interpreting the transformation process, but do not provide the theoretical tools needed to discuss post-colonial settings, where the "subsequent relations are of ethnicity and class within a single society, not between different societies" (Lamar and Thompson 1981:10).

Once the frontier “closes” in a given context, the framework necessary to explore the continuing processes of socio-cultural adaptation and transformation needs to be considerate of the antagonisms, contradictions and inequalities present in the “post-colonial capitalist order characterized by [these] marked asymmetries” (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:65). Moreover, the culture-clash of integrating American Indian communities into Europe’s colonial economy is often portrayed from an historical perspective that does not consistently factor indigenous peoples as agents with their own motivations and worldview (see Merrell 1989b for a critique). Some historians continue to accept notions of Native assimilation and acculturation (see Merrell 2012 for a continued critique) rather than to challenge old ideas as “colonialist” and deterministic (Deloria and Salisbury 2004; Dunaway 1996b; Hurtado and Iverson 2001; Mihesuah and Wilson 2004; White 1998).

Over the past twenty-five years, post-colonial or reservation-era studies have made important strides in better describing, interpreting and examining the critical centuries following Europe’s expansion into Native North America and the subsequent processes of change within colonized indigenous communities (Biolsi 1998; Brooks 2002; Den Ouden 2005; Dunaway 1996a, 1997; Fowler 1987; Green and Plane 2010; Hall 1988; Jackson 2003; Kardulias 1990; Meyer 1991, 1994; Moore 1993; O’Brien 1997; Sider 2003). These studies have attempted to mediate the local experience – drawing on Native responses to global forces – through exploring changes in physical environments, shifts in political structure, market participation, kinship relations, identity formation, gender roles, symbolism, ceremonial life and material culture. A key component to these works’ analysis, despite variation in topic, methodology and

theoretical emphasis, is providing a wider historical context for interpreting or explaining Native peoples' transformation over the last four centuries, a period which coincides with Europe's political and economic colonization of the Americas.

Therefore, an approach that considers historical processes, social and political forces, and economic frameworks is arguably best suited to address issues of cultural continuity and change, and the forces associated with the transformation of post-colonial Native peoples. A perspective that utilizes political economy provides such a structure for empirical research, situating culture, politics and economics as embedded in historical circumstances, whereby the relationships among these variables play out in specific geographies through a dynamic system of interaction. In contrast to an event-driven model, this theoretical approach allows one to place local events in wider historical context and consider the systemic interrelationship of political and economic structures alongside cultural actions (see Hudson 2002:xi-xxxix contra Hudson 1976 for a discussion of political economy's role in the New Indian History of the Southeast).

In general, political economy has the theoretical flexibility to be inclusive of culture, history and practice within a strong Marxist tradition for attention to issues of class, capitalism and power (e.g. Brannon and Gilbert 2002; Donham and James 2002; Fisher 2000; James et al. 2002; Kertzer and Hogan 1989; Mintz 1985; Roseberry 1984, 1988; Verdery 2003; Weiss 1977; Wolf 1997; Ziegler-Otero 2004). Some suggest political economy can be an intersection for the epistemological divide of materialism and idealism (Roseberry 1988, 1989:30-54). Indeed some thinkers have attempted to situate social relations and cultural configurations within the capitalist world-system (Wolf 1999, 2001), particularly with attention to modes of resistance and accommodation

(Donham 1999; Nash 1979; Taussig 1980, 1987) and the production and reproduction of power and hegemony (Kurtz 1996; Kurtz and Nunley 1993). In its broadest form, political economy can be utilized to make linkages between the “power of material forces in Marx’s economic base” with the “power of ideas in the political-ideological superstructure.” This is an attempt by some researchers to traverse the Marxist “dictum that [equates] culture with ideology” (Kurtz 2001:118-119, brackets added). Political economy has also influenced inquiry into the relationship between the “global” and the “local” [termed “glocal”], in cultural as well as economic spheres (Appadurai 1988, 1990; Featherstone and Lash 1995; Hannerz 1992).

The present research follows two meta-level theorists within the paradigm of political economy: Immanuel Wallerstein, a sociologist and Eric Wolf, an anthropologist. Both individuals have slightly different perspectives on the historical development of the modern world, but I argue their approaches are not mutually exclusive and are often cross-pollinating theoretical viewpoints. Both men’s academics have Marxian and Braudelian influences, which emerged from graduate educations at Columbia University in the late 1940s and 1950s, the former with C. Wright Mills the latter with Julian Steward.

Wallerstein provides the framework for a centuries-long developing, encapsulating world economic-system, while Wolf’s writings form a basis for a local-scale approach that is considerate of indigenous peoples’ historical transformation within a larger system of interaction. Wolf’s method assists merging a local / global divide, and re-centers the analysis to the ways in which the meta-level system plays out in local-level

communities. This perspective helps situate the Nottoway historically within the development of the capitalist world system.

Moreover, Wolf's (1997:88-99) definition of structural relations within his "kin-ordered mode of production" and Wallerstein's analysis of households as the basic income-pooling unit (1992a:21) or "key institutional structures of the capitalist world-economy" (Wallerstein 1984:17), provide productive avenues for discussing changes in Nottoway household composition and community organization. The configuration of the Nottoway family and the ways in which resources were mobilized, divided and transferred are at the intersection of kinship with the community's political economy. This dissertation utilizes kinship analysis as a methodology to explore the form, function and collapse of the Nottoway's kin-ordered indigenous organization and trace its continuities within the emergent, transformative, capitalist structure the Nottoway engaged. Furthermore, a recent encouragement by Marshal Sahlins (2011a) for anthropologists to reengage kinship questions asked by David Schneider (1972, 1977, 1980, 1984) provides additional context for a discussion of peoplehood. This dissertation makes linkages between Wallerstein and Wolf's approach to political economy and the discipline's long affair with kinship studies. The following sections expand on these theoretical considerations.

Wallerstein and Wolf

The research follows Immanuel Wallerstein's (1974, 1979, 1980, 1989) conceptualization of an expanding European world-economy – the growth of the capitalist market resulting in a global division of labor – whereby unequal exchange

generates “cores” and “peripheries” of commerce and production. Wallerstein provides a detailed historical evolution of the capitalist “world-system” and develops a theoretical vocabulary for its structure, built in part from models generated by dependency theorist Andre Gunder Frank (1966, 1967, 1969) and French historian and historiographer Fernand Braudel (1958 [2009], 1967, 1981, 1982, 1984).

In brief, Wallerstein’s World-Systems Theory [WST] concludes that modern developed and less-developed nations were structurally linked historically, and that the world’s economic centers are a result of the cores’ exploitation of other societies on the periphery of their zones of influence. This relationship resulted in the underdevelopment of “peripheral” societies and their economic dependence on the developed cores. Composed of core states and dominated peripheral regions, the modern world-system emerged as a result of the five hundred-year political and economic expansion of Europe’s hegemony over the planet. This system was [and still is] institutionally based on capitalism, the “commodification of everything,” whereby the processes of production, marketing, distribution and sale of commodities for profit operate as the mechanisms which link the world market through commodity chains. With the colonization of the Americas, the core countries of Europe quickly brought new, or “external,” territories into the system (Braudel 1979; Chase-Dunn 1989; Dunaway 1996a; Shannon 1996; Wallerstein 1974).

The sixteenth-century Nottoway territory represented an “external arena” – outside of the system’s sphere of influence – and then through the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a community undergoing various stages of integration into a colonial periphery of the capitalist world-system. By the mid-eighteenth century, the

Nottoway were a type of “traditional” or “kin-ordered” society (Wolf 1997:88-99) whose territory was “incorporated” within the capitalist world-system. Therefore, this theoretical perspective is useful at the meta-level because it outlines the constituent roles and characteristics of the larger system. With this historical framework in-hand, one may analyze change in the system’s deep structures that locally influenced Nottoway Indian Town, c.1775-1875.

Wallerstein’s “external zone” transformation into a “peripheral zone” [which he calls the process of “peripheralization”] has affiliation with a popular and recently appropriated term in ethnohistory: Robbie Ethridge’s “shatter zone” (2006, 2009). Ethridge uses this phrase to characterize the collapsed indigenous Mississippian world’s integration with Europe’s expanding capitalist global-system. Intellectually, it is important to note Ethridge borrows the “shatter zone” terminology from Eric Wolf’s (1997:230) discussion of the West African slave trade and Richard White’s (1991:14) explanation of the seventeenth-century Iroquois expansion. Along with these strong influences [Wallerstein, White and Wolf], Ethridge (2009:42) credits the world-systems and political economy framework of Brian Ferguson and Neil Whitehead (1992:1-30; and see Ethridge and Schuck Hall 2009; Ethridge 2009:1-62).

The anthropological theories utilized by New Indian historians to explore the Southern Indian historical experience are also owed, in part, to the teachings and scholarship of Charles Hudson (Pluckhahn and Ethridge 2006:1-25). Hudson’s own conceptualization of the South’s historical anthropology shifted over time, but his later research and pedagogy was “conceived within the context of the social history paradigm of Fernand Braudel and Immanuel Wallerstein,” which Hudson found “particularly

influential” and “quite...powerful” (15). Recent Southern scholars of ethnohistory have explicitly disclosed the influence of Braudel, Wallerstein and Wolf on their conceptual frames (Bowne 2005:9; Ethridge 2003:2, 253-254; Kelton 2007:227; Marcoux 2010:20-21). Thus, the trend-setting concept of the “shatter zone” is based on theoretical models proposed by Braudel and Wallerstein, brought to the local-level analysis of the fur trade of the Americas by White and Wolf (but see White 1991:xxvii, 95, 483; Wolf 1997:22-23, 85-88).

Eric Wolf’s significant and important work *Europe and the People Without History* (1982 [1997]) was deeply influenced by Braudel, Frank and Wallerstein. Wolf shows how the growth of European capitalism impacted non-Western societies that relied on pre-capitalist modes of production, producing immense wealth in the system’s center but also chaos and great suffering in colonial settings. He demonstrates how the mercantile capitalist expansion affected and undermined indigenous cultural systems throughout the world and regulated them to positions of inferiority. Wolf encourages a reexamination of the historical narrative, reminding researchers that the underclasses, downtrodden and oppressed have rarely contributed to the dominant histories of the wealthy and powerful (see Kurtz 2001:116-119; Roseberry 1985; Schneider and Rapp 1995). Wolf is also attentive to the anthropological unit of analysis, arguing that the study of small-scale networks or socio-cultural groups cannot be explained or interpreted in isolation from large-scale social systems.

As Wolf overviews the experiences of colonized peoples worldwide, an important “connection” he makes for Europe’s global expansion is the differing modes of production for the human groups entering into relationships: 1) Capitalist, 2) Tributary

and 3) Kin-ordered, the first and last of which are relevant for envisaging the Nottoway during the period of inquiry. Following Meillassoux (1960, 1972, 1973) among others (Fried 1957; Kirchhoff 1955; Sahlins 1972; Schneider 1972; Siskind 1978), Wolf argues understanding an “operational” view of kinship relations and patterns of interaction within pre-capitalist communities [e.g. residence configurations, social and marriage regulations, political or ritual commitments], provides a context and framework for kinship studies within political economy. This consideration situates kinship as a means of understanding the mobilization of pre-capitalist social labor, the ways in which people claim rights to others and thus labor shares, and the understanding of both open and bounded forms of access to kin-resources (1997:88-91). For the Nottoway, as with so many groups in the Americas, the intersection of kin-ordered modes of production with capitalism shaped the strategic and agentic relationships of community actors, internally and externally. Understanding the organization of both capitalism and kin-ordered forms provides avenues “for thinking about the crucial connections built up among the expanding Europeans and other inhabitants of the globe, so we may grasp the consequences of these connections” (1997:100).

Following these perspectives, this dissertation research utilizes political economy and WST to analyze the Iroquoian-speaking Nottoway – formerly outside of the world-system – and their political, cultural and economic integration into a single global-system of trade, production and exchange. The following section outlines the major structures of the world-system.

An Overview of World-Systems Analysis

Wallerstein (2000) conceptualizes the world-system as a unit of analysis, and argues that all social science must be simultaneously historic and systemic. He focuses on the historical functioning and major institutional structures of the modern capitalist world-economy, and provides analytical descriptions of the major institutional structures of this system: long-wave historical economic patterns [sometimes called Kondratieff cycles], commodity chains, income- pooling households, and the interstate system and its hegemonic cycles.

World-systems theory is a framework for understanding and explaining long run, large-scale social change (Chase-Dunn 1984; Hopkins et al. 1982a). Its emphasis is on a single, worldwide division of labor that unifies multiple cultural systems of the world's people into a single, integrated economic system (Wallerstein 1979:5; Shannon 1989:24).

As a theoretical model, it posits several main ideas concerning the structure of this system:

- 1) Over the last six centuries there has been one expanding economy, the capitalist world-system – originally only in one part of the globe – but today throughout the globe;
- 2) An interstate system exists, whereby states continually form and collapse through relationships of rivalry and alliance; they are constrained and affected by interaction with one another. These relationships are structured as a core / periphery hierarchy in which economically and militarily powerful core states dominate and exploit less powerful peripheral areas of the globe; and
- 3) There is a capital-labor relation, which through the motivation to increasingly accumulate capital governs the courses of action pursued by individuals, households, communities, organizations and states (Hopkins 1982:11-12; Kardulias 1999).

The modern world-system has its origins in sixteenth-century Europe, a “long sixteenth century” [1450-1640] as Fernand Braudel defines it (2012:251-252). This was a period in which nascent nation states shifted conquest-centered and exploitation-based economies of taxation and tribute toward structures based on trade, far-flung interdependence and an international division of labor. This economic form was unlike previous similar world-economies, such as the world-empires of China and Rome, whose wealth was accumulated at the political center by those [usually hereditary elites] who controlled the state machinery (Lewellen 1992:158; Shannon 1989:22).

Under the emerging capitalist system, economic power was held by the owners of production, rather than in the hands of state-ruling aristocracy. The state’s role shifted to enforcing the social relations of production between workers and owners, protecting property rights and administering terms of exchange. The state also encouraged favorable conditions to develop economic enterprises (Wallerstein 1974:15-16, 347-348). Without political constraints on economic growth, the singular feature of this emerging world-economy was a “discontinuity between economic and political institutions” (Wallerstein 1979:37, 157-158). In this system, owners of the means of production seek to obtain the maximum price and profit for market sales, and extract as much surplus value from the results of laborers as a means to accumulate ever more capital. The surplus remained in the possession of the owners and thereby led to an economic inequality in the world-economy (Braverman 1974; Thompson 1983:12; Wallerstein 1984:60).

The world-system is an historically unique form of political organization. No single political state has ever obtained exclusive control over the geography encompassed by the world-economy. Instead, the system’s organization is that of an “interstate system”

of competing nation-states. The existence of multiple strong states has prevented any one entity from politically destroying or seizing territorial control of all the weaker states. Historically however, there have been politically and economically dominant states, and it is the routine of these states to fight declining economic position (Chase-Dunn 1984; Shannon 1989:22).

Through complex cycles of expansion and contraction, the world-system became divided into economic zones of interaction: cores, peripheries and semiperipheries. Internal to the tripartite system is the ever-increasing need to expand the boundaries of the economy. The system expands because core nations rival for hegemonic status in their constituents' drive for "ceaseless accumulation" of capital. Cores strive to protect their dominant position and resources, as the semiperipheral states seek to join the core alliance; the peripheral zones struggle to improve their economic standing by attempting to engage / compete in core-like activities and practices, and thus become semiperipheries. Each zone has characteristics integral to the overall system (Arrighi 1979:161; Dunaway 1996a:10-11; Hopkins and Wallerstein 1987:771; Wallerstein 1974:349, 1984:404).

The system [which includes both the periphery and the core] operates under two basic dichotomies. The first is class, bourgeois versus proletarian. Here, the control of the ruling groups operate not under kinship or lineage rights [as in kin-ordered modes of production], nor through weapons of force [as with world-empires], but through "access to decisions about the nature and quantity of the production of goods, via property rights, accumulated capital, control over technology, etc." (Wallerstein 1979:162).

The second dichotomy is the hierarchy of the core vs. the periphery, “in which there was an appropriation of surplus from the producers of low-wage (but high supervision), low-profit, low-capital intensive goods by the producers of high-wage (but low supervision), high-profit, high-capital intensive, so called ‘unequal exchange’” (ibid). Therefore, the capitalist system involves not only the owners’ appropriation of value [e.g. surplus from laborers] but also an appropriation of surplus of the whole world-economy by core areas.

In the modern world-system, multinational corporations are quickly replacing the core nation-states as the center of economic and political power. Unattached to single national economies, multinational corporations protect the interests of shareholders – global capitalists – who as a whole, have no singular affiliation or allegiance to specific nations. Nation-states continue production, extraction and exchange in the global market, whereby the multinational corporations syphon off the capital and labor. Multinational corporations maintain the appearance of contributing to the development of national economies through job creation, increasing shareholders’ stock and localized tax revenues and tariffs. This dynamic masks the hegemony of the global corporations and banking institutions, which direct the finances, modes of production and regulate the economic machinery of the interstate system.

To conceptualize the system’s “broadening,” or the historical spread of capitalist activities into new geographic areas, the following section overviews the characteristics of the historical world-system’s core, periphery and semiperiphery. These zones of political and economic relationship frame the processes of the system’s “deepening,” or the extension of capitalist exchanges to ever more aspects of life for societies within the

world-economy. Below, select historical relationships among these structures are provided, and in the context of the American South, an overview of some of the system's dynamics that impacted the Nottoway people during the late sixteenth through mid eighteenth centuries. The discussion provides the meta-level framework for examining Nottoway Indian Town, c.1775-1875: Great Britain as the system's center [1815-1873], the American North as a semiperiphery and the South as a periphery of the world-economy. As the system's frontier moved west to incorporate new zones, the Nottoway were left embedded within a colonized territory. As a Virginia settlement, Indian Town was part and parcel of the system's structure and "subject, if not to similar outcomes, then at least similar laws" (Schneider 1977:26).

The Core

The 1815-1873 period of British hegemony as the center of the world-system temporally coincides with the timeframe of analysis for the Nottoway's Indian Town. As the center of the globe's economy and the "workshop of the world," Britain played an important role in antebellum Southampton's manufactured imports, Virginia's forms of industry, and the character of agricultural production in the peripheral American South. At the turn of the nineteenth century, France was also a core, as were the declining Dutch and Spanish states, but only marginally so. Along with Great Britain, all were recipients of Southampton grown cotton, the dominant raw export of the periphery (Crofts 1992:80; Shannon 1989:53-63; Wallerstein 1989:27-126; Walker 1876:164).

The core countries, whose capitalist owners controlled matters of production, finance and wealth, were [and are] the economic and political centers of the world-

system, and thus, core areas were [and are] capital intensive. During the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries the cores' investments were in "agricultural capitalism," whereby various modes of labor [wage, encomienda, slavery, "coerced" cash-crop, sharecropping, tenancy, etc.] were commodified to produce agricultural goods for sale and profit (Wallerstein 1979:16-17). Wallerstein summarizes the rise of the modern world-system's core states:

"By a series of accidents – historical, ecological, geographic – northwest Europe was better situated in the sixteenth century to diversify its agricultural specialization and add to it certain industries (such as textiles, shipbuilding and metal wares) than were other parts of Europe. Northwest Europe emerged as the core area of this world-economy, specializing in agricultural production of higher skill levels, which favored tenancy and wage labor as the modes of labor control. Eastern Europe and the Western Hemisphere became peripheral areas specializing in exports of grains, bullion, wood, cotton, sugar – all of which favored the use of slavery and coerced cash-crop labor as the modes of labor control. Mediterranean Europe emerged as the semiperipheral area of this world-economy specializing in high-cost industrial products (for example silks) and credit and specie transaction, which had as a consequence in the agricultural arena sharecropping as the mode of labor control and little export to other areas" (1979:18).

By 1640, northwestern European states secured their position as core zones in the emerging world-economy, and during the period of 1625-1675 the United Provinces [Holland] was the hegemonic center of this world-system (Braudel 1982:175-276; Wallerstein 1974, 1980:38-39). In the eighteenth century, the internal structure of core regions shifted from a combination of agricultural and mercantile interests [England was the leading exporter of both, 1700-1740] to purely industrial concerns. Under industrial capitalism, core areas divested themselves of all substantial agricultural endeavors, in favor of reallocating labor toward manufacturing. At first, core countries [such as England and France] exchanged their manufactured goods against the periphery's agricultural produce [such as the colonial American South]; Great Britain peaked its

hegemony as the system's center, 1815-1873 (Hopkins, Wallerstein, et al 1982b:104-120).

During this era, the cores' competitive production emphasis cycled away from the provisions of manufacture toward the machinery "to make the manufacturers as well as the provision of infrastructure," such as railroads and steam engines (Braudel 1982:556-588; Hopkins, et al. 1982a:62-64, 107; Wallerstein 1979:29-30; Wolf 1997:290-294). Within the historical world system, a key characteristic of core states included the production of the most advanced goods, which involved the use of the most sophisticated technologies and, after industrialization, highly mechanized methods of production. William Thompson writes that in general terms, the core "consists of those states in which the agro-industrial production is the most efficient and where the complexity of economic activities and the level of capital accumulation is the greatest" (1983:12). Arrighi and Drangel (1986) argue that another traditional aspect of core countries is their ability to receive a higher rate of return from production because of their ability to protect economic activities from competition that would otherwise depress prices and profit.

Other characteristics of core states include the "cornering" of market profits and the elimination of marginal producers. Cores expand the frontiers of commerce, but limit the redistribution of revenues [to allies, primarily]. Over the course of the system's history, core economic expansion has also correlated to population increase. Market domination of core manufactures parallels export supremacy of finished goods and the import of raw materials for manufacture. Cores increasingly strive to capture new sources of profit through innovation in industry, which in turn also leads to an intensification of conflict among cores for world markets (Wallerstein 1989:59-60, 62, 138).

The Periphery

From the core, the periphery is at the other end of the world-system's economic spectrum. Originally Eastern Europe, and then, the Western Hemisphere were peripheral areas of the system's center. Economic activities of the peripheral zones were [and are] more labor intensive and of a low technological development, usually requiring workers' manual labor and little machinery. Because of low-skills requirements and raw-commodity quality, these activities and labor are subject to intense competition, low prices and small profits (Arrighi and Drangel 1986). The periphery also includes those zones that historically supplied the core with raw materials, such as unprocessed mining and agricultural products. For the Nottoway and other Native communities, this exchange began with the international trade in slaves, skins and furs as European cores incorporated external arenas in North America (Cox 1959; Dunaway 1996a:23-50; Krech 1981; Ethridge 2003:22-31; Wolf 1997:158-194).

“Incorporation” into the world-economy begins when the first agents of capitalism establish economic relations with inhabitants of external arenas; this integration process of “incorporation” is also called “broadening” by world-systems theorists. Broadening refers to the spread of capitalism into new geographic zones, and thus eventually incorporating these territories' resources and labor as part of the periphery of the world-economy. For the Nottoway, this process was complete by the mid eighteenth-century.



Figure 1. *A Map of that part of America, now called 'Virginia', 1590.* Engraving by Theodore de Bry, based on the watercolor maps of English Governor John White c.1585-1588. The right of the map is oriented north, framed by the Chesapeake Bay. The Carolina's Sound region is center, with the upper portion of the map showing Iroquoian territory, labeled "Mongock" [center blue arrow]. The blue arrow at right identifies settlements at a fork on the upper Chowan River, the beginning of Nottoway territory.

Incorporation has several features (Hopkins and Wallerstein 1982:126-129), which can illustrate the Nottoway's position within the world-system during the first century of interaction. In the initial phase, a sector of the economy begins to produce goods in demand by the market. This occurred in a limited way for the Nottoway during the end of sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries [c:1540-c:1650], as European explorers investigated the resource potential of Nottoway country and the surrounding Mid-Atlantic [Figure 1] (see Rudes 2002 for early Spanish exploration of the Iroquoian-speaking Nottoway-Tuscarora region). With the arrival of English colonists to coastal Virginia and Carolina, the search for valued commodities [such as furs, pearls and

minerals] gradually networked the interior Nottoway to the European world-system [c.1650-1677/1713]. This changed the Nottoway status from being outside to being within the world-economy [Figure 2].



Figure 2. *A Map of the Whole Territory Traversed by John Lederer in his Three Marches, 1672.* The map is oriented with north to the right. German explorer John Lederer travelled west to the Appalachian Mountains [top of image] in search of a western passage to the Pacific. Pushing beyond the tidewater English settlements, Lederer’s southwestern travels assisted the opening of Virginia’s deerskin and Indian slave trade with interior tribes such as the Catawba and Cherokee.

With incorporation’s second feature, “workers” of the new zone are transformed in to “labor in relation to capital.” Through English colonization of Virginia, the Indian labor-exchange began in earnest. Deerskins, furs and Indian slaves entered the market as the Nottoway more fully engaged the capitalist system [post-1650], hedging their hunting

and trapping activities against received manufactured “trade” goods (see Binford 1967; Briceland 1987; Boyce 1978; Salley 1911). The Nottoway produced some luxury furs, such as beaver, mink and otter, but raw deerskins formed the majority of their trade (Palmer 1875:65; Traunter 1698:10). European shortages in leather fueled this exchange, as Nottoway and other indigenous peoples’ trade skins supplied the raw materials for shoes, gloves, book covers, aprons, luggage, military uniforms and a variety of other items for daily use (Braund 1993; Crane 2004; Dunaway 1996a; Ethridge 2003).

Wilma Dunaway argues Southern deerskins were important to England and the other European cores in five ways. First, this commodity exchange reinforced Euro-Indian political relations in colonial areas [peripheries]. Second, the hides provided Europe with essential raw materials for leather manufacture. Third, the deerskin trade provided Europe a valuable “peripheral outlet” for core-manufactured goods, particularly England’s woolens and irons. Fourth, taxation of deerskin exports was an important revenue producer for the colonial governments, and thereby offset funding-streams needed for infrastructural development. In Virginia, this revenue was funneled to support the College of William & Mary. Fifth, deerskins helped England maintain trade balances with other areas of the world market via an “elaborate chain of commodity exchange that circled the globe” (1996a:33-34). Through this articulation with the commodity chains, the Nottoway and other Native communities were “hooked” into the orbit of the world system in a way that they could not escape (Wallerstein 1989:130).

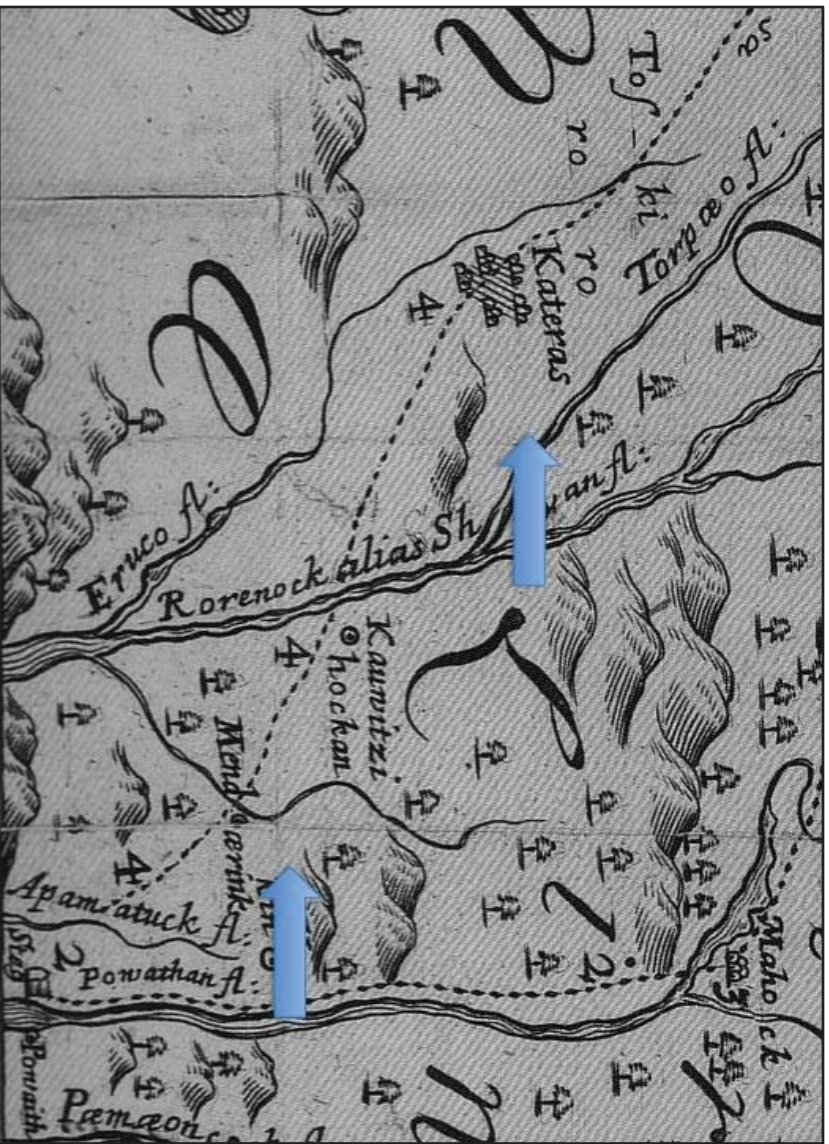


Figure 3. **Close-up of Lederer's Territory Traversed, 1672.** The map is orientated with north to the right side of the image, with the "Powhatan fl." or James River as the starting point of the Indian trading path. The dotted line runs southwest from Fort Henry on the "Apamattuck fl." through Nottoway and Meherrin territory [right blue arrow] beyond the "Rorenock" or Roanoke River to the "Toskiroro" or Tuscarora towns [center blue arrow].

The late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century deerskin trade initially transformed the Nottoway economy into a "putting out" system that destroyed the traditional subsistence activities, generated dependency on European manufactured goods and encouraged debt (see Gallyay 2002; Ethridge 2003; White 1983). The Nottoway were linked to the commodity chain via the local Indian traders [Figure 3]. These speculators relied on Virginia merchant factors to supply British imports; Virginia factors were in turn indebted to financial backers and London trading houses. Thus the control of Nottoway labor passed into the hands of European traders and merchants, as the Nottoway became caught in the web of debt peonage. Hence, the third and last of the

processes of incorporation: the surplus generated by the deerskin trade was not received by the Nottoway, but siphoned away by the core mercantilists. Thus, no capital remained to invest in a long-term balanced development of the Nottoway's new economic circumstance. Nottoway labor was exploited as warriors, guides, porters, translators and procurers of deerskins, with the surplus of those efforts accumulating with capitalist in colonial Virginia as well as Great Britain (see Dunaway 1996b; Hopkins and Wallerstein 1982:126-129; Wolf 1997:158-194).

Incorporation models suggest labor recruitment and control involve some manner of coercion. For the Nottoway, this took the form of political alliance due to the threat of warfare, enslavement and displacement, which can best be represented at the event-level by the Euro-Indian wars of the late seventeenth century [e.g. Bacon's Rebellion, 1676-1677; Westo War 1679-1680] and early eighteenth century [e.g. Tuscarora War 1711-1714; Yamassee War, 1715-1717]. These wars were fought either within or adjacent to Nottoway and other Iroquoians' territory.

In the Nottoway political sphere, incorporation involved the creation of institutional structures that paralleled basic administrative features of the core state [Great Britain] and her colonial managerial apparatus [the government of Virginia]. These structures were utilized to exert territorial control and to assure the unhindered extraction of economic surplus. The event-level diplomacy and bureaucracy of the colonial period illustrate this aspect of Nottoway territorial and community incorporation as part of the periphery [Table 1].

Year	Description	Source
1634	Warrasquoyack [renamed Isle of Wight, 1637] and James City Shires formed south of the James River on the Nottoway border; Surry County formed from James City, 1652	Hening I:224
1669	Colonial census of Nottoway warriors	Binford 1967:151-152
1677	Nottoway signed the Treaty of Middle Plantation; 2 nd 1680	Bill et al. 1677
1692	Isle of Wight County assigned marks for Nottoway hogs	Hening III:109
1693	Royal Charter for the College of William & Mary offered 10,000 acres of tributary Nottoway land for settlement	Parks 1736
1705	Boundary line removed prohibiting English settlement west the Blackwater River [Nottoway territory]	McIlwaine III:48, 103, 145
1705	Nottoway lands surveyed by colonial government	McIlwaine III:98
1711	Gristmill built by colonial planter at Nottoway Town	Palmer I:147-148
1713	Treaty with Virginia at the conclusion of the Tuscarora War	Spotswood II:195
1720	Brunswick jurisdiction formed west of Nottoway Towns	Hening IV:77-78
1732	Brunswick County organized west of Nottoway Towns	Hening IV:355-356
1734	Nottoway Parish formed for west of the Blackwater River	Hening IV:444
1734	Select reserved Nottoway lands opened for sale to planters	Hening IV:459
1734	Colonial Trustee appointed for Nottoway land management	Hening IV:460
1734	English interpreter for the Nottoway dismissed	Hening IV:461

Table 1. **Event-level evidence of Nottoway territorial and community incorporation within the periphery of the world-system, over a 100 hundred-year period from 1634 [external arena] to 1734 [incorporated zone].**

Nottoway territory was bordered by England’s Virginia colony. Slow, but steady, westward settlement brought Nottoway lands into colonial jurisdiction; the original shires defined by the Crown [1634] included Nottoway borderlands. Treaties signed with the colonial government [1677/1680, 1713] placed the Nottoway as “tributaries” of the English Crown and “protected” or reserved lands for Nottoway habitation, but ceded other large tracts to English control [Figure 4]. These incorporated territories were opened [1705] for settlement by planters, with the taxation of lands [quitrents] and agricultural produce [tariffs] funneled to support the colonial infrastructure. Plantation structures followed, along with the development of transportation lanes and limited

processing facilities for timber and agricultural pursuits [e.g. the first gristmill built on the Nottoway River, 1711]. The formation of colonial legal jurisdictions in Nottoway territory [e.g. Isle of Wight 1637 and Surry 1652] enclosed the Nottoway Indian Towns within the English bounds [e.g. Brunswick formed west of Nottoway, 1720; organized as a county 1732]. By 1734, the Anglican Church adjusted its parish boundaries to provide service for outlying British settlements, just as the Virginia colony redefined Nottoway political relations from *foreign* [e.g. in need of Interpreters] to *domestic* [e.g. in need of Trustees].

Hopkins and Wallerstein suggest that in general, it takes approximately fifty to seventy-five years for an external territory to be incorporated within the world-economy:

“It is a period of constituting a definite break in the area’s history, a period of extensive, basic structural change, most apparent in two of its interwoven fundamental relational networks: that comprising and shaped by its processes of production and that comprising and shaped by its processes of governance or rule (1982:128-129).

The Nottoway territory’s process of incorporation as part of the periphery may thus be defined by their initial period of concentrated trade relations [post 1650], the conclusion of treaties and subservient position to the English Crown [1677/1713] and the bureaucratic oversight and managerial rule of the colonial government [1720/1734]. The next phase of integration would be the further articulation of Nottoway resources with the world-system and the transformation of local structures in ways that are sometimes called “peripheralization” or the “deepening of capitalist development” (Wallerstein 1989:130).

As North American regions transitioned from an external zone [indigenous control] to a periphery [colonial influence and or control], three historical transformations summarize the process of incorporation:

- 1) Establishing political control over the indigenous population and their territory
- 2) Securing American markets for British commodities [Figures 5 and 6] and
- 3) Exporting a managerial settler class to develop cash-crop production (Dunaway 1996a:48; Wallerstein 1980:47, 102, 167, 241).



Figure 4. Close-up of *Virginia Marylandia et Carolina in America Septentrionali*, 1715 by German mapmaker Johann Homann. This first-quarter eighteenth-century map of Virginia, Maryland and Carolina illustrates the territorial claim of England in the Mid-Atlantic. Nottoway Towns northeast of the center label “CARO-” are incorporated within the colonial bounds.

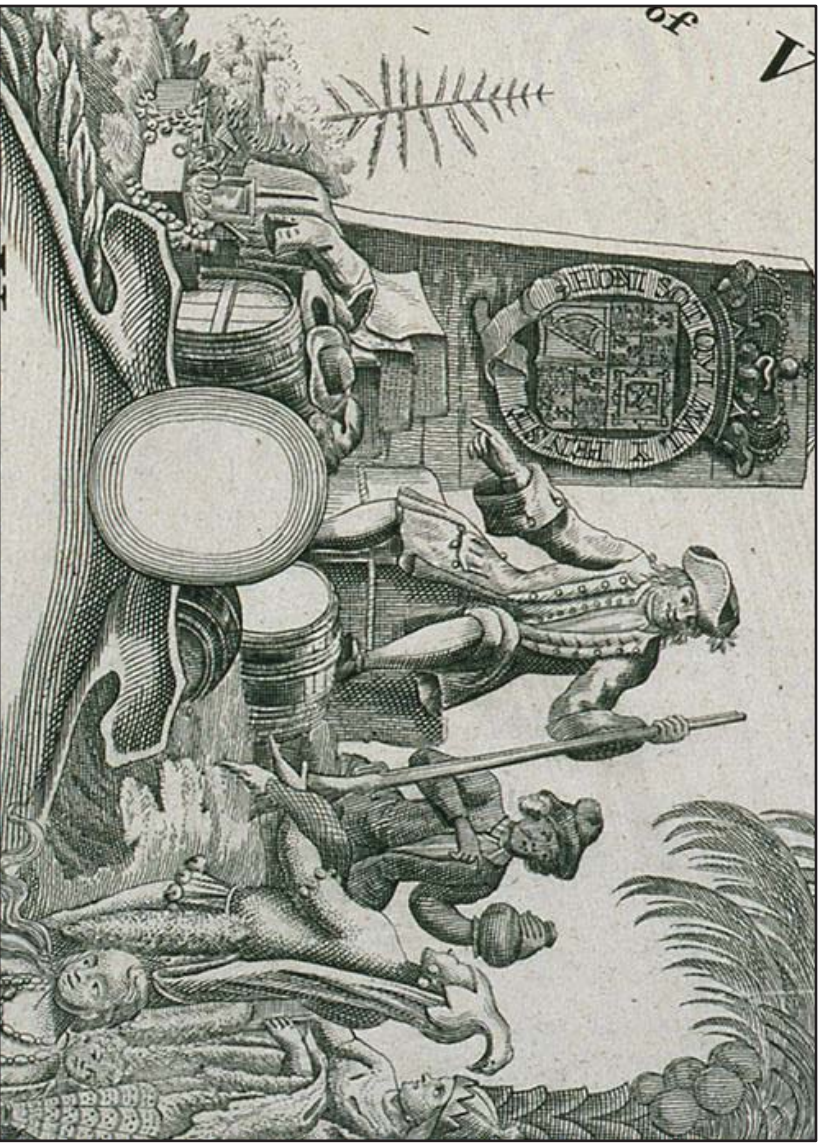


Figure 5. Cartouche detail from Homann's *Virginia Marylandia et Carolina in America Septentrionali*, 1715. The image depicts English trade in mercantile products, represented by the trunk of manufactured goods, textiles and barrels of rum. Stylized Native peoples offer the skins and flesh of wild game. Great Britain's royal coat of arms overlooks the commercial scene.



Figure 6. Cartouche detail from *A map of the most inhabited part of Virginia...* by Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, 1751. The wharf scene portrays Virginia merchants, ship captains and planters negotiating over tobacco exports, surrounded by enslaved Africans, hogsheds of tobacco and maritime vessels. The cartouche illustrates the shift in raw material exports from the Native deerskin trade to cash crops, emphasizing the deepening of Virginia's capitalist activities within the periphery of the world-system.

As Virginia's mercantile capitalist structures deepened, agricultural produce such as tobacco, cotton and wheat replaced earlier Native commodities as prime exports [Figure 6]. This shift can be linked to the dispossession of Native peoples from their traditional lands, as the land itself entered the market and its natural resources became articulated with global networks: first through the Indian slave, fur and deerskin trade and then, once new frontiers were incorporated, through timbering and agricultural production. After Nottoway territory was colonized, mercantile capitalism took over and effectively subjected the landscape to its own rules, completely reshaping its organization. With the Nottoway confined to a discrete tract of land, the remainder of their indigenous territory could be redefined through the survey and extension of property rights to European planters [Englishmen, Scotsmen, French Huguenots, etc.]; the transfer permitted the sale and ownership of Nottoway land within the marketplace. Chapter III further explores the alterations of the Nottoway territory, as private property was enclosed and divided among "smallholders," and through land tenure, other large tracts were combined into an emerging "plantation" system. These characteristics were part of the further development of capitalist structures within the Nottoway environs (Braudel 1982:251; Hopkins and Wallerstein 1987; Dunaway 1996a:19; Wallerstein 1974).

The Nottoway territory's incorporation into the periphery of the world-system represents a typical core-periphery relationship of "unequal exchange" that drained surpluses away from the periphery for the benefit of the expanding core. Once locked into a subservient position, the Nottoway, along with all Native peoples in the Americas, lost political and economic autonomy and "became dependent upon the worldwide network of production" (see Dunaway 1996a:23-50). At the end of the eighteenth

century, the American South was peripheral to the British-dominated world-economy. The American Southwest and Pacific Coast, the Caribbean, South America, most of Eastern Europe and Russia, and portions of India, Indonesia, the Middle East and North and West Africa represent similar peripheral components of the era (Dunaway 1996a:10-15; Shannon 1989:53-63; Wallerstein 1980:129-175, 1989:129-189).

This core-periphery relationship is central to the system's mechanics, since it is the foundational division of labor that bounds the world-economy and drives its development. Wallerstein (1991c:2) argues the processes of production are organized both around an "axial division of labor, or core-periphery tension, and around a social division of labor, or bourgeois-proletarian tension, which together permit the unceasing accumulation of capital that defines capitalism as an historical system." The cores and peripheries form and develop, always, in relation to one another, "the core processes and peripheral processes are constantly relocated in the course of the world-system's development (for systemic reasons, not causal ones)." For four centuries of Europe's core expansion, large parts of the world "were not part of this division of labor, but remained 'external' to it – and hence subject...to the system's expansion and their consequent 'peripheralization.'" One may thus speak of states being "in the core" or "in the periphery," and over time, even "moving" from one status to another (Hopkins, Wallerstein, et al. 1982a:46-47). By the mid-eighteenth century the Nottoway territory had moved from an external arena into the periphery of the world-economy.

World-systems theorists disagree about the core / periphery relationship, whether categories are distinct or matters of degrees of separation. While Wallerstein uses the terms distinctly, Christopher Chase-Dunn argues core / periphery relations should be

divided into two analytically separate aspects: core / periphery “differentiation” and core / periphery “hierarchy.” Chase-Dunn identifies movement [the upward status change of a zone] and important instances of reversal [diminished zone status] as key areas for exploring core / periphery relations (Chase-Dunn and Mann 1998:14-15). He and colleague Thomas D. Hall suggest core / periphery relations are not always exploitative, suggesting further attention should be paid to each individual case, particularly in areas of information exchange and prestige-good networks (1996:14-15). For purposes of the Nottoway analysis, the orthodox view of the periphery is accepted, but with recognition of Hall and Chase-Dunn’s argument for agency and particularism. How one conceives the core / periphery dimension directly affects the definition of the third zone of the historical world-system: the semiperiphery.

The Semiperiphery

Between the two extreme zones of core / periphery interaction, semiperipheries form an intermediate economic category: some activities similar to those of the core states and some more comparable to peripheries. Thus, the development of capital-intensive industry is somewhere in between the core and peripheries. A semiperiphery’s profit margins, wage levels and kinds of exports are all on a continuum, as this zone competitively trades or seeks economic advantage in both directions: in one mode with the core and in the other direction with the periphery. In contrast to a core or periphery, it is often in the interest of semiperipheries to reduce external trade in order to increase profit margins by capturing larger portions of its “home market” for its “home products.” Thus, the state political machinery of a semiperiphery strives to control the internal and

international market in order to increase profit margins for its producers (Arrighi and Drangel 1986; Chase-Dunn and Mann 1998:16; Hall and Chase-Dunn 1991; Wallerstein 1979:71-72).

Semiperipheries often serve as buffers between core and peripheral zones, functioning as regional trade and financial centers or as political mediators, limiting conflict between the core and periphery. As such, the semiperipheries act as zones for “the collection of surplus for transmission to the core and the administration of core investment in the periphery” (Shannon 1989:32). This has the dual effect of obscuring the nature of the core’s domination of the periphery, while simultaneously allowing the core to exploit those areas of the semiperiphery that are low-wage and using older technology (Hall and Chase-Dunn 1996:16; Peregrine 1996:4). However, because semiperipheries have stronger state machineries, they have more autonomy from core influence than peripheries. While still exploited by the core, the semiperipheries manipulate the peripheral zones, and in some cases, represent core areas in decline or peripheries rising in economic development (Hopkins, Wallerstein, et al 1982a:47; Shannon 1989:25; Thompson 1983:12).

Such was the case with the American North, as it rose to become a semiperiphery to the world-economy by the nineteenth century; its merchant class spurred the war for independence from Great Britain that “decolonized” portions of the Americas. Afterwards, the United States competed with the cores of England, France and Spain for westward expansion in North America, alongside an increasing maritime commerce in the Atlantic. As with other industrial-era semiperipheries, the North increased its power through a rapid manufacturing strategy (see Wallace 2005). The development of Northern

industry contrasted the strong agrarian South, but both remained consumers of the products and luxury goods of Europe. Hence, the mixed nature of the roles and characteristics of states in the semiperiphery zone; the new United States was actually divided during the Antebellum as a periphery [the South] and a semiperiphery [the North].

At times, the meta-level relationship between the American North as a semiperiphery and the South as a periphery took on the core-periphery characteristic of *uneven exchange*. The “cotton lords” of the North purchased, imported and processed the South’s raw agricultural produce; turned profits on textile production and competed with England’s manufacture (Wallace 2005:16-22, 117-123, 158-171). At other intervals, both zones competed for Great Britain’s market attention in imports, exports and the development of industry. Ultimately, the North’s attempts to break loose from its semiperiphery role of exploiting [the South] and exploited [by Great Britain], resulted in the “snapping the economic umbilical cord of the South to Great Britain.” The South’s use of state structures to advance and defend its labor and production interests had the consequence of the American Civil War (Wallerstein 1979:202-221; and see 2011:182-183). This meta-zone struggle had great impact on the antebellum Nottoway as agricultural laborers and producers within the system’s periphery. The Nottoway, as all people in North America, were deeply affected by the cataclysmic war between the North and South, and its corollary structural changes to the South’s political economy.

Through the latter half of the eighteenth century, the effects of peripheralization deepened capitalist structures within the Nottoway community. Indian Town’s changing relationship to land, labor and capital accumulation would continue to undermine

“traditional” modes of production, transform kin-ordered community organization and shape conceptions of Nottoway peoplehood. The following discussion outlines select features of this developing antebellum economy, and overviews two kinds of “mini-structures” which operated in and around Southampton’s Nottoway Indian Town: plantations and households.

Mini-structures of the World-System

Plantations

While the Northern colonial economy developed around shipbuilding, fishing and maritime trade, the South specialized in agricultural capitalism. The South’s position within the interstate system impacted its forms of production and types of structures it developed. Therefore understanding the South’s economic development temporally and its relationship to other zones within the world-system provide insight into the local-level structures of Virginia’s, and in turn, Southampton’s political economy. By the mid-eighteenth century ‘middling’ colonial farms surrounded Nottoway Town. At the end of the century, planters with vast land and slave holdings had developed large agricultural “plantations.”

During the late colonial period and early Republic era, Virginia was the dominant Southern commercial agricultural exporter to Western Europe. Southern tobacco constituted half of all commodity exports from mainland British colonies and remained the dominant export through the American Revolution. Alongside Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia exported deerskins, rice, indigo and naval stores in commercial exchange for

core-manufactured finished goods (Agnew 1987:26-27; Dunaway 1996a:14; Frank 1978; Wallerstein 1980).

The colonial-era South was not alone as an American periphery. Throughout the Western Hemisphere slave-based plantations replicated the production structures of capitalist “factories,” but in the agricultural setting of the peripheries. The European-origin plantation system was the dominant capitalist structure of the American colonies: the sugar-producing plantations in the Caribbean, the *encomienda*, [and later] the *hacienda* and mining outfits in Spanish and Portuguese South America specialized in extracting raw materials and producing agricultural goods for export to the core states (Phillips 1987). Wallerstein defines the “plantation system” of the periphery as

“any form of social organization that grouped relatively large areas of land together with a work force whose legal ability to choose employment was constrained...Such forms of social organization were low cost, in that the low real wages compensated for the costs of supervision and lack of skill of the work force. They also minimized interruptions of production” (1979:123).

Thus, the American plantation system relied on the extreme exploitation of enslaved labor and a steady supply of land and slaves to increase profit and productivity. In the triangle Atlantic exchange, European traders sought inexpensive textiles, rum, guns and other trade goods to sell to West African kingdoms in return for captured slaves. Once exported, African slaves were sold at high profit to [mostly] European-descended plantation owners in the Western Hemisphere (Mintz 1985; Nash 2006:134-161; Phillips 1987; Thomas 1997; Wolf 1997:195-231).

The historical process of creating the plantation system in Virginia, and the corresponding intense labor requirements, were contributing factors to the transformation

of Nottoway Indian Town's political economy and the loss of Nottoway land through the hands of competing capitalists, plantation owners and entrepreneurs.

“the entrepreneur (usually a landowner) could control the total quantity of production, responding (however imperfectly) to the world market. In particular, if further expansion were called for, it was relatively easy to involve a larger area, as there tended to be land surplus (Wallerstein 1979:123-124).

Nottoway “surplus” land entered the market with regularity during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with European-origin owners developing those lands into agricultural-producing tracts. By the nineteenth century, Nottoway labor intensified within the plantation system, and in some cases, Nottoway households replicated plantation-like structures as entrepreneurs.

The productivity of colonial-era plantations generated a surplus for the European-origin owners; profits from plantations went to European merchants, slavers, the shippers and wholesalers of sugar, tobacco and other cash crops. As producers, the elite landowners dominated the political economy of the peripheral South. The zone's merchant and artisan class, however, was weakly developed. In contrast, the cores' merchant class was enhanced through supplying the manufactures and operating the trading system with the peripheries. The Virginian and Southern plantation economy, supported by this core-periphery exchange, was reinforced by three processes:

- 1) Expansion of Southern markets for imported core manufactures, coupled with periphery export of agricultural produce;
- 2) Core financing provided much of the capital for Southern peripheral development, thus profit from the periphery flowed back to core financiers; and
- 3) The middlemen of shipping charged high prices for import to the periphery and export to the core, thereby siphoning off profits at both ends of the spectrum (Braudel 1982:272-280; Shannon 1989:56-59, 67; Wallerstein 1980:164-175).

Economically dependent on Europe for export destinations and import consumption, the turn of the nineteenth-century South [and thus Southampton, Virginia] remained a periphery to the world-system, even as the Northern United States improved its economic standing. Through mobilizing financiers and shipping agents, the North's merchants acted as buffers to the Southern agriculturalists' engagement with the old "mother country" of Great Britain, whereby Northern merchants took on roles that assisted their region's movement into the semiperiphery of the world-economy. As Christopher Chase-Dunn observes:

The growth of the new core-periphery division of labor between the South and England...had its effects on the maritime and commercial interests of the North...New York merchants established factors in the port cities of the South that enabled them to ship directly. But they maintained financial control of most of the trade between the South and England. Credit facilities by which American merchants could purchase English goods with drafts on London banks were established by specialized [Northern] merchant-banker firms" (1980:208-209, brackets added).

Most typically, the peripheries' industrial-style plantation system specialized in producing one or just a few commodities for export. The Southern peripheral economy was constructed around slave-based plantations, but also alongside smallholding farms and the support activities of financing, transporting and marketing the produce for export. The axial division of labor perpetuated the antebellum system in Virginia: as part of the periphery, Virginia utilized inexpensive, low-skill labor with little or no mechanization to produce agricultural exports – first tobacco – and then by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a mixed economy of tobacco, wheat and corn. Labor control on antebellum Virginia farms took the forms of producer-owned enslaved labor, hired [free but mostly landless] wage labor, slave rentals [part-time] and tenant farmers on rented property [cash-rent tenancy]. Therefore, as with the core / periphery hierarchy, it should

be understood there was a bourgeois versus proletarian dynamic to Virginia's plantation system.

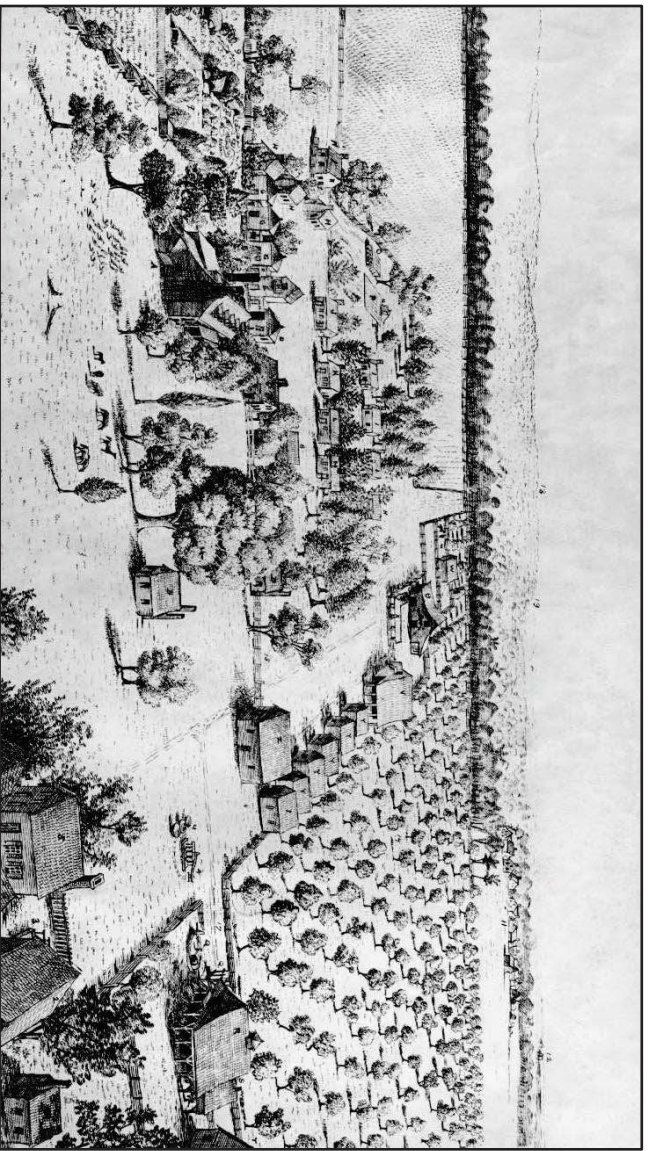


Figure 7. **Tower Hill Plantation straddling Sussex and Southampton Counties.** A birds-eye view of the plantation layout: great house to the left, surrounded by dependencies, storehouses and agricultural fields; stables, corn cribs and the carriage house line the orchard adjacent to the still, cotton gin and cider mill and press. In the upper right, “cabins for field hands” form a small settlement of enslaved laborers. Carved from colonized Nottoway lands, this orderly plantation was seven miles northwest of nineteenth-century Nottoway Indian Town. *Source:* Blow Family Papers, Special Collections, Swem Library.

In the Nottoway's Southampton County, antebellum market crops diversified considerably as the plantation system deepened in development. In contrast to the Commonwealth's traditional staples of tobacco and wheat, Southampton dominated the market output in swine, peas and cotton in the decades prior to the Civil War. Half of all cotton produced by Virginia in the 1850s was Southampton-grown. Economic historian Daniel Crofts confirms the unusual productivity of Southampton:

“It ranked first in sweat potatoes in 1850...third among Virginia's 148 counties in 1860...[and] also produced large surpluses of corn and brandy. After the Civil War it emerged as one of the major peanut-growing counties in the nation” (1992:76-80).

Nottoway land, capital, labor and households assisted the development of Virginia's antebellum plantation structures and contributed to the deepening of the capitalist economy within Southampton. Chapters III and V examine Nottoway interaction with adjacent plantation owners and the syphoning of Nottoway resources to further develop Southampton plantation structures. Nottoway use of hired and enslaved labor and the replication of plantation structures at Nottoway Town is examined in Chapters IV and VI.

In summary, the antebellum American South was a peripheral plantation-based export-oriented economy. Southampton plantations, were organized around the production of staple agricultural products for sale on the world market. The unique features of the plantation derived from its centralized and hierarchical form of labor control [slaves] and its form of production that required low technology, large amounts of land and intense human toil. As during the period of incorporation, Nottoway resources [e.g. land, capital and labor] were extracted from Indian Town's control toward owners, operators and producers. The products developed from those resources [e.g. cotton] were ultimately exported to the core [Great Britain] and the semiperiphery [the American North]. The locally generated capital from these sales was used to intensify local production [e.g. further plantation development]. As will be explored further in Chapters IV and VI, the Nottoway developed more intense agricultural practices, were slave owners and utilized slave hires, produced cash-crops for market export and thus, competed for labor, sales and profits in Southampton's economy. These activities can be linked to emerging socio-economic class structures, which impacted Nottoway notions of relatedness and peoplehood.

Households and Labor Organization



Figure 8. **Iroquoian communities and homes:** a single 1711 Tuscarora Neuse River dwelling [left], a Meherrin settlement 1737 on the Chowan River [center left], Indian Woods Tuscarora Reservation Town on the Roanoke River, 1770 [center right]; Nottoway Indian Town allotments around uterine farmsteads. *Sources:* Burgerbibliothek: Mil. 466:1; Collet Map, 1770; Mosely Map, 1737; LP Lydia Bozeman, *Commissioner's Report*, Jan. 1871.

In former pre-capitalist times, the Nottoway community was the unit of social reproduction: kinship grounded the political and economic bonds needed to regulate filiation, to mobilize social labor and to define consanguinity and affinity within the Nottoway community. Symbolic connectedness was expressed through forms of political, economic, political and ritual relations. The historical subsistence pattern of the community also defined its residence configuration (see Binford 1967; Boyce 1978), one that was matricentered and organized around matrilineal kin groups [Figure 8].

As with all groups in a kin-ordered mode of production, the social labor of the Nottoway community was “locked up” or “embedded” within the particular relations between people; the mobilization of this labor could only be accessed through people, however symbolically or literally defined through kinship (Wolf 1997:91). The incorporation of Nottoway territory within the capitalist world-economy transformed previous forms of subsistence relations. Whether consanguine, symbolic or socio-political bonds, they were no longer framed solely by a kinship construction but by “labor in relation to capital” (Hopkins and Wallerstein 1982:126). Fundamental to this shift, Nottoway community members’ motivations and methods of pooling resources were also

altered. At the meta-level, shifts in residential and social configuration were connected to the processes by which the Nottoway community became dominated by larger historical forces, penetrated and wrought by the expanding capitalist economy (see Krech 1984; and also Albers 1993; Bateman 1991; Langdon 1986; Roark-Calneck 1996).

Hans-Dieter Evers et al. (1984) identify the destructive processes for kin-ordered modes of production to be an interrelated set of mechanisms:

- Interventions of the colonial state;
- The internal monetarization of traditional social relations;
- An increasing dependency on industrial products substituting traditional self-produced goods;
- The development of new needs;
- The destruction of the ecological equilibrium;
- The disintegration of the domestic economy, social obligations and traditional forms of reciprocal and collective labor (also see Elwert and Wong 1980).

These mechanisms do not always operate at the same time or in the same way, owing to the differing and specific characteristics of distinct incorporated communities. Some of the shifts identified above are related to the processes of incorporation, or are crosscut by other dimensions of capitalist growth, such as peripheralization (Hopkins and Wallerstein et al. 1982b:104-106). Key for addressing change at the Nottoway community level are the modifications to kin labor organization, kin inheritance or succession and residential configurations. These are important inquiries for a community transformation as they form the basic building blocks of human organization and reproduction.

Kathleen Gough agrees the primary cause of “modern” kinship change to be the “gradual incorporation of the society in a unitary market system,” which brings about the “disintegration of matrilineal descent groups” through multi-causal reasons, but

ultimately as a consequence of labor change and residence-shift (1974:640). The emergence of modified forms of relatedness and domestic configurations are thus interrelated to the political economy in which they function: a set of structures neither isolated from the overarching system nor small units of idiosyncratic social organization, but rather, basic units of the emerging world-system.

World-systems theorists identify this unit as the “household” (Smith, Wallerstein and Evers 1984) and define it as the

“social unit that effectively over long periods of time enables individuals...to pool income coming from various sources in order to ensure their individual and collective reproduction and well-being...the household is thus a central object of empirical research” (Wallerstein and Smith 1992a:13).

Therefore, an analysis of change in residential organization can be linked to other institutional structures within an historical system (Wallerstein 1984:17), such as the political economy of plantations and cash-crop production.

Near the end of the Nottoway territorial incorporation [c.1730] the Nottoway peoples lived in semi-dispersed mat or bark-covered houses in proximity to a palisaded fort (Byrd 1968). Each dwelling supported a multi-generational segment of an extended matrilineage, “in one of these [houses], several Families commonly live, though all related to one another” (Lawson 1709:177). At that time, horticulture, hunting / gathering, the deerskin trade and market sales of ceramics were the primary modes of subsistence (Binford 1967, 1990). By 1808, the community was organized in a mix of multi-generational and nuclear family “cabins,” “huts” and “cottages” crosscut by kinship ties and dominantly engaged in plow agriculture, animal husbandry and “spinning” or “weaving.” Some Nottoway lived off-reservation with White family members, while still others were indentured to Trustees (Cabell Papers 1808; Morse 1822:31; Rountree 1987).

Hence, the Nottoway of 1730 and 1808 evidence dwellings of different sizes and constituents, some indication of change in residency and composition – but not necessarily configuration – and a shift in community economic provisioning.

The Nottoway household can be seen as a modern phenomenon, that is, part of the internal structure of the world-system rather than an adaptive “response” to the system (Smith et al. 1984:7). Whether there is a correlation to the “household” of the world-system and the residential configurations / labor reproduction of the deeper past is a matter of debate (Alexander 1999a, 1999b; Small and Tannenbaum 1999; Smith, Wallerstein and Evers 1984). Wallerstein argues that conceptually, the use of “such terms as ‘households’ transhistorically is at best an analogy.” He suggests that “institutional structures of a given historical system” are fundamentally unique to that system and that they are part of an “interrelated *set* of institutions that constitute the operational structures of the system” (2005:107). Simply put for purposes of analysis, the Nottoway households of 1775, 1808 or 1830 were undergoing historical transformative processes that occurred elsewhere the capitalist world-system expanded [Figure 9 and 10].

Therefore, one challenge in studying households whose zones have undergone incorporation, is establishing a baseline comparison of an earlier period when the effects of capitalism were shallower. Studying Indian Town households of the colonial and post-colonial era can thus be a productive strategy for tracking community change over time. For the Nottoway, there is more historical documentary material than can be synthesized for the present project, an ironic positive outcome from the rise of Virginia bureaucracy and the improved state machinery of the Antebellum. The nineteenth-century documentary evidence for Nottoway households and community organization can be

compared against accepted scholarly understandings of Iroquoian structures compiled elsewhere (Binford 1967, 1990, 1991; Boyce 1973, 1978, 1987; Dawdy 1994; Fenton 1978; Foster, Campisi and Mithun 1984; Hewitt MS 3598 1896-1916; Hoffman 1959; Hutchinson 2002; Landy 1978; Lounsbury 1964, 1978; Mithun 1976; Mudar et al. 1998; Rudes 1976, 1981, 1999; Rudes and Crouse 1987; Smith 1971; Snow 2007a, 2007b; Trigger 1990). These writings form a lens through which to analyze the articulation of Nottoway kin-groups with the deepening processes in Southampton. The historical development of Nottoway “households” was one component of the system’s growth.

Considerations of peripheries’ historical configurations of income-pooling units and issues of data “hardness” posed problems for The Fernand Braudel Center’s household study, 1885-1975 (Smith, Wallerstein and Evers 1984; Smith and Wallerstein 1992). There, while compiling household data on the United States, Puerto Rico, Mexico and Southern Africa, researchers were challenged with the declining quality of available data “as one goes back in time and outward from core to peripheral zones.” As a result, their methodology “was to be catholic in taste...with due precautions [we used] whatever data existed,” including archival sources [deeds, court cases, etc.], quantitative materials [e.g. government surveys, census records] and ethnographic data [field notes, oral histories, scholarly syntheses, etc.] (Smith and Wallerstein 1992; Smith and Sudler 1992). As well, the Center’s research team recognized that what world-systems theorists call “households” were already in existence by the period of inquiry (Wallerstein and Smith 1992b:255). In order to track household change, the Center’s challenge was to compile enough historical data and comparable materials to weigh against other forms of empirical evidence.

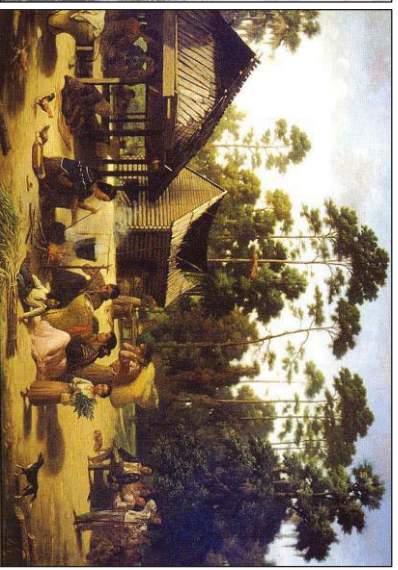
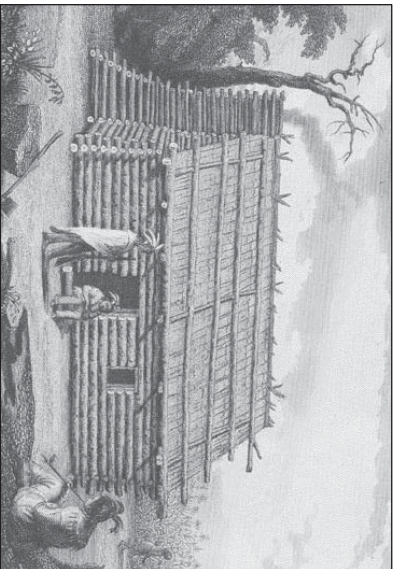


Figure 9. **Creek log cabin** [left], **Georgia, 1791**, illustrating Muscogee hunters reclining and smoking while a woman works a cornfield in the background; **Choctaw settlement** [right], near **Chefuncte, Louisiana, 1869**, depicting women cooperating in food preparation, weaving mats and drying cane for baskets. In the foreground women surround the cloth-clad matlines while in the background, men recline and drink. These comparative images demonstrate a progressive erosion of social roles and modified labor practices while retaining “traditional” sexual divisions of labor following incorporation into the periphery. *Sources:* NAA INV 9447700; François Bernard, 1869.



Figure 10. **Catawba extended household** [left], **Catawba Reservation, York County, South Carolina**; female sibling-set, children and male neighbors outside of a hewn-log structure, 1908; **Choctaw household** [right], **Choctaw Reservation, Philadelphia, Mississippi**; female-headed nuclear family, expanded hewn-log dwelling with stud-and-mud chimney, 1925. These portraits exemplify the slow but steady development of households around the elementary family, even as matricentered forms of social organization persisted. *Sources:* NAA INV 01756900; NAA INV 01778000.

When tracking change, it is important to consider function: what a “household” does, how it is the basic unit of the capitalist system and why it is an enduring social fact of the modern era. As with other households in the world-system [Figures 9 and 10], the historical development of Nottoway household structures can be linked to their *flexibility*

to market pressures. Household boundaries are malleable but nonetheless have a short-term *firminess*, in the economic interest of their members (see Wallerstein 1984:18-19). This characteristic at Nottoway Town allowed in-marrying non-Nottoway male affines the ability to live with a matricentered family, farm matrilineal lands and contribute to the well being of the matrilineage. Income pooling derived from the market sales of agricultural produce, allowed affines to purchase farm equipment, supplies and manufactures, which further “developed” Indian Town households. The Nottoway farming units of uterine sibling-sets gradually intensified, with the elementary family becoming an important organizing principle and locus for accumulation. Families became increasingly autonomous in the market, favoring male roles in labor, production, income pooling and the acquisition of moveable property (see De Cleene 1937:9-15; Eggan 1950:58, 134-138; Fortes 1950:272; Gough 1974:632-636; Kopytoff 1977:553; Richards 1940:76-77; Turner 1957:24, 133-136, 218-221).

Wallerstein (1991b:109) suggests there are three ways in which the boundaries of households have remained fluid, which reflect characteristics of Nottoway Town. First, there is a steady pressure to break the link between household organization and an attachment to territorial land, as well as a pressure to diminish [but never entirely eliminate] co-residential income pooling. Second, the world-economy’s social division of production has been predicated on “partial” labor requirements – that is, household members are always partially wage-laborers, meaning that other forms of subsistence contribute to household maintenance. Third, the households’ forms of participation in the economy are stratified, in terms of peoplehood and gender. However, the system’s stratification itself is flexible, accommodating the boundary lines of peoplehood

[ethnicity, nation, race] as needed, and redefining occupation “genders” through forms of ideology and equality rhetoric [e.g. “modern” men as nurses, women as doctors].

The above aspects all hinge on *tension*: a break from territoriality but a place for co-residence, a wage labor system but with only a partial commitment, ethnic / gender stratification but one moderated by “progressive” idealism. These conflicts of “intermediateness” enable the system’s accumulators to manipulate the labor force at the same time as allow the laborers to magnetically align themselves socially and politically (Wallerstein 2005:110). *Asymmetry, polarity and unevenness* lie at the heart of the capitalist system.

These relationships organized and structurally developed within the historical context of Nottoway integration into the world-system. Inasmuch, within this system, kinship was not always a component of household organization (Smith et al. 1984:9). That is, in contrast to the previous Nottoway social reproduction, the functions satisfied by the new forms of households [e.g. income pooling] may not have been the work of kinship, but the role of some other form of relationship [e.g. a rental contract]. As well, co-residence groups cannot be universally equated with household units, as historical forms of networking and resource sharing are complex, such as a domestic servant that divides his or her time between houses (Augel 1984; Small and Tannenbaum 1999; Wong 1984). Alongside kinship, social solidarity and community ethos can play a factor in the division of surplus and labor (Blumburg 1991).

The matrilineage, as a corporate group, presents some challenges for evaluating antebellum Nottoway residences. The nineteenth-century documentary record indicates Indian Town was an aggregate of matrilineal household farms, clustered in groups of

uterine sib-sets. In the modern analysis of households, Friedman (1984:51) indicates “that the debates over the distinctiveness between ‘household’ and ‘family’ has not yet been conclusively resolved,” but that each is a component of the base-level organization of labor and the mechanism by which income is pooled within the capitalist world-economy. Woodford-Berger (1981:26) summarizes the efforts to refine family / household conceptions as “attempts to...describe where the people are who somehow form a cohesive group (in one place or spread out), as well as vaguely how we are to infer that they form a group at all.” To rally people and marshal resources, residences will often draw on extended family networks that crosscut affinal and consanguineal ties and incorporate fictive kin (e.g. Fixico 2000; Lobo 2002; Stack 1975; Weibel-Orlando 1999).

For the Nottoway, as with many communities embedded in a colonized periphery, participating in the system reduced the importance of kinship and co-residence as the bases for pooling resources and defining community boundaries. The separation of kindred from territorial obligations in favor of household mobility, a more active participation in the accumulation of capital and the creation of debt associated with credit encouraged households to respond proportionately by increasing reliance on wage-earned income (e.g. Alexander 1996:4-5, 1999a, 1999b). The specifics of these transformations and the restructuring of Nottoway socio-economic relations can be examined at the local level through an analysis of their kin-connected households and community residence configuration.

Therefore, a component of the Nottoway research focuses on the “households” of Indian Town during the Reservation Allotment Period, c.1824-1878. The Nottoway households of the nineteenth century are viewed as *a set of changing relationships* that:

- 1) Continually impose mutual obligations based on relatedness, subsistence and reproduction;
- 2) Include co-residences and non-kin in that reciprocity;
- 3) Have a structure for internal decision-making; and
- 4) Occupy one or more interrelated or conjoined physical dwellings.

The plantation and household are two mini-structures of the capitalist world-system. They operate within the hierarchy of the interstate-system, and in some regards, reflect the axial division of labor. The production structure for Southampton cash crops and the subsistence units of laborers are also interrelated to the organization: the *production* and *reproduction* of people. “Producing the People” of the world-economy is itself an historical process built on the asymmetry of relationships, the tensions, stratification and conflicts of the world-system (Balibar 1991, 1991a). The following sections overview theoretical and methodological approaches to addressing the “people” of the world-system, with attention to “peoplehood phenomena,” agency and the role of kinship in structuring and organizing Nottoway Town.

Re]Producing the People

Peoplehood

Wallerstein and Balibar (1991) suggest that “pastness” is mode by which persons are persuaded to act. In their analysis, pastness is a central element in how individuals are socialized, maintain group solidarity and establish or challenge social legitimacy. According to Hutchinson and Smith (1996:6-7), these features are similar to “ethnies” or the “ethnic content” of an ethnic community: a proper name, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, elements of a common culture, a link with a homeland and a sense of solidarity (Schermerhorn 1978:12; Smith 1986; and see Moretti-Langholtz

1998). Likewise, the cultural linkages and shared experiences of the Nottoway were components of social discourse, a combined sense of relatedness and community “pastness” that Indian Town residents referenced as touchstones in social relations (see Farrer 1996; Nabokov 2002; Sider 2003; Wallerstein 1991a:78).

Questions emerge about the ways in which Nottoway people conceptualized their relatedness during the decades following their territory’s incorporation into the world-system. As their relationship to labor and capital changed, the community’s domestic economy, social obligations and traditional forms of reciprocal and collective labor disintegrated. Iroquoian removal depressed community numbers and tribal exogamy soon followed. As the result of uneven clanship sizes, non-Iroquoian female spouses in a matrilineal community caused cultural conflict. Imbalanced sex ratios and unequal sib-set sizes were compounded by incest prohibitions within a few generations. Agnatic Nottoway were without a matrilineage, but carried social status as free peoples in an increasingly slaved-based Southampton society.

In what ways did these alignments and configurations impact Indian Town’s conceptions of “Nottoway people”? Was Nottoway relatedness of “our people” motivated solely by consanguinity and affinity, a sense of shared community “pastness,” “where we come from,” or “our kind of people” (Field notes 2006-2011)? Was peoplehood framed as Iroquoians, and thus culturally different from neighboring African- and European-descended peoples? In what ways did Nottoway individuals’ social position relate to their economic standing in the slave-based political economy of nineteenth-century Southampton? To what extent did non-Nottoway definitions of Indian Town impact the social construction of community? Was there division and factionalism associated with

the acceptance or rejection of these understandings? Some of the answers to these questions are ones of social identity and *groupness*, a belonging to a people through an orienting sense of shared socio-political, biological and cultural past. These understandings are however, historically particular and intensely subjective, inconsistent and situational in character.

The key characteristic to the construction of peoplehood is indeed, a shared experience – “a pastness” – one that is preeminently,

“a moral phenomenon, therefore a political phenomenon, always a contemporary phenomenon. That is of course why it is so inconsistent. Since the real world is constantly changing, what is relevant to contemporary politics is necessarily constantly changing...[hence] the content of pastness necessarily constantly changes” (Wallerstein 1991a:78)

Wallerstein and Balibar (1991) suggest that it makes little difference whether the past is defined in terms of races [“genetically continuous groups”], nations [“historical socio-political groups”] or ethnic groups [“cultural groups”] – all ambiguous identities – because they are all “peoplehood constructs, all inventions of pastness, all contemporary phenomena.”

Wallerstein questions why three modal terms have developed in the modern world-system, when one term [peoplehood] would have served. He argues the answer to this query lay in the historical and basic structural features of the capitalist world-economy:

“The concept of ‘race’ is related to the axial division of labor in the world-economy, the core-periphery antimony. The concept of ‘nation’ is related to the political superstructure of this historical system, the sovereign states that form and derive from the interstate system. The concept of ‘ethnic group’ is related to the creation of household structures that permit the maintenance of large components of non-waged labor in the accumulation of capital” (2005:79).

The last modality [ethnicity] is an important consideration for Nottoway household structures, as the enculturation of young people begins within the domicile: modeling the normative behaviors of the adults and children within the same household, learning the obligations, the connections and the constraints. Individuals are also instructed on how to interact outside the household: how to relate to work and the state, whether to be “upward” oriented or to accept one’s “place” in society; taught how to be submissive or rebellious to the state apparatus. Human enculturation is broad and ever changing, but quite explicit on how certain structures should relate to political and economic institutions. The constantly evolving aspects also reflect the boundaries of groups themselves – in this case ethnicities and their relationship to the system – their “pastness” as a collective within the framework of the present political economy. Moreover, one’s ethnicity or race, in common conception, is not influenced by “external structures,” but rather it is *perceived* as inertly “internal” and “tends to take on the natural appearance of an autonomous force” (Baibar 1991a, 1996; Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:60; Wallerstein and Smith 1992a:19-20).

Wallerstein and Smith argue that there is a strong correlation between: “ethnicity, type of household structure [and] the ways in which household members relate to the overall economy” (1992a:21). The consequences of which, with regard to peoplehood phenomena, are that wherever there are wagedworkers in differing kinds of household structures [usually within a hierarchy of wage] there tend to be similar households located inside “communities.” Along with an occupational hierarchy comes the “ethnicization” of the work force within the boundaries of a given state (Wallerstein 1991a:83; and see Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:59-60; Zenner 1996:179-186).

With the emergence of structures of inequality, “ethnicity becomes the dominant medium through which the social order is...interpreted and navigated.” As well, cultural dissimilarities can “rationalize” the political economy’s structures of inequality. However, because the social position is rationalized as socio-cultural difference, individuals within the system perceive the hierarchy as navigable (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:59-65). To affect upward mobility, modifications of identity and cultural affiliation inevitably lead to internal stratification within ethnic groups (Blakey 1988; Greely 1974:300; and also see Frazier 1997). In consideration of the Nottoway, these issues of peoplehood phenomena have been shown to occur with regularity in other post-colonial Mid-Atlantic populations of Native-descent.

Regional comparative examples include the work of Gerald Sider, who argues that North Carolina’s Lumbee [a community of African, Indian and European descent with Cheraw or Tuscarora Indian identity] were “continually transformed” into more differentiated and discretely bounded units during the colonial period, an antagonistic process of producing and reproducing inequalities within and between “peoples” (2003:181-182). He further suggests there is a direct link to processes of class formation in the separation of people from their means of production and the construction of “societies” within the emerging capitalist apparatus (2006). In the same Carolina field setting, Karen Blu (2001) and Malinda Maynor Lowery (2010) each suggest community divisiveness is more properly defined along the lines of racial and ethnic cleaves – an interplay between interior and exterior perceptions of the group’s historical origins and legal identity. Michael L. Blakey (1988) argues for a similar social construction in Delaware, where among the Nanticoke an internalized racism created stratification within

a color-caste system based on multiple factors [e.g. pigmentation, phenotype, education, profession]. Danielle Moretti-Langholz (1998) offers an example of how historical conceptions of race encouraged Virginia Indian community solidarity, yet engendered factionalism along a White / Black division of ancestry. More broadly, these studies agree that the antagonisms present in the social groups studied stem from their integration into an expanding capitalist economy and that group identity structures are closely linked to power relations of opposition and domination. These interpretations suggest an historical linkage between a group's conception of peoplehood and that of the community's political economy.

The above examples are congruent with the theorizing of Wallerstein and Balibar (1991) and also John and Jean Comaroff (1992:49-67), who consider ethnicity and other forms of peoplehood to be produced by the asymmetrical incorporation of dissimilar groups into a single economic system. In a contrasting study of peoplehood, Audrey Smedley (1999:219) argues for a "priority of race over class" as the dominant mechanism of historical societal division and stratification in America. This "priority" may be seen as an experience-based reality, but other structural factors contribute significantly to social relations in economic contexts (see Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:59, 67). A key disclosure concerning race in Virginia's political economy, particularly in the historical context of Southampton, is that racial antagonisms and struggles have masked socio-economic issues of inequality and inequity related to class (and see Strickland and Shetty 1998).

With regard to the relationship between class and race, Wallerstein (1991a:80) reminds researchers that the axial division of labor within the world-economy has

generated a spatial division as well, one that historically took a political form – European-centered capitalism. As the economy expanded and production processes of the interstate system became more geographically disparate

“racial categories began to crystalize around certain labels...coded as falling into three, five or fifteen reified groupings we call ‘races’...as the polarization increased, the number of categories became fewer and fewer. Race, and therefore racism, is the expression, the promoter and the consequence of the geographical concentrations with the axial division of labor...nation derives from the *political* structuring of the world-system.”

Classes correlate heavily with peoplehood constructions, but imperfectly. The imprecise nature of race, nation and ethnicity obscures inequality and inequity, in part because a high proportion of ‘class-based political activity’ has taken the form of ‘people-based’ action. Classes, however, are a different construct from peoplehood. Class is an objective or analytic category, a statement about the contradictions within the historical capitalist world-system, not a description of a social community (Ollman 1993; Wallerstein 1991a:84; Weber 1922:631-640).

Agency: Resistance and Criticisms

People-based activity conjures the image of protestors of a social movement or political agents of a rebellion, and indeed some forms of resistance can have the political expression of dissent, radicalization and ethnic or racial strife. Conceptually at the meta-level world-system, this takes the form of the core-periphery tension. Peripheries tend to be under colonial rule, or managed by a different ethnic group than that of the laborers. The division is not between two groups within the peripheral zone trying to gain control of the state apparatus, but rather a contradiction between the core countries and their local allies, and the majority population. In general, an “indigenous resistance,” an “anti-

imperialist nationalist struggle” or a “separatist movement” is in fact a mode of expressing class interest or that of a “nation class” within the system’s axial division of labor. The system’s internal contradictions, however, prevent a complete class-based unity and repress inter-class conflict. Indeed, if class conflict were the “major preoccupation of most *actors* in the world-economy at any given time, the world-system would not long survive in its present form” (Chabal 1983:167-187; Sider 1986:3-11; Wallerstein 1979:185-186, 188, 200-201 [emphasis added]; Wallerstein and Balibar 1991).

Individual actors have agency within the system, just as households have autonomy, “as autonomous or as little autonomous” as the “‘state,’ the ‘firm,’ the ‘class’ or indeed as any other ‘actor.’” Both households and actors, and households filled with actors,

“are part of one historical system; they compose it. They are determined by it, but they also ‘determine’ it, in a process of constant interaction...simultaneously produced by the system and produce (that is constitute) the system. The whole issue of who is autonomous is a non-issue” (Wallerstein and Smith 1992a:20-21).

Researchers disagree on the role of agency and autonomy within the world-system (Hall 1986, 1987, 1989; Roseberry 1989:141; Sahlin 1993, 1999; Scott 1985; Sider 1986:9-10; So 1984; Stein 1999:155, 159-160; Treas 1991; Voss 2008; Wallerstein and Martin 1979; Wolf 1999:59-63). The disagreement focuses on the incorporation of peoples and regions into the world-system and generally follows three broad themes:

- 1) Whether analytical emphasis should be placed on the core regions or the peripheries
- 2) Whether individuals, particularly within the periphery, have agency within the system
- 3) Whether material or ideational domains influence the system’s structure

Thus, the major criticisms of WST involve not just the lack of provision for individual agency, but also a denial of periphery agency [e.g. resistance] against core domination (Nash 1981:398; Sahlins 2000:416-420; Schortman and Urban 1994:402; Stein 1999:155; and see Wolf 1997:23).

As reflective of the wider intellectual divide, Marshall Sahlins's criticisms can be used to demonstrate the critique of WST. Sahlins (1988) criticizes Wallerstein and Wolf's theoretical approach concerning the issue of autonomy and the lack of agency individuals and cultural groups retain after their engagement with capitalism. Sahlins sees this anthropology as akin to "manifest destiny" or a predetermined outcome. The contradiction being the argument for

“...people's active historic role, which must mean the way they shape the material circumstances laid on them according to their own conceptions; while, on the other hand...[advocating] a cultural theory that supposes the people's conceptions are a function of their material circumstances” (2000:416-417, brackets added).

Yet Sahlins agrees capitalism “has loosed on the world enormous forces of production, coercion, and destruction...they cannot be resisted, the relations and goods of the larger system...take on meaningful places in local schemes of things.” He encourages an examination of ‘indigenous peoples’

“struggle to integrate their experiences of the world system in something that is logically and ontologically more inclusive: their own system of the world...the World System is not a physics of proportionate relationships between economic ‘impacts’ and cultural ‘reactions’. The specific effects of the global material forces depend on the various ways they are mediated in the local cultural schemes” (2000:417-418).

It thus may be a non-sequitur that Sahlins (1988) turns from his critique to explore Polynesia during its period of incorporation into the world-system, an era in which one observes there was more latitude and agency for mediating local-global forces.

Peripheries are arguably the best areas to study local actors, such as the Nottoway, and how their actions influenced the process of incorporation and peripheralization, and to what degree they controlled, shaped and resisted the encroaching world-system (Hall 1999:10; and see Dunaway 1994, 1996a, 1996b; Harris 1990; Kardulias 1990; Meyer 1990, 1991, 1994). Thus, under political economy, WST has the flexibility to examine the contradictions and resistances of local peoples; the ways in which they accommodated and organized against the system, and how they interpreted events in their own cultural terms. WST may consider the role of individuals and allow them maneuverability, resistance, novelty, identity and symbolism – to the extent possible – as within any system's relations.

The world-system externally constrains what people can do, even as individuals act on desires and personal agendas. Sahlins (2000:274) remarks that “each people develop their relations to capitalism through their own cosmological conceptions” – which is undoubtedly true in a culturally relative way – but it does little to provide effective resistance against incorporation. The counter-response to Sahlins may be generalized by the remarks of Andre Gunder Frank: “Hawaiians did – and still do today – have recourse to ‘agency’ to defend themselves and their culture as best they can,” but he then adds “which alas is not much.” Frank continues, “it is precisely the ‘interregional interaction’ in the world-system which is the most explanatory factor, and not the ‘indigenous ideology’ or culture” to which so many academics appeal (1999:280). Eric Wolf reflects on peoples’ accommodation, resistance and adaptation once “hooked” into the orbit of the world-system:

“People do not always resist the constraints in which they find themselves, nor can they reinvent themselves freely in cultural constructions of their own choosing. Culture

refashioning and culture change go forward continually under variable, but also highly determinate, circumstances. These may further creativity or inhibit it, prompt resistance or dissipate it. Only empirical inquiry can tell us how different peoples, in their particular varied circumstances, shape, adapt, or jettison their cultural understandings – or, alternatively, find themselves blocked in doing so. It remains to be discovered why and how some cohorts of people adapt cultural understandings to capitalism and prosper as a result of doing so, while others do not” (1997:xiii).

Wolf shares Frank’s theoretical perspective and suggests the former approach is counterintuitive, “Sahlins holds that such [incorporating] systems maintain themselves precisely through reconstruction and accommodation; the structure itself is said to maintain itself by changing...[thus] the reproduction of a structure [becomes] its transformation” (1999:62, brackets added). To address this paradox, Wolf recommends identifying categories of inequality and opposition, and how those differential powers flow out from cultures. This methodology requires an empirical analysis of an historical and ethnographic dimension, as well as an ethnological cross-cultural comparison, in order to establish how individual structures *work* and what such categories and organizational logics are *about* (1997: xii-xiv; 1999:62-63).

“Capitalist expansion may or may not render particular cultures inoperative, but its all-too-real spread does raise questions about just how the successive cohorts of peoples drawn into the capitalist orbit align and realign their understandings to respond to the opportunities and exigencies of the new conditions” (1997:xii)

Wolf’s approach is thus relevant for considering Nottoway peoplehood, community, class, agency, kinship or any other phenomena that are part and parcel to the ways in which people organize within the world-system. The structural comparisons and systems’ interactions are a matter of time, space and scale (Schneider 1995:3-30).

Inasmuch, I agree with Wallerstein and Smith’s (1992) rebuttal of criticisms concerning agency and WST, as I do Frank (1999) and others (e.g. Kardulias 1999a) defense of WST as an approach flexible enough to account for individual lives within the

larger context. In reading the general critique, there does not appear to be a disagreement concerning capitalism's expansion, nor the imposition of material relations between disparate groups, but rather how the specifics of that encounter shaped [and continues to shape] the *local* in culturally and historically particular ways.

This dissertation examines Nottoway agency and their community's collective and individual resistance [and accommodation] to their integration into the world-system. Tribal leaders' culturally constructed responses to colonialism and individuals' active participation in the capitalist economy are explored. Borrowing from Wallerstein, Balibar and Wolf, an argument is made for kinship and peoplehood as modalities the Nottoway employed [and modified] to resist the imposition of the world-system, and were ultimately, the frames through which they engaged their new political economy.

Kinship and Peoplehood

In a 2011 two-part article published in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Marshall Sahlins encourages a return to questions posed by David Schneider some forty years ago: "What is kinship all about?" (1968, 1972, 1977, 1980). In considering the peoplehood of the nineteenth-century Nottoway, Sahlins's encouragement is germane to examining kinship's role in the structuring and reproduction of Indian Town. If one accepts households, plantations and peoplehood as historical products of the global-economy, in what ways did kinship and affinity frame the development of those structures at Nottoway Town? Were the reproduction and mobilization of antebellum Nottoway resources solely framed by economic interests or was there a kin-ordered motivation as well? To what degree did the deepening of

capitalist development impact the structure of family, marriage and social networks, and was there accommodation or resistance with the previous kin-ordered mode?

The questions posed above may be answered through first, examining the structure and function of the Nottoway's Iroquoian kinship-system, and to some degree, the embedded cultural meanings of Nottoway relatedness. Next, with this framework in-hand, one may decode the documentary evidence through a comparative analysis of Iroquoian matrilinear / matrilineal features versus emerging patrilinial / bilateral forms. Combined with a diachronic investigation of residential configurations, household economics and community legal actions, the pattern of Nottoway Iroquoian structures become clear, as do the community's mid-stride transformations.

Following Wolf (1997:91), this approach is an operational view of kinship. Although influenced by symbolism, this perspective is a distancing from the atrophied and long post-Schneiderian kinship conversation, which regulated kinship studies primarily to the realm of "symbols...gender, power, and difference" (Collier and Rosaldo 1981; Collier and Yanagisako 1987:1-13; Ortner and Whitehead 1981; Peletz 1995). Sahlins (2011a) stays true to this latter course, offering his view of "what kinship is," not as an empirical exercise, but as ideas supported by ethnographic observations (see Bamford and Leach 2009; Carsten 2000; Franklin and McKinnon 2001; Gow 1991; Schweitzer 2000; Stasch 2009). Before further outlining the approach to Nottoway kinship, it is instructive to engage Sahlins's presentation of "what kinship is," as his translation can inform the previous discussion of peoplehood and agency, and provide a contrasting perspective to the theoretical approach utilized to probe Nottoway kinship.

Sahlins (2011a:2) describes a kinship system as a “manifold of intersubjective participations...who are co-present in each other, whose lives are joined and interdependent.” He draws on the phrase “mutuality of being” to describe kinship by social construction as well as by procreation, “persons...who participate intrinsically in each other’s existence.” Drawing on the writings of Roger Bastide (1973), McKim Marriott (1976) and Marilyn Strathern (1988), Sahlins explores the “dividual person” – a sense of “personhood” – that coexists both as “divisible” and also “‘not distinct’ in the sense that aspects of the self are variously distributed among others, as are others in oneself” (2011a:10).

Sahlins offers ethnographic examples (e.g. Edwards and Strathern 2000; Johansen 1954; Leenhardt 1979; Wilson 1950, 1956) of notions of “*personhood* where kinship is not simply added to bounded individuality, but where ‘relatives are perceived as intrinsic to the self... ‘people who belong to one another’...kinsmen [who] are ‘members of one another’” (2011a:11, emphasis added). At length, he argues for kinship as a “dual unity” of “transpersonal beings,” “personages” with “mystical interdependence,” a “co-presence” of individuals and the “we-group” of our “own people” (2011b:228, 230-232, 235, 237).

This interpretation of kinship suggests a reversal of the cosmopolitan “personhood” of post-modernity, the “current idol of the anthropological tribe.” While Sahlins argues kinship should be understood “from similar understandings of its relations to other dimensions of the cultural order,” he concedes the “individual” as an analytical category has likely derived from the “hegemonic forces of bourgeois individualism” (2011a:13; 2011b:239), or properly, the capitalist world-system. Thus, with individualism

as a product of modernity or the outgrowth of capitalism's expansion, Sahlins's interpretations of ethnographic and ethnohistorical kinship examples need contextualization in time and space. One could suggest his translation of the "common descent, kinship and personhood" of the historic or pre-modern Maori may also be explicated as the *common descent, kinship and peoplehood* of the Maori, or for purposes here, the *common descent, kinship and peoplehood* of the Nottoway. If individual cultural constructions of attachment and belonging are interwoven with the same mental templates of descent groups, kindred and those deemed with "mutuality" [dividuality(?) but not partibility], then one wonders what hermeneutical construct would argue against personhood's ontological *groupness* as a *peoplehood* phenomena?

For purposes here, it is not possible to combine Sahlins's perspective on "what kinship is" and Balibar's production of "people," but as William Roseberry (1989:33) reminds us, that is not the exercise. Rather, it is the recognition of similar concerns in anthropological thought, the acknowledgement of questions concerning agency, historical processes and symbolisms, and the ways in which those modalities function in a given cultural context.

Therefore for the present research, Wallerstein and Balibar's (1991) ambiguous identities of race, nation and other historical forms of peoplehood are accepted, as is Balibar's definition of the social community as both "imaginary" and real: "every social community reproduced by the functioning of institutions [e.g. kinship] is imaginary." This is to say that "producing people" relies on the "projection of individual existence into the web of a collective narrative, on the recognition of a common name and on traditions lived as a trace of an immemorial past" (Anderson 1991; Balibar 1991:93,

brackets added). Through this line of thinking, there is a juncture between existentialism, kinship, pastness, peoplehood and the historical system in which they operate.

It is worthwhile to consider the bonding of people, the social construction of community and “what kinship is,” as Schneider and so many after him explored and debated (e.g. Appadurai 1986; Geertz and Geertz 1978; Hannerz 1986; Needham 1971; Ortner 1984; Yengoyan 1986). For the Nottoway inquiry, it is also relevant to consider *what kinship does* or how it functions in relation to social construction of community as well as filiation (see Kronenfeld 2006; Read 2007). As Peter Schweitzer identifies, “this entails a shift of emphasis from meaning to function, without ignoring the former. The question of ‘what kinship is’ is thus, reinforced by ‘what is done through kinship’” (2000:1). Wolf suggests, “*What* is done unlocks social labor; *how* it is done involves symbolic definitions of kinsmen and affines” (1997:97). This perspective pays attention to the agentic dimension of individual strategies, without ignoring their social or historical contexts. Thematically, such an approach refers to the material and symbolic gains that can be secured through cultural constructs of relatedness (Schweitzer 2000:1-2). Wolf outlines an operational perspective of kinship in order to see kinship in the context of political economy. The approach to Nottoway kinship thus involves:

- a. “symbolic constructs (‘filiation / marriage; consanguinity / affinity’) that
- b. continually place actors, born and recruited,
- c. into social relations with one another. These social relations
- d. permit people in variable ways to call on the share of social labor carried by each, in order to
- e. effect the necessary transformation of nature [resources]” (Wolf 1997:91, brackets added).

Chapter II provides new research on the Nottoway's Iroquoian kinship system, their relationship terminology and the community's socio-political organization during the period of their incorporation and peripheralization into the capitalist world-system. While some indigenous meanings are illustrated, following Schweitzer and Wolf, the primary goal is to structurally organize and examine select functions of Nottoway kinship as a methodology to explore community relations.

There has been no previous evaluation of the extant Nottoway kinship terminology, save for examination in word lists by Rudes (1981a) and Hewitt (MS 3844, MS 3603). Nor has there been a synthesis of Nottoway historical social organization based on kinship and linguistics. Previous analyses have been ethnohistorical and archaeological (Binford 1967; Boyce 1978; Mudar et al. 1998; Rountree 1987; Smith 1984). The Nottoway inquiry is framed by the scant published sources or evaluations of Tuscarora kinship (Crane 1819; Barbeau 1917; Hale 1883; Hewitt MS 3598; Morgan 1871; Schoolcraft 1846; Wallace 2012: and see Haas 1994). The investigation is supplemented by kinship terms and semantics from Tuscarora linguistics (Mithun [Williams] 1976; Rudes 1987, 1999, 2002; Rudes and Crouse 1987), Nottoway linguistics (Gallatin 1836; Rudes 1981a) and Nottoway-Tuscarora comparative linguistics (Hewitt MS 3844, MS 3603; Hoffman 1959; Mithun 1984; Rudes 1981a, 1999; Julian 2010). The following chapter outlines the Nottoway's relationship to the neighboring Iroquoian Tuscarora and Meherrin, as well as select aspects of the Nottoway-Tuscarora language.

Understanding the structure and function of the Nottoway's kin-ordered social organization creates a lens through which to explicate aspects of group integration and

solidarity, filiation and marriage, and the mobilization of matrilineal resources (see DeMallie 1998). Through utilizing an operational view of the Nottoway's kinship system, the community's documentary record can be decoded, making clear how the people of Nottoway Town, through their own cultural constructs, engaged a new set of historical realities and exigencies. Such an approach allows for Nottoway actors' maneuverability and agency – in both resistance and accommodation to the imposition of capitalism – as well as the recognition of the constraints and limitations of a new economic system. Nottoway households emerge from the historical record as adaptive and with a sense of belonging to a shared landscape. Individuals exhibit a keen sense of pastness, rooted in the collective experiences and obligations to one another; they demonstrate a notion of distinctness – a peoplehood – and employ faculties at their disposal to successfully reproduce their community. As will be demonstrated however, Nottoway agency shifted the boundaries of consanguinity and affinity beyond Indian Town, in an effort to sustain their position within a new political economy.

CHAPTER II

Nottoway Kinship, Language and Socio-political Organization

“Among the Iroquoian tribes kinship is traced through the blood of the woman only. And kinship means membership, and membership constitutes citizenship in the tribe, conferring certain social, political and religious privileges, duties and rights...”

~ J.N.B. Hewitt MS 3598 NAA

This chapter examines the historical characteristics of the Nottoway community’s Iroquoian language, matrilineal kinship system and socio-political organization. An understanding of Indian Town’s leadership roles and matricentric family structure allows for a more critical analysis of the community’s engagement with Southampton’s political economy. Cross-cultural comparatives and mechanisms for Nottoway decision-making are presented, especially with regard to civil action and population shift during periods of Nottoway-Tuscarora removal. The Iroquoian matrilineage and clan are examined in order to demonstrate the role of crosscutting social institutions for Nottoway marriage regulation, community reciprocity and social obligation. The matrilineage, or *ohwachira*, is demonstrated to have been an organizing social structure that nestled leadership positions and the operational framework from which related sub-lineages initiated political action.

The Nottoway are compared to their neighbors, the Tuscarora, in order to demonstrate a parallel socio-political organization, kinship system and linguistic affiliation. Following previous researchers (Boyce 1973; Hewitt MS 3844; Mithun 1984; Rudes 2000, 2002b), the Nottoway-Tuscarora are analyzed as closely-related Iroquoian peoples, who shared almost identical cultural and political structures before segments of

both groups removed to New York and Canada from Virginia-Carolina. The inquiry explores historical, ethnographic and ethnological materials related to the coalescent groups that removed northward, in search of parallel structures with the Nottoway-Tuscarora that remained.

This chapter also considers the Nottoway in a regional context of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Virginia-Carolina Indian Towns, as Southampton's Nottoway Town was eventually the last remaining Iroquoian polity in control of indigenous lands. The "Indian Town," is examined as an organizing principal for localized Iroquoian identity – as one form of peoplehood "the people of (x)." As Nottoway Town became incorporated within the periphery of the world-system, community members' conceptions of themselves as a *people* – and outsider's perceptions of them as a *people* – would increasingly become the modality through which the Nottoway would navigate Southampton's political economy. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the Nottoway community's demographic viability on the eve of their reservation's allotment and considers the impact of Iroquoian removal on the Nottoway's marriage practices and descent system shift.

The Matrilineal Society

The archaeological record of the Late Woodland [A.D. 800-1650] indicates the Nottoway, Meherrin and Tuscarora were culturally related Iroquoian groups of the Virginia-Carolina interior coastal plain (Heath 2003; Hutchinson 2002:17-47; Mudar et al. 1998; Phelps and Heath 1998; Smith 1984; Ward and Davis 1999:224-228). Historical documents from the colonial period suggest the Virginia-Carolina Iroquoians shared

similar language, material culture and socio-political organization, despite not always being politically allied (Binford 1967; Boyce 1978, 1987; Dawdy 1994; Feeley 2007:320-331; Rudes 1981a).

North Carolina's surveyor general traveled among the Iroquoians during the early eighteenth century and provided an account of their communities. John Lawson was familiar with the Nottoway, Meherrin and Tuscarora, as well as the many Algonquian- and Siouan-speaking peoples of the region. A passage from his *New Voyage to Carolina* indicates matrilineal descent likely organized Iroquoian families, provided the mechanism for inheritance and was an underlying principle of Iroquoian social structure:

“it is a certain Rule and Custom, amongst all the Savages of America, that I was ever acquainted withal, to let the Children always fall to the Woman's Lot; for it often happens, that two Indians that have liv'd together, as Man and Wife, in which Time they have had several Children; if they part, and another Man possesses her, all the Children go along with the Mother, and none with the Father” (1709:185).

Nineteenth-century writers confirm Tuscarora kin groups were matrilineally organized (Crane 1819; Cusick 1828; Morgan 1877; and see Boyce 1973:159). While specific information on Meherrin descent is limited (Dawdy 1994:57), like the Tuscarora, the nineteenth-century Nottoway were matrilineal (LP Dec. 13, 1823). Best evidence suggests the Nottoway's Iroquoian kinship system was in place from at least the seventeenth century (Binford 1967; Rountree 1987) if not much longer (see Snow's 2007b discussion of Divale 1984, Sahlins 1961 and Trigger 1978).

Through the kinship system, matricentered relationships were the basic foundation of Iroquoian decision-making, community action and common interests. The kin roles of mother-daughter-son / sister-brother relations is critical to understanding familial ties centered upon senior matriline, sibling-set reciprocity and the brother as the

avunculate of his sister's children. The family was traced through the descent of the female only and was joined in kinship to other families of close lineage in the matriline. These relationships were central to the organization of late Reservation Period [c.1775-1824] Nottoway Town and defined group membership, influenced residence patterns and conjoined kindred in political and legal action.

During the nineteenth century, Tuscarora ethnologist J.N.B Hewitt described the smallest unit of Iroquoian kinship and society as the “fireside,” or elementary / nuclear family. The extended matrilineal family was termed the “*ohwachira*” (MS 3598 1896-1916). As will be demonstrated below, the limited Nottoway data conform to the Tuscarora terminology, both in linguistics and kin relationships. Combined with the substantial amount of documentary descriptions of matrilineal Nottoway descent (e.g. LP Dec. 13, 1823), the evidence supports a reasonable hypothesis that the Nottoway's linguistic terminology, kinship roles and descent system mirrored that of Tuscarora.

Nottoway-Tuscarora Language and Kinship Terminology

The extant nineteenth-century Nottoway kinship terminology resembles other Northern Iroquoian matrilineal systems and specifically, the terms most closely follow that of the Tuscarora. Regrettably, linguistic materials are not as complete for the Nottoway as they are for the better-documented Tuscarora. In 1820, William & Mary professor John Wood collected a partial Nottoway word list, followed by supplements given to Southampton official James Trezvant c.1830; Albert Gallatin published both lists in 1836 (Mithun 2001:420; Crawford 1975:18). Additional linguistic evidence comes from the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Tuscarora living on reservations near

Lewiston, New York [Niagara] and Onondaga, Ontario, Canada [Grand River] (Gatschet 1883-1884 MS 372-b; Hewitt MS 3603, MS 3844; Speck Papers, APS; Wallace 2012).

Linguistically, the Nottoway and Tuscarora are more closely related to each other than any other branch of Iroquois (Hewitt MS 3844; Hoffman 1959; Julian 2010) and represent a fission away from other Northern Iroquoians about 2000-1500 years ago (Foster 1987; Lounsbury 1978; Mithun 1984). Based on an inventory of less than 250 items, Nottoway shares the greatest number of cognates with Tuscarora [138], nearly twice as many than with the nearest related languages [Onondaga, 75 and Mohawk, 70]. The lexical similarity, in conjunction with a significant number of shared sound changes, supports the status of Proto-Nottoway-Tuscarora [PNT] as a linguistic subgrouping within Northern Iroquoian (Julian 2010:155-156; Rudes 1981a).

Some have suggested the groups share enough linguistic content to be classed “Nottoway-Tuscarora,” being dialects of “polar extremes” rather than separate languages (Blair Rudes, pers. comm., 2006; Feeley 2007:130, 324; contra Rudes 1981a:44-45). This interpretation is predicated on partial shifts in the two groups’ vowels, fricatives and at least one morphological difference, but favors strong Nottoway-Tuscarora associations in the extant vocabulary inventory and common phonological developments. Nottoway phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary exhibit typical Iroquoian features, and moreover, Nottoway-Tuscarora was more conservative in development and retained elements of Proto-Northern-Iroquoian [PNI] lost in many other languages. Nottoway inherited the morphology of PNI and PNT intact, and differs mainly from Tuscarora in the retention of archaic PNI traits (Julian 2010:177-180; Lounsbury 1978:334-343; Rudes 1981a:42).

J.N.B. Hewitt (MS 3844, MS 3603) and Albert Gatschet (1883-1884 MS 372-b) collected Tuscarora materials for the Bureau of American Ethnology [BAE], which included some Nottoway content (Rudes 1981a:27-28). Gatschet's informant from New York, told him the "Nottoways now speak Tuskarora," suggesting previous linguistic divisions were nearly gone by the 1880s (1883-1884 MS 372-b). Lewis Henry Morgan (1871) had a Seneca informant [Isaac Doctor] who interpreted a kinship schedule collected from a Tuscarora woman, as well as another partial schedule from a Tuscarora named Cornelius Cusick (Rudes 1999:xv). Adaptation and interference from the other Five Nations Iroquois cannot not be ruled out for later-period Tuscarora linguistic shifts, but documentary evidence points toward continuity from Virginia-Carolina, rather than otherwise (Boyce 1978:282-289; Landy 1978:518-524). Language change however, is an ongoing process, an important consideration when evaluating historical language materials collected over several centuries (Daryl Baldwin, pers. comm., 2008; see Rudes 2002 for a discussion on Tuscarora). It is clear from an evaluation of Morgan's Tuscarora kinship terms (1871) with those from the time of Hewitt (e.g. Rudes and Crouse 1987) that some interference had taken place (Marianne Mithun, pers. comm., 2013; Anthony F.C. Wallace, pers. comm., 2013).

A perceived phonological and vocabulary shift in Tuscarora prompted Gatschet to document post-removal differences between New York and Carolina dialects. Gatschet noted in the 1880s, the southern Tuscarora "spoke a dialect considerably different from theirs [N.Y.]; that after Northern [Immigration] Tusk. had changed, not theirs; only one delegate could understand them" (1883-1884 MS 372-b). Rudes agrees dialectical differences existed among the Tuscarora. Some variances were observable into the late

twentieth century as a Western dialect spoken at Grand River and an Eastern dialect spoken at Niagara. Earlier dialectical differences among the Ontario Tuscarora have not survived; the Eastern dialect, however, exhibits more diversity. The major differences are pronunciation and vocabulary (1999:xix-xxi).

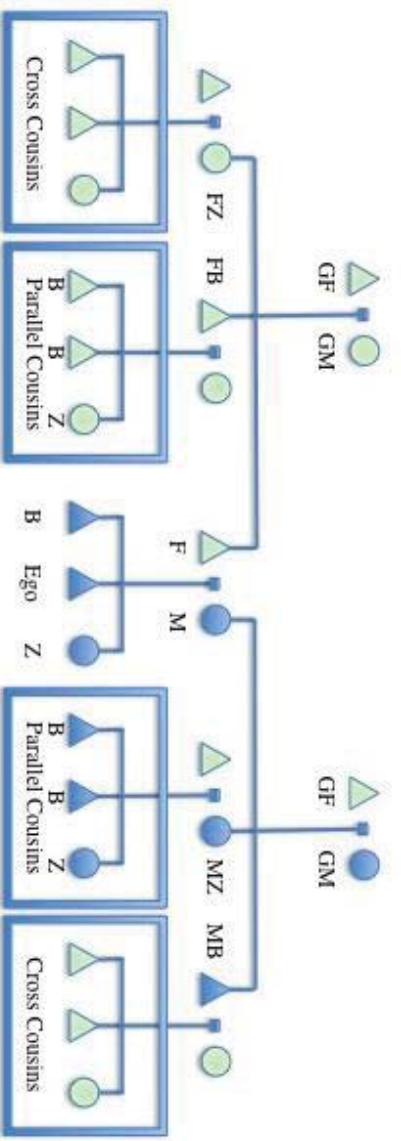


Figure 11. **Iroquois kinship diagram:** Ego’s matrilineal relations are shaded blue, affinal and collateral relations green [not all abbreviations provided]. The Iroquoian Nottoway-Tuscarora kinship system is bifurcate merging with a balanced terminology, but an imbalanced descent *Sources:* Morgan 1871; Myers 2006; Eggan 1972.

Rudes argues portions of these linguistic variations may have been the result of the pattern of Tuscarora removal, whereby only remnants of the northern division on the Roanoke River remained in Carolina – the dialectical end of Tuscarora most closely associated with Nottoway. And thus, earlier immigration represented the most southerly [Neuse and Tar Rivers] dialect of Tuscarora, leaving the opposite dialect extreme in Virginia-Carolina. The c.1800 North Carolina Tuscarora formed the remains of a Nottoway-Tuscarora speech community and in tandem, represented a cultural system aligned in other aspects of social organization and worldview (see Chafe 1997; Hill and Mannheim 1992; Nichols 2009; Silverstein 1998).

Terminologically, the kinship system shown in Figure 11 demonstrates bifurcate merging. The Tuscarora terms are fully bifurcated, whereas some other Iroquoian groups’

kinship terms [all within the Iroquois system] are only partially so (Lounsbury 1964:353, n387). Bifurcate merging is a system that groups father [F] and father's brother [FB], and mother [M] and mother's sister [MZ], but the mother's brother [MB] and father's sister [FZ] are distinguished by separate terms of address (Lowie 1968:45-46; Schusky 1965:73). In Table 2, the Tuscarora term for FB is a diminutive of F and the term for MZ is a diminutive of M. The Tuscarora also recognize a sex and generational dimension to kinship, modifying some terms of address by male or female speaker and then the second-or-higher ascending generations, the first ascending generation, the same generation, the first descending generation and the second-or-lower descending generations (Lounsbury 1968). The linguistic kinship data in Table 2 suggest a generational dimension to the Nottoway terminological scheme as well.

Unfortunately, a more complete kin-term dataset for the Nottoway cannot be constructed. However, given the similarities in language and conservatism several points can be made, as the material in Table 2 is notable for what it contains and what it does not. The Nottoway term for sister [Z] is marked generationally, indicating that Nottoway like Tuscarora utilized specific terms for older and younger siblings. This is not uncommon, but Nottoway sibling relations have not been previously discussed (but see Binford 1967:139). The absence of Nottoway cousin terms mirrors other Iroquoian systems, where parallel cousins are identified by terms for B and Z (Morgan 1851[1966]:332-333, 322-325, 331-334; Spier 1925:77-78; Steckley 2007:94-95).

Kin Term	Nottoway	Tuscarora	Notes
Brother	kahtaŋtekeh	kayétkəh khé?kəh akhryáhč'i? akhryáhč'i?áh	They are younger brothers My younger brother My older brother / parallel male cousin Diminutive = My older step-brother
Sister	ahkahchee	ákč'i? khé?kəh yékh'i?kəh akč'i?áh	My older sister / parallel female cousin My younger sister Our younger sibling Diminutive = My older step-sister
Cousin		rurá?θe? akyaará?se?	His [cross] cousin ('archaic') MB / FS child My cousin (modern; /s/ for /θ/)
Mother	ena	é:ne?	My mother
Father	akroh	akhri?e	My father
Uncle		akhri?əháh akhryá:tu:?	My paternal uncle, diminutive of father My maternal uncle
Aunt		aku?əháh akwárhak	My maternal aunt, diminutive of mother My paternal aunt
Niece/nephew	[-a?'nu?ne?]	keyəhwá?ne? ka?nu?ne?áh waka?nú?ne? kéya?nú?ne? khešə:te kheyahwá?ne?	My niece, nephew [maternal] My niece, nephew (same clan, maternal) My child, daughter, niece (referential) My child, daughter, niece [maternal] My younger clan relative My brother's daughter / son
Grandmother		ák-hsu:t	My grandmother, female ancestor (2+generations)
Grandfather		akhryáhsu:t	My grandfather, male ancestor (2+generations)
Grandchild		kéyá:?reh	My grandchild, grandniece, grandnephew, great grandchild, etc.
Husband [Marriage]	gotyakum gotyāg	katyá:kəh kutyá:kəh	One is married / her husband (My marriage – female) Her spouse
Wife	dekes	yéhnehw	I go with it (her) [Hewitt's note] Wife
Son	wakatonta	/wak- / (l/me/my) /-a?'nu?ne?-/ (gave birth) /#áh/ (little)	
		waka?nú?ne?	My child, my son, etc. (referential) <i>See niece / nephew</i>
Daughter	eruhā	é:ruh waka?nú?ne?	She/herself [Hewitt's note; not a kinship term] My child, my daughter (referential) <i>See niece / nephew</i>

Table 2. Comparison of Nottoway and Tuscarora kinship terms collected in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Terms are gendered neutral, which is feminine in Nottoway-Tuscarora, unless otherwise noted. *Sources*: Hewitt MS 3844, MS 3603; Rudes 1999; Rudes and Crouse 1987; Wallace 2012; brackets added.

The absence of Nottoway cousin terms may reflect the kinship of Indian Town at the time of collection [1820], a period after the last Nottoway-Tuscarora removal [1803]. During this time, there were no Nottoway-Nottoway marriages, meaning few, if any, cross-cousin relations existed. The two remaining extended Nottoway kin groups were not intermarried c.1820, as all adults had non-Nottoway spouses. Thus, the cross-cousin terminology used to identify Nottoway children of MB or FS were not in regular use, as the children of these unions were without lineage or clan.

Blair Rudes identifies the modern Tuscarora cousin kinship term root /-araʔseʔ/ as a more recent or contemporary influence from other Northern Iroquoian languages (pers. comm., 2006). Hewitt records an “archaic” Tuscarora form for “cousin” *ruʔáʔeʔ* or /-araʔeʔ/ although it only appears in one sample (Rudes 1999:47). Wallace confirms the modern shift in Tuscarora cousin terminology at Niagara: adopting Northern /s/ for /θ/ [which is not uncommon, but noteworthy (Rudes 1999:xx)], and also a shift toward the American kinship conception of “cousin” for the children of MZ and FB during the twentieth century. Wallace posits in-marriage of non-Iroquoians as the source of this change (Wallace 2012:167-169).

The absence of extant Nottoway MZ and FB terms provides no comparative with Tuscarora, but a diminutive is expected. Possibly, the c.1820 data collected by John Wood reflected the kin terms used by informants at the time of collection. In other sections of Wood’s vocabulary, he transposed first-person singular [my] with second-person singular [your] possessives. Wood made a common methodological error; during his inquiry he referenced items by either pointing or motioning to the informants’ relationship to clothing, article, body part etc. as well as his own, resulting in a swapping

of possessive terms (Rudes 1981a:38-39). With this disclosure, it becomes clear that Wood's Nottoway informants referentially identified kinship terms. The terms for F and M are first person and may have been framed as a question of paternity / maternity of the speaker. The lack of FF, FM, MF, MM, MB and FS suggests Wood's elderly informants had no relatives of these categories living or an absence of inquiry. The presence of the age distinction of the Z term in the first person likely indicates one of the speakers made reference to an older female sib in the community. Wood's speakers were Edith "Edy" Turner [age 66], Littleton Scholar [age 63+] and an unidentified individual.

The Nottoway term for "son" was recorded as *wakatonta* from the Iroquoian stem /-a'nuʔneʔ/ "to have as one's child" (Rudes 1999:99-100). Rudes identifies this stem as a maternal relation, where as the "archaic" /-arãʔeʔ/ is cross (1999:47-48). Therefore the Nottoway term for daughter [D], niece and nephew are reflected within the stem of the item glossed as "son." Nottoway *wakatonta* may include the diminutive /#ãh/, reflected in the secondary Tuscarora niece / nephew term *kaʔnuʔneʔãh*. The exact genealogical relationship to the speaker is confused beyond the "same clan, i.e. mother's side of the family" (1999:100). Elsewhere, Rudes discusses the modern diminutive's use with kinship terms "to denote certain distinctions," but the clarity of those distinctions with descending-generation terminology has faded over time (Evans 2000:125-130; Mithun [Williams] 1976:222, 232-233; Rudes 1999:7; Rudes and Crouse 1987:56-57, 222). Morgan (1871) recorded the diminutive for *kaʔnuʔneʔãh* as "ka:ya:no:na:ah" applied to female speakers' FBS's children and MZD's children, and thus reflects a balanced terminology and special relationship between women and their parallel cousin's children.

Wood's Nottoway item *wakatonta* may have been glossed as “son,” as Morgan's “ka:ya:no:na:ah” was “daughter,” because their operational function was “one's child.”

The Nottoway word recorded for D is not a kinship term, but instead a noun root for “self” or “oneself.” The word also includes the diminutive /#âh/ and likely reflects /-ɛ:ruh-#ah/ [i.e. *rawɛruhâh* “he is alone”] (Rudes 1999:165). The same confusion is true for Nottoway affinal terms “wife” and “husband,” where other references were glossed as affine terms. Hewitt's margin note in his Nottoway manuscript identified *dekes* as “I go with it (her)” and *gotyakum* [katyá:kəh] as “one is married” (MS 3603).

While limited, the Nottoway data conform to the Tuscarora terminology, both in linguistics and kin relationships. Combined with documentary descriptions of matrilineal Nottoway descent during the nineteenth-century allotment process, the evidence supports the hypothesis that the Nottoway's descent system, kinship roles and linguistic terminology mirrored that of Tuscarora.

The significance of the forgoing section is that it frames the internal operations of Nottoway Town and provides the lens through which to analyze the basic building blocks of Nottoway community relationships. The organization and explanation of the Nottoway kinship terminology assists in understanding the association of household members [multi-generational] and residential compounds [sibling sets]. It also helps contextualize the matrifocal worldview of the antebellum Nottoway and gives foundation to their matrilinear residences and strong mother-aunt / uncle-sib relations. With the descent system and kinship terminology as a guide, the seemingly unrelated names in the Nottoway documentary record can be more fully recognized as patterns of consanguinity, affinity and social organization. The deferential status to senior siblings, matriarchs and a

preference for matricentered residences [in spite of emerging male-centered labor] are also linked to the kinship system. Lastly, understanding the generational aspect of the Nottoway terminology allows for an explanation of later nineteenth century kinship vernacular, when Iroquoian language use was completely replaced by English. Ascending and descending generation kin terms, particularly for females, were organized through diminutives and ranked orders such as “grandma, little grandma and big grandma” or “ma, lil’ ma and big ma” and hypocorisms such as “shang, lil’ shang and big shang” (Field notes 2006, 2011).

The Ohwachira: Nottoway-Tuscarora Families

Tuscarora ethnologist J.N.B Hewitt described the smallest unit of Northern Iroquoian kinship and society as the “fireside,” or nuclear family. Given the correlations in Nottoway-Tuscarora ethnology, the concept of the Nottoway family as a “fire” is appropriate. The fire is traced through the descent of the female only and is joined in kinship to other fires of close lineage in the matriline (Hewitt MS 3598 1896-1916). The metaphor is Northern, but a similar conception was likely present before Nottoway-Tuscarora removal and thus hypothetically in-place at Nottoway Town near the beginning of the nineteenth century. It manifested itself in multi-generational housing and / or lineage segments residing within a shared residential compound. Chapter IV explores the physical manifestation of this social configuration at Nottoway Town, so that only a few orienting comments about the matrilineage and its organizing principles are needed here.

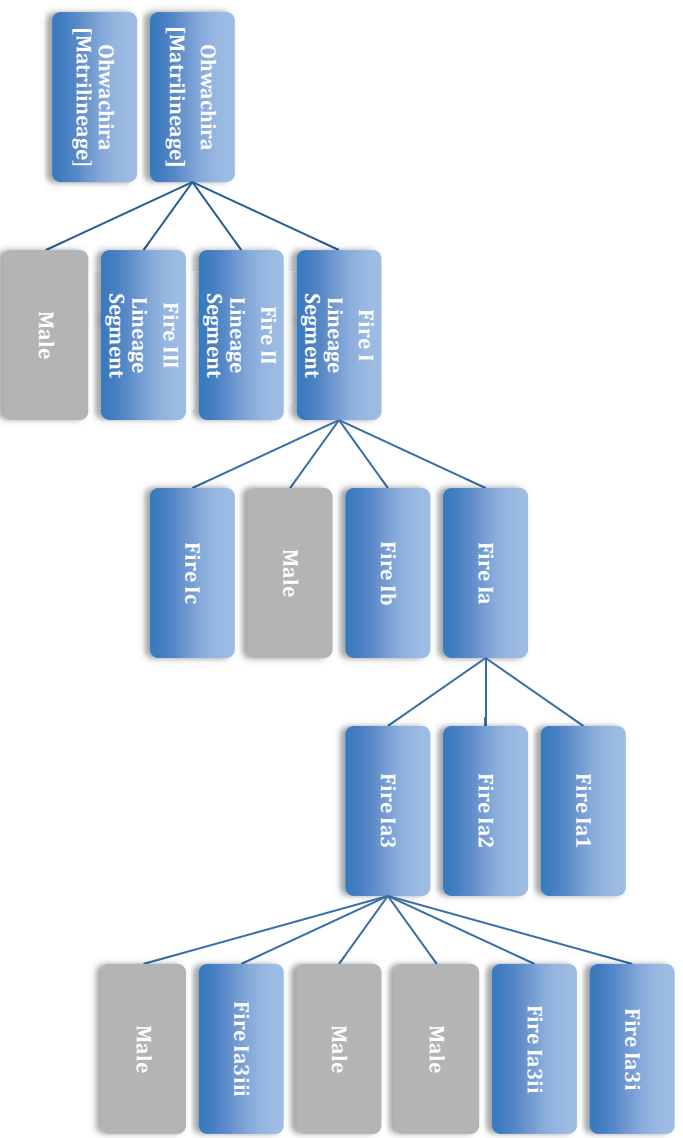


Figure 12. **Nottoway matrilineal organization, c.1800-1860.** The figure illustrates five generations of Nottoway Town residences, based on the segmentation of one matrilineage or *ohwachira*. Each female matrilineal descendant [blue] has the potential to form a new “fire” or family unit of the *ohwachira*. Males [grey] are members of the *ohwachira* but through exogamy form families outside the lineage membership. *Source:* C1830-1880; Field notes 2011.

The Nottoway domicile grouping includes an adult woman [as a wife and mother], her siblings, her mother and mother’s siblings, the woman’s children and her daughter’s children, and the descendants of the preceding women in the matriline [Figure 12]. The eldest living women is considered the matriarch and “presides over the household of fact and legal fiction” (Fenton 1978:309). This lineage traces their descent from a common ancestress and forms an extended exogamic matrilineal family, recorded as *ateur* “fire” in Nottoway or *ohwachira* “extended family” in Tuscarora [compare Tuscarora *kčēheh* “my family,” *uhwaci:reh* “extended family” and *učēheh* “fire”] (Hewitt MS 3598 1896-1916; Rudes 1981a:28, 1999:582, 585). It is the Iroquoian “uterine” or “maternal family.” Hypothetically, the group might also occupy multiple dwellings in

several settlements, which in the distant past eventually led to the formation of clan segments (Hewitt and Fenton 1944:82; Goldenweiser 1914:467).

On the eve of the reservation's allotment, two main matrilineal *ohwachira* remained at Indian Town. In the north, Iroquoian matrilineages are not named (Myers 2006:144-149; Wallace 2012:158), but have a set of names associated with the clan. This may or may not have been the case in the south. For purposes here, English surnames will be used to designate the two prime Southampton Nottoway matrilineages: Turner and Woodson. These two corporate matrilineal groups formed the political, jural and ritual body of Nottoway Indian Town at the beginning of the Reservation Allotment Period, 1824.

Nottoway-Meherrin-Tuscarora removal and exogamic marriage to non-Nottoway significantly depressed Indian Town's Iroquoian demography, obliterated whatever was left of clan structures and made the *ohwachira* the dominant organizing principle for civil action (see Fox 1967:84, 160; Gough 1974:638-640). Matrilineal succession and strong matrilineal ties to agricultural lands eventually forced nineteenth-century Nottoway residences to be divided between matrilineal and non-matrilineal descendants. Some minor *ohwachira* segments became extinct through imbalanced sex ratios [not enough females], male exogamy beyond Nottoway Town [and thus their offspring were not members of matrilineages], low birth rates and natural mortality. The larger and more viable Turner and Woodson *ohwachira*, and their lineage sub-groups, maintained Nottoway lands and community activity during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Nottoway that removed during the waves of northern emigration in the 1720s, 1760s and 1800s relocated along familial lines, so that entire clusters of relatives migrated out of the region and disappeared from Southampton’s documentary record. Nottoway population decline from 200 individuals, c.1730 (Byrd 1967:116), to approximately forty-five in the 1770s, reflects more than natural attrition; it infers the removal of lineages from the Nottoway community. A comparison of official tribal documents from 1773 and 1808 confirms a shift in Nottoway surnames during the interim, whereby through exogamy or removal the community lost family segments [Table 3].

Nottoway Surnames 1773	Nottoway Surnames 1808
--	Bartlett
Cookrouse	--
Gabriel	--
John	--
Merriot	--
Pearch	--
Quaker	--
Rogers	Rogers
Scholar	Scholar
Step	Step
Swan	--
Turner	Turner
Wineoak	Wineoak
Woodson	Woodson

Table 3. **Nottoway Town surname shift, 1773-1808.** “Cookrouse” or “Cockarouse,” “Wineoake” or “Weyanoke” and possibly “Rogers” and “Bartlett” were of Algonquian origin, relating to the refugee Nansmond and Weyanoke Algonquian-speakers that merged with the Nottoway earlier in the eighteenth-century. With regard to exogamy, both “Rogers” and “Wineoak” were surnames found amongst the Meherin and Tuscarora prior to removal. *Sources:* Ayer MS 3212; 1808 Cabell Papers.

A similar pattern can be seen at the Bertie County, North Carolina Tuscarora Town, where entire familial lineages removed northward, resulting in a surname shift and the emergence of leaders previously not identified in Tuscarora records (Feeley

2007:523-528). For additional comparison, a review of documents from other New York and Ohio Iroquoian removals in 1831-1832 indicate groupings such as “64 Seneca – 9 families,” “48 Oneida – 9 families,” “7 Oneida – 1 family” and “46 Mohawk – 6 families” emigrated to Oklahoma. Similar configurations and averages are also observable in the Iroquoian removal census data from 1846 [201 individuals], 1857 [36 individuals], 1860 [32 individuals] and 1881 [72 individuals] relocations to the Midwest (Barton 2012; Sturtevant 1978:539; Wheeler-Voegelien 1959:45). While individuals likely made decisions based on situational needs, the configuration of Nottoway, Tuscarora and Northern Iroquoian eighteenth-century removals indicates conjoined nuclear families formed a strong organizing principal for action.

The data suggest the turn of the nineteenth-century Nottoway extended matrilineage, or *ohwachira*, retained a decision-making component in their community. The decision of some *ohwachira* to stay in Southampton had demographic consequences for those that remained. These decisions were the foundation of Nottoway social transformation, the eventual shift of *ohwachira* descent reckoning and the collapse of the next highest Nottoway kinship division: the clan.

The Extended Family: the Nottoway, Meherrin and Tuscarora Clan

The exact role of clans in socio-political organization is poorly understood for the historical Nottoway, Meherrin and Tuscarora. While specifics may be lacking, the Nottoway certainly possessed an exogamic social institution, like the clan, to group related matrilineages and regulate marriage (Mithun 1984:278). Further, the social-political integration of the Nottoway with the Meherrin and Tuscarora, whether in

Virginia-Carolina or after removal in New York, indicates a parallel structure operated beneath the surface. As with other North American clan systems, Virginia-Carolina Iroquoian clan-like structures were probably based both in descent and residence and were united by an assumed apical ancestor (Murdock 1949:66-68; Myers 2006:146; Wallace 2012:159).

Characteristic	Observation	Reference
Hereditary positions	Lineage kinship between leaders; Successive matrilineal males taking leadership roles	Bimford 1967:139, Lawson 1709:195
Leaders represent kin organization	Division of leadership compatible with clan or dual organization: 3, 7-15 leaders for 200-400 tribesmen	Rountree n.d. e.g. Byrd 1967:116
Leaders as spokesmen	Headmen request conference with their Town before further negotiations with Governor	Stanard 1911:274
Leaders as advocates	Request redress of Trustee mismanagement; Argue lineage's right to land sales and allotments; Petition Governor for pardon of tribal member; Sue Trustees for tribal interest of Nottoway Trust	1808 Cabell Papers LP Dec. 11, 1821 1838 Campbell Papers CO1832-1858:309
Lineage council / clan council	Leadership petitions General Assembly after "convened in Council"	LP Dec. 11, 1821
Matrilineal usufruct	Access to agricultural lands regulated by matriline	LP Dec. 13, 1823
Crosscutting [clan] obligation / support	Separate matrilineage members act as security on debt and purchase tribal allotments from each other	DB20:91-92 DB28:699
Religious observations	Nottoway cosmos and afterlife narrative consistent with aspects of Northern Iroquoian worldview	<i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> 91:1, no. 129:505-506
Mortuary reciprocity	Nottoway burial ground; maintenance by kinsmen	Barham to Stanard, 1915
Bestow names	"New" Iroquoian names used in political discourse	LP Dec. 11, 1821
Adoption	Nansmond and Weyanoke lineages as Nottoway Weyanoke lineages as Tuscarora Nottoway as Tuscarora	Rountree 1987 Bertie Co. NC DB L-2:56 Gatschet, NAA Ms.372-b

Table 4. **Aspects of Nottoway socio-political organization** compatible with Morgan's (1877) Iroquoian generalizations.

Iroquoian clan structures, among all of the Northern Iroquois, have changed over time. However, the persistence of the clan system is an enduring component of modern-day Iroquoian kin-driven organizations (Fenton 1978:309-314; Wallace 2012:155-177). Virginia-Carolina Iroquoian interrelatedness may be seen in this light. Lewis Henry Morgan's outline of Iroquoian clans (1877) can be used as a general analogy for

Nottoway kin-driven organization: the clan conferred and imposed a series of rights, privileges and obligations upon its members – including the right to establish and depose leaders and form a council to address clan concerns [Table 4]. Morgan further detailed the clan’s responsibility to enforce exogamy, regulate inheritance and provide reciprocity in help, redress and defense. Additionally, the clan usually had common religious observations, mortuary practices, places of interment and the right to bestow names and adopt members (1877:71-85).

A careful review of Iroquoian ethnological material indicates the Tuscarora had some form of crosscutting social organization, which may have been clan divisions, before migrating from North Carolina (Cusick 1828:30; Hewitt 1910:849; Johnson 1881 [2007]; Lounsbury 1947; Morgan 1877; Rudes and Crouse 1987; Schoolcraft 1846:219; Wallace 2012; Wallace and Reyburn 1951). Documentation of the Tuscarora clan system is hampered by the inexact quality of early colonial Virginia-Carolina documents. The adoption of Northern Iroquoian political structures after migration to New York also muddles the inquiry, as the ethnological materials and other documentary evidence for Tuscarora clans date to the post-removal period of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some form of exogamic, crosscutting institution clearly existed, to which conjoined matrilineages affiliated. The integration of the Tuscarora among the Northern Iroquois relied on parallel structures to extend chiefly titles, clan names and socio-political organization (Boyce 1973). The existence of Tuscarora clan-like structures is relevant because by extension, the Nottoway and Meherrin likely possessed similar structures based on intermarriage, language and the descent system. Despite cultural

change, echoes of these earlier kinship divisions continued in Southampton County until the mid-nineteenth century.

Totem	Clan	Notes
Wolf	θkwari:nə - Wolf uŋɛʔakewʔah - Little Wolf	Sometimes divided as Yellow / Grey Wolf “Under the Pine”
Bear	ohstihɾe tihɾéhtsyaks - White Bear	“Broken off tail”
Beaver	tsyóʔnakɛ:	“People of the stream”
Turtle	ráʔkwih:s - Great / Large Turtle kaθɾiʔkwe:θ - Small Land / Sand Turtle	“Climbing the Mountain” Land Turtle replaced Deer or Falcon
Deer	Also called Sand Turtle [á:kweh – deer]	Extinct by 1840s; replaced by Land Turtle or Eel Recognized by Johnson 1881
Snipe	tawístawis	“Clean Sand People” Also called Plover and Killdeer
Crane	Crane [ruhákwarɛt –white crane]	Extinct by 1840s Called ‘Not Tuscarora’ by Johnson 1881
Hawk	Falcon	Extinct by 1840s; replaced by Land Turtle or Eel Called ‘Not Tuscarora’ by Johnson 1881
Eel	ke:ʔneh - Eel	“Not Iroquoian” [Not Tuscarora but Onondaga] Replaced Deer or Falcon
Otter	Otter [ɛaʔkaw:i:nɛ]	Listed by Cusick

Table 5. **Tuscarora clan divisions**, post removal. *Sources*: Cusick 1828:30; Fenton 1978; Hewitt 1910:849; Johnson 1881 [2007]; Landy 1978; Lounsbury 1947; Morgan 1877; Rudes 1999:204, 320, 473, 479, 680; and Schoolcraft 1846:219.

The configuration of Nottoway, Meherrin and Tuscarora kinship divisions likely shifted after migration north; it is unclear how many modifications represent fissions, intermarriage with other Iroquois and lineage extinction (Feeley 2007:416-421). Some argue the minor Northern Iroquoian clans of the early twentieth century or “the lesser clans without chiefships” are the “remnants of adopted tribes” (Fenton 1951:47), such as integrated Nottoway-Meherrin segments among the Tuscarora. Regardless, what is evident is that the Tuscarora arrived in New York with descent-based divisions, which were more fully documented as “clans” in the nineteenth century (Beauchamp 1905:145; Cusick 1828; Hewitt 1910:849; Morgan 1877:70; Schoolcraft 1846:219). Table 5 is a compilation of extant data on Tuscarora clans. The nineteenth-century organizations,

however, cannot be confidently correlated to their Virginia-Carolina eighteenth-century counterparts.

Eighteenth-century colonial documents and ethnological materials collected during the following century indicate early Tuscarora clans included the Bear, Wolf, Turtle, Deer and possibly several others – some with minor sub-divisions (Boyce 1973:68-71, 160-161; Cusick 1828; Hewitt 1910; Kirkland 1789; Morgan 1877:70; Schoolcraft 1846:219; Swanton 1946:654; Todd and Goebel 1920:274). Boyce noted the title of *Sekwaritʔθrɛ:ʔ* [*Sacarusā*, *Sakwarithra*, *Sacharissa*] or Spear Carrier, as the earliest recorded Turtle clan chief “raised up” among the Tuscarora after their 1722 adoption into the Iroquois Confederacy. It is one of the few clan titles with continuity to the nineteenth-century chiefly names documented by Hewitt and others (Boyce 1973:68-69; Rudes 1999:271). By 1789, Samuel Kirkland recorded Wolf, Bear and Deer clans among the New York Tuscarora.

Wallace and Reyburn (1951) and Lounsbury (1947) documented Bear clan affiliations that dated to the period of Tuscarora removal. As well, Wallace’s fieldwork at Niagara and Speck’s research at Grand River provided evidence for pre-removal Beaver clan relations in North Carolina (Wallace and Reyburn 1951:44). So too, colonial accounts in North Carolina reference ritual gatherings at the Tuscarora town of *Catechna* [*Kahéhnū:ʔ*] where Wolf tutelary likenesses were displayed (Todd and Goebel 1920:274). A related image produced at the height of the Tuscarora War, depicts ceremonial preparations for the sacrifice of captive John Lawson. There, two posts support Deer and Wolf effigies and other ritual paraphernalia. The Lawson image [Figure 13] may depict moiety division and the presence of Tuscarora phratries. Tuscarora

moiety division and phratry relationships are not well understood, as post-removal Tuscarora phratic organizations quickly fell into disuse with the decline of traditional religious practices in the nineteenth century (Barbeau 1917:401; Landy 1978:523; Rickard and Graymont 1973:xxi).



Figure 13. **Iroquoian tutelary effigies of the Wolf and Deer** [right of central figure] during ritual activities at Tuscarora, 1711. *Source:* Graffenreid, Burgerbibliothek: Mül. 466:1.

There were likely other subgroupings among the Virginia-Carolina Iroquoians, as Table 5 illustrates for the nineteenth-century numbers and divisions. Fission, shifts over time and replacement complicate the reconstruction of “clanships” in the southern region. Further totemic specifics may be speculative and unnecessary, as Iroquoian clan function is well documented and ethnologically comparable to other clan systems.

When matrilineal Nottoway numbers became significantly depressed, the practical aspects of clan functions likely collapsed into the *ohwachira* sometime during the latter half of the eighteenth century. With a 1773 tribal population of less than fifty

matrilineal individuals, the dwindling number of Nottoway *ohwachira* likely struggled to maintain clan reciprocity in ritual and political obligations. The removal of almost half of those families by 1803 devastated the community's formal socio-political organization, leaving only a few shallow sub-lineages and the two main Turner and Woodson *ohwachira*. Thus eventually, two dwindling *ohwachira* and their sub-lineages may have also represented the remains of two Iroquoian clans.

In comparison, Fenton's survey of Seneca clanships at New York's Allegheny and Tonawanda Reservations recorded eight clans with 326 individuals and nine clans with 254 individuals respectively. In those instances, two clans at Allegheny had less than ten females apiece and three clans at Tonawanda had only nine females among them. Fenton considered these clans to be on the verge of extinction, and noted that at least two of the Tonawanda clans merged (1951:46-47). A similar scenario likely unfolded at Nottoway Town. The documentary evidence for Nottoway socio-political organization at the time of their reservation's allotment suggests features of either a clan or *ohwachira*, or both, remained in operation. Only two Allotment Period Nottoway-Nottoway marriages [see Appendix B, Figure 47, Parsons Turner = Mary Woodson-Williams and Edwin D. Turner = Betsy Turner] document both matrilineal descent and *ohwachira* / clan exogamy. Other nineteenth-century Nottoway marriages were exogamic beyond Indian Town's matrilineages.

Kings, Queens and Chiefs: Nottoway Indian Town Leadership

Hewitt clarified some of Morgan's observations on Iroquoian clan functions, namely in regards to the lineage's role in clan suffrage, succession and ownership of

chiefly titles. From within the matrilineal clan, lineage headmen were drawn to negotiate the needs of the residential group, but not all lineages had “titles” or “rights” to chiefs (1896-1916 MS 3598). Hewitt’s specifics on the Tuscarora *ohwachira* ownership of chiefships situate the importance of matrilineages within the clan system. For the Nottoway, the socio-political status grading of lineages is noteworthy as an interpretation for the emergence of leadership figures at the end of the Reservation Period [-1824]. It may have been that two *ohwachira* remained to “hold the line” of the Nottoway Town, from which only a select number of hereditary positions could be mobilized.

Lawson indicated that Tuscarora headman matrilineally inherited their positions: “The Succession falls not to the King’s Son, but to his Sister’s Son, which is a sure way to prevent Impostors in the Succession” (1709:195). Binford also identified Nottoway leadership positions as hereditary, with headmen drawn from each settlement’s kinship divisions. One of the leaders was ranked higher than others, as possibly a “titular hereditary headman” as the “chairman of council meetings where decisions were made” or as the “spokesman for the..community in dealing with outsiders. Status was apparently generally attained through open systems of status grading” (1964:463, 1967:196). Dawdy similarly agreed clan segments or lineages operated within the Meherrin settlements and provided community leaders (1994:49-50).

How were these leaders selected and through what mechanism? The interpretation of the evidence requires an understanding of Nottoway-Tuscarora history, but also an analysis of Iroquoian terms of address and the communities’ underlying kin-driven socio-political structures. Douglas Boyce (1973) researched leadership succession in his dissertation *Tuscarora Political Organization, Ethnic Identity and Socio-historical*

Demography, 1711-1825. While working on Tuscarora materials, Boyce sought historical comparisons with Nottoway data as a means to analyze shared Iroquoian institutions, social constructs and political organization. Boyce argues chiefly clan “titles” [Table 6] were installed after the Tuscarora War 1711-1714, to allow immigrant Tuscarora a more effective means of participating in the Northern Iroquois Confederacy and more broadly, engender socio-political integration (1973:160).

Clan	Civil Chiefs	Notes
Turtle	Sekwaríθre: Nihawənáʔah Hutʔuhkwawawáʔkə	“The spear trailer” “Spear Carrier” “His voice is small” “He holds his own loins” “He holds the multitude”
Wolf	Nayuhkawéʔah Neyučháʔktə	“Paddling Canoe” (Speck) “It is bent”
Bear	Nekayə:teʔ Utekwahəʔah lonəñtəhənəñ nākən	“Literal meaning uncertain” /-kayə-/willing, permit “The Bear Cub” “Its forepaw pressed against its breast” (Hewitt)
Beaver	Karihe:tyeʔ Nihnuhká:weʔ Nekahəwáhə	“It goes along teaching” “He anoints the hide” “Twenty Canoes”
Snipe	Karətawáʔkə Thanətáhkhwáʔ	“One is holding the tree” “Literal meaning uncertain”
—	Newataekot	“Wearing Sandals / Ready for Warpath” (Speck) “Two moccasins standing together” (Beauchamp)
—	Rarehwetyeha Sakokaryah Kayennehson Kaweanəhahʔ Sukuhətə:thaʔ	“Entering a complaint, Ambassador” (Boyce / Speck) Naticoke-Conoy title from Grand River “Devourer of People” (Boyce / Speck) Naticoke-Conoy title from Grand River “Person who carries on shoulder” (Speck) Naticoke-Conoy title from Grand River “She holds a word” (Speck) Naticoke-Conoy female title from Grand River “Shawnee [Chowan] chief on the Tuscarora Council”

Table 6. **Post-removal Tuscarora chiefly clan titles**, after Rudes 1999 unless otherwise noted, diacritics as in originals. Some titles’ literal meanings are no longer known and some clan affiliations were not recorded. Naticoke-Conoy and Chowan titles represent adopted tribes under the Tuscarora. These groups were appointed titles and allowed to sit in Council alongside the Cayuga with the Tuscarora and Delaware. It is notable that one title [*Kaweanəhahʔ*] is for a female, and a second [*Sakokaryah*], was held by a woman, 1841-1845. Title names provide a window into the Iroquoian worldview and are an indication of the social structure’s flexibility. Nottoway were subsumed under the Tuscarora at Niagara and Grand River. *Sources*: Beauchamp 1905; Boyce 1973:262-265; Hewitt 1910:849; Speck Papers APS.

In the 1880s Tuscarora Elias Johnson [b.1837] remembered these new titles were initially bestowed upon lineage chiefs “which they had as hereditary from their nation in the south” (2007:49). The titles were “raised up” when the Tuscarora became incorporated as the sixth nation of the Confederacy, but were not given full membership into the ancient Great League of Peace (see Boyce 2007; Feeley 2007; Wallace 2012). As evidenced by the adoption of the Tuscarora, the Confederacy allowed for innovation within traditional forms, so that while the old Tuscarora chiefs were not full members of the League’s Grand Council, the new titles provided leaders avenues for participating in other aspects of Iroquois political discourse. Political adaptation was not limited to the Confederacy, as Tuscarora chiefs took on new social, political and ceremonial responsibilities. Immigrant headmen, however, remained the principal means by which Tuscarora town councils coordinated civil action and debated matters of trade, alliance and war (Feeley 2007:405-414; Landy 1958:266-270).

While a previous chiefly system clearly existed, *formalized* hereditary “titles” may not have. Boyce is quick to recognize that, “there is absolutely no way of determining with certainty whether the Tuscarora had chiefly titles associated with certain lineages of each clan in North Carolina” (1973:160). In support of his argument, Boyce compares Nottoway leadership terms to Tuscarora ones in order to demonstrate parallel structures [summarized in Table 7]. He illustrates a linguistic shift for words used for chiefs in New York [*rakwá:nə*] versus ones maintained in the south [*teetha* (Tuscarora), *teerheer* (Nottoway)]. It should be noted however, that the root for “chief” *-uwan-* had some formal place in the southern lexicon (contra Rudes and Crouse 1987:159-160), as Tuscarora chiefly names included the root prior to removal [e.g. 1712

Newwontotsey or *Neyu?uwantahθe?na:weh* “Chief of two braided together”]. Nottoway “Queen” Edith Turner used a name transcribed as *Wane’ Roonseraw* when making her mark on legislative petitions in the 1820s.

NY Tuscarora	NC Tuscarora	VA Nottoway	Gloss
ra?i?her	teethha	teehbeer / t?irer	Man exempt from work; King
	e?i?her	e?esh?eh	Woman exempt from work; Queen
rakuwà:né		e?esh?eh	Chief
ruyà:ner			Confederate Chief
ukuwana?tha?			Clan mother; Mock chief, little old man

Table 7. **Tuscarora and Nottoway leadership terms** recorded in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries in New York, North Carolina and Virginia. *Sources:* Boyce 1978:283; Rudes 1999:447, 473; 2002:194.

Boyce recognizes the Nottoway as having a similar socio-political structure to the Tuscarora, including the linguistic inventory, and argues that it was to this organization that *new* chiefly titles were bestowed (1973:161). The related kin organizations for the Nottoway, Meherrin and Tuscarora were clan-like forms, but the recipients of these titles were matrilineages. As Binford notes (1967:196), the lineages were likely ranked and as Johnson (2007:173) and Lawson (1709:195) confirm, southern chiefs were hereditary. The clan “titles” Hewitt and Boyce discuss may not have been in-place among the Virginia-Carolina Iroquoians, until removal north. Hewitt’s explanation of how Tuscarora chiefly titles were conferred provides some insight into the hereditary leadership positions of matrilineages:

“There is strong vestigial evidence that the clan was organized by the union or coalescence of several streams of blood or lines of descent, each composed of the progeny of some woman...And it must be noted that theoretically each of these ohwachira or lines of descent had its own chief or ruler. But there are found many ohwachira which do not possess a title or name of a chiefship, but are represented only by the chief or chiefs of the clan...there are clans having at least three chief titles inhering in

as many of its *ohwachira*. But these chief titles are not the common property of the *ohwachira* of the clan” (1896-1916 MS 3598).

Speaking from the late nineteenth century, Hewitt described the state of the Iroquois League nearly one hundred years after the last Tuscarora and Nottoway matrilineages emigrated northward. Thus Northern influence on the Tuscarora political form is to be expected. The organization of the matrilineages and the general kinship system from which the clan chiefs emerged, should however, be recognized as more resistant to change. Hewitt detailed examples of *ohwachira* without titles, including those of adopted lineages and affines from outside the community. As Boyce recognizes, not every sub-lineage, had chiefs. Particular matrilineages carried the chiefly position, to which clan mothers could appoint a male as “titular hereditary headman” (Binford 1964:463, 1967:196). Conceptually, similar explanations as those Hewitt provided operated in Virginia at Nottoway Town, and this was the system in place at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Until the late eighteenth century, documents depict the Nottoway as governed by a “king” or *Teerheer* and a body of “great men” (e.g. McIlwaine III:407). The linguistic term for this leadership position was of some antiquity, as Spanish sources from before 1521 note the title *Teetha* among the southernmost Carolina Iroquoians, “They are governed by a king of gigantic size, called Datha” (Swanton 1940:327). This reference was to the Tuscarora village of *Duharhe*, historically known as *Tarhunta* [*Teyurhęhtę*] “it stays overnight = overnight lodging place”], and reflects the ranked hereditary headman of the town (Rudes 2000). As Hewitt indicates, best evidence suggests each family or kinship division had a political position that contributed to the formation of a community council, to which the *Teerheer* / *Teetha* carried seniority.

Binford's study of the Nottoway-Meherrin specified that there was great emphasis on village autonomy and consensus building at the community level:

“the Nottoway and Meherrin were societies politically organized into territorial units not exceeding the local community. There were no customary mechanisms for the ultimate settlement of dispute [that] transcended the organization at the community level. Leadership was at the community level and status was weakly developed with respect to high status access to goods and services” (1967:140).

Christoph Von Graffenried recorded some of the structures and functions of Iroquois councils while he and John Lawson were captive at the Tuscarora town *Catechina* [*Kahélnu:?* “submerged loblolly pine”] in 1711 (Rudes 2000, 2004). Each Iroquoian community was autonomous, but loosely linked through alliance and kinship ties. As Boyce (1973) and Feeley (2007) have argued, these autonomous towns could also coordinate larger political activities that crosscut local councils. The authority of the *Teerheer* and the councils, however, remained at the town level (Boyce 2007).

Locally, senior women of the matrilineages controlled access to leadership positions of the council or headmen. The *Teerheer* was drawn from a particular clan that held the hereditary lineage headmanship. Hewitt described the “ancient” title rights of the *ohwachira* as such:

“The members of an *ohwachira* have (a) the right to the clan name of which the *ohwachira* is a member; (b) mutual rights of inheritance of the property of deceased members; (c) the right to a council of all its members, or of the members of only one of the sexes; (d) the right, when so possessed, to the inheritance and custody of titles of its chiefs and sub-chiefs...;(e) the right of the child-bearing women to hold a council for the purpose of exercising their right and duty to choose the candidates for chief and sub-chief who are officers of the clan to which the *ohwachira* belongs, the chief matron of the *ohwachira* being the trustee of the titles...” (1896-1916:4-5).

Senior Nottoway matrilineages, sometimes disguised as “wise women” (Hewitt 1896:5), a “grave Matron” (Byrd 1967:116), or “queens” (Morse 1822:31; Stanard 1900:350) controlled the candidacy of distinguished men to offices of leadership, whereby the

“great men” ruled more through persuasion and generosity than by domination or monarchy. The *Teerheer* and other great men that appeared in the eighteenth-century Virginia Council records, Southampton County land deeds and legislative petitions represent the kin-based governing body of the Nottoway. It was a segmentary structure linked to family units and clan-like forms, their civil actions made through consensus at the local level. Consensus building was a major component of Iroquoian governance – a frustration of eighteenth-century colonial officials. Nottoway and other Iroquoian headmen could not always act on behalf of their towns without further council:

“We are sent by the Town to hear what the Gov’r says or has to propose & upon their return, their Great men will come in to conclude...They cannot answer it without consulting their Town – they may tell yes and their people may be offended with them & not stand to their offers” (Stanard 1911:274).

Eighteenth-century documents pertaining to Nottoway land sales indicate that seven to fifteen individuals represented the community’s interests in formal dealings with the colonial government (Rountree n.d.). Drawn from a population of 150-400 residents from one or two Nottoway towns (Beverly 1947:232; Lawson 1709:234; Byrd 1967:116), the numbers conform to a pattern consistent with other regional communities’ segmentary structures based on familial, clan or territorial divisions (Woodard and Moretti-Langholtz 2009). Feeley notes that, ‘generally individual towns attempted to coordinate their actions, but final decision-making remained in the hands of town leaders, who ideally represented a consensus of their townspeople’ (2007:342).

The historical grouping of “three” Iroquoian leaders as a reoccurring division may have represented a Virginia-Carolina political structure or a leadership framework for Iroquoian foreign diplomacy. Equally, the configuration may have been an outgrowth of factions that emerged after the Tuscarora War (Stephen Feeley, pers. comm., 2013). This

structure may also have been the source of Hewitt’s apocryphal “Tuscarora confederacy,” reportedly comprised of three groups: “the Tuscarora league was composed of at least three tribal constituent members, each bearing an independent and exclusive appellation” (1910:842). Boyce persuasively argues a “Tuscarora Confederacy” never existed in North Carolina, but rather Hewitt’s “three tribal constituent members” was a phenomenon of oral tradition based on memories of older multi-town cooperation, transposed upon changed political circumstances in New York (2007:39-40). While it is unclear the exact mechanism triggering Nottoway-Meherrin-Tuscarora multi-town representation, the recurrence of the three headmen at official negotiations may have been significant in some way [Table 8].

Year	Event	Iroquoian Representatives
1680	Treaty of Middle Plantation	Serrahoque, Ununtequero and Harehannah [N, M]
1710	Conestoga peace negotiations	Iwaagenst, Terrutawanaren and Teomottein
1711	Virginia peace negotiations	Chongkerarise, Rouiarthie and Rouiatat
1712	Virginia peace negotiations	Three delegates for Taughairouha [Teyuheru:kəʔ]
1713	Treaty of Williamsburg	Naccouiaighwha, Nyasaughee and Narouiaukhas
1722	Treaty of Albany	Suwuitka, Adories and Sketowas
1744	Treaty of Lancaster	Sidowax, Attiusgu and Tuwaiadachquha

Table 8. **Select examples of Nottoway, Meherrin and Tuscarora triadic headmen configurations:** the 1680 example is Nottoway-Meherrin [N, M], 1710-1713 entries are Upper Tuscarora, 1722 and 1744 are post-removal Tuscarora. *Sources:* Byrd 1733:256; Feeley 2007:426; Hazard II:511; McCartney 2006:263; McIlwaine III:294, 320; Rudes 2000:4; Sainsbury 1926:310; Sasser 1978.

By the nineteenth-century, some deterioration in the political body of the Southampton Nottoway had taken place. Nottoway leadership appeared most informal nearest the years surrounding the last 1803 northward migration. Whereas in previous decades Nottoway headmen were identified in formal dealings with the state, no specific leadership figures appear in turn-of-the-nineteenth century documents. Rather, during this period of increased population loss, adults of both sexes signed documents on behalf of

the community. This may have been due to the political restructuring required when half of Indian Town's families removed to New York. One contemporary report indicated some Nottoway removed at the time of the American Revolution (Mead 1832:127), suggesting several waves of migration, 1775-1803. Nottoway civil leaders emerged during this transitional era, but it is unclear the exact means by which authority was wielded at the community-level.

It would appear the Turner *ohwachira* controlled a political position, but may not have had suitable males to fill the role during the late 1790s. The Trustees of the Nottoway Tribe listed "Tom Turner, 36" as the senior *ohwachira* male in 1808, but complained he was a drunkard and that he had "left his farm." The Trustees also called Littleton Scholar "the principle male" of the Nottoway and reported "Jemmy Wineoak, 38" and "Tom Step, 18" were the next oldest males at Indian Town. The older men were said to have non-Nottoway wives and therefore their children were outside the Nottoway matrilineages. James Wineoak was likely from an integrated Algonquian lineage. Thus, by the end of the Reservation Period [c.1824], the *ohwachira* of Nottoway Indian Town "... consist[ed] principally of women with large families of children" (Cabell Papers July 18, 1808; LP Dec. 10, 1821, brackets added).

Continued Nottoway outmigration and exogamic marriage preferences resulted in a nineteenth-century demographic collapse at Indian Town. Leadership roles fell to the remaining matrilineages or sub-lineages. Littleton Scholar may have been a headman, but Turner and Woodson *ohwachira* females numerically overshadowed his diminished matrilineal segment. Edith Turner as *eteshah* ["Queen"] or *ukuwana?thah?* [clan mother] became the most visible community leader between the two *ohwachira*, 1800-1830.

As a comparison for the flexibility of Iroquoian leadership appointments, in 1914 Frank Speck recorded a similar pattern amongst the Nanticoke-Conoy living with the Tuscarora at Grand River. From an 1845 list he obtained at Six Nations, Speck documented five families: three that migrated to Canada after the American Revolution “under [the] generosity of Joseph Brant” and two “young families,” that arrived during the War of 1812. Of the fifty total individuals, by 1914 the three “old families” had “mostly become Delawares. Their chiefs no longer held.” Speck accredited this attrition to the low numbers of women within the group. The remainder were “all supposed to belong to the Wolf Clan, as there was only one family adopted into the Confed[eracy].” Prior to 1870, the Nanticoke-Conoy had four chiefs, but had decreased to three by the time of Frank Speck’s 1914 fieldwork among the group; one of the titles was for a female leader [see Table 6]. Most significantly, Speck noted the male “Sachem [chief] *Sagagaryes* is of equal rank by courtesy as the 50 original [League Chiefs] and the Tuscaroras,” but during the late 1830s there was not an appropriate male to fill the position. As a resolution, a Nanticoke female, Mary Anderson “sat in council in place.” When her son Cornelius Anderson “became of age[.],] he took the place” of chief as “his mother before him” (Speck Papers APS, brackets added).

The Nanticoke-Conoy example demonstrates the flexibility of the Iroquoian political structure. As adopted Algonquian-speakers, the Nanticoke-Conoy utilized existing Tuscarora cultural practices to accommodate a lack of “proper personnel” and “simply borrow[ed] the necessary person” (Fenton 1951:47, brackets added). At Southampton’s Indian Town, Edith Turner became the *eteshel* or “chief” until appropriate hereditary matrilineal males could be appointed. In the 1820s a young

matrilineal Nottoway named William Bozeman became increasingly active in political affairs of the tribal remains (LP Dec. 1819, Dec. 11, 1821; Dec. 13, 1823, March 16, 1830). A generation later, Bozeman's *keyaʔnuʔneʔ*, his younger sister's sons – and thus Bozeman's "children" [see Table 2] – became headmen. Robert and William [Benjamin] Taylor headed the Woodson *ohwachira*, alongside Edy Turner's *ohwachira* heir Edwin Turner. Edwin Turner may have been the headwoman's *kaʔnuʔneʔʔah*, or her sister's daughter's son [see page 101]. These adult *ohwachira* males led Indian Town during the mid-nineteenth century and acted on behalf of the Nottoway community in political and legal affairs with Southampton County officials (CO1832-1858:309).

Edy Turner was remembered c.1890 as the "Last Queen of the Tribe," despite local recognition of other prominent Nottoway men (Mooney 1889 MS 2190). The political relationship among these individuals is vague, although each clearly carried a formal leadership role and represented Nottoway Town in political discourse with Virginia's Governor, General Assembly and Southampton County Courts. Moreover, at least one matrilineal male, active in the community during the early twentieth century was known by the sobriquet of "King" or "Boss" and was widely recalled by matrilineal relatives as an "organizer," "somebody you went to when you needed something" and "the man you asked for help" (Field notes 2006, 2010, 2011). By then, Nottoway Town had ceased to exist as a communally held tribal estate; only a few matrilineal allotment families remained scattered on small farms along Southampton County's Indian Town Road.

The fission of Nottoway families along *ohwachira* lines, as well as the migrations of Nottoway northward, provides some explanation for Virginia Iroquoian community

organization during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The extant documentary record indicates matrilineal descent remained an organizing principal for Nottoway households and leadership positions. The decisions of families to remove with the Tuscarora were likely made by these smaller divisions, yet the “Indian Town” remained the largest decision-making body and social grouping (Boyce 1971:43; Feeley 2007:127-128). Wider group affiliation, whether by northern immigrant families or those that remained in Virginia, was reconfigured around the “town” as a conception of peoplehood [e.g. “the people of (x)”].

Southampton’s Indian Town and Nottoway Removal

By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the Nottoway were the only Virginia Iroquoian community with tribal landholdings. The Meherrin were displaced from their reserve lands during the last half of the eighteenth century. Evidence suggests some Meherrin retreated to a settlement of privately owned farms on Potecasi Creek, south of their former town in Hertford County, North Carolina (Dawdy 1994:113). Across the Chowan River, the Chowanoke reservation was divided and sold during the same era, with a small number of families remaining at a “certain piece or parcel of land at a place called the Indian Town” until the 1820s. Some of these individuals migrated to the Meherrin settlement in Hertford County, but no tribal lands remained (Fouts 1984:6, 54; Dawdy 1994:120). Still farther south, the remainder of the Tuscarora leased their Bertie County lands to North Carolina in 1803 and sold other expiring leases in 1828 (Kappler 1913:701-704; Severance 1918:330-331). It was during this period that North Carolina Tuscarora, along with some residents from the surrounding Virginia-Carolina

Indian Towns, migrated to New York (Hewitt 1910:848-849; Landes 1978:521). Thus, the Nottoway c.1830 were the only Iroquoian Indian community in the region to maintain continuous control over a portion of their indigenous territory – 3,100 acres in Southampton County (LP March 16, 1830).

The linkages among these river groups persisted despite the migration of some Nottoway and Meherrin segments northward. As Boyce suggests (1973), integration into the Northern Iroquoian socio-political system likely drew on existing Nottoway-Meherrin cultural organization, and re-shaped or modified it to fit political and community needs.

The northern Nottoway-Meherrin-Tuscarora amalgamation process occurred in intervals over the eighteenth century, as Nottoway and Meherrin joined the New York Tuscarora in several waves of immigration prior to 1803 (see Boyce 1973; Feeley 2007; Rudes 1981b). At least one Nottoway, Melbury Turner, immigrated in 1802 to New York from North Carolina, indicating either a Meherrin or Tuscarora residence (Parish Family Papers). Nottoway removal near the time of the American Revolution (Mead 1832:127) may have been an outcome of Nottoway-Meherrin-Tuscarora service in the French and Indian War. The northern reconnections made during the mid-eighteenth century likely motivated 1760s southern Tuscarora land sales and the removal of half of North Carolina’s Bertie County “Indian Woods” population (Boyce 1978:286-287; Wallace 2012:71-78). Some Tuscarora segments relocated in small bands “as the wind scatters the smoke” and likely settled areas of piedmont North Carolina and sections of the Virginia foothills (Blu 2001:319; Boyce 1987:151; Cook 2000:50; Jefferson 1787:155-156; Sider 2003; Wallace 2012:151). All of these Tuscarora removals included some Nottoway-Meherrin peoples.

With regard to northern-southern Nottoway linkages, an intriguing correspondence emerges during the turn of the nineteenth century from the office of Virginia's Governor. A Tuscarora chief visited the Governor, and future U.S. President James Monroe, in the fall of 1802 with the intent of "undertaking to collect the scattered remains of my people" and with the "hope it will be convenient for you [Monroe] to have my business laid before your Legislature..." (Palmer 1890:332). The chief bore the formal title of "Saguaresa," or properly *Sekwarithre*, meaning the Turtle clan chief Spear Carrier. Visits to Richmond, Virginia and Windsor, North Carolina were undertaken to discuss Virginia-Carolina Iroquoian land claims and the migration of tribal remnants northward. The result of the diplomatic envoy was the 113-year lease of Tuscarora lands to North Carolina [which corresponded to the amount of time left on a 150-year lease from 1766] and a new North Carolina state treaty, as well as the emigration of "10-20 old families" from the south to New York (Kappler 1913:701-704; Gatschet 1883-1884 MS 372-b). Judging by the response from Virginia's Attorney General, Virginia's Nottoway Indian lands were part of the discussion, but *Virginia* Nottoway tribal affiliation and autonomy were held up as superseding any northern Nottoway claims presented (Palmer 1890:332-333).

The number of Nottoway who left Virginia-Carolina during the 1802-1803 Tuscarora removal and land leases cannot be determined. However, the Tuscarora political activity may have spawned an 1803 Virginia Nottoway Legislative Petition, in an effort to resolve the latter tribe's own land claims from their old colonial reservation surveys (LP Dec. 1803). The question of indigenous title clearly motivated the 1809 Virginia Attorney General's opinion that "the [Nottoway] Indians' claim under title

paramount to every other – the aboriginal right to their soil before the rights of either the King or colony...or of the Commonwealth” (Palmer 1892:69). Despite these acknowledgements, some Nottoway removed without resolving land claims, leaving the future of the tribal preserve to their Virginia kinsmen who remained.

The 1802-1803 Nottoway-Meherrin-Tuscarora removals was the last exodus from Virginia-Carolina to New York, completing an effort started nearly ninety years earlier at the conclusion of the Tuscarora War. The migration reconnected related Iroquoians and through some formal process, socio-politically integrated Virginia-Carolina refugees with New York Tuscarora communities. Oral traditions recorded by Tuscarora David Cusick a quarter-century after relocation suggested the three “ancient” Virginia-Carolina alliances were the “Kautanohakau, Kawwetseka and Tuscarora...united in a league” (1828:33). Cusick’s interpretation is assumed to be a completely Tuscarora tradition and repeated by Hewitt (1910:842) as *kahhehoʔá:ka:ʔ* “People of the Submerged Pine Tree,” *akawétsá:ka:ʔ* “meaning doubtful” and *skaro:ʔreʔ* [Tuscarora] “Hemp Gatherers.”

While Douglas Boyce (2007) concluded that no confederacy of Tuscarora existed prior to their removal, he conceded the northern Tuscarora division of *akawétsá:ka:ʔ* was a “recognized non-Tuscarora element living on the New York Tuscarora reservation, apparently without equal political rights” (1973:283). Further, Boyce recognized this division may have been “political allies from North Carolina,” a position supported by Wallace (1952:21). The Nottoway immigrants were likely a contributing element to the *akawétsá:ka:ʔ*.

Rudes (1981b) argues that Cusick’s *Kawwetseka*, Hewitt’s *Akãwêñic`ãkãʔ* and Boyce’s *akawétsá:ka:ʔ* can be properly rendered as *kawéʔá:ka:ʔ* which corresponded to

the historic Meherrin town of *Cowinchahawkon* in Virginia. Further, Rudes notes this northern group “was quite similar in language and culture to the Tuscarora” with similar traditions and social organization (1981b:33-34), an interpretation confirmed, but with hesitation, by Mithun (2001:421). Neither Rudes nor Mithun consider an etymology for the root stem /-wɛçʔ-/ presently possible [/*ka-/ it /-wɛçʔ-/ unknown noun /*-a:ka:ʔ/ people of] (Blair Rudes, pers. comm., 2004; Marianne Mithun to Wes Taukchiray, 1992; Rudes 1981b:33). Despite difficulty in eliciting a meaning from *kawɛçʔá:ka:ʔ*, the name clearly relates to an Iroquoian term from Virginia and includes the suffix denoting “the people of [x].” It is significant that Virginia Iroquoians maintained a separate identity among the New York Tuscarora for a considerable period of time [at least until the late nineteenth century] and that conceptions of peoplehood were centered at a level that previously reflected an “Indian Town.”

Rudes’s argument for the group being a “Meherrin” community in New York is supported by other research. Prior to removal, the Virginia-Carolina Nottoway, Meherrin and Tuscarora towns were coalescent communities of Iroquoians, but also Algonquian speakers: Nansemon, Weyanoke and Chowan (Dawdy 1994:116-122; Binford 1967; Rountree 1987:199). Gatschet’s and Hewitt’s 1880-1890s Tuscarora fieldwork, suggests the *kawɛçʔá:ka:ʔ* were likely a division of Nottoway-Meherrin/Algonquian migrants to New York. Scant as they are, the BAE records reveal source materials on Nottoway linguistics and residence in New York (e.g. Gatschet MS 372-b). This group also contributed to a few families that relocated to Grand River. There, the Nottoway were subsumed under the Tuscarora, along with an element of the Algonquian-speaking Nanticoke, Conoy and Chowan. These diasporic groups of Nottoway-

Meherrin/Algonquians eventually became linguistically and culturally homogenized within the Six Nations. At the turn of the twentieth century, they had their own hereditary chiefs' titles [see Table 6] and maintained a genealogical identity (Boyce 1973:127; Speck Papers APS; Wallace and Reyburn 1951).



Figure 14. *Not-to-way, the Thinker* [left], *Chee-a-ka-tchee, Wife of Nottoway, Iroquois* [right] by George Catlin 1835-1836. The husband-and-wife subjects are dressed in a Western Great Lakes fashion, despite their eastern Iroquoian origins. Source: Smithsonian American Art Museum.

Northern migration and coalescence also led Nottoway to intermarry beyond their Iroquoian kin. During the mid 1830s, American painter George Catlin captured the image of an Iroquois man “Not-to-way, the Thinker” who was settled with his wife “Chee-a-ka-tchee” among the Ojibway of Sault Sainte Marie [Figure 14]. Catlin indicated he “had much conversation with him, and became very much attached to him,” suggesting “The Thinker” spoke English quite well. Catlin recorded *Not-to-way* was the “chief” of a

migrant remnant, not part of the Six Nations Iroquois, but a “branch of the family” “nearly extinct”:

“This was an excellent man, and was handsomely dressed for his picture... He seemed to be quite ignorant of the early history of his tribe, as well as of the position and condition of its few scattered remnants, who are yet in existence... though he was an Iroquois, which he was proud to acknowledge to me... he wished it to be generally thought, that he was a Chippewa” (Catlin 1844:106-107).

In a second series of sketches and paintings [Figure 15], Catlin added a third male “Noy-to-ye” to the Iroquois group, commenting that he was a “young warrior” and that “Not-a-way, the Thinker [was] one of the secondary chiefs of the tribe, and said to be distinguished as a warrior” (Catlin Papers, Huntington Library). *Noy-to-ye* also appeared as “Nox-to-ye,” without translation, indicating a portion of Catlin’s transcription suspect (Catlin 1850, pl.59). As well, *Chee-a-ka-tchee*’s title may not reflect her personal name, but does show a definitive linguistic affiliation with Iroquoian. As demonstrated above in Table 2, *ahkachee* reflects the Nottoway kinship term for older female sibling; conceivably *Chee-a-ka-tchee* was the sister of the “young warrior.”

It is intriguing to suspect that “The Thinker” was the descendant of a Virginia emigrant family, and the disruption of removal the cause of his lack of tribal knowledge. Alternatively, he could have been linked to the remains of other Northern Iroquoian groups, such as the Huron, but the linguistic evidence and kinship terminology suggests otherwise. Combined with documentary record and Catlin’s remarks, the identity of the Iroquois troupe from Sault Sainte Marie was likely as some nineteenth-century Catlin historians suggested: from one of “the Iroquois tribes of the South... in Southampton County Virginia” (Harvey and Smith 1909:115). If so, Catlin’s “Iroquois” portraits are the only known images of Nottoway peoples prior to the Civil War.

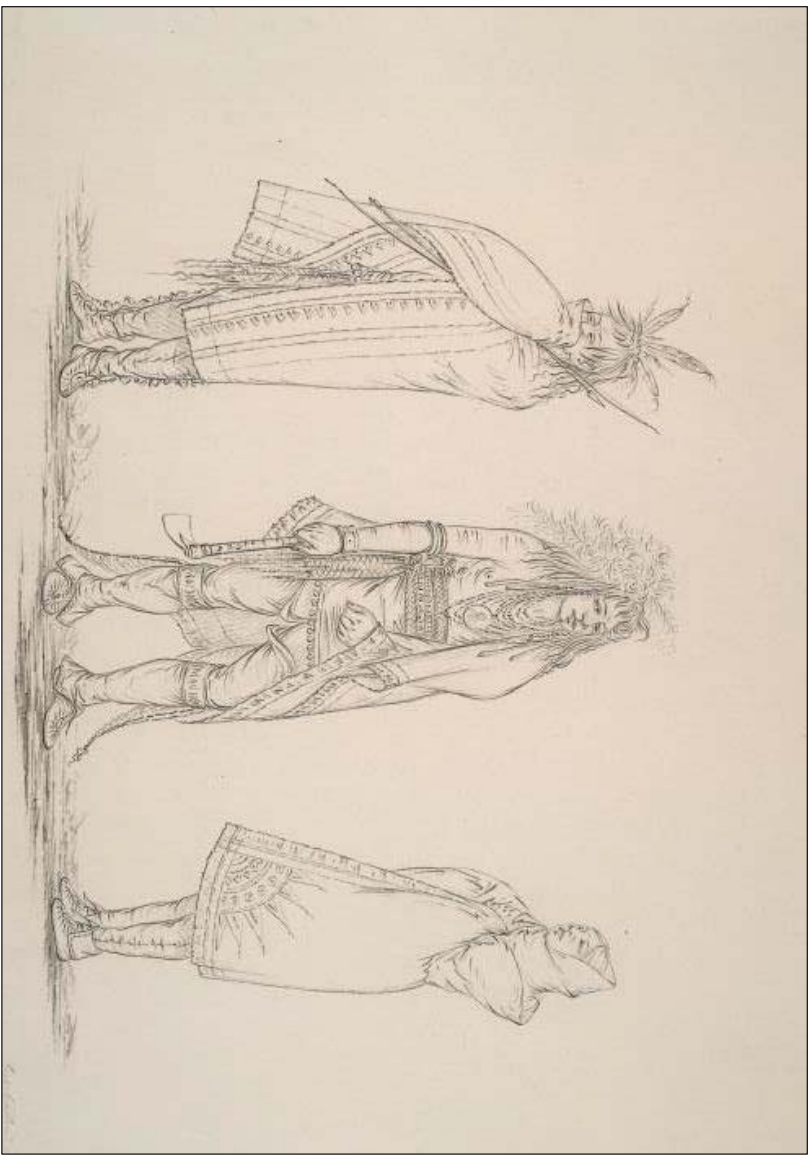


Figure 15. *Iroquois by George Catlin, 1835-1836.* The subjects represent the “scattered remains” of an Iroquoian people: a woman [right], her husband [center] and her younger brother [left]. All are likely descendants of late eighteenth or early nineteenth-century Nottoway immigrants from Virginia. *Source:* Catlin Papers, Huntington Library.

Migration and coalescence no doubt obscured Nottoway links to tribal history and familial origins, as community members attempted to explain their present lives among the Northern Iroquoians, an historical rupture caused by detachment and removal. Gatschet’s BAE informant linked the Nottoway immigrants in Canada to Grand River, but acknowledged another division was maintained at Niagara in New York. Elias Johnson also revealed that the “Shawnee” were a segment of the 1880s Niagara reservation, “speaking Tuskarora, they tried to palm themselves off for Tusk[arora] but have not passed through that yet” (1883-1884 MS 372-b). Nearly sixty years after Johnson, Wallace and Reyburn (1951) noted this “Shawnee” lineage was a separate division of the Tuscarora Beaver clan, referred to as the “Shawnee Beavers,” whose

moniker was likely conflated with the historic Shawnee of Pennsylvania. Informants in the 1940s posited a relationship between the Tuscarora and the “Shawnee” while the groups were still in North Carolina, strongly suggesting the “Chowan,” a group of Algonquian speakers allied with the Tuscarora, as the likely source of the reference. As early as 1836, Gallatin reported a portion of the Chowan had removed with the Tuscarora following the cessation of 1711-1714 Carolina hostilities (86). One of Frank Speck’s Tuscarora informants at Grand River revealed in 1926 the “Sawannu from whom the Shawnee Beavers were descended were associated in North Carolina,” thus expressing support for this argument (Wallace and Reyburn 1951:44).

Through intermarriage and adoption, Iroquoian clans absorbed the immigrant Chowan/Nottoway-Meherrin and their origins were conflated with other groups; the narratives of Northern Iroquoian peoples subsumed their linkages to the deeper past. This process took place over long periods of time, as colonialism incorporated Mid-Atlantic indigenous peoples into the expanding world-system. In response, removal and coalescence were strategies employed by some Native communities, in an effort to adapt to the colonial encounter and strengthen their position within a new political economy.

Combined, the data support an interpretation that the exodus Chowan/Nottoway-Meherrin lineages were minor segments imbedded within the northern Tuscarora social-political organization. Nineteenth-century migrant kin-groups were likely arranged in a fashion that attempted to reproduce their previous configuration. Linked households of “10-20 old families” (Gatschet 1883-1884 MS 372-b) or “twenty-five to fifty persons” (Wallace and Reyburn 1951:43), were grouped under some unifying principal, whether

through extant clans and intermarriage or under monikers such as “Not-to-way,” “Shawnee” [*Sawamuʔa:kaʔ*] or *kawεcʔa:ka:ʔ* as terms for peoplehood, or all of the above.

In nineteenth-century Southampton, the Nottoway’s Iroquoian term for themselves was “Cherohakah” (Gallatin 1836:82), a designation potentially translated as *čiruʔehá:ka:ʔ* “People of the Tobacco” (Rudes 1981a:41-42) [see Introduction, page 7]. From a New York informant, Gatschet provided the name “Tchirũ:ha’ka” for a southern group – directly below a Nottoway entry in his Tuscarora notebook. The association was unclear to Gatschet, but clearly the informant thought the word carried a negative connotation (1883-1884 MS 372-b). Hewitt (1910:87) obtained the term “cherohakaw” from one of his 1889 northern interlocutors, who suggested the Nottoway name meant “possibly ‘fork of a stream.’”

The two etymologies provided are uncertain, although Rudes allowed the semantic association of “tobacco” *čáruʔ* with “aggressive” or “irritating” /-*čirũrε-*/ and “brown” /-*čirεhr-*/ (pers. comm., 2006). The semantic association of “brown” or “irritating” modified by /-*ehá:ka:ʔ*/ “characterized by, people of” is significant because it may have been the result of Nottoway-African intermarriage and the origin of the Tuscarora term’s nineteenth-century semantic modification. Gatschet’s Niagara informant was quick to identify: the “Nottoway...[are] darker than [the] others, possibly by negro intermixture” (Gatschet 1883-1884 MS 372-b). Speck recorded “Mixed Negro Tuscl[arora] who came about 100 years ago [c.1810s] and...lived at about 30 years after...about 1849...at Grand River...located at Medina on [the] reserve...All speak Tuscarora.” In an 1883 letter from Auburn, New York, Gen. J.S. Clark wrote to Gatschet:

“Among the Tuscaroras there is a distinct & well known class recognized under the name Suwanoos alias Shawnees. They have hair slightly curled not so black & coarse as the

real Indians [they] have broader faces & noses slightly flattened. It is claimed they are descendants of a clan that joined the [Tuscarora] previous to their immigration northward, & that originally they were intermixed with negro blood. They...lost their ancient language & now speak nothing but [Tuscarora]" (Speck Papers, APS).

These references were the likely source of prejudice Nottoway descendants experienced among the Northern Iroquois. At Grand River in the late nineteenth century, the term *čirnuʔhák:ka:ʔ* was considered to be derogatory and a term of derision; during the early twentieth century in New York, to call someone *čirnuʔhák:ka:ʔ* was considered abusive, scornful and mockery (Patrick Keith, pers. comm, 2008; Rudes 1999:130). A shortened form, “*čirnuʔ*”, was still used as a teasing moniker for some Tuscarora during the end of twentieth century (Vince Schifert, pers. comm, 2013).

In contrast, *čirnuʔhák:ka:ʔ* continued to be used in Southampton as a normative Iroquoian term and possibly morphed as a loan-blend, “Jerunhakah,” reflecting the people of Nottoway Town near the county seat of Jerusalem. It is noteworthy that *čirnuʔhák:ka:ʔ* was maintained as an identifying label for Nottoway people in Canada, New York and Virginia during the nineteenth century, despite the divergent connotations in each locale. While surrounded by the dominant White American society and beneath the layers of Tuscarora / Six Nations social politics, the retention of a community name speaks to a strong sense of belonging, affiliation and literally in Iroquoian – “a *people* characterized by, the *people* of” – a people separate from other kinds of people. In New York and Canada, the Nottoway were “adopted” segments of the Tuscarora, alongside other minor divisions of Chowan, Meherrin, Nanticoke and others. In Southampton County, Virginia the Nottoway were the people of Indian Town.

The decision of some Nottoway *ohwachira* to relocate with the Tuscarora resulted in a demographic catastrophe at Southampton’s Indian Town. Adhering to Iroquoian

exogamic marriage practices, Indian Town's reduced population would become divided between matrilineal Nottoway and non-matrilineal Nottoway descendants. Matrilineal Nottoway retained access to the tribe's financial trust and land base, while the agnatic sons and daughters of Nottoway men, did not have rights within the *ohwachira* or any entitlements to tribal resources. This tension would play out in a number of ways, as remaining tribal members more fully participated in wage-labor, divided partible property through both male and female lines and engaged the plantation-based capitalist economy that surrounded them.

Demography and Descent-System Shift

At the time of the Nottoway's last communal land sales, the tribe's household members were described by their Trustees as totaling in "number about 30, 6 men who inherit, tho not more then 2 of them true blood, the same number of women & blood, the rest children. their husbands and wives are chiefly free negroes" (Cobb to Bowers, December 31, 1821). This shorthand portrayal was essentially true a decade later during the Allotment Period: the Nottoway occupied matricentered family farms, with a configuration organized by uxoriallocality or matrilocality. Adult uterine sisters formed contiguous residential blocks, occupying Nottoway lands passed through the matriline. Senior mothers and fathers lived with these more productive adult age grades or on adjacent tracts (C1830, 1840, 1850). Young adult matrilineal males resided near their mothers and sisters in an uxorial pattern, however competition for matrilineal farmlands and the lack of Nottoway marriage partners created a situation where most of these males were in conflict with the descent system's usufruct.

Nottoway men and their non-lineage affines were without use-rights to tribal lands (LP Dec. 13, 1823). With a shrinking demographic, this dilemma was resolved by the allowance of Nottoway men and their spouses limited access to their mother's and sister's agricultural tracts. Discussed further in the following chapters, the Nottoway rented cleared farmland to free Southampton residents, as well as hired slaves and other labor for agricultural work. Agnatic-descended Nottoway and their families gained access to some tribal lands through this avenue. Increasingly however, Nottoway descendants without *ohwachira* membership sought opportunities away from Indian Town, whether through private property purchases, tenant farming or various forms of wage-labor. The allotment of tribal lands exacerbated this pattern, as matrilineal males sold lands and their descendants were outside of Nottoway inheritance.

And thus, the residents of Southampton's allotment-era Indian Town were the remnants of a once more numerous Iroquoian matrilineal society. The c.1803 Nottoway-Tuscarora removal ended a period in which the Nottoway were demographically large enough to sustain continued intermarriage with non-Iroquoian neighbors without impacting their community composition and *ohwachira* membership. This demographic shift is critical to understanding the transformation of the nineteenth-century Southampton Indian community and the relationships that emerged during the first half of the century with "Free Colored Persons" and Whites. Labor contracts, property ownership and processes of socio-economic polarization continued to shape Nottoway notions of peoplehood.

With the relocation of significant numbers of Iroquoians north, the matrilineal / exogamous Nottoway had little maneuverability with regard to marriage-partner

selection. Lineage / clan exogamy required marriage outside of the familial unit, but with so few matrilineages and the probability of an imbalanced sex ratio, lineage exogamy meant non-Iroquoian marriage. Non-Nottoway marriage resulted in a situation where only matrilineal Nottoway women's children were able to have rights within the *ohwachira*, and therefore, matrilineal men and their descendants became disadvantaged by default.

Moore and Moseley (2001) argue important variables in long-term population viability include marriage practices, sibship size, sex ratio and fertility [birthrates and death rates]. John Moore's discussion of population sustainability focuses on hypothetical models of human colonization in order to understand the requirements needed to overcome simulated extinctions. The same probability factors are also applicable to matrilineages and clans (pers. comm., 2007). Of these variables, sibship size and sex ratio appear to have been the most detrimental factor in Nottoway matrilineality.

For comparison, Moore provides a classic example of the Cheyenne, in which a band organized around four male brothers [classificatory] who are married to four classificatory sisters. Hypothetically, this band core of four couples is middle-aged with a total of fifteen children, making them an economically viable group of about twenty-five individuals, or approximately the recorded number of matrilineal Nottoway at the time of allotment (LP Dec. 14, 1822). However, none of the fifteen hypothetical Cheyenne children can marry one another because they are all classified as siblings or first cousins [classificatory siblings]. As Moore suggests, the only solution for the Cheyenne example, and by extension to the Nottoway, is to 1) recruit spouses from outside the band or 2) commit incest. Even if the band is coalescent, and therefore less likely to be related, the

problem of suitable marriage partners can quickly develop within a few generations. All the young people become increasingly related so that only a few eligible members are able to marry within the band. Moore's point is relevant to the Nottoway: with a small population size it was very difficult to find a spouse, a challenge that was exacerbated by uneven sex ratios (Moore 2001:397; Moore and Moseley 2001).

Within a few generations, population removal and continued exogamy had consequences on Indian Town's matrilineal descent system. Nottoway viability required acquiring marriage mates from outside the matrilineages, and because of incest prohibitions many of those marriages were non-Iroquoian – meaning with “Free People of Color” [FPC] or Whites. Children of matrilineal men with non-Iroquoian spouses could not inherit rights to land of the extended *ohwachira*, unless they remarried in one of the matrilineages. Large sibship size and an unequal sex ratio compounded an already unsustainable situation for the lineage's membership. Thus, Nottoway viability was impacted on two fronts: the small population density meant exogamy of the lineage / clan and required non-Iroquoian marriage mates with FPCs or Whites. Matrilineal descent was confined to only the children of women who were members of the lineage. Intermarriage with non-matrilineal, non-Iroquoian mates was the source of the community's biological transformation and significantly contributed to the demise of the matrilineal system and change toward bilateral reckoning. The shift in demography also impacted and shaped community notions of membership. The demographic situation outlined above was not exclusive or confined to the Nottoway, and clearly would have been a problem for all Indian communities in Virginia.

Along with tribal exogamy, changes in Nottoway residency pushed the matrilineal system into a state of collapse. If the community had been larger, the descent system might have survived the introduction of cash-crop farming or even the removal of some residents to urban centers under an avunculocal or duolocal form. However, like many other communities the “positive selective pressure for residential change” encouraged a shift toward male-controlled labor, with the single household as the primary economic provider. In general, shift to bilateral descent occurs rapidly under these conditions (Aberle 1974:659-661). Other Iroquoian-speaking communities shifted toward bilateral reckoning, but in contemporary times have also maintained aspects of matrilineal affiliation. While many of these communities have demographic critical mass, the political economy of male-centered labor and cash-crop farming impacted aspects of residency and descent-reckoning (Myers 2006:60-66 [Cayuga]; Rickard and Graymont 1973 [Tuscarora]; Sturm 2002:142-167 [Cherokee]; Wallace 2012:79-81, 83-84 [Tuscarora]).

Among horticulturists, matrilineal kinship and matrilocal residence shift take place as cash-crop farming and migratory wage-work impact the division of labor and socially organized space. Versions of modern farms or plantation structures emerge with the income often pooling in elementary or nuclear families to the neglect of traditional obligations to matrilineal kin. In the initial breakdown of the matrilineage, the community “tends to split into groups of uterine siblings and their immediate descendants, often through *both* males and females” (Gough 1974:632, emphasis in original). This form appeared at Nottoway Town, as Southampton’s Iroquoian matrilineages unraveled.

In order to evaluate the push-pull factors impacting the Nottoway people, the following chapters will focus on tribal and individual property ownership, the social construction of community and the political economy of Indian Town. Nottoway-Tuscarora language loss led to a steady increased use of English, yet some traditional elements of Iroquoian kinship roles and descent were retained. Evidence suggests differing social roles were rooted in enduring kinship structures, and reciprocal relationships framed by labor and familial experience.

CHAPTER III

Indian Land Sales, Tribal Trustees and Nottoway Allotment

“Incorporation into the capitalist world-economy was never at the initiative of those being incorporated. The process derived rather from the need of the world-economy to expand its boundaries... Major and large-scale social processes like incorporation are furthermore not abrupt phenomena. They emerge from the flow of ongoing continuous activities. While we may give them dates retrospectively (and approximately), the turning points are seldom sharp and the qualitative changes they incarnate are complex and composite. Nevertheless they are real in their impact and eventually they are perceived to have occurred.”

~ Immanuel Wallerstein 1989:129

At the beginning of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the long process of Nottoway transformation was in mid-stride. Two centuries of colonization entangled the Iroquoian community in an emerging mercantile system and drew them into a series of wars with competing spheres of power, first European, and then American. Migration, coalescence and assimilation impacted the Nottoway throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These processes contributed to Nottoway demographic shifts, population loss and cultural change.

In order to situate Nottoway community change within a local historical context, this chapter explores select Indian-White interactions within Southampton’s antebellum political economy. The financial relationship between the tribe and their Trustees is analyzed, as are the catalysts for Nottoway land sales and reservation allotment. The role of matrilineal leadership figures in Nottoway-Trustee discourse and a series of asymmetries that emerged as the result of the tribe’s engagement with the capitalist system will be considered. The Nottoway kinship system, Iroquoian language and community social organization illustrated in the previous chapter underwent significant changes during the Reservation Allotment Period, 1824-1877. The transformation

represents a process of long duration; it was not a static switch from *on* to *off*, but a transition. The prime mover of this change was economic, reflecting the Nottoway's location within the structure of a larger system.

Southampton competition for control of Indian land, timber and monetary capital are examined in order to explicate the underlying causes of socio-cultural transformation. The beginning of tribal land division among community members can be characterized as an indicator of peripheralization processes. It also provides evidence of alterations taking place within deeper structures of the Nottoway's political economy. Legislative permission to divide communal land [1824] and initial allotment [1830] marked the end of the Reservation Period [1705-1824]. During the Allotment Period, Southampton's Iroquoians struggled with their Trustees for control of Indian resources and became more fully engaged in the cash-crop economy of the region.

Early Nottoway Land Sales

In the 1677 Articles of Peace negotiated after Bacon's Rebellion – the last great English-Indian war of seventeenth-century Virginia – the colonial government reserved two large tracts of land for the Nottoway. Surveyed c.1705, the Iroquoian treaty lands surrounding the Nottoway “Indian Towns,” totaling sixty-four square miles or 41,000 acres (Bill et al. 1677; Briggs and Pitman 1997:134). Almost forty years later, the colonial government again recognized the Nottoway's land rights by treaty in 1713, at the conclusion of the Tuscarora War (Spotswood 1885 II:196-200). However, the earliest colonial surveys of these reservation tracts do not survive and were unaccounted for by the Commonwealth as early as 1809 (Palmer 1893 X:66; Rountree 1987:196).

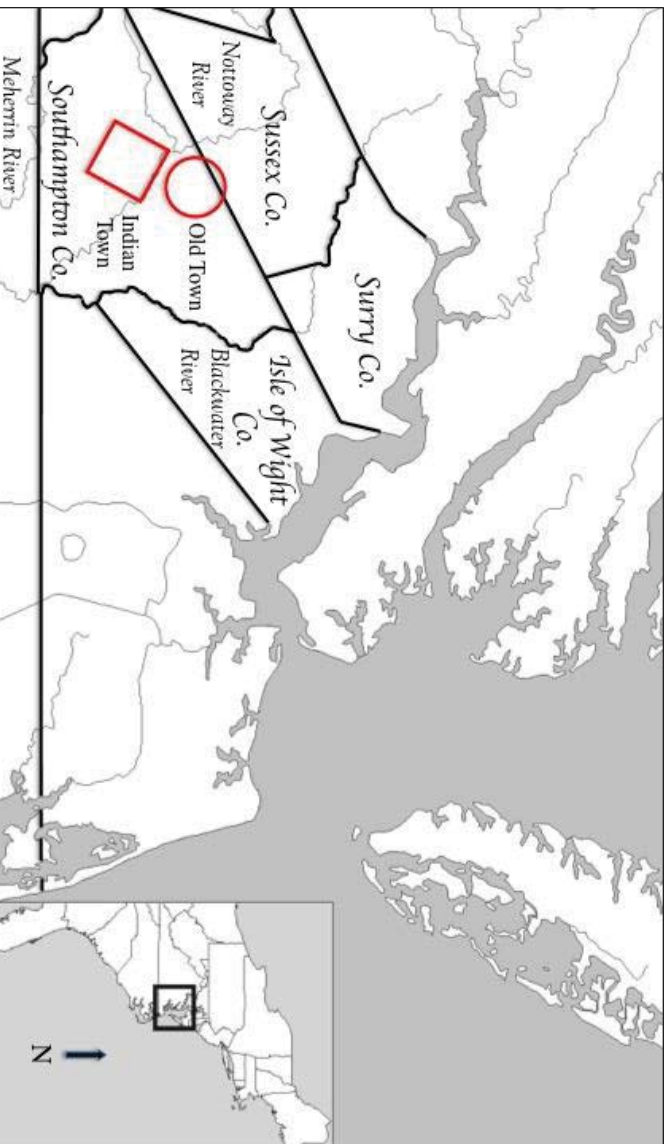


Figure 16. **Nottoway Old Town within the Circle Tract Reservation on the Assamooisick Swamp and Indian Town within the Square Tract Reservation on the Nottoway River;** the colonial shire of Warraskoyack was renamed Isle of Wight County in 1637, from which Southampton was formed in 1749; the James City shire on the “Southside” was divided to form Surry County in 1652, from which Sussex County was formed in 1754. The c.1705 surveys of Nottoway Towns coincided with the opening of remainder of Nottoway lands to European settlement [below the boundary forming Surry and Isle of Wight along the Blackwater River]. The quitrents from “10,000 acres” of Nottoway land were used to support the College of William & Mary. From those lands, the College acquired and developed a substantial tobacco plantation known as *Nottoway Quarter*. *Source:* Map by author.

The majority of land north of the Nottoway River, a twenty-eight square mile polygon often called the “Circle Tract,” was sold during the eighteenth century [Figure 16]. With the permission of Virginia’s House of Burgesses, these tracts of trust lands were intermittently surveyed and sold for the “support and maintenance” of Indian Town residents. The sale price of individual plots ranged widely – from fourteen shillings to forty-five pounds, depending on the size of the parcels and relationship of the buyers to the Nottoway headmen. The monies derived from land sales were used to supplement the growing mercantile needs of the community: the settlement of debt from traders’ goods such as guns, powder, shot, steel tools, brass kettles and wool blankets. Nottoway

reliance on merchant capital intensified as they further consumed finished goods, adopted animal husbandry and acquired farming implements (Bimford 1967; Rountree 1987:196-201; and see Biolsi 1992:1-33; Meyer 1994:9-67; O'Brien 1997).

The need to settle debts contributed to some of the eighteenth-century Nottoway land transactions. Local merchant Samuel Blow cleared outstanding tribal accounts with a purchase of fifty-seven Circle Tract acres for the paltry sum of £0.14s.3^d. Other planters in Southampton, Surry and Isle of Wight contracted business with the Nottoway, and through close association with leading Indian Town men were given opportunities to purchase uninhabited tribal lands, with most sales below fair market price. Eighteenth-century Nottoway Trustees Etheldred Taylor, John Simmons and Thomas Cocke all surveyed lands within the Circle, as did immediate members of their families. Elizabeth Lucas Briggs, the widow of the old Nottoway interpreter Henry Briggs, received a bargain price of £1.19s. for 130 acres east of the Assamoosick Swamp. The documents indicate only one woman purchased land directly from the Nottoway; Briggs's property straddled the border of what is now Sussex County (Briggs and Pittman 1997:140, 143). The relationship of the Nottoway to non-Indian planters William Hines and Walter Bailey must have conferred an insider-status, as both men purchased Circle Tract lands and Nottoway headmen took their names as honorifics when signing mid eighteenth-century deeds (DB5:455; DB8:17, Isle of Wight, VA).

Nottoway lands south of the river, known as the "Square Tract," contained approximately thirty-six square miles when the House Burgesses approved the sale of southerly Nottoway territory in 1748 (McIlwaine V:270-273). As early as 1728 John Simmons petitioned the Virginia Council to allow him to 'patent a certain tract of

land...formerly assigned to the Nottoway Indians” (Standard 1925:21). Simmons developed a rapport with the Iroquoian-speakers and like their interpreter Henry Briggs, he occasionally interceded in colonial affairs on behalf of the Nottoway. With the apparent consent of the Nottoway, in 1711 Simmons arranged to build a gristmill on Indian land at Buckhorn Swamp and surveyed several additional tracts along the Nottoway River prior to becoming one of the first “Trustees” of the tribe in 1734 (Henings IV:461; Palmer I:147-148). In a tradition of insider trading that would last for over a century, Trustee Etheldred Taylor arranged a purchase of fifteen acres of Square Tract lands in 1745 – three years before the House approved the transactions south of the Nottoway River. Close association with the Nottoway no doubt encouraged his additional purchases of nearly 1600 acres by 1750 (Briggs and Pittman 1997:140).

English acquisition of lands beyond the Blackwater River were prohibited until a 1705 act of the House of Burgesses opened the interior Southside for settlement. Thus, the formal survey of Nottoway towns and sales of their lands correspond with English colonial expansion and occupation of the region. By the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, hundreds of non-Native farmsteads surrounded the Nottoway lands. Nottoway land sales paced the settlement of the region, through the period of the American Revolution (Binford 1967:168; Parramore 1992:6). At the end of the eighteenth century, approximately 4200 acres of Nottoway land remained in tribal hands.

Eastern U.S. Indian Land Loss and Removal

At the national level, Nottoway land sales and allotment may be situated within the wider context of nineteenth-century Indian land loss east of the Mississippi River.

Jacksonian-era market expansion opened Indian lands southwest of Virginia, transforming the Deep South into a Euro-American populated, cash-crop producing region. Andrew Jackson, as Indian fighter in the 1810s and U.S. President in the 1820s and 1830s, personally spearheaded the opening of large portions of Choctaw and Creek lands for cotton cultivation. His effort to remove the remaining Indian nations from their territory was driven by land speculation, commercial enterprise and expansionist politics. The Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek and to a lesser degree Seminole, stood in the way of “bringing this [southern] land into market speedily” (Andrew Jackson quoted in Rogin 1975:174). Under Jackson and a like-minded American planter class, the “specter of Indian atrocities” would combine with the lure of materialism and capital accumulation to drive Native peoples from the Old South – creating “the southwestern cotton kingdom around which the market revolution took place” (Rogin 1975:254).

Through the first half of the nineteenth century, southern seizures, over regulation, outright harassment and manipulation by the American state succeeded in forcing the relocation of the South’s Indian peoples. Though some significant Indian removals took place outside of the American Bottomland [e.g. Indiana], the focus of the government’s effort was Southern Indian relocation. The Indian Removal Act was made law in 1830; by 1840, three-fourths of the 125,000 Indians living in the East were part of removal programs destined for the newly created “Indian Territory” west of the Mississippi (Forman 1972; Green 1985; Royce 1975; Wolf 1997:284-285).

Removal of Virginia’s Indian peoples was not an official policy of the state, as far as the documentary evidence reveals. Rountree argues Virginians wanted local Indians

“to merge with the bottom, non-white social strata...[and] never considered removing the Powhatans to Indian Territory, probably because the Powhatan groups’ credibility as ‘real

Indians' was too slight for an expensive removal to be considered worthwhile" (1990:187).

"For the Nottoway...removal was not a threat because their credibility as 'real Indians' was poor. Why send people to another reservation in the West when they were no longer 'entitled' to a reservation in the first place? Instead make them cease claiming to be Indians and merge them with another group, preferably blacks" (1987:205).

Rountree's analysis of the Virginia situation c.1830 is essentially correct, although her focus on conscious racial assimilation and the "credibility" of "real Indians," rather than Indian landholdings, contrasts starkly with the demographic and geographic realities of the actual Native communities removed. Indians and "mixed-bloods" of Indian, European and African descent, as well as their slaves, were forcibly removed from hundreds of thousands of tribal acres in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and North Carolina. The motivation for forced Indian removal was multi-faceted and linked to the South's emerging political economy, a system in which access and control of agricultural lands was the prime mover. As evidence of the broadening and deepening of this economic system, the "Five Civilized Tribes," once arrived and settled in Indian Territory, reproduced the very market structures they were expelled from (see Bateman 1991; Mulroy 2007; Naylor 2008; Zellar 2007).

In the East, White colonization of Indian lands had taken place over the preceding two centuries, leaving only small islands of tribal occupancy by the time the United States became a nation within the periphery of the world-economy. Indian lands of the Eastern Seaboard were sold, allotted and leased with state governments overseeing [or ignoring] the legalities of the transactions (see O'Brien 1997). Like the Nottoway Trustees, "overseers" and "guardians" assisted the state and private parties in siphoning away financial resources tied to Indian lands. Broadly, the chronology of Indian land loss

remaining in the East falls inline with the period [1824-1877] of Nottoway allotment and allotment sales [Table 9].

Community	State	Year	Action
Chappaquiddick	Massachusetts	1810	Allotted all but 692 acres
Gingaksin	Virginia	1812	Allotment; complete by c.1860
Nottoway	Virginia	1824	Allotment; complete by c.1877
Natick	Massachusetts	1828	Land sold; trust kept by guardian
Punkapog	Massachusetts	1840	Land sold and proceeds distributed
Catawba	South Carolina	1840	144,000 acres conveyed to the state
Mashpee	Massachusetts	1842	Allotted all but 2000 acres
Paugusset	Connecticut	1842	Sold lands; resettled on new lands 1886
Pamunkey	Virginia	1843	White landowners petition to sell (denied)
Hassanamisco	Massachusetts	1848	State put aside 11.9 acres
Pequot	Connecticut	1848	240 acre reservation under lease
Pequot	Connecticut	1848	989 acres – most leased or wooded
Herring Pond	Massachusetts	1850	Land allotment complete
Dudley / Webster	Massachusetts	1857	State moved remnants to an urban tenement
Mohegan	Connecticut	1860	Allotment and land leases
Narragansett	Rhode Island	1880	Allotment of 1,500 acres among 324 people
Christiantown	Massachusetts	1888	Remaining 10 acres ‘deserted’

Table 9. **Select nineteenth-century Indian land allotments, sales and leases within the Eastern United States.** *Sources:* Conkey, Boissevain and Goddard 1978:179-184; Rountree 1990:182-186, 194-196; Rudes, Blumer and May 2006:311-312).

When the Nottoway event-level is compared against other Eastern American Indian communities’ land loss, the data confirm a wider phenomenon: the systematic incorporation of remaining external zones and the peripheralization of Indian lands into the world-system. Viewed from this context, Nottoway land loss and community transformation was part of a wider Indian experience linked to an emerging economic system centered on individual materialism, capital accumulation and private property ownership. The processes of peripheralization eventually impacted those Southeastern Indians of the 1830s Removal Era, then in Oklahoma, which may be best reflected at the event level by the 1887 Dawes Act and the 1898 Curtis Act (see Carter 1999; Debo

1973). These laws, along with other legislation and tribal negotiations allowed for the dismantling of Indian Territory through the allotment, distribution and leasing of tribally owned land and the termination of tribal tenure through severalty (Parman 1994:1-10).

The Trustees of the Nottoway Tribe of Indians

In colonial Virginia, to assist the Nottoway and other tribes [e.g. the Pamunkey and Gingaskin] with surveying and selling of Indian lands, four to six “Trustees” were appointed by the House of Burgesses, and then later in time, the state legislature. These men facilitated the commodification of Nottoway land through surveys, estimating market values, overseeing transactions and disbursing monetary funds to the headmen of Indian Town. The appointment system eventually shifted to include appointments by the Trustees themselves. Hypothetically, Virginia’s Executive Branch oversaw Trustee management of Nottoway affairs and required an annual report to the Governor’s Office. Nottoway Trustees were White men, Southampton County landowners and usually of considerable political and economic standing in the Southside; they were not Nottoway Indians.

Prior to allotment and severalty, “Trustees of the Nottoway Tribe of Indians” lobbied the Legislature for permission to sell tracts of the Nottoway reserve. Once the sales were concluded, Trustees oversaw the disbursement of funds and distribution of provisions to the Nottoway community. Most acts passed by the House of Burgesses or General Assembly present the Nottoway as continually decreasing in population and increasing in their want for material goods:

“Whereas that nation is of late reduced by wars sickness and other casualties, to a small number, and among those that remain many are old and unable to labour or hunt, so that one of the said tracts will be sufficient for them and more than they are able in their

present circumstances to cultivate, or make use of...they have petitioned this general assembly to be enabled to sell the...tract...for the payment of their debts, and the better support and maintenance of them and their posterity” (Hening IV:459 [1734]).

“Many evil disposed persons under pretence of said Indians being indebted to them do frequently disposes them of their guns, blankets, and other apparel, to their great impoverishment” (Hening VI:286 [1756]).

“To see the money paid faithfully and equally distributed between us and the women of our Tribe...afflicted as we are with bodily infirmities and oppressed with poverty, without this timely relief we shall soon be reduced to the most miserable situation that can be conceived” (LP [Nansemond-Nottoway] Nov. 1791).

The Nottoway’s relationship with their Trustees underwent structural changes from year to year, as deaths, new appointments and changing economic conditions influenced the tribe’s needs and demand of their guardians. Eventually the role of the Trustee became the manager of property rentals of Nottoway lands and getting a fair market price when tracts were sold by permission of the General Assembly. Importantly, the Trustees were charged with investing the tribe’s estate and settling individual debts with the interest.

“It shall be the duty of the said trustees to take bonds and sufficient security...for the amount of the purchase money for the said land...and to draw the interest arising therefrom, and apply the same, if sufficient, if not, from the principle...for the maintenance and support of each of the said Indians” (Hening XIII:549-550).

“That some of them are old and many of them are infants incapable of supporting themselves by their labor...the petitioners or...their descendants...have been [in] a constant and regular decrease in their numbers...That it would contribute much to the ease and comfort of your Petitioners to receive something annually, in addition to the little they might make by their own labor, to relieve their most pressing wants...they are at this time considerably indebted and not one cent in hand to pay it” (LP Dec. 1818).

The Trustees, “whose duty was to watch over their interests, and guard them from insult and injury” (Jefferson 1787:155) therefore also managed a tribal trust fund and the disbursement of Nottoway annuities. Annually, or as occasion dictated [such as death or crop failure], the Trustees would allocate monies to supplement individual subsistence or

additional earned income. Only matrilineal-descended Nottoway, and thus lineage members with rights to tribal lands and resources, could access the Nottoway estate. As well, during the latter years of the eighteenth century, only adult Nottoway were provided annuities from the interest or principal of land sales.

By controlling the monetary and material resources of the tribe, the Trustee system undermined traditional Nottoway leadership roles and restricted the economic maneuverability of the Nottoway community. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, Nottoway headmen had to navigate two layers of colonial management: legislative permission to relinquish title to Native lands and Trustee advocacy on the Nottoway's behalf to seek fair market value and sale. Moreover, the capital accrued from land sales and rentals remained in the control of the Trustees and under Trustee management. The bureaucracy created by the colonial apparatus weakened the Nottoway headmen's ability to affect desired outcomes, as Trustee oversight competed with indigenous leaders' traditional roles as community negotiators and representatives. The Nottoway were thus, at the mercy of Trustee discretion for doling out resources: capital outlay for finished goods, resolution to trading debts and continued access to a market the Nottoway did not control. Trustee mismanagement of Nottoway funds ensued, to the advantage of the Trustees and to the inequity of the Nottoway people.

An example of the guardians' financial management from 1773, illustrates that Nottoway annuities were distributed and recorded by the Trustee Treasurer. One Trustee account ledger noted the "balance due the Indians for rents of their lands for 1773 & proportion'd among 35 Indians at £2.2.5 each" totaling £74.4.6 paid out January 1774 (Ayer MS 3212). A second 1774 document recorded twelve rental properties receiving a

total of £96.16 annually, of which £2.2.5 was distributed “to 35 Indians... each it being their proportion” (DB5:516). The Trustee accounting of thirty-five Indians reflects the number of matrilineal adults eligible for annuities. These eighteenth-century figures do not include children, non-Nottoway spouses or agnatic children of matrilineal Nottoway men. With the eventual codification of Nottoway matrilineal inheritance in an 1824 Act to allot Nottoway lands, the Trustees informally enforced the matrilineal usufruct and descent of the community, through the disbursement of tribal funds to those “who inherit,” or descended through the matriline (Cobb to Bowers Dec. 31, 1821).

The linkage of matrilineal rights to tribal funds served several purposes for the Trustees. First, it limited the number of adults who could participate in the Trustee-controlled revenue and thereby gave the Trustees greater flexibility in the management of the financial trust. The 1773 ledger indicates the Trustees paid individual Nottoway and kept record of when and to whom money was distributed, later reconciling the total. After the last migration of Nottoway north with the Tuscarora [c.1803], the Trustees distributed provisions for all seventeen remaining matrilineal Nottoway, regardless of age. The practice may have started in the 1790s (Rountree 1987:200). An 1808 document fixed the annuity due each Nottoway at £9 annually, for a total of £153.

Over the next decade however, the Trustees adjusted this allowance. During a financial review in 1821, the Trustees indicated the estate’s annual interest of \$239.40 was insufficient to support thirty matrilineal heirs, appealing to the General Assembly for some relief, as \$7.98 per capita was a “grossly inadequate” annuity. In addition, the Trustees suggested the effort of managing the Nottoway arrangement was not worth their time, possibly signaling that without a larger monetary amount in the estate, the Trustees

were not inclined to play banker for the Nottoway. Moreover, the Trustees complained they were owed nearly \$170 in “necessary provisions [provided] to prevent their [the Nottoway’s] actual suffering” (LP Dec. 10, 1821). Trustee Jeremiah Cobb suggested to Legislator Carr Bowers that selling all of the Nottoway land except for 1000 acres and placing the proceeds, along with the remains of the estate, in-trust would earn \$20 interest per capita annually – a realistic annuity amount for each Nottoway. A year later, the future interest payments were estimated “between eight or nine dollars to each per annum” which was still insufficient for tribal members “in the most indigent circumstances” (LP Dec. 14, 1822).

The change in financial needs of the community between c.1808-1820 indicates a shift in resource allocations at Indian Town. The population size of those “who inherit” and the recommended per capita annuity had more than doubled. The Nottoway needed more capital. This need motivated a petition to sell additional trust lands in the 1820s and an increased participation in wage labor among Indian Town residents. Eventually, the drive for individual capital accumulation would lead to the allotment of the reservation lands in severalty.

A second purpose of the Trustee reinforcement of the Nottoway’s matrilineal inheritance principal was that it supposed [if not encouraged] the hypothetical extinction of the tribe. Legislative correspondence and discourse among government officials repeatedly reinforced the image of the vanishing Indian:

“for the maintenance and support of each of the said Indians, so long as there be any of the said tribe living; and should the said tribe become extinct, the said trustees shall pay so much of the purchase money and interest...into the public treasury” (Hening XIII:549-550 [1772]).

“Of the Nottoway, not a male is left. A few women constitute the remains of that tribe...they usually had trustees appointed” (Jefferson 1787:157).

“Littleton Scholar, no indian but himself in his family, his wife being a White woman...Tom Turner, no indian in his family but himself when at home, his wife being a mulatto...Jemmy Wineoak, no indian in his family but himself, has no wife, a mulatto woman lives with him...Nancy Turner and her son Henry Turner compose the indian part of her family” (Cabell Papers July 18, 1808).

“The only remains in the state of Virginia...are the Nottoway...in number about twenty-seven, including men, women and children...the Nottoway tribe, if we may judge from the looks of the few now remaining, were originally men of good appearance and stature” (Anonymous 1820, cited in *Gentleman's Magazine* 1821: 505-506).

“Total number about 30, 6 men who inherit, tho not more than 2 of them true blood, the same number of women & blood, the rest children. Their husbands and wives are chiefly free negroes” (Cobb to Bowers Dec. 31, 1821).

The excerpts above reinforced the image of Nottoway disappearance, depravity and indigence. Documents such as these were cited in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries as evidence of the Nottoway’s extinction (Mooney 1907; Rountree 1987). Matrilineal descent and exogamous marriage with other groups [Blacks, Indians and Whites] winnowed the number of Nottoway “who inherit,” which in turn only enhanced the Trustees’ position and justified the management of needy households that “consist[ed] principally of women with large families of children” (LP Dec. 10, 1821). The limiting of descendants through reinforcing the Nottoway’s own decent reckoning was a clever way of managing the eligible recipients of Nottoway funds.

Trustees’ personal interest in Nottoway lands was a third reason for their closely managing the inheritance of the community. Despite their professed difficulties to the Legislature, the Trustees as White landowners were able to gradually syphon-off land from a “decreasing” community, and further, to alienate non-matrilineal individuals ineligible for rights to Nottoway resources. The sale of Nottoway lands served the

interests of those who could manipulate the situation. This strategy was recognized by an earlier generation of Trustees:

“And forasmuch as the appropriation of two such large tracts [the Circle and Square], for so small a number of [Nottoway] people, prevents the increase of inhabitants in that parish, and is therefore grievous and burthensome to the present parishioners” (Hening IV:459 [1734], brackets added).

Any decrease in Nottoway inheritors through removal or exogamy allowed larger amounts of money to remain in the trust because there were fewer eligible recipients. This in turn, provided the Trustees more control over matrilineal lands because there were fewer potential leaders to counter the Trustees’ recommendations. The Trustees controlled the finances and the terms of rentals and annuities, and influenced who participated in the internal management of the estate. For example, of the 12 twenty-one year leases contracted by the Trustees in 1772, seven leases were made among the Nottoway Trustees and their kinsmen (DB4:535-544, 546-547; DB5:1-3, 22-23, 516).

Thus the debt owed to the tribe and the annuity disbursements made by the Trustees *were sourced one and the same*. Further, the twenty-one year “lease” of twelve tracts stipulated that the occupants,

“build & completely finish a Dwelling House 12 by 16 feet the Frame to be sawed Covered with Featheredge Plank & Shingles with good Pine or Cypress Shillings [shingles] and Shall moreover plant inclose with good fences and Cultivate fifty apple Trees in the said land...[and] shall not cut down more than half of the Timber...and will after the said Dwelling House is built and orchard Planted fenced and Cultivated Keep the same in good Order and sufficient repair” (DB5:22-23).

I would argue that it was doubtful the Trustees intended the Nottoway to ever re-occupy the developed rental properties, but the intention to permanently settle and cultivate the land is unmistakable. When the twenty-one year leases expired, the Nottoway headmen and Trustees petitioned the General Assembly to sell the leased lands

as “the profits arising from the said land being insufficient for a necessary support” (LP Oct. 9, 1792; contra Rountree 1987:199). The rental properties were sold, with the Trustees being the primary recipients of the land [Table 10]. While some payments for the properties were concluded within several years, the Trustees’ control over Nottoway finances allowed some payments to stretch-out over an additional twenty years, and thus never fully amounted to the principal for the tribe’s “necessary support.” The funds arising from the land sales were to be

“put in the hands of Trustees, or placed in some fund, Where the Interest may be drawn Annually & if the Interest should prove insufficient, so much of the principal as may be thought necessary for the support” (LP Oct. 9, 1792).

1794 Purchaser	Acreage	Amount	Notes
John Thomas Blowe	734	£691	Trustee; Lessee; title confirmed Jan. 1803; <i>Rose Hill</i> Plantation
Thomas Ridley	848	£1007.5.8	Trustee; title confirmed May 1815
Theophilus Scott	115	£70.0.1	Witnessed other 1794 Trustee purchases
Samuel Blunt	458	£319.1	Trustee by 1800
Miles Cary	201	£100	Son later sold lands to Trustee Thomas Ridley
Miles Cary	400	£365.4	Previously leased to Trustee Edwin Gray; title confirmed Jan. 1797
Thomas Westbrook	293 ¼	<£165?	Trustee; Lessee; sale receipt, but no deed
Totals	2649	£2717+	

Table 10. **Nottoway 1794 land sales and purchasers.** *Sources:* DB8:97-99, 102-103, 153-154, 248-249, 250-251; LP Dec. 13, 1821.

As demonstrated in Table 10, the bulk of the principal from the 1790s land sales was *never fully attained*, which meant the interest never completely accrued or matured. This strategy depleted the principle amount in order to support Nottoway needs for capital outlay. In turn, additional Nottoway lands would need to be sold to replenish a principle that never fully stabilized. Being a Trustee could be a successful economic venture, and if capital was managed strategically, lucrative.

Over time, the Nottoway's Trustees purchased large tracts of reserved land that were made available for sale by petitions to the General Assembly. One cannot help but see the correlation between Nottoway land sales orchestrated by the Trustees and the purchasing of the same lands by the caretakers of Nottoway affairs (e.g. DB17:97-104).

Tracts leased or purchased by one Trustee were often sold to another or given to a family member. Twenty-five years after confirming his deed to Nottoway land, Miles Cary's son George sold his parcel and tract "No.2" [surveyed at 643 acres] to Trustee Thomas Ridley for \$3000 (DB19:495), a handsome profit on the initial £465 investment.

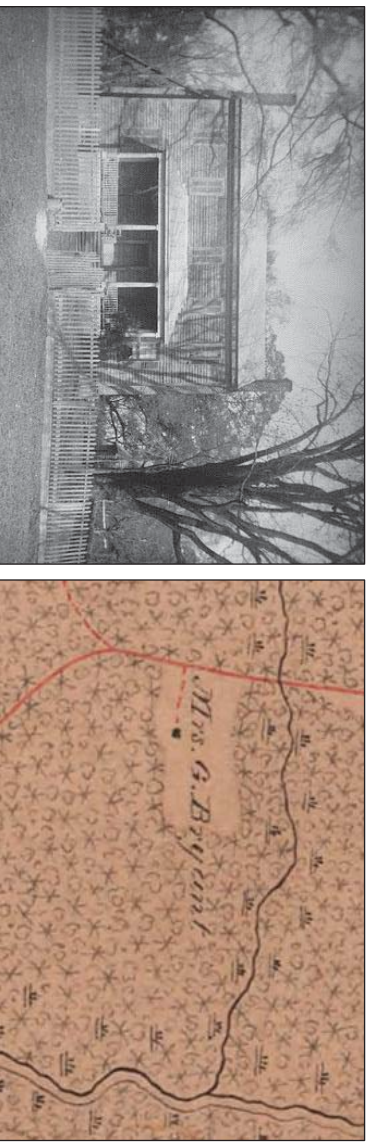


Figure 17. **The Rose Hill plantation.** The clapboard house [pictured left] was built by the Trustee Blowe family and was later occupied by the Nicholson/Bryant families, 1828-1876 [right]. *Rose Hill* was situated on the centerline of the old Nottoway Square Tract, atop previous Nottoway [*Ronotoughl*] and Weyanoke [*Marekeek*] village sites (Binford 1967:157, 204; Francis Kello, pers. comm., 2006; Russell Darden, pers. comm., 2009; Tauchiray MS). The Kello family has occupied the property from 1876 until present. In the right image, Indian Town Road runs southwest in red toward Nottoway Town and Jerusalem. The manor house was placed on the National Registry of Historic Places in 1979. *Sources:* Gilmer Map, 1863; WPA 1937, Richard Kello Home [293].

No doubt the Carys benefitted from the sale of timber, agricultural endeavors and the development of “all the tenements” they transferred to Ridley. After twenty-one years of leasing Nottoway land for less than £20 annually (DB5:516), Trustee John Thomas Blow took another ten years to settle his purchase, only doing so near the time he willed the property to his son Henry (DB8:97; WB5:524). With this 1804 transfer, Henry Blow

further developed his father's plantation, one of several family-owned farms in the neighborhood. Included in the property transfer was the nursery planted in the 1770s [from the Nottoway rental agreement, see above], significant livestock holdings, farming hardware, milled lumber [from Nottoway timber], a brandy still and barrels, and nineteen enslaved people. Henry Blow built a manor house on the tract c. 1805-1815 and named it *Rose Hill* [Figure 17]; his brother John Thomas, Jr. followed their senior father and became a manager of the Nottoway trust.

Trustee Thomas Westbrook intended his purchased Indian land to be transferred to his heirs, but after his death the remaining Trustees assumed the Westbrook tract – apparently without anyone being the wiser. Twenty-eight years later, Harriett Bendall tried to claim her father Thomas Westbrook's purchase, but found the Trustees had not executed a deed for the 1794 transaction. It is unclear what fully transpired in the Bendall case, as the Westbrooks purchased (DB1:102-106) and leased (DB5:516) Nottoway land for almost fifty years. Bendall requested the Trustees' settlement of the matter, providing both a plat and a receipt for the 293¼ acres, but the “Trustees refuse[d] to make a deed for the Said tract of land without the direction of the Legislature.” Here, the Trustees used the state apparatus to the disadvantage of Bendall, with hopes of dissuading her query.

To the surprise of the Trustees, Bendall petitioned the General Assembly. A bill was passed in her favor, requiring the Trustees to honor the almost thirty-year old deal. Apparently a resolution was quietly reached, as the newly deeded land was carved from the 1794 sales along Buckhorn Swamp, then claimed by former or current Trustees Samuel Blunt, John Thomas Blow and Thomas Fitzhugh (DB19:130-131; LP Dec.13, 1821).

No money was exchanged in the 1823 Bendall resolution and the private account books of the Trustees remain silent on the topic. The land given to Bendall, was however “low ground” and the least desirable land for farming. Possibly it was meant to be timbered, but clearly portions of it were *not* the farmlands her father Thomas Westbrook began renting in 1773 or later purchased in 1794. The boundaries of the recorded deed indicate the Buckhorn Swamp was the dominant topographic feature decided to Harriett Bendall:

“down the meandering run...to Oreaky branch thence...to its junction with Buckhorn Swamp...across the run of the Buckhorn Swamp to...the edge of the Low Grounds in...Samuel Blunts line thence along the edge of the low Grounds down the Buckhorn to the mouth of the Briery Branch thence down the various courses of the edge of the low grounds to the high water mark of...Buckhorn Swamp to the mouth of the Cabin Branch thence down the main run of the said swamp to where the beginning line extended” (DB19:130).

Bendall’s reaction to her receipt of Trustee swampland was not recorded, but one gets the sense the Trustees did not appreciate the inquiry or implications, particularly since they had assumed ownership of the tract.

Like Bendall, the Nottoway were not passive recipients of the Trustees’ strategies. A telling document from the first decade of the nineteenth century hints at the cloaked or antagonistic relationship the community had with its Trustees:

“We [Trustees] cannot forbear to express our regret that complaints have been made against us of the manner in which we have conducted the affairs of the Indians; Though we much acknowledge, that we should have been more peculiarly fortunate than any other men to whom the management of their affairs has been interested, to have escaped their complaints if we had been acquainted with the nature of them, it is very probable we should have been able to have exposed their futility” (Cabell Papers, July 18, 1808).

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Edith Turner was the most vocal of the Nottoway leaders against Trustee dysfunction. Regarding the complaints of the headwoman, the Trustees broke from their typical polite business commentary to remark,

“We doubt much whether it would be possible for her to be satisfied long with the united attentions of every man in Virginia” (Cabell Papers, July 18, 1808).

A portion of the Trustees’ response may be attributed to their expectation of deferential relations between men and women of Southampton. Both Bendall’s and Turner’s public refusal and open challenge to the elite male Trustees were counter to social norms of nineteenth-century Southern society. Turner, as a matrilineal headwoman, ran completely outside of Virginia’s standards of social intercourse, a conflict of cultures noted by British colonial officials and Euro-Americans repeatedly in the eighteenth century (Hatley 1993:52-63; Perdue 1999).

Due	£	\$	ð	Credit	£	\$	ð
Amt. of Debt.	742	0	8¼	General Acct.	1528	17	11¾
Amt. of allowances this year	153			John Wright’s Debt	451	6	8
Balance due Ruffin & Urquhart	48	0	5	Ridley’s Debt supposed	543		
Contingencies				Wilkinson’s Debt	134	17	4
				Amount of Interest	95	17	8¼
				Rent due	3		
				Of the above, the Sum of three hundred and ninety pounds and 9½ is due from the Trustees.			

Table 11. **“Debt and credit of the Nottoway Tribe on the first day of January 1809,”** transcribed from the Trustees’ report on the Nottoway. *Source:* Cabell Papers.

Despite the Trustees’ disdain for headwoman Edith Turner, Nottoway complaints continued and signaled a level of on-going impropriety. At the turn of the nineteenth century, the General Assembly for the first time removed all of the Nottoway Trustees from office and ordered an audit of the tribal accounts. The impetus for Nottoway action may have been the effort to get their affairs in order, in order to facilitate relocation to New York. The language of the act suggests the Nottoway complained of abuse and requested “a settlement of their accounts, and...demand [to] recover from them [the former Trustees], or the executors or administrators of them, or any of them, whatever

sum or sums of money or tobacco may be justly due from them” (Shepard 1836 III:346-347).

The successes of Nottoway intervention likely assisted those Virginia Iroquoian-speakers who joined the Tuscarora emigration northward; the State’s admonishment of the Trustees likely had local-level retributive consequences for Indian Town as well. A similar Trustee turnover again occurred in the 1810s, when Nottoway complaints again required the Commonwealth to regulate Trustee oversight of tribal affairs. The Trustees were found to be syphoning off Nottoway money and mismanaging lands, loans and rentals to the advantage of White landowners. The documentary record of the specific outcomes of this Nottoway complaint remains unclear. By the late 1810s, a new set of Trustees was “recently appointed to manage their affairs” (LP Dec. 16, 1818). Further investigation into the finances revealed, “that upon a settlement with their former Trustee, a balance of five hundred & two dollars 28/100 was all that remained of the proceeds” (LP Dec. 16, 1818). Judging from the amounts of money being handled by the Trustees for land sales, land leases and personal loans ten years earlier [Table 11], some mismanagement was indeed at work. Nottoway dissatisfaction with their Trustees continued through the first half of the nineteenth century, as demonstrated by the tribe’s multiple court cases and legislative petitions (e.g. *CC Indian Trustees vs. Cobb et al.*, 1849-1852; LP Dec. 11, 1821; Dec. 13, 1823).

Wealth Building of the Nottoway Trustees

The coveting of Nottoway land appears as a reoccurring theme in the extant Trustee discourse. By the 1820s, the Trustees recommended to the General Assembly that

they, along with the Southampton Court, should be given the local authority to manage Nottoway affairs of finance and land. This arrangement would “prevent the necessary recurrence to your honorable body whenever any new state of things presents itself” and allow the Trustees and Court “to be vested with the authority to direct & superintend the management of the whole matter” (LP Dec. 10, 1821). The close relationship of the County Court officials [Clerks, Judges], the Nottoway Trustees, lawyers and the land-owning elite of Southampton reflected the conjoined interests of the upper socio-economic class. Freeing the Nottoway managers from legislative oversight lessened the burdensome bureaucracy of liquidating tribal assets. When reading the Nottoway documentary record it becomes clear that the Trustees, County administrators and local men of finance were in regular communication with one another. They consistently engaged the Nottoway on economic terms, with their primary attention focused on land and its unrealized potential for productivity:

“[The Nottoway occupy] all high land, the greater part is commonly planted with corn, which is never well cultivated” (Cabell Papers, July 18, 1808).

“That the tract of land which belongs to them is extremely valuable, and much more extensive than can be required for purposes of husbandry by your petitioners” (LP Dec. 16, 1818).

“if these resources are to be the only acres out of their very valuable landed possessions from which they are permitted to reap any benefit that the whole should remain an uncultivated wilderness” (LP Dec. 10, 1821).

“their lands are capable of producing any and every crop common for this section of country, & blessed with the finest cattle & hog range, yet they don’t make a support by one half” (Cobb to Bowers Dec. 31, 1821).

“they are in possession of a large and valuable tract of land” (LP Dec. 14, 1822).

Here, the asymmetry of Nottoway territory’s peripheralization may be seen, the *deepening* of Southampton’s capitalist development, through the coveting and

commodification of Indian land. The Nottoway retained semi-control over resources that had not been fully integrated into the market, which in this case, were timber and agricultural lands. Southampton's producers coveted Nottoway territory's unrealized resource potential and sought to manipulate control. By taking advantage of the tribe's weakened political position, the Trustees' actions demonstrate the shifting power relations within the periphery. No longer sizable in population and no longer of utility as Indian warriors and deerskin traders for a young colony, the Nottoway were dependent upon the Commonwealth for protection. As semi-wards of the state, Virginia's Iroquoians did not fully control tribal resources or manage tribal assets.

The tributary relationship between the Nottoway and Virginia was a relic from the colonial era. The structural shift of Virginia-Indian relations from a state-focused relationship to one of local administration signals the deterioration of the Nottoway position within the political economy. It also demonstrates that conceptions of *separate peoples* from two societies were converging toward *peoples* within a single society. Indigenous title to land proved to be a hindrance for wresting away localized control of the Nottoway assets. As long as the tribe held communal property they were tributary to Virginia; the state structures [even at the local level] provided some level of protection for Indian Town. The Trustees, however, wielded the economic prowess and political power. The Nottoway were easy prey for their manipulation.

The Trustees' continued maladministration and nepotism is exemplified in financial dealings of two men: Thomas Ridley II and Jeremiah Cobb – Trustees who served decades apart – but because of the county's political economy, were interrelated. Linking Trustees like Ridley and Cobb to the nineteenth-century finances of the Nottoway

provides context for the tribe's land sales, ever-depleted capital and eventual reservation allotment.

Thomas Ridley was one of the Trustees engaged in the 1790s land transactions and removed from office by the General Assembly in 1805 (LP Dec. 9, 1803). Despite his removal from managing Nottoway affairs, he remained apprised of events, commerce and happenings at Nottoway Town. The son of a Virginia delegate and state senator, Ridley owned a large plantation in the neighborhood named *Rock Spring*. As a former Trustee of the tribe, Ridley would have been keenly aware of the Nottoway's socio-economic situation and the superior quality of the tribe's land and timber. According to the Trustees' report of 1808, Ridley owed over \$500 to the Nottoway estate, likely a balance due from his 1794 purchase of 848 Nottoway acres [See Tables 10 and 11].

Ridley did not settle his account until 1815, and there are no records to suggest he was pressed to do so by his fellow Trustees. In fact, when asked by the Governor in 1809 for a full accounting of the Nottoway finances, the Trustees responded, "to produce a voucher for every article in our accounts would be almost impossible," however they assured the Governor everything was in order, "in the management of the business of the Tribe we have always used all the peculiarity we thought necessary." The Trustees acknowledged they furnished and financed all Nottoway affairs, but postponed "a detail account of the Indian business" or providing "the book containing the whole accounts relative their affairs" until a later date (Palmer X:53).

The Trustees deferred payments over many years, used the Nottoway trust to fund portions of their own financial dealings and personally profited from the development of Nottoway lands. All the while, they doled out applications made by the Nottoway "for a

little money...articles charged...[or] a barrel of corn” (ibid). The relationship of the Trustees to the Nottoway remained remarkably consistent for almost 150 years, regardless of generation or length of appointment: Thomas Ridley, Henry Blow, William Blow, Samuel Blunt and James Wilkerson [among others] were all Trustees who used the Nottoway trust for personal profit and gain, were indebted to the Nottoway estate and employed those resources for familial wealth-building to the disadvantage of the Nottoway people.

As Trustees of the Nottoway, Virginia’s esteemed Blow family built portions of their wealth from Iroquoian peoples’ holdings. The Blows were colonial and antebellum plantation owners, and later, bankers, real estate investors and manufacturers. Alumni of the College of William & Mary, members of the Blow family sat on the College’s Board of Visitors and were building-fund philanthropists for William & Mary’s institutional development [e.g. Blow Memorial Hall]. Consequently, the College can be counted among the benefactors of siphoned-off Indian lands and trust funds. The family’s impressive body of correspondences, ledger books and financial papers are housed in Swem Library’s Special Collections – including rare private documents accounting Nottoway indentures, deeds and land records.

Thus it is not surprising that some records of the Trustees’ personal indentures and Indian accounting remained in the possession of individuals or the Trustee “Board chair, cashier and clerk,” not in public record (e.g. Ayer MS 3212; Cabell Papers, July 18, 1808; VHS MS 11:2 Si475:1, MS 11:2 B6235:1, MS 11:4 J2324:1). This tradition of irregularity, what we would today call a *conflict of interest* or *misappropriation*, would later be revealed through court proceedings as financial discrepancies between the

Trustees' accounting led to a civil suit. The Trustee accused of mismanagement was Jeremiah Cobb – the Nottoway's acting Treasure 1821-1846. His tenure coincides with the period of the reservation's final land sales, the Legislative allotment of tribal lands and the first series of allotments requested by eligible matrilineal Nottoway (CC Jan. 10, 1849).

Cobb was a part of the rising Democratic machine in Southampton; he was a long time member of the county court and a state legislator in the 1830s (Crofts 1992:130). Historian Stephen Oates notes that Cobb was “an eminent citizen of the county...had a large family and possessed an impressive home and some thirty-two slaves.” Jeremiah Cobb was also the presiding judge over the Nat Turner trial in 1831 (1975:124). However, despite his eminence, Cobb like Thomas Ridley was removed as a Nottoway Trustee by the State's executive branch in 1846 (CC Jan. 10, 1849).

During the years of 1818-1821, a group of recently appointed Trustees petitioned the Legislature to sell Nottoway land needed for “furnishing them [the Nottoway] with the necessaries of life” (LP Dec. 16, 1818). Jeremiah Cobb was one of the Trustees who spearheaded the effort and kept regular correspondence with the County's legislator Carr Bowers in Richmond. The legislative petitions filed during this period suggest competing views from the Nottoway, their Trustees and Cobb about how best to stabilize the tribe's growing debt and financial security (LP Dec. 16, 1818; LP Dec. 8, 1819; LP Dec. 10 1821; LP Dec. 14, 1822). Though thwarted from selling as much of the Nottoway land as he recommended, Cobb persevered and arranged to sell one quarter of the tribe's 4235 acres in four divisions (LP Dec. 14, 1819; DB17:97-104).

Former Trustee Thomas Ridley, then unaffiliated with the tribe, purchased three of the four tracts offered – 843 acres of the approximately 1126 auctioned. Ridley paid \$4 per acre for 562 acres and \$5.93 per acre for another 281-acre tract, or a total of \$3914.33. Ridley’s newly purchased land was southwest of Indian Town along the Belfield Road and joined land already owned through the family’s earlier Nottoway purchases (Plat in LP Dec. 14, 1819; also see WPA 1937, Lang Synne [146], Rock Springs [590] and Rotherwood [554]). There, he continued to build his family’s estate by clearing the woodland and opening new agricultural fields. While already substantial landowners, within ten years the Ridley family was catapulted to one of the wealthiest in the South.

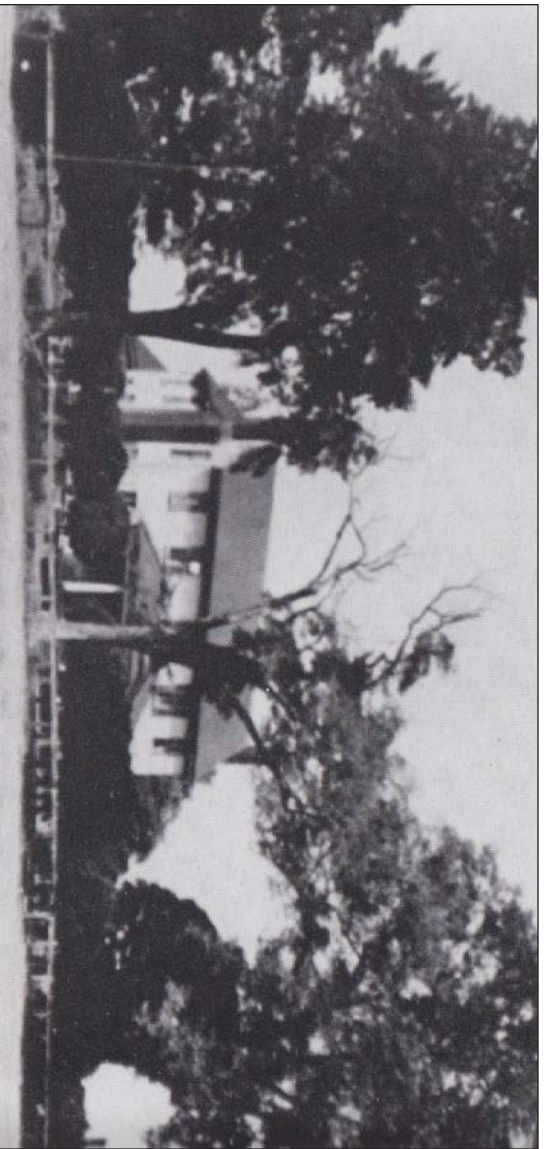


Figure 18. **Major Thomas Ridley’s *Bonnie Doone* plantation, c.1930.** The home was described as a “fortified refuge for women and children during the Nat Turner insurrection of 1831.” Ridley’s antebellum plantation was the largest to border Nottoway lands, adjacent to the Indian Woods south of Indian Town. *Source:* WPA 1937, Thomas Ridley Home [588]; photo courtesy of William Cole.

Thomas Ridley built a substantial home [Figure 18] in this corridor from the Indian land’s timber. Completed after the 1819-1820 transactions, the core of the plantation house was constructed from a dismantled dwelling belonging to George B. Cary, son of Nottoway land speculator, Miles Cary (William Cole, pers. comm., 2013).

The new house was built with “very heavy framing, and the best materials used throughout.” The two-story dwelling had a shingled gabled roof, three chimneys and was covered in beaded featheredge weatherboarding. The façade was typical for the “T” shaped manor house: a full-length front porch with Doric columns, eighteen-pane windows – twenty-six all total, with double revolving slat shutters. Six-panel pine doors opened to a large nine-room plastered interior with eleven-foot high ceilings and thick eight-inch wide floorboards. The home had ornately carved mantels and a hand-carved staircase armature. Elaborate balusters, handrails and a newel post greeted visitors at the front entrance. Truly Thomas Ridley’s plantation, which was named “Bonnie Doone,” was “one of the finest” homes in Southampton County (WPA 1937, Thomas Ridley Home [588]).

Like Jeremiah Cobb and their grandfather, Thomas Ridley’s sons Robert and Thomas [III] became important Democratic political figures in antebellum Virginia. Robert was a state legislator and Democratic delegate to the 1850-1851 Virginia Convention and Thomas helped drum-up voter support for landslide Democratic victories in Southampton elections, 1839-1840 (Crofts 1992:129, 162-164). In 1830 the family operated one of the largest plantations in the region and owned over 145 enslaved peoples; by 1840 the family’s slave-holdings included 262 coerced laborers (Crofts 1992:123), which “in terms of slave wealth, placed them among the Old South’s elite” (Oats 1975:2).

The Ridleys were leaders of Southampton’s political and economic upper class, but connecting the Ridleys to Nottoway resources and the benefits of the Trustee Circle provides a new perspective to the family’s wealth building. The Ridleys and their

contemporary planter neighbors more fully invested and developed plantation structures during the Antebellum, a period that coincided with the rise of America's Southern agricultural economy. The era also corresponded to the allotment of Southampton Nottoway lands in severalty. As individual farms became more tightly organized, with attention to increased profit of agricultural pursuits, the Nottoway struggled with their Trustee managers for control over Indian land, its resources and the flow of capital.

The Nottoway were completely emmeshed with Southampton's political economy and the tribe's engagement with the county's capitalist headmen cannot be separated from the community's transformation. The motivations of the Trustees can be justly questioned, "whose duty [it] was to watch over their interests, and guard them from insult and injury" (Jefferson 1787:157), but the political economy in which both Southampton and the Nottoway operated within was the developing capitalist world-system. In as much, the Nottoway were impacted by the system's growth. Nottoway territory transitioned from the broadening processes of incorporation toward the deepening of capitalist activities as Southampton continued to peripheralize. Understanding this process makes the Nottoway experience seem less like the "pathetic history" as described by Rountree (1987:205) and more fully explains the "hooking" of the community into the cycles of commerce "in such a way that it virtually can no longer escape" (Wallerstein 1989:130). Soon, with an increased need for capital, the Nottoway would also develop plantation-like structures, produce cash crops and more fully engage in wage labor – all evidence that that tribal community was part of the periphery.

The Last Reservation Land Sales, 1818-1822

The Nottoway recognized the Trustees' mismanagement of their lands and financial trust. It is clear from the tribe's c.1800-1825 legislative petitions and the Trustee discourse with the Governor's office that disenfranchisement and financial misappropriation were central Nottoway complaints against their guardians through the 1820s. An accounting of the land sold and the finances documented by the Trustees also reveal the Nottoway estate acted as the investment vehicle for the Trustees' personal coffers. The Trustees used Nottoway capital to fund their own financial enterprise, stretching some deposits into the Nottoway trust over long periods of time, and in turn, drawing down the principal through annuities. These acts accomplished their intended results: 1) the Trustees used the Nottoway estate as a mechanism to control and build wealth within Southampton, 2) the principle investments into the Nottoway trust never reached full capacity or maturity because the Trustees lengthened their payments or installments to their own benefit. Nottoway annuities depleted existing deposits and the minimally accrued interest as Trustees drew off principle, which 3) demanded more Nottoway land be sold to settle debt and create new capital. The inner circle of Nottoway Trustees, even with executive-ordered replacements, remained linked through marriage, kinship and the economics of Southampton County's elite families.

Official documents from Commonwealth inquiries do not reveal if there were ever any state-enforced sanctions made against the removed Trustees, nor if any redress was made for financial impropriety. Trustee removal was the only penalty documented in the statehouse records, aside from balancing the Nottoway books once new Trustees were appointed. As new Trustees were often closely related to the previous appointments, the

audit process was likely superficial. Eventually, one set of Trustees, brothers Jeremiah and Benjamin Cobb were held accountable in Southampton Court for embezzling Nottoway funds. It was one of the few instances where Nottoway Trustees were officially sanctioned for mismanagement and impropriety (CO1832-1858:289).

In the years prior to the reservation's allotment, scandals such as these removed several sets of Nottoway Trustees. Since Trustees could appoint new Nottoway guardians, nepotism was one means by which the Trustees retained control of the tribal estate. Removed Trustees were replaced by their sons, brothers, cousins, in-laws or neighbors, after which, they all continued to buy, sell and trade Nottoway assets. Trustee replacement also came via the deaths of some tribal managers. These deceased account holders never fully realized their intended contributions to the estate and Trustee accounting depleted the owed monies as loss. However, the reshuffling of Trustees in the late 1810s and Nottoway activism against their guardians allowed some tribal redress. Trustee mismanagement of Nottoway funds and the growing participation of Indian Town residents in the agricultural economy created a need for more individual capital and spurred Nottoway leaders' agency to gain control over the community's assets.

Nottoway push back took several forms during the late 1810s and early 1820s. First, the Turner and Woodson *ohwachira* leaders, from the extended matrilineages, sought outside legal representation to counter Trustee political and economic domination. Second, the Nottoway utilized strategic presentations to convince legislators and other bureaucrats of the tribe's ability to manage their own affairs. Leaders signed documents in Iroquoian "after convened in council" and presented *ohwachira* headmen as literate and industrious. Third, Nottoway agency utilized the state legislative and judicial

apparatus to wrestle control of Indian Town resources more fully away from Trustee oversight. Eventually, *ohwachira* leaders became the first allottees, in an effort to reassert traditional leadership roles as the brokers and negotiators of Indian Town. Nottoway resistance and agency can be seen through a careful examination of the last reservation land sales and in the move to allotment.

The Trustees petitioned the Legislature to sell more lands in December 1818. The newly appointed Trustees revealed “that upon a settlement with their former Trustee,” only a small portion of the estate remained for the community’s subsistence. The Trustees’ petition recommended selling “the balance of their land and directing the proceeds to be invested in some profitable stock in such a manner that your petitioners will certainly enjoy the benefit thereof.” Besides selling *all* the remaining Nottoway acreage, the Trustees further suggested that if the lands could be quickly sold, “that it would considerably augment the amount of sales to sell it on an *extensive credit*, the amount being made payable in annual installments” (LP Dec. 18, 1818, emphasis added).

It is unclear whether the 1818 request to sell the remaining Nottoway lands emerged directly from the Nottoway or the new Trustees, but the recommendation of a timed installment plan would seem to be a result of the previous Trustee mismanagement. The genesis of the petition to sell the “balance” of the trust lands came from some plan hatched by a series of prominent Southampton men. Three sets of Trustees appear on consecutive Nottoway documents sent to the Virginia Assembly:

<u>1816</u>	<u>1818</u>	<u>1819</u>
Samuel Blunt	John T. Blow	John T. Blow
Benjamin Cobb	Colin Kitchen	Benjamin Cobb
Joshua Fort	John Rochelle	Jeremiah Cobb
John Rochelle	Henry Welsh	Thomas Fitzhugh
Henry Welsh		Henry Welsh

The 1819 rearrangement within the Trustee ranks likely reflects differences newly appointed Colin Kitchen and John Rochelle had with the other Trustees. Merchant Colin Kitchen’s family was dominantly from the upper county where politics of emancipation and smallholding farms reigned. This position contrasted with the large slave-holding plantations of Fitzhugh, Blow and the Cobbs. According to the 1830-1840 Southampton election returns, the Kitchens and Rochelles voted for the Whig party – a semi-egalitarian political faction with liberal tendencies – rallied around emancipatory and equality rhetoric. The Cobbs and Blows were Democrats, from the lower county planter-class, with more association as elite slaveholders alongside former Trustees Ridley and Blunt (Crofts 1992:15, 134-140, 161; Parramore 1992:51, 96). The contrast in the 1818 and 1819 Nottoway Trustee roster shows a realignment of Democrat, large slave-holding plantation owners over Nottoway affairs. John T. Blow II, son of a former Nottoway Trustee by the same name, and local magistrate Jeremiah Cobb led the newly formed Trustee Circle.

With the ousted Trustee Kitchen as their witness, the adult Nottoway majority protested the 1818 Trustee land-sale petition, stating that despite the testimony of the Trustees confirming the tribe’s endorsement of the previous request, the Nottoway objected to the particulars. Submitted by their attorney Thomas M. Jeffries and the Southampton Sheriff Edward S. Butts, the 1819 Nottoway counter-petition indicated the

community was “dissatisfied” with the act to sell “three thousand acres” because “a sale of a larger quantity of land was authorized than they wished.” The Nottoway disagreed with the sale being “discretionary with the Commissioners [Trustees] to sell such a part as they might think proper” and argued the “the credit upon which it was to be sold was too long.” Recalling the slight-of-hand accounting and bureaucratic machinations of earlier Trustees, the Nottoway suggested the General Assembly should specify the “provision for the compensation to the Commissioners for their trouble & responsibility,” and thereby outlining in law what fees “might accrue in carrying the aforesaid sale into effect.” Clearly the Nottoway were resisting the Trustee system and attempting to use the state apparatus to resituate themselves more in control of their own affairs. Moreover, the Nottoway were acting as a corporate unit – a tribal body – asserting community consensus and a strong sense of Nottoway peoplehood.

The Nottoway refused the sale of all of their remaining lands [estimated at 4200 acres], as it would “completely dispossess several of your petitioners of their plantations & settlements on which they have resided for several years.” Acknowledging the “reduced state of their fund” the Nottoway counter-petitioned the “legislature to amend the former law...or to pass a new law authorizing...[the] sale of the land contained in the annexed plat containing one thousand acres.” Indian Town outlined their preferred terms in the new request:

“From one to two thousand dollars *in cash* and the balance upon *one or two years credit*; the object your petitioners have for a part of the proceeds of the sale in being in cash is to discharge the debts which they already owe and to have some funds remaining to answer any contingency which may occur, before the installments may be paid or become due” (LP Dec. 14, 1819, emphasis added).

In this way, the Nottoway could settle all debts and any unforeseen fees before the capital amount began to accrue interest, and thereby protect the principal balance. Indian Town would also only release lands not then occupied by the residents along the main Indian path and thus continue to reserve lands for use as needed. Based on the Nottoway's sense of their Trustees' previous misappropriations and scandals, the tribe's lawyer requested the enabling act oblige the Trustees to merely require a "lien upon the land as the only security" of the said purchasers and thus open the bidding to a wider body of potential buyers, rather than just former Trustees and other wealthy landowners. As well, the tribe recommended offering the land in four separate tracts as to attract smallholders. Lastly, the Nottoway again pleaded with the General Assembly to hold the Trustees accountable, "that the said Trustees be compelled to account annually with the executive of the Commonwealth."

The 1819 document was endorsed by the marks of twelve adult Nottoway, including Edith Turner at the top of the petition and undersigned by literate William and John Woodson – the two head males of the Woodson *ohwachira*. The Trustees included a letter with the new petition, which they did not personally endorse, reminding the House of the dire straits of the tribe's financial situation and stated "the tribe will never consent that the law of the first session of the legislature shall be carried into effect for the reasons they have assigned in their petition." The bill was deemed reasonable, drawn and passed in February 1820 (LP Dec. 14, 1819; Dec. 10, 1821).

The Nottoway had once again successfully pushed back against the Trustees, demonstrated their understanding of the state's bureaucracy and their growing prowess in financial affairs. However, like the 1821-1823 Trustee response to the Harriett Bendall

petition, the Trustees would not to be undone in the politics of Southampton finance. By the December 1821 Legislative session, the Trustees appealed to the General Assembly for more direct control over Nottoway affairs. Smarting from the Bendall Act and complaining that the interest of the new funds was insufficient to support the Nottoway material needs, the Trustees requested the county court be given full jurisdiction over Nottoway concerns, including annual accounting, the determination of individual tribal annuities and that the “Trustees [should] collect so much of the said outstanding installments [of the land payments] as might be necessary for the purpose [of distributing annuities] & leave the rest in the hands of the purchasers carrying legal interests...this arrangement would be infinitely preferable” to the previous act of the General Assembly. Here, the Trustees requested the complete jurisdiction of the tribe’s finances be transferred to Southampton and that the old method of allowing purchasers [former Trustees] of Nottoway land retain the principal amount, drawing down the fund as needed to cover expenses. Within this scheme, the Trustees could recover their own existing expenses from the principal and allow their colleagues to retain capital for their own uses and thus influence the Nottoway estate’s management at the local level (LP Dec. 10, 1821, brackets added). Therefore, the Nottoway’s previous victory was overshadowed by the Trustees’ counter-legislative efforts.

Ignoring the previous year’s Nottoway petition, the Legislature deemed the Trustee request “reasonable” in January of 1822. The Nottoway did not endorse the petition and instead found new legal representation to propose another arrangement. The tribe needed monies for new agricultural pursuits and to support growing families, then upwards of thirty matrilineal members. Headed by the Woodson *chwachira*, the

Nottoway also sought cash to pay for mounting legal fees associated with pursuing the tribal estate and for defense attorneys needed by individual tribal members. Chief magistrate Thomas M. Randolph and two other men [John B. Richardson and Joseph Danforth] witnessed the competing Nottoway tribal petition to the General Assembly. The document was worded in a similar manner to the earlier Trustee petitions, which appear to have been an attempt on the part of the tribe’s lawyer to style the language after previously successful Trustee legislative requests. In this accommodation, the Nottoway professed portions of the reserved lands were “useless” and that the present needs of the community outweighed the land’s ability to provide them sustenance. The 1821 Nottoway petition contained something very different, however, from any previous request: upon mutual agreement reached by the tribe “convened in Council,” they requested the Legislature “*to have their lands divided amongst them*” (LP Dec. 11, 1821, emphasis added).

The tribe argued there was “no longer any game worth pursuing” on their lands and that the timber was not being equally divided or properly harvested to the community’s benefit. Interestingly, matrilineal usufruct was singled out in the petition as a detriment. The argument presented the Nottoway lands as

“being held in common, which tenure takes away the main inducement to industry in the cultivation of them, derived from certainty that the benefit to be received will leave a just proportion to the efforts made by each individual. It is found to be impossible to divide a common crop, made by a number of persons of various power, and different wills, so as to give to each a share strictly proportioned to the part taken in the labour performed, and in consequence of long continued dissatisfaction on that head, at length no crop at all is made” (LP Dec. 11, 1821).

The Nottoway portrait of their dire situation likely reflected the unevenness of tribal members’ engagement with the market economy. But it was also likely a strategic ploy to

convince the General Assembly that the Nottoway could deal with their own welfare and remove themselves “from the control of the Trustees and all other restrictions” (LP Dec. 13, 1823). Trustee malpractice and impropriety clearly motivated the Nottoway to suggest they would be better off handling their own affairs. The task, however, was to convince the Assembly that the tribe could participate in the agrarian society that now surrounded them and as landowners, could responsibly manage their business without Trustee interference. The Nottoway wanted to assert control over their own community affairs and manage the finances of land sales and leases.

As with the 1819 petition, the Nottoway relied on judicial officials to assist their engagement with the bureaucracy of the state. Different sheriffs, magistrates and lawyers endorsed Nottoway documents from this period, indicating the Nottoway had some legal council through these legislative processes. Decades of legal representation also demonstrate that Indian Town leaders were strategic and semi-conversant in the judicial system in which they were ensnared. The Nottoway repeatedly and effectively engaged the state machinery and argued against generations of Trustee abuse and manipulation.

Given the political, economic and legal restrictions colonialism imposed upon the Nottoway, the tribe likely sought alliances where they could. Circumstantial evidence suggests that some of their advocacy came from upper Southampton County – from individuals like Colin Kitchen and John Rochelle – White men with liberal tendencies. Linguistic evidence suggests Nottoway sympathizers included Quakers as well. William & Mary Professor John Wood collected an Iroquoian vocabulary with some Quaker religious content from Indian Town in 1820 and headman William Woodson-Bozeman likely received a Quaker education in northeastern Carolina (Jefferson Papers, APS).

Rountree argues that the Nottoway petition for land allotment was a request by Indian Town “for outright termination,” “detrribalization” and “the liquidation of the tribe as a legal entity” (1987:205-207). I would argue that the Nottoway allotment request reflected tribal frustration with government corruption, and came after decades of resistance and attempts to redress complaints. Nottoway allotment was an act of agency and an indigenous strategy to counter the paternalism of the Trustee system.

The 1821 Nottoway petition offered an alternative to Trustee “superintendence.” Headed by “the female chief” Edith Turner, the community argued they wanted a restriction placed on the potentially divided land, and thereby limit “the power to alienate the land allotted to each.” The tribe, in concert with the lineage-system, requested the “first, second, third and forth holders [generations] in succession” be prevented “from selling more than one fourth part, each, of the quantity actually confirmed each individual.” In this way, the growing Woodson *ohwachira* would see the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the 1810s newborns secure in their inheritance. For this consideration, the tribe requested “an extension of the time [for allotment] of minority among them and their descendants for a given number of years.” Thus the Nottoway proposed reserving some allotments until those minors matured (LP Dec. 11, 1821).

To emphasize the Nottoway request, the chief and three other signatories signed the document with Iroquoian titles or personal names: *Wane’ Roomseraw* or Edith Turner, *Kare’ hout* or Polly Woodson, Wm. Woodson and *Te-res-ke’* or Solomon Rogers [Figure 19]. Significantly, the 1821 Nottoway Legislative Petition is the only extant document of nineteenth-century Tidewater Virginia where Indian people use their indigenous language in political discourse. Rather than asking for “detrribalization,” the Nottoway

demonstrated their solidarity as Iroquoians and culturally articulated their self-direction. The counter-petition was an attempt by the Nottoway to remove themselves from the Trustee system – a state installed apparatus that had manipulated Indian resources for almost a century and largely benefitted White landowners. Simply put, the Nottoway wanted to determine how much land was sold in the future, have full control over the principal amounts derived and internally manage the distribution of those resources. In my view, the Nottoway request was about control of land and capital resources, and less about socio-political organization or status as a tribal or legal entity.

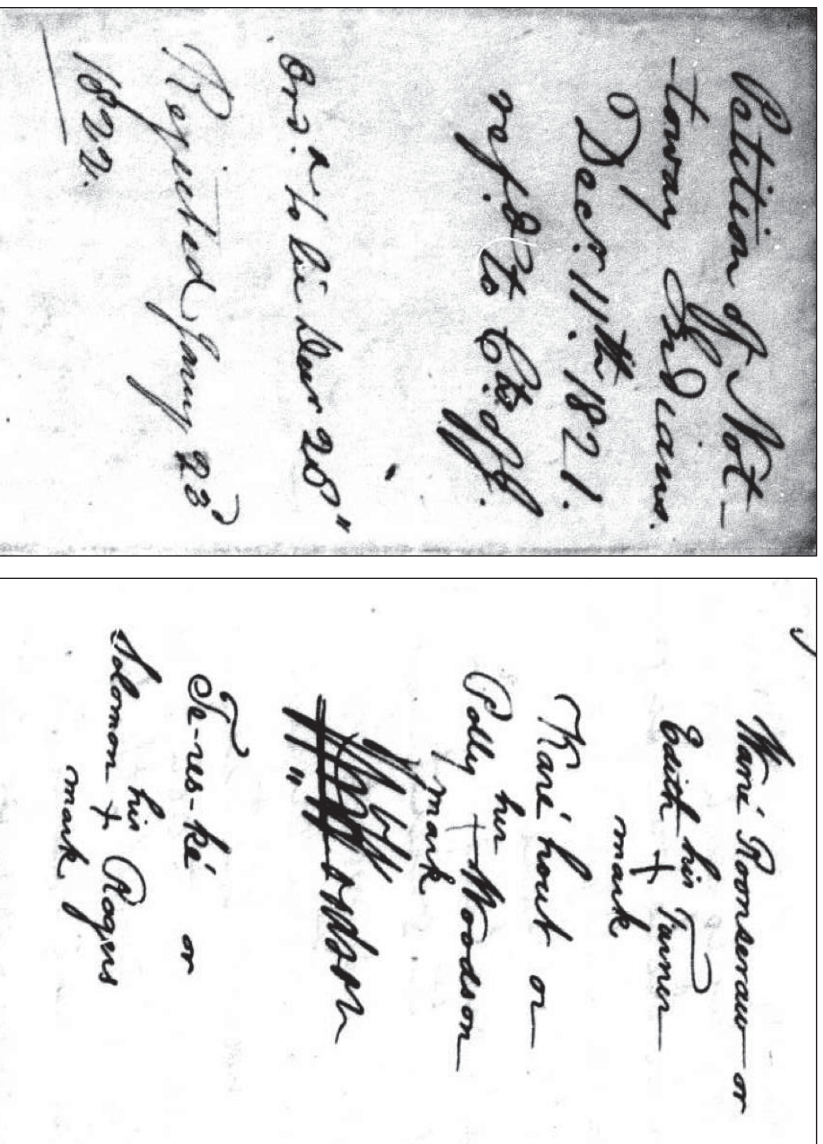


Figure 19. “Nottoway Indians” petition [right] without Trustee endorsement and signatories [left] in Iroquoian. The document clearly demonstrates the Nottoway community’s sense of Iroquoian peoplehood, communal agency and their resistance to Trustees mismanagement. *Source:* LP Dec. 11, 1821.

A generation after the allotment act was eventually passed, the Commonwealth's Attorney General confirmed the status of the Nottoway as "tributary" to Virginia, with "the individuals of the tribe hav[ing] all the privileges of Indians." As the Attorney General's legal opinion concerned a tribal member who had already had portions of his land allotted, I further argue that allotment did not change a Nottoway individual's legal status and had little or no bearing on whether lineage members applied for allotments. Future Nottoway applied for land allotments, received them and continued to operate within Southampton County as "descendant[s] of the Nottoway Tribe of Indians," and even led civil suits against Trustees as "members of said tribe" (CO1832-1858:309; DB28:699). Allotment and access to the tribal land was by matrilineal descent, further strengthening this perspective, as female tribal members who claimed allotments continued to pass their status along to future allottees as "descendants of females of the Nottoway Tribe of Indians" (e.g. CC Oct. 17, 1848). The 1821 Nottoway petition was a strategic maneuver by Indian Town to divest themselves of Trustee syphoning; the Iroquoians wanted more access to their capital and emphasized their interest in self-directing their affairs.

One of the signatories of the 1821 petition was William Woodson, also known as Billy Woodson and William G. Bozeman. William Woodson-Bozeman was a matrilineal member of the Woodson *ohwachira*, the son of Nancy Woodson [Indian] and Micajah "Mike" Bozeman, a White smallholding farmer. Young Bozeman's Quaker education and experience with his father's land dealing likely influenced this early Nottoway request for privatization and allotment. Bozeman was literate, had close association with his father's land purchases, monetary loans and farming ventures. He also worked his

own farm outfit, first as a laborer and then as a landowner (C1820, Halifax County, NC; DB19:136, Northampton County, NC; OB1819-1822:433; PPTL1807-1821). The “Free Colored” affines of Nottoway women, such as James Taylor and Burwell Williams, likely also provided some consultation on the Trustee issue and tribal financial situation, as these marriage partners worked the Nottoway land for profit and managed their own farms on matrilineal land.

As well, the Nottoway had engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry for many years, selling crops, livestock and home-manufactures in Southside markets. They worked as day laborers for monetary remuneration, purchased and hired slaves to work Nottoway agricultural lands and accumulated personal property. An 1820 visitor to Nottoway Town described headwoman Edith Turner as “extremely intelligent...although illiterate she converses and communicates her ideas with...facility and perspicuity.” While the Trustees dismissed Nottoway industry as not reaching the land’s full potential, outsiders suggested portions of the tribe’s “plantations” were “comfortable...[.] well furnished” and kept “in a good state of cultivation.” Onlookers to the 1819-1820 land sales remarked Indian Town “farming and other business” was managed “with discretion and profit” (*Gentleman’s Magazine* 1821:505-506; Cabell Papers 1808; Morse 1822:31; PPTL1782-1792, 1792-1806 and 1807-1821; OBI691-1713:83, Surry County, VA).

In contrast, the Trustees consistently portrayed the Nottoway as “unfortunate people” in a “miserable state,” arguing every attempt was made “to induce them to use the habits of sobriety, industry, frugality...but without effect” (Palmer X:46). The Trustees repeatedly described the Nottoway as “decreasing,” but more importantly for purposes here, they cast the community as “destitute of both economy, prudence or

industry” and as moral degenerates with “indolence and fondness for spirituous liquor” (Cobb to Bowers Dec. 31, 1821).

Therefore questions emerge, concerning just how the discrepancies of Nottoway Town are to be reconciled? How could the Nottoway be both indolent and productive? A critical approach recognizes *all of the Nottoway petitions* to the General Assembly, *whether by tribal direction or Trustee*, report the community in a state of despair. While there was likely truth in those documents, portraying the Nottoway as successful managers of their settlements would not provide the Legislature the necessary evidence to justify new land sales. A century of Trustee appropriations skimmed off the Nottoway estate contributed to the inability of the tribal funds to maintain a positive balance. The Trustees could not reveal this element of Nottoway finances. Thus the Nottoway were resisting a state-apparatus, but had to work within the confines of the system in order to meet their objectives. Combined, the Nottoway and the Trustees *both* had motivations for presenting the tribe in a reduced state.

One may also emphasize that by 1830 the Nottoway operated within the Southern U.S. economy, a periphery of the world economic-system; the frontier had closed in Southampton nearly a century earlier. Members of the Nottoway community were literate for over 100 years, educated by Anglicans at the College of William & Mary and in Quaker Meetinghouses in Southside Virginia-Carolina. They were fur traders, guides for western exploration, regional Indian diplomats and militarized warriors for a series of Euro-American seventeenth- and eighteenth-century conflicts. From these experiences, it is reasonable to argue that the Nottoway were conversant in property ownership and that the 1821 tribal petition expressed their wish to more fully manage their own affairs,

including market participation. The removal of economic barriers to capital contributed to the community's transformation as they more fully engaged the agro-industrial economy. As well, the tension created by Nottoway political action against the state-regulated Trustee system likely had other, unintended consequences (see Sider 1986:34-38; Wolf 1997:354-361, 379-384). I agree the entrance of the community into the market created a "viscous" cycle for the tribe economically (Rountree 1979a; 1987:200), but I disagree tribal members were passive recipients of capitalism who "refused to adopt new ways of life" (1987:201).

Instead, one may see a conservative but focused participation in the developing capitalist-system. There was agency in community members' choices within the very narrow series of options available to them. The Nottoway's final land sales and allotment request may be considered from the indigenous perspective of nearly five decades of Trustee maladministration. At least thirty of those years were spent conservatively and persistently prodding the state bureaucracy to regulate their agents and uphold previous agreements. The 1821 Nottoway petition for allotment was a unified attempt of the remaining matrilineages to maneuver away from Trustee oversight and to more fully control the tribal estate. The Nottoway wanted access to their own resources and the full amount of capital available to them. This stratagem attempted to block and counter the Trustees control of the same resources, which until that time had overwhelmingly benefitted the bourgeoisie Trustee Circle. Thus there was a competition between the tribe and their Trustees for the control of assets and capital. Explaining the Nottoway's actions from this perspective helps articulate the event-level evidence for the community's transition from an incorporating tribal sphere into peripheralizing Southampton.

An Act Concerning William G. Bozeman, 1824

The Nottoway tribal petition for allotment was rejected by the General Assembly in January of 1822. The House approved the Trustees' petition from the same year, but did not enable them to access any of the principal from the land sales [about \$4000]. The Trustees claimed the available interest for annuities only amounted to about three dollars per Nottoway, which was not adequate to satisfy the "demands" of the community. The Nottoway recognized the arrangements. As long as the General Assembly maintained the Trustee system, the elites of Southampton could manipulate the financial trust. Former Trustee Thomas Ridley had purchased nearly 850 Nottoway acres, the installments due within three years. The accounting of the \$4000 was in the hands of Jeremiah Cobb. In all probability Ridley's full amount due the Nottoway tribe never actually exchanged hands, but rather by the 1822 act of the General Assembly he was allowed to merely pay the interest owed the tribe:

"March 1822 --- \$79.91 on the 4. March 1823 --- \$159.82 & on the 4. March 1824 --- \$239.73 from which time it would remain stationary annually" (LP Dec. 10, 1821)

Based on previous Trustee purchases that stretched over twenty years and drew down the principle, this method was a compromise. The goal remained the same: Trustee management of large amounts of Nottoway money, only paying out increments as required and controlling the rentals and purchases of tribal properties. The Nottoway wanted access to the full amount of the land sale – \$4000 – an amount they wished to hold and decide how, when and to whom the dividends were distributed. The Trustees told the Nottoway they were powerless to give them the full amount, unless the Legislature authorized them to do so.

The Legislature had considered the Nottoway's allotment petition. Carr Bowers, then representing Southampton in Richmond, wrote Jeremiah Cobb with not a little suspicion:

“a Petition has been Presented, Purporting to be from the Nottoway Tribe of Indians...for certain reasons therein contained, that an equal division of their lands may be made amongst them...what is their general character as to sobriety, industry and economy[?] are they capable of taking care of or Properly disposing of themselves and property if left to their own management [?]” (Bowers to Cobb Dec. 27, 1821, brackets added).

Cobb's response was damning in all the expected ways – the Indians would sell anything for alcohol and drink all the money. If the lands were divided up the whole of the town would be penniless in five years, at which point they would become wards of the parish to the detriment of the county. Cobb's counter recommendation repeated a pattern of logic used by Nottoway Trustees for generations: *we should sell all the land but a small parcel, deposit the money into a fund and use the annual interest to support the tribe. Why fix something that was not broken?* Cobb was a recently appointed Trustee and had not yet fully benefitted from control of the Nottoway assets. His intent was clear, as he would act as the Trustee Treasurer for the next quarter century before being removed for embezzlement by the Governor's office in 1846.

Unsatisfied with the Trustees' response and still wanting more control over the estate, the Nottoway considered their position. Another tribal petition went to Richmond in 1823. In this instance, only one tribal member applied for permission “to hold in fee simple so much land as he may be considered entitled to free from the control of the Trustees.” The genesis of the 1823 William G. Bozeman petition is not entirely clear. Additional tribal members did not endorse the application, nor did the Trustees; the petition was made by Bozeman as an individual. However, based on the previous

Nottoway petition endorsed by four residents of Indian Town on behalf of the whole “Council” that also requested some form of allotment, the origins of the appeal can at least be partially attributed to the tribal community.

The voice of Bozeman’s legal council can be clearly heard throughout the petition language, but there is more than one place in the document where Bozeman, the individual, comes through in the text. Based on a comparison of other legislative petitions and court records, the handwriting in the document is not Bozeman’s despite the fact that by all accounts he was literate; several extant documents from the era match the unknown scribe’s hand. As well, the penmanship of the bill drawn for “An Act Concerning William G. Bozeman” is not Bozeman’s, nor is the flowery and lengthy prose. Elements of contemporary religious ideology [plausibly Quaker, but could be any of the county’s low-church Protestant denominations] had an influence on the sentiments in Bozeman’s General Assembly address. Quakers had long encouraged sobriety, industry and property ownership among Native people (see Rothbard 2011:557-561). The petition linked a man’s right to own land, engage in labor and provide his children inheritance as central arguments for forcing an amendment to the matrilineal divisions of Nottoway property. Bozeman argued the paternalism of the Trustees was as odious and oppressive as the tribe’s communal ownership; his petition stated he wanted none of either (LP Dec. 13, 1823).

The tenor of Bozeman’s request can be in some measure attributed to the planter class of his lawyer and the necessary pandering to the moral sensibilities of the Legislature. It also reflects the influence of Bozeman’s father on William “Billy” Woodson, and William Woodson-Bozeman’s own experience in landowning and farming

in North Carolina. But the 1823 petition's rejection of matrilineal usufruct practices, a reference to the "all other restrictions," argued against the Trustees' manipulation of Nottoway cultural practices. The Trustees had used matrilineal descent as a means to control Indian Town assets and their residents. Both the 1821 and 1823 petitions indicate the Nottoway wished to maneuver outside of the "regulations" and "policy" the Trustees enforced.

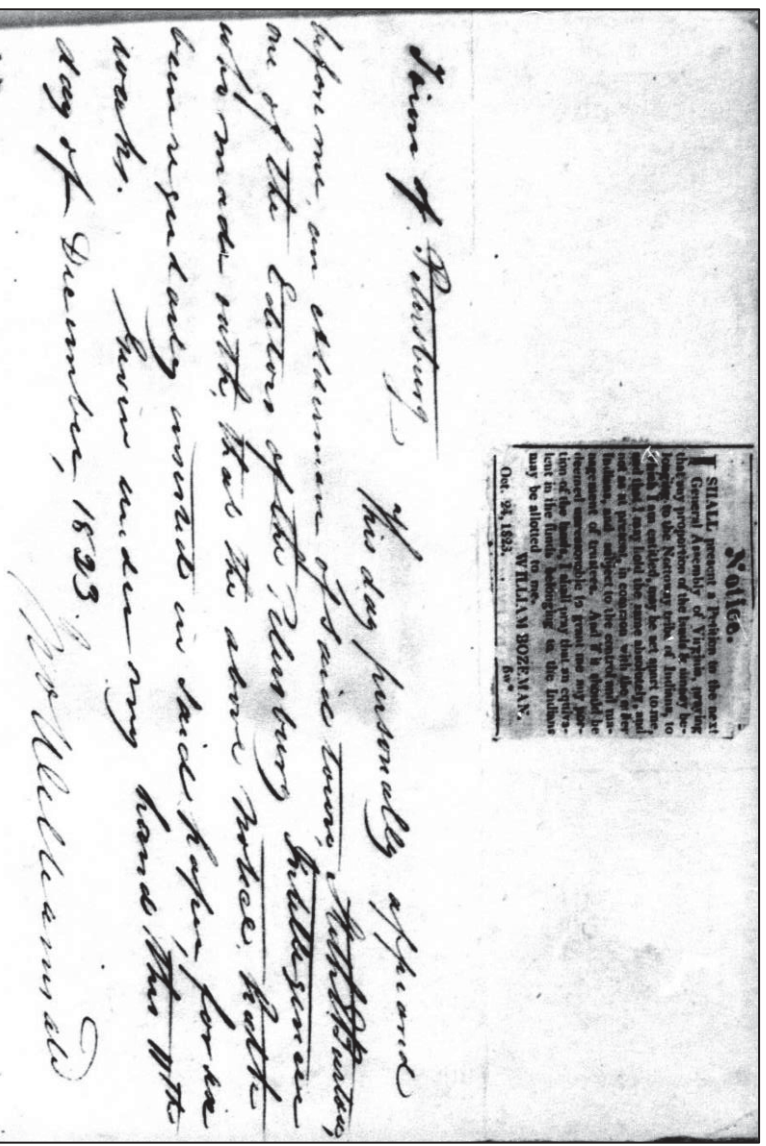


Figure 20. Alderman's affidavit and *Petersburg Intelligencer* newspaper notice of William G. Bozeman, also known as Billy Woodson. Bozeman successfully petitioned the General Assembly for real and personal estate severance from the Nottoway Tribe of Indians, 1823/1824. Source: LP Dec. 1823.

The Bozeman petition was circulated during Southampton's court week in mid September 1823. Past, present and future Nottoway Trustees, as well as prominent county landowners endorsed a letter of support for Bozeman's petition and praised his character. Maybe with Bozeman as the petitioner, Nottoway lands would be completely opened for

individual allotment, free of future legislative petitions. Seventy-eight prominent landowners in all signed the document, but conspicuously missing from the Assembly letter were the signatures of Trustee Treasurer Jeremiah Cobb and trust-fund bank roller Thomas Ridley. Clearly there were guiding hands behind Bozeman's presentation, but it is difficult to discern whose, with so many interested parties wanting similar outcomes (LP Dec. 1823, Letter, Sept. 15, 1823). In general, it can be said that allotting Nottoway land was a goal of some residents of Indian Town and a goal of some Southampton landowners. The exact configuration of the agents orchestrating Bozeman's appeal is however, unknown.

A notice [Figure 20] appeared in the *Petersburg Intelligencer* under Bozeman's name, stating his intent to petition the General Assembly for tribal land allotment. An alderman of the town officiated the oath by the paper's editors: they had posted the notice for six weeks prior to the legislative session. A copy of the notice and affidavit were included in Bozeman's December petition (LP Dec. 1823, Notice, Oct. 24-Dec. 11, 1823). Bozeman's petition passed as an act into law February 23, 1824.

The goals outlined by the 1821 tribal petition were met with the 1824 act: 1) Bozeman was granted the right to an independent commissioner, to be appointed by the Court of Southampton, for an assessment of his tribal share; 2) he was given permission to request his division of the Nottoway trust and real estate and to individually possess the property with "full discharge of all his interest and claim in and to the trust estate;" 3) all laws preventing the sale of property by Indians and White persons were removed for the Nottoway allotment and Bozeman was granted "the same power to sell convey or exchange the same, as free white persons of this Commonwealth possess and enjoy;" 4)

lastly, “whenever any descendant of a female of the Nottoway...shall apply” for the same rights provided William G. Bozeman, they may be granted by the Court and Trustees as long as the applicant is “of good moral character...and not likely to become chargeable to any part of the Commonwealth.” This last point upheld portions of the Trustees’ interests as outlined by Jeremiah Cobb and provided a limited, but continuing measure of Trustee control. And thus, William G. Bozeman also known as Billy Woodson, a principle male of the dominant Woodson matrilineage successfully lobbied the General Assembly for the allotment of the Nottoway reservation (Acts Passed...Commonwealth of Virginia 1824:101-102).

Nottoway Allotment, 1830

Helen Rountree argues the Bozeman Act meant detribalization for the allottee and that this legality was the motivation for William G. Bozeman waiting over six years to claim his share (1987:209). I disagree with Rountree’s conceptualization of detribalization as the intended goal of the Commonwealth’s Act. Moreover, I do not interpret the extant materials as suggesting it was an outcome expected by Indian Town residents. Rather, I would argue that the lag between the 1824 William G. Bozeman Act and the first Nottoway allotments in 1830 reflects the community’s own internal management of their estate. The first allotments were taken by leadership figures of Indian Town. The lands surveyed were “the most inferior” of reservation and unoccupied by Nottoway residents. It would be over ten years after the 1824 Bozeman Act – fifteen since the 1821 “Council” request – before further Nottoway allotments were made in

1835. These actions suggest strategy on behalf of the community and coincide with Nottoway Town's more complete participation in the agricultural economy.

Indigenous leaders interfacing with agents of the state or its economic apparatus typically position themselves as the intermediary between the community and outside political or economic forces. Tribal leader / state interaction has a number of consequences and the resulting leadership transformation can take on many forms (e.g. Chiweza 2007:53-78; White 1983:97-146). The first request for a general allotment came from Edith Turner, the "female chief" of the Nottoway, one of the last fluent speakers of the community's Iroquoian language and the senior matriline of the Turner *ohwachira*. Her authoritative position at Indian Town and her decades-long activism against Trustee mismanagement manifested itself as the first allottee of the Nottoway reservation.

In 1830, Turner requested her division through attorney William C. Parker, who in turn only sought endorsements from the Trustees. Turner's actions have mystified some researchers (Rountree 1979a:23, 43; 1987:203, 210), as the Nottoway headwoman represented the traditional Iroquoian community, yet was progressively more engaged with the rising capitalist economy. Edith Turner's application for allotment may be seen in the context of these incongruent roles, as her untenable position reflects uneven processes of the system's development. Moreover, the Nottoway increasingly had to demonstrate their *uniqueness* and historically particular relationship to the state [e.g. as tributary Indians, not subject to Negro and Mulatto laws]. Turner likely recognized the need to present the Nottoway as an Iroquoian people [hence the use of Iroquoian titles] and a level of Nottoway competency in the eyes of high-ranking officials [thus, *William Bozeman's* petition: literate, half-White and male]. At a deeper level, these actions speak

to an indigenous understanding of economic relationships, the commodification of Indian land and the polarization of *peoples* within the capitalist system.

As traditional head of an *ohwachira* and the ranking woman of the remaining Nottoway lineage segments, Turner's role in Nottoway social-politics was transformed as the community continued in isolation when other lineages removed north. With Nottoway provisioning needing more cash income, land sales, rentals and annuities became essential to the community's economy; agriculture and animal husbandry had largely replaced horticulture and hunting / gathering. Nineteenth-century Nottoway labor was mobilized for exterior day-wage activities, but work was also organized within the community and self-directed by kin groups, elders and heads of households. Working closely with the matrilineal males, Edith Turner cared for her people and emerged as a respected and authoritative leader within the traditional framework of Nottoway clan and *ohwachira* organization, yet her power was enmeshed in and partly generated by the movement to acquire cash and control capital derived from the tribal estate.

Edith Turner's position rose as the Nottoway's lack of economic alternatives forced the community to acquire a minimal but vital cash income. As a traditional leader, she was caught in the tension between the autonomy of Indian Town and the constraints imposed by the state, the Trustees and the capitalist system. Turner was the intermediary with the Governor and the Trustees; she used lawyers and other representatives when dealing with the state's bureaucracy and political organization. She became what Gerald Sider identifies as a "major point of articulation" in the embedding process of "tribal" or "peasant" societies within the mercantilist political economy (1986:35-36).

At times, her position was tenuous, because the community increasingly engaged in cash-crop production within an economy over which they had little influence. In particular, the Nottoway had no maneuverability or alternatives to the terms and the pace by which they engaged the market, such as the value-wage of labor, the price per acre for land sold or the market demand for agricultural produce. Sider (1986:34-38) suggests these asymmetrical external pressures, imposed “constraints-to-produce” and “collective self-direction” [e.g. mobilized kin groups or households] as critical to understanding the context for the emergence of traditional leadership figures like Edith Turner.

Here, the exterior forces kin-based leaders are compelled to navigate contort the traditional roles of Native communities and require new “political instruments,” as headmen interface with and attempt to harness the resources and powers of the external system (Wolf 1997:99-100). Edith Turner’s ascension and actions as a leader parallel other classic examples of tribal integration into “systems of domination, extraction and control” (Sider 1986:34). The recognition of Turner as an agent of merchant capitalism within a traditional social form assists the explanation of her applying for the first Nottoway allotment alongside the original petitioner, William G. Bozeman.

From previous decades of Trustee-Nottoway discourse, and the community’s petitions for more control over tribal assets, Edith Turner’s maneuvers are consistent with a pattern: Indian Town’s multiple attempts to counter Trustee management of land sales and tribal annuities. The Bozeman Act of 1824 was a successful community effort to secure more control over the contractual terms and conditions of Nottoway land sales and monetary disbursements. While the act allowed individual allotment and equal shares of the estate, the community membership did not access the resources for six years – a

signal of solidarity. When they did, it first came from the leadership: the senior Turner matriline and one of the head males of the Woodson *ohwachira*.

Edith Turner petitioned the Southampton court for an allotment of reservation land on March 11, 1830; five days later William G. Bozeman made the same request (CC). While the tribe continued to receive meager annuities from the Trustees, the overall trust's principal was dwindling. The last infusion came with the 1820s installments from the 1819-1820 land sales (DB19:171) and new leases were insufficient to replenish the funds. Increased agricultural endeavors and new births at Indian Town required more access to cash. As well, William Bozeman had relocated to North Carolina in the 1820s, married a White woman and was engaged in private farming operations. Raising his own nuclear family in North Carolina, Bozeman was in debt to his White father-in-law. He intermittently returned to visit his sisters' matrilineal farms and engage in what political discourse served his needs. The request by Bozeman and Turner for allotments came at a time when the community needed resources (DB20:91-92; DB21:52-53; MBI, Nov. 4, 1824:21 and WB4:92, Northampton County, NC).

Trustee Jeremiah Cobb was appointed commissioner to establish the Nottoway's interest in their property, which Cobb later reported was 3109 acres with a value ranging from \$4 to \$10 per acre. Averaged, the total valuation of the tribe's real estate was \$21,763. Bozeman and Turner, as "two of the Nottoway Tribe of Indians" received a 1/27 division of the surveyed land, 209 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres in severalty each, plus a cash payment from the general fund of \$24.50 for three and one-half acres that were lacking from the survey. Bozeman and Turner made arrangements to sell the combined allotments to Henry Vaughan, a White planter who previously [1819-1823] purchased Nottoway lands from

the Trustees. The newly surveyed tract conveniently bordered Vaughan along the Belfield Road, south of Indian Town, suggesting the survey, the sale and the location of the allotments was coordinated by the community [Figure 21]. Vaughan paid \$1160 to Bozeman and Turner for 416½ acres in May of 1830 (CC May 1830; DB21:381).

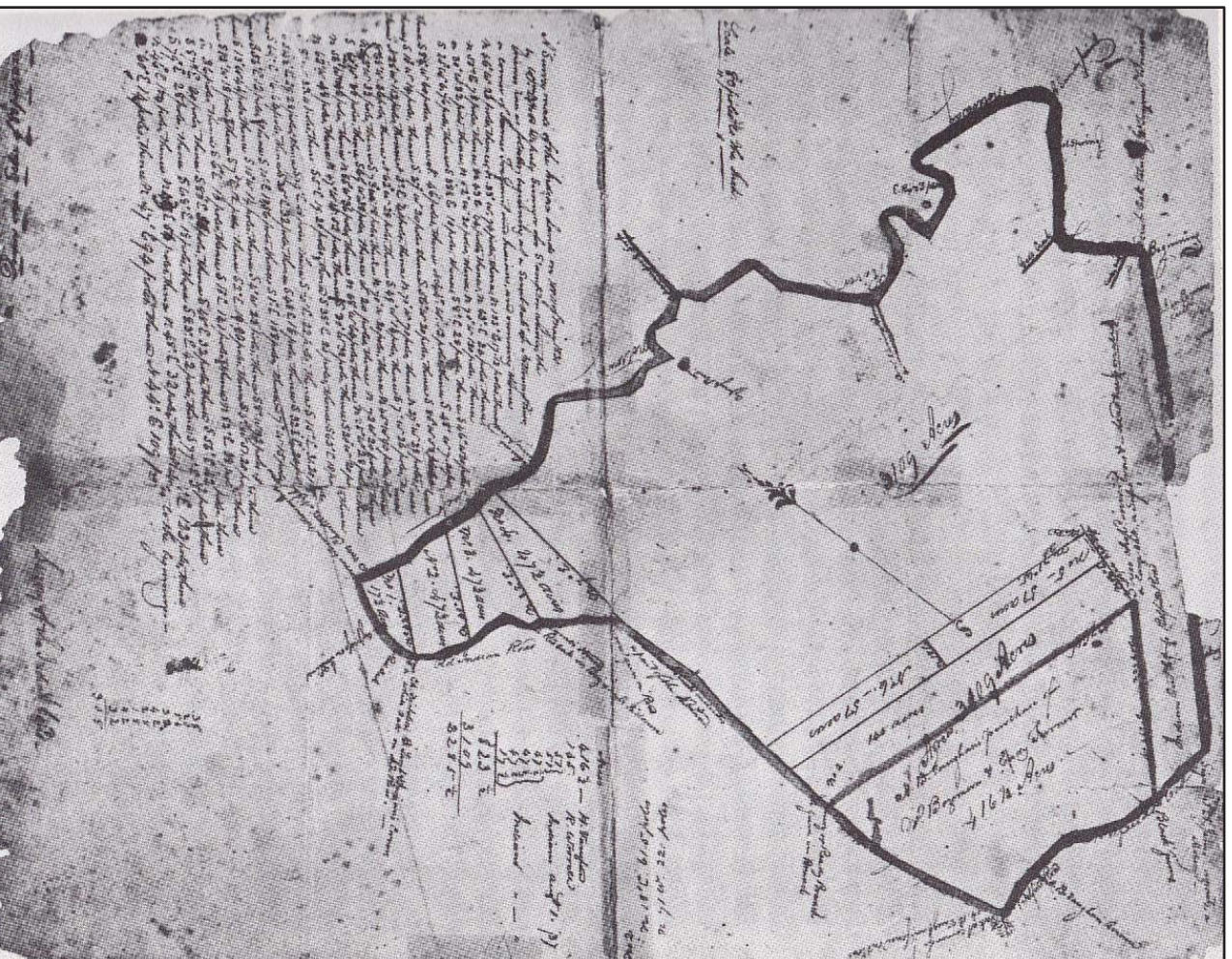


Figure 21. **Nottoway Reservation Survey, 1830.** The page is oriented with cardinal north to the lower left against the Nottoway River. Bozeman and Turner's allotments are quartered in the upper right against the Belfield Road. *Source:* Clerks Office, Southampton County.

Bozeman returned to North Carolina and became increasingly anchored in Halifax County, returning less and less to Southampton (C1830, 1840, 1850, Halifax County, NC). Edith Turner's post-1830 farmstead remained surrounded by Nottoway lands along the Indian Path, a mostly central location to the settlement (DB25:62; Rountree 1987:210). From there, Turner managed her affairs with the help of several younger relatives and one male slave (C1830). She continued in her capacity as a senior matriline in of the Turner *ohwachira* and as the *etesheh*, or headwoman of Indian Town. Her bid for allotment successfully acquired at least \$600 cash for the community and divided only the least valuable, uninhabited lands for sale.

Turner's role as a traditional leader was modified to meet the market needs of the community, allowing her to collect and redistribute monetary resources. Through applying for allotment lands and then selling the tracts outright, the Nottoway community benefitted directly from the exchange, without Trustee management of the capital. From this vantage, Edith Turner's allotment request and immediate land sale are compatible with the community's decades-long rejection of the Trustee system and strategic maneuvering to control tribal assets.

In contrast to previous interpretations (Rountree 1979a:42-44), Edith Turner's actions were less about individual motive and much more about the "social rearrangement" (Sider 1986:37) of existing Iroquoian structures needed to mobilize Nottoway production of capital. The monies from Turner's land sales were invested in the thirteen matrilineal Nottoway farmsteads of "discretion and profit" (see Chapter IV, Tables 13 and 14; Morse 1822:31).

Concluding Discussion

The conjoining of two diverse processes 1) communal self-determination of production and 2) the imposed constraints of the capitalist system, impacted the Nottoway community in several ways. First, leadership figures Edith Turner and William G. Bozeman were catapulted to the forefront of Nottoway politics. Demands of the system gave preference to Bozeman as a literate, Anglicized, educated individual and senior Turner as the appropriate *eteshel* head for Indian Town-Trustee discourse. Turner's position had previously been the domain of male members of matrilineages [such as Bozeman], which reveals a transformation or accentuation of matrilineal roles. It also hints to the community's reluctant justification of Bozeman's presence, as his off-reservation residence made him somewhat of a liminal figure. Though ironical because of his liminal status, he was the best public advocate for the community: a literate potential landowner, with a White father.

These leadership positions typically became untenable as either too much or too little power made them vulnerable to external demands, eventually undermining and incapacitating their authority. Sider notes this process occurs in forms of resistance, as the imposed [and often hostile] requirements placed on traditional leaders can strip away new powers through loss, or victories that "turn hollow with new forms of integration to dominant extractive demands" (1986:34; and see Biolsi 1998:36-39; Myer 1994:148-140, 176-177; O'Brien 1997:105). The 1824 Bozeman Act was a form of self-determination and a resistance to Trustee mismanagement, but also an accommodation to the system in which Southampton was incorporated. The victory at the local level would ultimately

turn “hollow” as Sider describes, through the Nottoway becoming more fully integrated with peripheral Southampton.

Secondly, as the processes of peripheralization continued, some aspects of Nottoway culture became “embellished and elaborated and sometimes much less autonomous than it appears to be to both its participants and to outside observers” (Sider 1986:36; also see Dorian 1978). Such change is the case with the Nottoway, as traditional Iroquoian titles or personal names appeared alongside requests for reservation allotment; young William Bozeman petitioned the legislature as a matrilineal “aborigine,” but requested separation from the “oppressive” rules of the matrilineage; the headwoman of the *ohwachira* rejected the paternalism of the Trustee system, yet applied for the first private division of Indian land, sold it and replaced the Trustee as the source for Indian Town finances. These ironies were the result of Nottoway territorial incorporation and speak to the asymmetrical processes of peripheralization and community transformation so well known in other anthropologies (e.g. Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:54-59).

A third impact from the Nottoway’s self-direction and heightened demand for capital was the increase in economic contracts and production of lineage-segment households. The kin-group’s *organization* became irrelevant to producing the community’s subsistence needs and more relevant to mobilizing labor and developing other forms of merchant capital. Allotment lands, agricultural crops, animal husbandry and home manufacturers became primary sources of cash in this self-determined shift. By taking control of the Nottoway estate, the community unintentionally became more deeply enmeshed in the very system they hoped to resist. A rise in individual competition, the further development of Nottoway plantation-like structures and the

deepening of capitalist modes of production were the result. In the long-term, this situation created a tension whereby the kin-driven social forms of the community were largely “about” organizing labor and producing capital, but the households’ subsistence needs were met by integration with larger social forms and forces (Sider 1986:38; Wallerstein 1989:56-57; 1991b:107-112).

The final point of consideration for the Nottoway allotment process is the impact of intensifying market forces on kinship relations. The community’s participation in the cash economy, their acquisition and consumption of finished goods and the increased labor needed to generate agricultural produce more intensely conjoined commodity production with other social activities. However, “both the characteristic poverty and the specific forms of competitiveness introduced within the community by commodity production often [made] people incapable of meeting the demands and expectations for the relationships that their own culture [imposed] upon them” (Sider 1986:38, brackets added; also see Dunaway 1996a:39-50; Gough 1974:639-648; Polanyi 2001:71-80). And thus the commodification of Nottoway land and community’s shift in production impacted their descent system, and upset an already weakened matricentered community. Matrilineal inheritance and usufruct came in direct conflict with Southampton’s dominant male-centered bi-lateral form. Other types of relationship building began to take on significance at Nottoway Town.

CHAPTER IV

Southampton Lands, Peoples, Property Ownership and Labor

“In their character of members of a dependent tribe of Indians the individuals of the [Nottoway] tribe have all the privileges of Indians. The fact that some of them may also be mulattoes should not deprive them of this privilege. The term mulattoe might by a liberal construction embrace them[.] But as the law should be strictly construed I cannot think that they are properly embraced in it.”

~ Sidney S. Baxter, Attorney General of Virginia,
Legislative Petition of Parsons Turner, March 29, 1838

Nineteenth-century Indian Town was embedded within the physical geography of Southside, Virginia, interconnected by the roadways, river systems and markets of “Old Southampton.” The process of Nottoway land and labor commodification resulted in the community’s increased economic relationship to capital, and as demonstrated by the struggles with their Trustees, the opportunity for capitalist exploitation. In response, the Nottoway more fully engaged the system. This chapter examines the Nottoway community within the context of Southampton’s political economy, 1830-1860. It highlights the civic infrastructure and physical environment of the county, and analyzes Southampton’s demography of Whites, Slaves, and other Free Persons. Through a careful review of census records, court orders, legislative petitions and tax records, the sociopolitical and socioeconomic position of Indian Town is evaluated against neighboring property owners, slaveholders and landless laborers.

The deepening of capitalism at Nottoway Town continued to generate bureaucracy for the community: aimed at defining, enforcing and ensuring terms of exchange for Nottoway peoples. Therefore, one theme the chapter addresses is “contractualization,” a process that refers to the regulation of social and economic

relationships through formal legal agreements. Nottoway petitions to the statehouse, rental contracts for Indian land, individual property sales, contractual hires and loans for credit all were forms of contractualization.

A second process examined in this chapter may be termed “polarization” or the unevenness of capitalism’s development. This asymmetry reflects an increased economic division between the core and periphery in terms of the quality of life and the distribution of wealth and income. Core exploitation of peripheries paralleled the division of labor at the local level. Therefore the concept of polarization may be used to analyze the historical arrangement of Southampton peoples, capital and labor within the peripheral American South. The Nottoway were emmeshed in a periphery that had an extremely restrictive form of labor control – chattel slavery – and lived under the authority of state machinery that created and enforced slave legal codes in order to maintain the South’s economic-system.

The relationships that Indian Town residents developed with slave labor – Nottoway slave ownership and slave hires – were defined and regulated by the state apparatus, to the benefit of producers. Whether through Nottoway reliance on enslaved labor to harvest Indian Town crops or the exchange of Nottoway labor for slave hires with adjacent plantation owners, economic relationships increasingly bound Southampton slaves, laborers and owners to one another. The Nottoway’s experience with slavery and other modes of labor are explored in an effort to uncover the correlations between Southampton peoples, property and labor of Indian Town. To provide the setting for these relationships, the following section overviews the physical environment of Indian Town and situates the community within the civic infrastructure of Southampton society.

Old Southampton: The Environs of the Rural Antebellum

During the eighteenth century, the Anglican Church of England divided the Nottoway's territory into two parishes: Nottoway Parish northeast of the river and St. Luke's Parish southwest to the Meherrin River. After the 1749 formation of Southampton, areas considered "upper" and "lower" sections of the county followed the contours of the Nottoway River. The county's civil jurisdictions preserved the Church of England's colonial demarcation: tax lists, agriculture censuses, slave schedules, and U.S. federal census records all conformed to the Nottoway [upper] / St. Luke's [lower] parish boundaries (Crofts 1993a:133; Joyner 2003:31-32; Parramore 1992:29, 31-32, 47).

By the nineteenth century, Euro-Americans had completely transformed the landscape of Nottoway territory. After the Southside Virginia frontier closed Indian Town within the periphery, White settlements and mostly White-owned farms redefined the Nottoway country into Southampton County. Individual plantations, along with civic infrastructure, increased during the mid-nineteenth century. Period observers remarked the county "saw its most prosperous and progressive days between 1830 and 1861" (Drewry 1900:110).

Sprawling neighborhoods of family hamlets featuring clapboard farmhouses and outbuildings dotted the landscape between scattered villages. Agricultural fields of cotton and corn, worked primarily by enslaved laborers, surrounded the planked frame or hewn cabins, tenant houses, barns, livestock sheds, smokehouses and outhouses. Photos and descriptions of the area tell of homesteads with "dwelling houses" for slaves, cider mills and cotton gins for processing agricultural produce, and corncribs and "cotton houses" for storing farm yields. Chickens, hogs, cows, mules and horses served the farms'

residents in labor or sustenance [Figure 22]. Completing each compound, ditches and fences – ever-requiring maintenance and repair – outlined the fields and property divisions. House gardens and orchards provided the source for family table fare and stocked cellar casks (Crofts 1997; Kocher and Dearstynne 1954:108-110; Perdue, Barden and Phillips 1976:139-142).

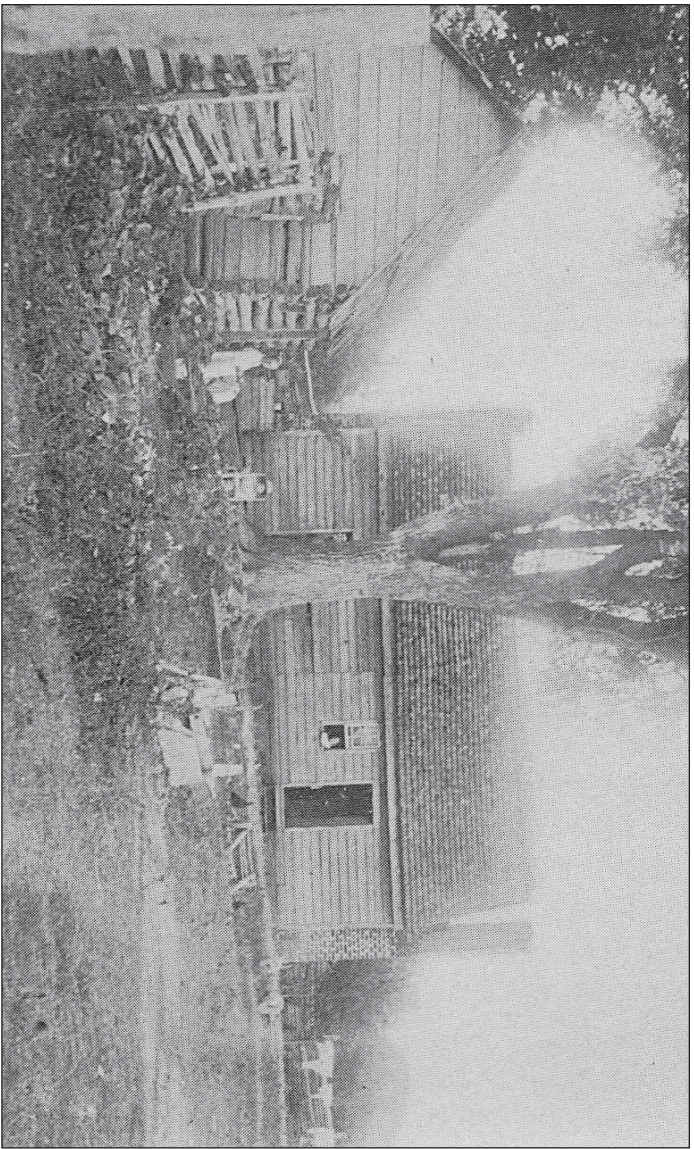


Figure 22. **Late nineteenth-century image of “Ridley’s Quarter.”** Nottoway Trustee Thomas Ridley purchased this tract from the Indian land sales, 1794-1821. The plantation outbuildings pictured here were adjacent to the Indian Woods and two miles south of Nottoway Town. A combination of vernacular architecture can be seen, including split rail fencing and hewn, log and frame construction. Note the slab shingles on the corner crib [left] and the more tailored shingling and brick chimneys of the domestic structure [center]. These buildings stand in contrast to the framed and weatherboard two-story main house of Ridley’s *Bonnie Doone* [see Chapter III, Figure 18]. This plantation was constructed from Nottoway reservation timber cleared following the last communal Nottoway land sales of the 1820s. *Source:* Drewry 1900.

The Nottoway landscape or “Old Southampton,” as the county was called during the nineteenth century, was famed for its apple and peach brandy, “the finest brandy and cider known in the trade” (Drewry 1900:103). It was also likely the source of the county’s roughneck reputation and disparaging remarks about the county seat of

Jerusalem. Southampton's Jerusalem was referred to as "promiscuous," "a place noted for wickedness," and on court day, "drunken rowdiness...frequently marred the occasion" of business and politic. Indian Town neighbor Daniel Cobb reported an August 1845 court day included "Plenty of brandy drank & quarreling & broiling & some fitting & jailing" (Camp 2010:35; Crofts 1992:100).

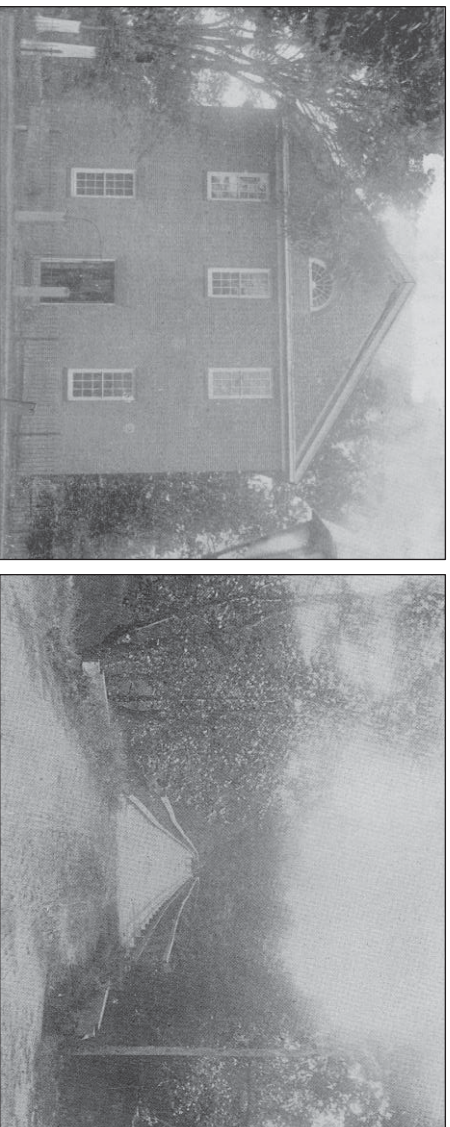


Figure 23. **Southampton County Courthouse** [left] **and the Jerusalem Bridge** [right], c.1890. The county courthouse was constructed in 1834 and was the site of local Nottoway economic, political and legal engagements, entanglements and negotiations. The path to the courthouse from Nottoway Town crossed "Flower's Bridge." The view here is looking west from Jerusalem toward Indian Town Road. *Source:* Drewry 1900.

About 2,000 people lived in the vicinity of the town, but Jerusalem proper supported a "population [of] 175 persons, of whom 4 are resident attorneys, and 4 regular physicians...[there are] about 25 dwelling houses, 4 mercantile stores, 1 saddler, 1 carriage maker, 2 hotels, 1 masonic hall, and 2 houses of public entertainment." By no means a metropolis, outsiders derided Jerusalem as "stationary" and "neither retrograded or advanced" (Martin 1836:279). Historian Stephen B. Oates described Jerusalem as a "smoky cluster of buildings where pigs rooted in the streets and old-timers spat tobacco juice in the shade of the courthouse" (1975:1). Jerusalem was situated at Flower's Bridge [Figure 23] on the east side of the Nottoway River, centrally located and on navigable

water. The community's antecedents originally emerged as a frontier border town. Nottoway Indian lands began on the west bank of the waterway and ran six miles upriver.

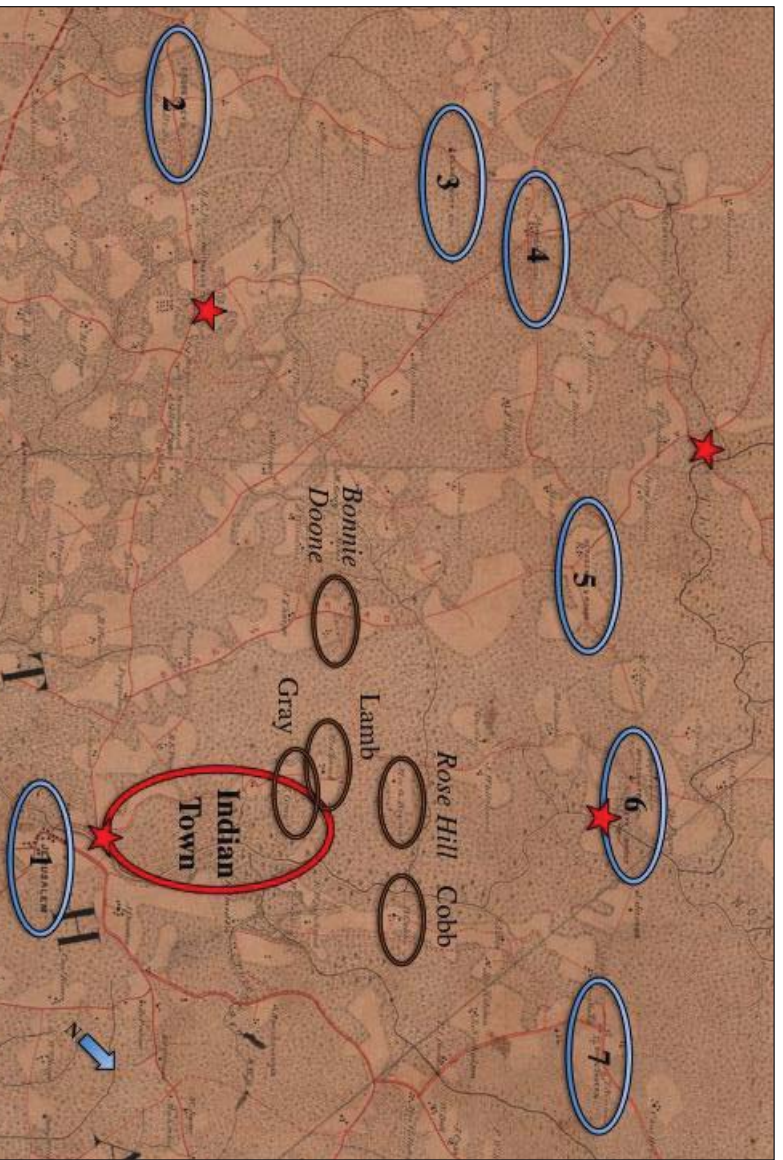


Figure 24. **Southampton settlements, roadways and Indian Town environs, c.1860.** Nottoway Town was unmarked in the original, northwest of Jerusalem [1]. The red ovoid identifies the vicinity of Nottoway reservation lands c.1830-1877. The map is oriented to the northwest. Red stars approximately mark the six-mile boundaries of the original Square Tract reservation, skewed here by the cartographer's illustration. Nine miles west of county seat of Jerusalem was Cross Keys [2], just past Whitehead Church on the Meherrin Road. Clarksbury Church [3] was northwest of Cross Keys near the junction with the Barrow Road at Pond's Shop [4]. The Belfield Road cut southeast across Three Creek through Bethlehem Crossroads [5]. Today, sections of this roadway are part of U.S. 58, which runs through Jerusalem, now called Courtland [1]. The settlement of Bethlehem Crossroads eventually shifted south along the Norfolk and Danville rail line and is now known as Capron. Applegate's Church and Carey's Bridge [6] mark the end of the orbit around the Nottoway reservation at the first river crossing above Jerusalem. Barn Tavern [7] was connected to the county seat via the Plank Road [modern state route 35] north to Petersburg. White and Black farms were scattered throughout the old reservation, but there were no churches within the boundary until Reconstruction. Neighboring plantations mentioned in the text include those of Daniel Cobb, Bryant's [formerly Blow's] *Rose Hill*, Susan Lamb, Ridley's *Bonnie Doone* and James Gray. Bethlehem Crossroads [5] remained the only settlement inside the Square Tract until after the Civil War. *Source:* Gilmer, 1863.

Across the Nottoway River, nine miles southwest of the county seat, was another settlement of farms named Cross Keys [Fig. 24:2]. Here, Dr. Barham's brick plantation manor stood, not far from a brick and clapboard corner tavern that doubled as a general store and post office. The tavern also served as a jail and storehouse [Figure 25]. Many residences of the Pope family were nearby, as were Whitehead's Church and Worrell's Mill (Balfour 1989:29, 33; Camp 2010:56; Gilmer 1863). The Cross Keys district was the place of Nathaniel Turner's birth and local tradition suggests the jail was the detention site of several enslaved suspects from Turner's 1831 insurrection (Drewry 1900:85).



Figure 25. **The Cross Keys Settlement:** images of the Cross Keys crossroads [right] nine miles southwest of Indian Town. The half-brick brick building [left] with a framed clapboard addition served as a tavern and general store. The late nineteenth-century images illustrate the look of rural Southampton settlements. *Sources:* Balfour 1989:29; Drewry 1900.

Heading north from Cross Keys the dirt wagon trail wound past Clarksbury Methodist Church to a crossroad at Pond's Shop [Figure 24:4]. To the west, the Belfield Road cut toward Haley's Bridge over the Meherrin River. Continuing north, Bethlehem Crossroads lay seven miles west of Jerusalem on the Barrow Road. Spratley Williams ran a post office there and at one point, Peter Blow operated a tavern out of his home. Possibly a tradesman's shop could be found at one of the Barham farms nearby (Gilmer 1863; Jeff Hines, pers. comm., 2012). Continuing further north, the byway passed

Applewhite’s Church before again crossing the Nottoway River at Carey’s Bridge [Figure 24:6]. Lying two miles east of the river, Barn Tavern was linked to Jerusalem by the wooden “Plank Road” that headed north to Petersburg markets. The settlement of Barn Tavern contained houses, churches and a school, along with a tavern and popular hotel [Figure 26]. Several general stores and shops of blacksmiths, carpenters or coopers served the surrounding community of middling farms (Camp 2010:58-63; Gilmer 1863).



Figure 26. **Carey’s Bridge, Barn Tavern and the Nottoway Indian Reservation.** Carey’s Bridge marked the western boundary of Nottoway lands, near the mouth of Buckhorn Swamp. The view [left] is from the contemporary bridge looking east down the Nottoway River toward Indian Town. Across the Nottoway at Barn Tavern [center], only the tavern’s caretaker house remains of the bygone reservation border town. A close-up of an 1864 map shows the settlement of Jerusalem east of Nottoway lands [right]. Across the river, the hatched “plank” road headed north to Petersburg – a wooden roadway organized in 1853 by a joint stock company of Petersburg merchants and Jerusalem planters. Nottoway farmers and their kindred helped fund the bridge over the Assamsoosick Swamp. *Sources:* photos by author; *Map of South Central Virginia Showing Lines of Transportation*, 1864.

These lanes and settlements were the arteries and organs of central Southampton and the means by which information and commerce were exchanged throughout the county. This central Southampton network of roads, settlements and bridges also encompassed the Nottoway Indian community. Between the two wooden bridges on the Nottoway River – Flower’s at Jerusalem and Cary’s en route to Barn Tavern – the communal lands and settlement of Nottoway matrilineages remained huddled along the western bank of the waterway.



Figure 27. **Indian Town environs:** northwest of Courtyard [top], the “Indian Road” crosses the 1888 railway line, the Turner Branch and the Joyner Branch. Note the identification of cropland, houses and pathways. Survey of the remaining 3800 acres of Nottoway lands prior to allotment, 1830 [bottom left]. As in the previous image, most the settlement was near the Indian Road, approximated here by red circles of *ohwachira* settlements. Note the Nottoway River’s juncture with the Assamoosick’s Concorie Branch, prominently marked and labeled in the USGS map and centered in the image at lower right. The tributary has also been historically called the Cuscora Branch and the Tuscarora Swamp. The contours of the river and the Indian path have remained remarkably unchanged for almost two centuries. In the image at right, the three unnamed compounds indicated by the red arrows were Nottoway matrilineal compounds. *Sources:* Gilmer 1863; PMB1826-1836:24, 53; USGS Boykins 1919.

The Nottoway settlement [Figure 27] stretched along a winding dirt road about two miles in length. Known locally as the “Indian Road,” the c.1830 path cut through 3800 acres of tribal land “laying on the west side of the Nottoway River in what is known as Indian Town, Va” (DB27:470; LP March 16, 1830; WB21:613). The community was situated on the landscape in a similar pattern as they were in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Binford 1967:138-137, 162, 179), “in [a] relatively dispersed manner with houses and clusters of houses not generally aggregated” and they “probably lacked any great elaboration in corporate facilities, such as council houses” (183, 196). Trustee Jeremiah Cobb described Indian Town on the eve of the reservation’s allotment:

“They are now settled in huts scattered pretty much over their whole tract, each settler having a sufficiency of land in cultivation for [their] family’s support; what they do not cultivate themselves, they by their trustees Rent out for them, there are no differences among them about their particular settlements, each claiming their arable land; the woodland being held in common among them” (Cobb to Bowers, December 31, 1821).

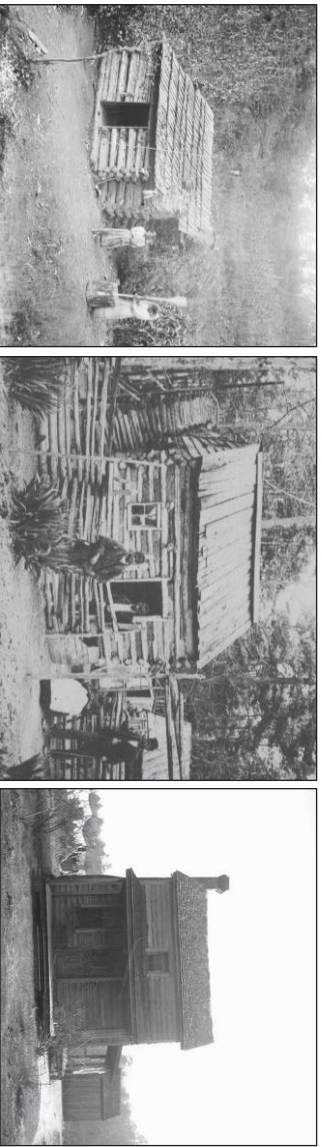


Figure 28. **Cabins, cottages and huts:** terms used to describe Nottoway homes during the Reservation Allotment Period. “Cottage” is the least pejorative, implying a small sized building. By the nineteenth century, the term “cabin” was “often joined to log to imply a crudely fashioned horizontal log wall building with little workmanship, generally a log chimney and a cabin roof, which was one with the gables built up of shorter logs and wall logs slope upward to form purlins for the rood covering” (Carl Lounsbury, pers. comm., 2012). Cherokee log cabin [left], North Carolina, 1888; a “Colored” cabin [center] outside of Richmond, Virginia, 1888; Southampton framed cabin or cottage [left], constructed in the mid-nineteenth century, unidentified farm. *Sources:* Cook Collection, Valentine Richmond History Center; NAA, NEG 1000-A; WPA 1937:0292.

Nineteenth-century references to the community’s settlement give the impression of small farmsteads [Figure 28] located on agricultural lands crossed by tracts of timber,

generally referred to as the “Indian Woods.” The “Edi Turner settlement” was located south of the Indian path and Jack Woodson’s place was noted as a tract of land surrounding a “small log house situated on the Indian Road” (DB24:116; 25:62). A swath of timber “in the Indian Woods” was cut “on the land of Edwin D. Turner” (DB34:212) not far from the crops of “corn, cotton, peanuts and peas planted on the farm of..Alex Steward” (DB34:176). Families occupied a “small log cabin” or “a well furnished and comfortable cottage” where “horses, cows, and other domestic animals” were housed in pens, sheds or arbors (Binford 1961:246; Field notes 2011; Morse 1822:31). Most households had apple, cherry, peach or pear trees nestled between adjacent farmlands, and small creeks crisscrossed the “low lying” grounds in the Indian Woods (DB28:699; DB38:404; Field notes 2011). Along the river, several sections were known as “guts” where arteries of the Assamooisick Swamp joined the Nottoway (DB28:699). Here, a “sain fence” or V-shaped rock weirs were seasonally fished by Indian Town residents and the “Indian seine place” or “Indian fishing place” appeared as a landmark in period deeds and plats (CC March 4, 1854; DB8:98, 250; OB1835-1839:153; PB20:12; Trout and Turner 2006:45-46).

Landmarks and geography also acquired the names of individuals associated with land use and tenure [Figure 29]. Indian Town references and prominent lineage names appear on nearby water features: “Bozeman’s Swamp,” “Indian Branch,” “Town Branch,” “Tuscarora Swamp” and “Turner Branch” (Briggs and Pitman 1995:13; Gilmer 1863; OB1835-1839:153, 270; USGS Boykins 1919). Documents from nineteenth-century land transactions, or similar early twentieth-century records, utilized Nottoway lineage names in the “neighborhood” of the “Indian Outlet”: “the old Edy Turner

Settlement,” “Turner’s field,” “the Old Edwin Turner tract,” “Sheep Lamb’s Field,” “the Old Stuart Place,” “the Edwin Turner Farm” the “old Indian Graveyard,” all being “near Indian Town it being a part of the Edwin Turner tract” (CC, Nov. 1877; DB25:60, 62; DB41:222-223; DB44:475; Public Notice Oct. 28, 1908, Southampton County Loose Papers; Death Certificate, Morefield Hurst, July 17, 1918).



Figure 29. “**The Indian seine place**” [left] and “**Sheep Lamb’s field**” [right]. The junction of the Assamoosick’s Concorie Branch with the Nottoway River was a favored fishing location. Indian Town Trustees annually rented the rights to fish herring at the spot. William Lamb was a matrilineal member of the Woodson *ohwachira* who labored at *Rose Hill* and farmed this tract [right] as a sharecropper during the early twentieth century. Locally known as “Sheep Lamb’s Field,” the land was adjacent to settlements of Scholar descendants, near the corner of S.R. 651 [Indian Town Road] and S.R. 757 [Medicine Springs Road]. *Sources*: Photos by author.

The displacement of the Nottoway on to reservation tracts during the colonial period redefined the community’s relationship to land, one that was increasingly associated with property rights, capital and a cash economy. Nottoway Town’s physical environs provide a context for the deepening processes that transformed the community: the further commodification of Indian land and increased contractualization, as Nottoway property was transferred and natural resources were articulated with the world-economy. Examined more fully in Chapter VI, plantation structures and cash crop production were outgrowths of these developments, in an effort to generate income and create cash crops for market.

Southampton Demographics, Property Ownership and Labor Control

Nottoway peoples were impacted by the unevenness of peripheralization and capitalism's development in Southside Virginia. During the Reservation Allotment Period, the Nottoway negotiated and navigated the state machinery installed to regulate property ownership, labor and commerce. As a result of their engagement with market, the system's forms of commodification, contractualization and polarization shaped the social construction of the Nottoway community. The Nottoway emerged as a *particular* people within Southampton society.

By the time of their reservation's allotment, the Nottoway were descended from disparate groups brought together by the Colonial Encounter, comingled by the alterative processes of capitalism's broadening and deepening. Caught in this polarity were "free peoples of color," which included the Nottoway, but also free descendants of Indian and African former slaves. These latter individuals represented manumissions or the successors of free and indentured mothers of African, European, or Indian descent. While not enslaved, this population was descended from coerced laborers [in various forms] and subject to social, political and economic prejudice.

The infrastructural development of Southampton's plantations, the forms of labor control used by the agricultural producers and the corresponding economic relationships that emerged, impacted Nottoway social organization and provisioning practices. Property ownership in severalty, Indian land and labor value, and socio-economic affiliations with the planter class also influenced Nottoway notions of peoplehood. Indian Town residents increasingly oriented themselves as conjoined nuclear families, and framed their external relations around farm production and labor exchange. Individual

property ownership and personal finance became tied to elementary family interests, rather than communal compounds where resources were equally divided among matrilineage members. Depressed Indian population numbers necessitated exogamous Nottoway marriages – beyond Indian Town – with surrounding Whites and other Free People of Color. Prior to the Civil War, Indian Town economic relationships, business interactions and marriage-mate selection drew from the neighboring population. The following section overviews select characteristics of Southampton’s antebellum demography and property ownership.

Peoples and Property

Daniel Crofts, historian of Southampton’s political economy (1992, 1993a, 1993b, 1997) argues that prior to the Civil War, the geographical and civil division between upper and lower Southampton was also expressed demographically. The upper county Nottoway Parish and lower county St. Luke’s Parish reflected a north-south socio-economic divide, whereby the majority of large slave-based plantations were aggregated below the Nottoway River and smaller middling farms with fewer slaves dominated the northern county. Broadly, Southampton is also the northern limit for successful cotton growing in the region. Immediately south of the Nottoway River, spring warms soil a few days earlier and the fall agricultural season is extended nearly one week longer. Thus, cotton cultivation and large labor-gangs used to harvest plantation crops congregated in the lower reaches of the county, on or below the Nottoway River.

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, there were more Whites than enslaved peoples in the county’s northern Nottoway Parish. Upper Southampton farmers

owned smaller amounts of acreage, and of those landowners with slave-holdings, slave numbers were proportionately smaller. Many of the northern-county families had strong anti-slavery convictions that aligned with their religious beliefs. The Southside frontier had provided a haven for competing religious and ideological views among colonial backwater planters; both Baptists and Methodists movements gained acceptance and converts in Southampton during the post-Revolutionary era (Parramore 1992:47-48, 50-52). Quakers anchored in the upper county initiated opposition to slavery in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and “apparently made many... in the upper county receptive to antislavery evangelicalism” (Crofts 1992:5).

Linguistic evidence indicates eighteenth-century Nottoway Town was susceptible to Quaker overtures as well. As a conservative linguistic community, the Nottoway’s nineteenth-century word lists show little language interference from English, except in the realm of religion (Hewitt MS 3603; Blair Rudes, pers. comm., 2006). Yet, near the end of the Reservation Period [c.1820], elements of Iroquoian worldview and cosmology were present in Nottoway households, as well as some form of lower-church ideology. By the mid-nineteenth century, many matrilineal Nottoway had become converted Methodists alongside their neighboring White landowners (Field notes 2006-2012; Woodard 2006).

South of the Nottoway River, Methodists dominated St. Luke’s Parish. In contrast to their upper county neighbors, lower county St. Luke’s was home to a larger population of enslaved peoples than White owners or laborers. Therefore, in the southern portion of the county a larger number of slaves labored for a smaller number of land-owning Whites. Correspondingly, lower Southampton contained large plantation tracts, but fewer

middling farms than the upper county. With a slightly longer growing season and warmer soils, St. Luke's property owners combined slave labor and large land-holdings to generate more agricultural produce than their northern county neighbors. They controlled more of the market share and thus, more of the wealth in the county (Crofts 1992:5; 1993a:133-134; Oats 1975:2-3).

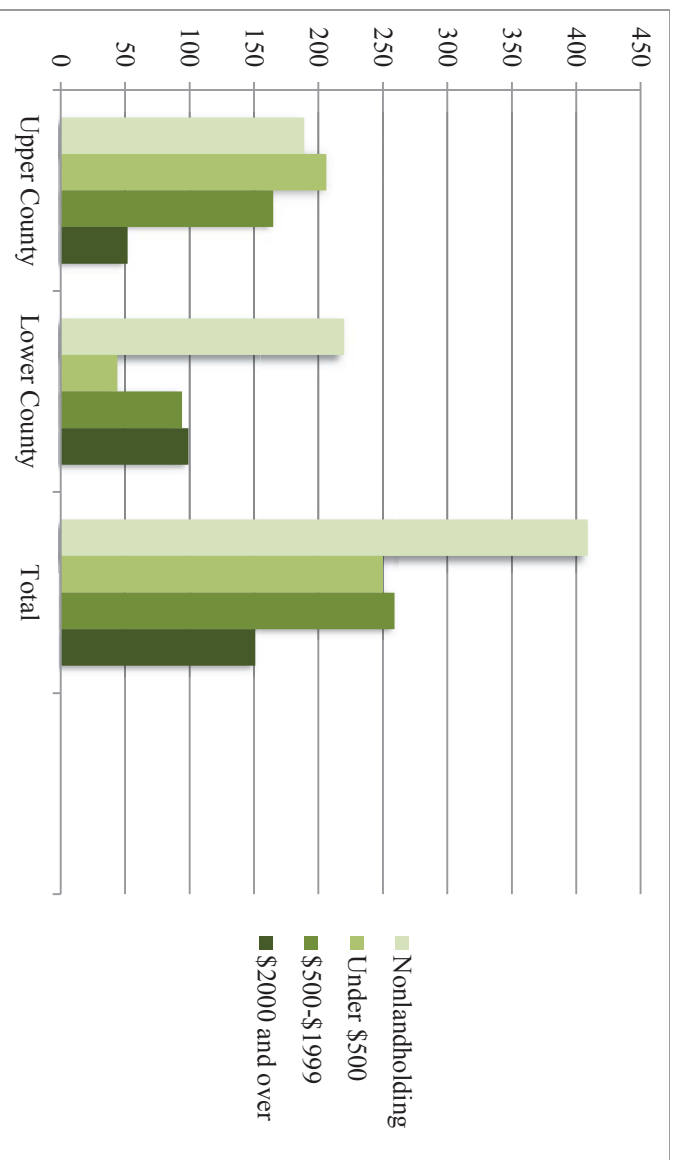


Chart 1. **Southampton land ownership, c.1840.** Indian Town communal property ownership placed the Nottoway within the upper tier of Southampton owners. Matrilineage lands were estimated to be worth nearly \$18,000 in 1837. *Sources:* Crofts 1992:302; LP *Report of Commissioners Allotting Indian Land*, 1837.

The possession by the Nottoway of communal land placed the tribe within the mid-section of this demographic: tribal lands were valued at \$19,547 in 1835. Allottee Indian owners ranked better than most, with land divisions and personal estate combined values equaling \$400-\$500 (LP March 16, 1835). Mid-century crop yields and income estimates suggest Nottoway farmers were competitive with their middling planter neighbors, and in some cases cornered market niches and out-produced the prosperous

plantation owners [see Chapter VI]. Land ownership was key to the Nottoway’s elevated economic standing, as most Free Blacks [over 90%] and Whites [32%] were landless. Combined, by 1850 this non-propertyied segment of Southampton equaled 68% of the free population. Not included in this estimate were the county’s 5755 enslaved peoples [42% of total population], who were 100% propertyless. And thus, in terms of real estate, the antebellum Nottoway outranked the majority of free peoples, White or Black. When compared to the total mid-century Southampton population of 13,521, Indian Town represented less than 1% of the overall demographic. As a kin-group however, the conjoined Indian farms and matrilineages’ communal property placed the Nottoway within the upper tier of Southampton landholders [Chart 1].

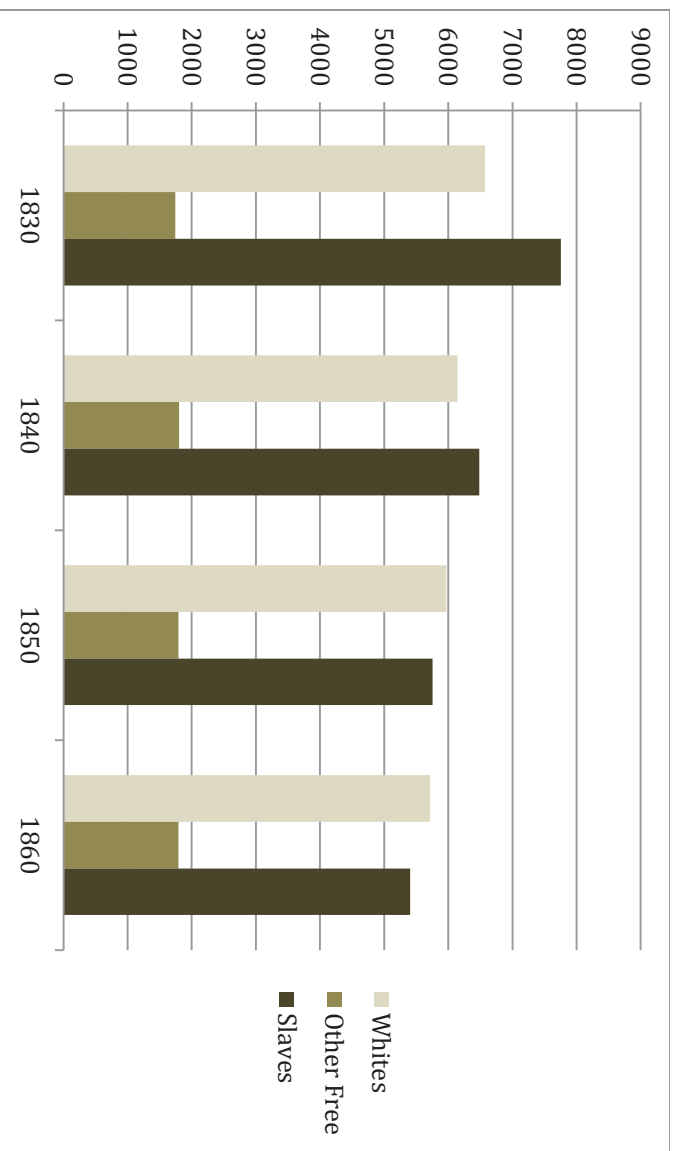


Chart 2. **Southampton County demographics, 1830-1860.** Indian Town residents represented less than 1% of the overall demographic and approximately 5% of the “Other Free” peoples of the county. *Sources:* C1830-1860; Crofts 1992:293; Drewry 1900:108.

Although an interior coastal-plain county, the planter society of Southampton mirrored that of other parts of Tidewater Virginia, and in the broadest terms, the

American South. The 1830-1860 Southampton census schedules indicate slight changes in the proportions of the overall population [Chart 2]. A generalized pattern can be gleaned from the census data, providing a portrait of Southampton's agricultural slave-owning society. The 1830 population was grouped into three categories of 6,573 Whites, 7,756 slaves and 1,745 "free colored people." Of the free population, 734 were slave owners, leaving the other portion of the population as non-propertied or with smallholdings. Over one-third of Southampton's farmers owned no slaves at all, and they therefore worked the soil alongside hired free and enslaved labor (Drewry 1900:108; Oats 1975:2-3).

Smallholders, defined as families owning between one and nine slaves, as well as landed property owners without enslaved labor, composed the largest block [over half] of Southampton's White demographic. This segment of the population widely ranged in property ownership from small-acreage farms to larger plantation-size tracts owned by "aspiring planters." These families composed the dominant middling sort of Southampton, and more broadly, the primary White socio-economic type of the "Old South" (Crofts 1992:13; Owsley 1949). Indian Town's nearest property-owning neighbors, such as James Gray and Susan Lamb, were members of this middling planter class, occupying and developing smallholding farms. Based on their property interests and limited slave ownership c.1830-1860, Nottoway *ohwachira* were also part of this middling demographic.

Nottoway and other middling farmers relied on slave hires, family members or other contracted labor during the decades leading up to the Civil War. Extant records indicate only a few Nottoway owned slaves, but slave hires and labor exchange were

common practice. At the beginning of the nineteenth-century, the Nottoway Trustees managed rental properties and slave hires, and it was “a rule not to pay contracts made by the Indians except done by our [Trustee] permission.” This routine subsided as the Nottoway gained more control of their finances from Trustee oversight. Edith Turner’s thirty-four acre farmland was partially worked by “2 Negroes hired for her last year by the Trustees, and 2 hired...this year by her husband” (Cabell Papers, July 18, 1808). The Turner *ohwachira* headwoman paid tax on two slaves in 1812 and the Woodson *ohwachira*’s Winifred Bozeman claimed one slave in 1817 (PPTL1807-1821).

Nottoway matrilineal households continued to own slaves through the 1830s and 1840s [e.g. Edith Turner and Martha Stewart], as did off-reservation Nottoway [e.g. William G. Bozeman], agnatic Nottoway [e.g. Jordan Stewart] and Nottoway affines [e.g. James Taylor]. Significantly, in the 1850 Slave Schedule and Census for Southampton County, only Nottoway-affiliated individuals combined both real estate and slave ownership among non-Whites. Woodson *ohwachira* affine James Taylor and neighboring agnatic Scholar-descendants Jordan and William Stewart claimed six slaves between the households, along with \$350 worth of real estate. Thus, farmland, slave ownership and profitable agricultural production elevated some Nottoway-affiliated households to a middling socio-economic status (C1830-1840; C1840, Halifax County, NC; DB26:395; SS1850). Discussed further in the following sections, Nottoway Town increased in “free people of color” resident labor during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. As well, Indian Town residents contributed much of the hired labor to neighboring middling farms and plantations.

Of the 1830 slaveholding population in Southampton, ninety-six households claimed more than twenty enslaved laborers or 13% of the total county slaveholders. Far fewer could be counted among the wealthy elite; a little over a dozen Southampton families owned more than fifty slaves. Traditional measurements of the “planter class” have relied on the ownership of twenty or more slaves to define the upper tier of Southern society (Crofts 1992:13; Oats 1975:2). However, twice as many Southampton planters owned ten to nineteen slaves, as well as large plantations in the hundreds or thousands of acres. These “planters” also combined slave ownership with seasonal slave hires. Therefore, when characterizing Southampton plantations and the county’s class structures of ownership and production, multiple factors may be considered.

Slave owning, the size of one’s real and personal estate, farm production, education and socio-political outlook established membership in Southampton’s “privileged” or “prosperous” planter class. Crofts suggests lowering the prerequisite for the upper class to include all families with ten or more slaves “to create a more useful category” for social analysis. In 1850, about 187 White families or 12% of the total free Southampton people, qualified as members of the “prosperous” planter class (C1850; Crofts 1992:13). Examples include former Trustee Thomas Ridley and Indian Town neighbors Robert and Thomas Ridley III. These men represent the upper echelons of this socio-economic category, with thousands of acres neighboring the Indian Woods and over 200 slaves at *Bonnie Doone*. Across the river from Nottoway Town, Daniel Cobb’s plantation of nearly 900 acres and eleven slaves qualified him as a member within the lower end of the privileged planters.

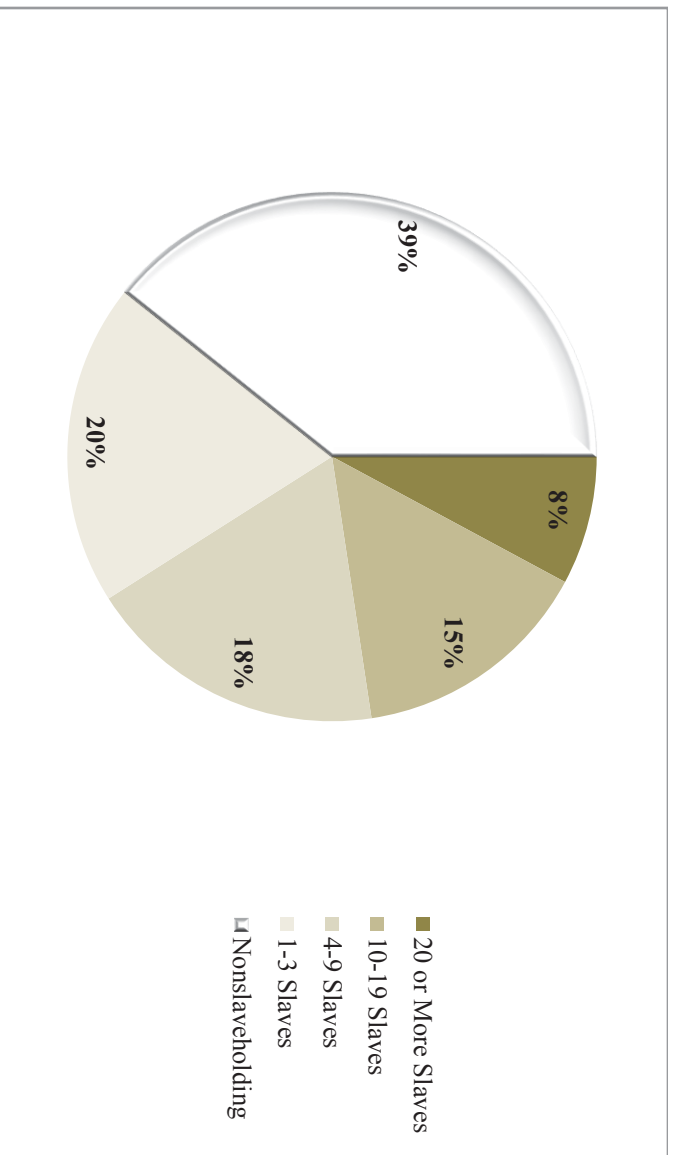


Chart 3. **Southampton property ownership and slaveholding, c.1850.** All slave owners held real estate, of which 38% were considered smallholders. An additional 39% of middling-sort owners held no slaves, leaving 23% as upper class planters. According to the 1850 Southampton Census, there were thirteen non-White households to own real estate with a recorded property value [likely underreported], which did not include the communally owned Indian land. Of those households, seven were closely affiliated with the Nottoway: four were allottees or affines [e.g. Crocker, Taylor, Woodson] one was an agnatic descendant [Jordan Stewart] and two more were associated surnames from families of collateral kin [Brown and Chavis]. Importantly, out of all non-White real estate owners, only Nottoway affiliates combined both land and slave ownership in 1850. *Sources:* C1850; Crofts 1992:295; SS1850.

These demographic figures remained consistent through the mid century, with only minor modulations at the upper tier. The 1840 and 1850 Slave Schedules reported 7-8% of Southampton planters owned more than twenty enslaved peoples, or about sixty-five elite households in 1850 (Crofts 1992:11-12, 295, 303; Oats 1975:2; SS1850, 1860). Hence, only a segment of the privileged Southampton owners were wealthy. The majority of the upper class owned real estate, personal property and claimed between ten and nineteen slaves. Of the smallholding property owners or middling sort, half owned no slaves at all, with the remainder divided almost evenly between four to nine enslaved individuals or one to three slave laborers [Chart 3].

While there were fewer slave owners in lower Southampton, St. Luke's farmers statistically owned a higher number of slaves and controlled larger tracts of land. These large plantations, some of whose owners acted as Trustees for the Nottoway, surrounded or were adjacent to Indian lands – considered the finest and most productive tracts along the river (LP December 1818; Cobb to Bowers, Dec. 31, 1821). Some lower county elite lived in the Indian Town neighborhood. As stated above and discussed more fully in Chapter III, the Trustee Ridley family purchased thousands of acres of Nottoway land in the 1790s and early 1820s (LP December 1804; DB7:4-5; DB8:98-99; DB17:97-104). By the 1830s Ridley's slaveholdings were in the highest tier of Old Southampton and the Old South: 145 enslaved peoples, forty of them men. The Ridley slaveholdings rose to a staggering 212 by 1850, the largest in county (Oates 1975:2, 90; Owsley 1949; SS 1850).

Only a minority of Southampton families could be considered elite, a status that combined property ownership, economic wealth and political station to access power and decision making of the state machinery. Those families that attained this level of status did so through generations of inheritance and endogamy. Local family names associated with this segment of society include Pope, Pretlow, Ridley and Urquhart. With control over political power and capital, men such as Thomas Ridley appear frequently in the records of county finance, the annals of the state legislature and as alumni of prestigious Virginia schools such as the University of Virginia and the College of William & Mary. These doctors, lawyers and legislators managed Old Southampton affairs and were the familial marriage partners and relatives of U.S. presidents, generals and politicians (Parramore 1992).

In summary, almost half of Southampton's antebellum population was enslaved, but slave ownership varied greatly among middling and privileged planters. The Nottoway were a minority Indian population within a minority demographic of "other free" non-Whites. Yet, because of tribal land holdings and personal property ownership, the Nottoway may be categorized within the upper strata of property owners. From this economic vantage, the Nottoway outranked the majority of free Black and White Southamptoners. Explored further below, the size and value their real estate contrasted with their slave ownership and agricultural productivity, situating the matrilineages and individual owners within the middling sort of Southampton farmers. However, like the lowest socio-economic demographic of non-propertied White and Black residents, the Nottoway were caught in asymmetrical cycles of manipulation and oppression by – and accommodation and resistance to – the privileged and elite planters.

The impacts of this economy positioned the Nottoway at the intersection of economic interests with prosperous White plantation owners and operators. Resistance to the paternalism of the state-sponsored Trustee system also encouraged a Nottoway affiliation with those similarly oppressed and disadvantaged: nearby free Black and White laborers, and minor property owners. The socio-political connection with this latter segment of Southampton society was crosscut by racial categories, creating a polarity of extremes, whereby Nottoway peoples were neither closely associated with the highest White elites nor the lowest Black laborers. Southampton's division of labor developed in tandem with the process of polarization. Changes in socio-economic status, familial resource affiliation and community notions of "like people" fostered the reconfiguration of Nottoway peoplehood.

Free Peoples of Color and Nat Turner's Slave Insurrection

Antebellum Southampton was one of four tidewater counties with a sizeable population of “Free Colored Persons” or “free people of color” sometimes glossed as FPC or FN [free Negro]. As part of the original shires of the seventeenth century, Isle of Wight, Nansemond, Southampton and Surry were home to men and women whose lineages were free since times of the “ancient planters” or early colonial period. In an often-cited seventeenth-century example, Anthony Johnson the free “Black patriarch of Pungoteague Creek” had his Virginia origins in Warraskoyack – later named Isle of Wight and Southampton (Berlin 1998; Breen and Innes 2004; Brown 1996; Morgan 1998). As free Black landowners and small producers, Anthony Johnson and wife Mary’s experiences during the early colonial period were challenging for a number of reasons, but they were not unusual. It was more unusual that they survived to plant “myne owne ground” in the face of relentless physical labor and high mortality for all humans in Atlantic servitude, be they African, European or Indian. Johnson established a middling farm, became a slave owner and prospered. He passed his experiences to his descendants, who later named their own small Somerset, Maryland plantation “Angola” (Breen and Innes 2004:17; see also Gallay 2002; Nash 2006).

The emergence of a free non-White population within Virginia’s agrarian society has its origins at the beginning of the Colonial Encounter, not from the rush of manumissions during anti-slavery movement two centuries later (Russell 1913). The presence of Southside “free negroes” “Indians” and “mulattos” within colonial society was repeatedly recorded through tax records, land sales and court cases during the first century of colonization (Moretti-Langholtz 2006:244-357).



Figure 30. “free negroes, who live in about Chowan and the adjoining counties” engaged in heading eels, herring and other fish. Contractual labor in the fishing, farming and logging industries was the chief antebellum occupation of the Southside’s “free colored persons.” *Source: Harper’s Magazine* [1857] 14:434.

Broadly in the Virginia tidewater, free African-American communities were widespread [Figure 30] and owed their origins and maintenance to the colonization processes of resource extraction and labor control (see Richter and Allen 2012). The constituents of these communities tended to have descent from enslaved Africans and Indians, and indentured servants from Europe, Africa and America (Hodes 1999; Miles 2006, 2010; Nash 2006:288-316; Perdue 2003; Russell 1913). Thus, free mixed-race peoples participating in Virginia’s colonial political economy were integral to the development of class structures. The competitive role of this segment of society within

the market may also be directly linked to the emergence of racialized notions of social and biological hierarchy (Feagin 2006; Omi and Winant 1994; Smedley 1999).

In Southampton, the 1790 Census indicates the borough was home to 559 “other free persons.” Ten years later, the number had increased to 839, likely through an increase in northern-county manumissions. Post-Reconstruction historian William Drewry recalled that the “emancipation sentiment” in the county was “very strong...and fostered by the numerous Quakers” in the area. Upper county Baptists also demonstrated sympathy for abolition and Nottoway Parish was the locus of local support for the American Colonization Society, an organization that advocated for Black repatriation to Africa. The association of Southampton Baptists with emancipation was challenged in the years following Nathaniel Turner’s 1831 slave insurrection, as Turner was reported to be a Baptist preacher whose revolt was motivated by an evangelical awakening (Gray 1831; Scully 2008:214-232).

Notwithstanding the debate, dissent and distancing of Southampton Baptists from Abolitionists, the emancipatory ideology and religious leanings of Southampton’s upper county took the form of political factionalism. Daniel Crofts (1992) convincingly argues antebellum Southampton was socio-politically divided between upper and lower county political factions who had contrasting views concerning slave owning, states’ property rights and eventually, whether to secede from the Union. In a similar political divide, immediately following the Turner rebellion the Virginia General Assembly began major debates on the institution of slavery, which resulted in the strengthening of existing slave codes and the tightening of manumissions.

Entry	Year	Relationship	Designation
Sedda Artis	1801	Unknown, Farmer at Indian Land	None
Charity Artis	1801	Unknown, Farmer at Indian Land	None
Stephen Barham	1822	Unknown, Shoemaker	FN, Mulatto
James Bell	1812	Unknown	Free Negro
John Bird/Byrd	1815-1822	Farmer at Indian Land, possible affine	Free Negro
James Bird/Byrd	1815	Unknown	Free Negro
Sophia Bird/Byrd	1822	Unknown, Spinster	FN, Mulatto
Wimpy Boasman	1817	Matrilineal Nottoway	Free Negro
Ben Brown	1813	Unknown, spouse of Molly Brown	Free Negro
Molly Brown	1813	Possible Nottoway descendant	Free Negro
Patty Buck	1822	Unknown, Spinster, possible collateral kin	FN, Mulatto
Sally Buck	1822	Unknown, Spinster	FN, Mulatto
Mason Chavis	1822	Spouse of agnatic Nottoway Billy Scholar	None
Sylvia Gardner	1822	Unknown, Spinster	None
Peter Gardner	1822	Unknown, son of Sylvia	None
Sally Gardner	1822	Unknown, Spinster	None
William Green	1820	Spouse of Nottoway Edith Turner	Free Negro
Henry Jenkins	1812	Unknown	Free Negro
Goodwin Nicholson	1822	Unknown, Farmer at Indian Land	FN, Mulatto
Harch. Nicholson	1817	Unknown	Free Negro
Jeremiah Nicholson	1812	Unknown, lived with James Turner	Free Negro
Judah Nicholson	1813	Unknown	Mulatto
Lucy Scholar	1822	Agnatic Nottoway	Free Negro
Ned Scholar	1820	Agnatic Nottoway	None
William Scholar	1820	Agnatic Nottoway, spouse of Mason Chavis	Free Negro
Joseph Smith	1812-1817	Unknown, possible affine	Free Negro
John Spencer	1817	Unknown	FN, Mulatto
Thomas Step	1817	Matrilineal Nottoway	Free Negro
[Femal] Stewart	1822	Spouse of agnatic Nottoway Ned Scholar	Free Negro
Betty Turner	1813	Possible affine or Nottoway descendant	None
Dickerson Turner	1822	Farmer, possible Nottoway descendant	Free Negro
Edith Turner	1812	Matrilineal Nottoway	None
Elizabeth Turner	1822	Spinster, possible affine or Nottoway descendant	Indian
Henry Turner	1820, 1822	Farmer, Matrilineal Nottoway	None
James Turner	1812-1822	Farmer, spouse of matrilineal Nottoway	FN, None
John Turner	1820	Matrilineal Nottoway, son of James Turner	Free Negro
Kinchen Turner	1817	Possible Nottoway descendant	Free Negro
Mary Turner	1822	Spinster, possible affine or Nottoway descendant	None
Matilda Turner	1822	Spinster, possible affine or Nottoway descendant	None
Burwell Williams	1812-1822	Farmer, spouse of Nottoway Winifred Woodson	FN, None
Disa Woodson	1822	Possible affine or agnatic Nottoway	None
Jack Woodson	1822	Farmer, matrilineal Nottoway	Free Negro
Jim Woodson	1822	Farmer, agnatic Nottoway	None
Rhoda Woodson	1822	Spouse of Jack Woodson	None

Table 12. **Taxed Indian Town Residents, 1801-1822.** Technically, Indians were exempt from tithes, however some matrilineal Nottoway appear in the record, taxed for horses, slaves and resident labor; some FPC spouses, children and agnatic Nottoway appear as well. All are listed as living on the “Indian Land.” This compiled tax list provides a window into the landless, FPC marriage partner and laborer population of Indian Town. *Sources:* PPTL1807-1820; SCLP1822.

Included in these reforms were laws targeted at limiting the rights and maneuverability of “free Negroes,” which in turn had legal ramifications for Southampton’s FPC population (Balfour 1988; Guild 1936). The Nottoway were forced to contend with these political factions, emerging ideologies and jural impositions as Indian Town’s FPC residency increased in the decades following the last Nottoway-Tuscarora removals [Table 12]. Rentals, labor relations and intermarriage framed the various exchanges between FPCs and Nottoway prior to the Civil War, and were the source of new surnames used by *ohwachira* lineage segments.

Most FPC Indian Town residents were seasonal hires, sometimes for only one year. Table 12 demonstrates that while many FPC families were taxed at Indian Town, few individuals were recorded as long-term residents. One nineteenth-century correspondence from the Trustees stated:

“Whitemen, Mulattoes or free negroes are not permitted to settle on the Indian land; except claims as husband or wife by someone of the Tribe. A resolution was entered to remove all people from amongst the Tribe not included in the above exception & who were not indians: this has not yet been carried into full effect...” (Cabell Papers, July 18, 1808).

The Trustees discouraged Indian rental contracts made outside of their purview, which was at the heart of the matter described above. Through labor agreements with the Trustees, some FPC laborers worked both Indian land and plantation acres. James Bell, a ditcher, worked Indian Town, as did farmer Charity Artis. Trustee John T. Blow II also hired Artis, Bell and wife Phereby to work on his nearby outfit. Blow’s brother ran *Rose Hill*, the adjacent plantation to Indian Town. Willed to Henry Blow by their father and former Trustee John Thomas Blow, *Rose Hill* was carved from the center of Nottoway lands. As a plantation, *Rose Hill* had a residential population of coerced slave laborers, as

well as hired tenant or seasonal labor. Indian Town workhand Judah Nicholson and the Artis family were among the FPCs employed at *Rose Hill*. Therefore one may see a linkage between Nottoway land and resources, the labor opportunity and mobility of propertyless peoples and the Trustees' management of finance, property and labor agreements. A key revelation is that Trustee funds, property and contracted labor were all comingled with Nottoway assets and that these relationships contributed to shaping Indian Town notions of the same.

The Nottoway associated with “Free Negroes” and “Mulattoes,” who in many instances were of mixed African, European and Indian descent. The Nottoway contributed to this FPC demographic, usually through the children of Indian males whose wives were not matrilineal-descended Nottoway. Descent through the Iroquoian system gave preference to Nottoway women, whose matrilineages controlled thousands of acres of fertile Indian farmland. Nottoway women conferred their Indian status and property rights to their children. Thus, one aspect of the Nottoway's political economy linked matrilineal usufruct with access to productive agricultural lands and eventually, partible property through allotment. The alienability of Indian land and the elimination of alternative forms of income encouraged the expropriation of communal Nottoway land and proletarianization of Nottoway labor. Not only was Indian land commodified within this system, the commodification of land and labor became institutionalized by Nottoway Town residents.

Virginia's race-based governing structure strongly resembled the axial division of labor, whereby Whites were affiliated with the owners and producers, and reflected the interests of the [European] core. Blacks and other non-Whites were affiliated with

laborers and represented the roles of the peripheries. These conceptual divisions were not exclusively binary; there was social negotiation and mobility through a number of variables such as education, employment, income, land tenure, phenotype, kinship, etc. Nottoway affiliation with White landowners, and in several instances as marriage partners, partially linked Indian Town to the one end of the color-caste. Relationships with FPCs were also considerate of this antagonism. Records indicate that multiple Nottoway marriages during the Allotment Period were contracted with “Free Negroes and Mulattoes” who also claimed a White parent or grandparent. As controllers of land, labor and resources, the Nottoway’s mixed-race affected an intermediate position. The navigation of this societal division gave rise to various forms of peoplehood phenomena, and the inequality and inequity between different groups of *peoples* (see Blakey 1988, 2001:390-394; Forbes 1993:190-220; Lowery 2010:1-54; Nash 2006:288-316; Sider 2003:69-90; Smedley 1999:214-223; Wallerstein 1991a:71-85).

Nottoway agency took several forms during the four decades before the Civil War. When arguing against their Trustees, Nottoway counter petitions to the Virginia General Assembly were endorsed by liberal-minded White allies from the upper county, who also likely helped draft the legislative language (LP Dec. 14, 1819). The Nottoway’s request for allotment allowed them to dispose of partible land with “*the same power* to sell convey or exchange the same, *as free white persons* of this Commonwealth possess and enjoy,” suggesting a distinction from the rights of other FPCs (Acts Passed... Commonwealth of Virginia 1824:101-102, emphasis added). In some cases [1842], the Southampton County Court ordered that as Indians, the Nottoway were “exempt from the payment of taxes and levies in [the] future” (OB19:480).

Nottoway *ohwachira* members were also certified by the Southampton County Court as “not a free negro or mulatto,” but “persons of mixed blood” and “descendants of a female of the Nottoway Tribe of Indians” (e.g. OB18:320 [1837]; M22:169 [1864]). However, some of the individuals certified as “not a free negro or mulatto” were described in other documents as having one non-Nottoway “free negro” parent (LP John Turner 1837). Intriguingly, Virginia’s Attorney General upheld Nottoway rights as “tributary Indians,” despite tribal members meeting the “statutory definition [of] a mulatto” or “having one fourth or more negro blood” (LP Parsons Turner 1838). Southampton court orders relating to racial or legal definitions of Nottoway people were always certified “upon satisfactory evidence of white persons adduced to the Court” (OB18:320). Alliance building with White property owners and court registration of matrilineal Indians reflects individual agency and Nottoway community stratagem.

The Nottoway were increasingly forced to navigate a legal code established to restrict FPC social, economic and political mobility. During a period of increased tension between Whites and individuals of African ancestry [post 1831], Indian Town contended with the demographic impact of the 1802-1803 Iroquoian removals and the challenges associated with non-Nottoway intermarriage. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, there were no matrilineal Nottoway married to other matrilineally-descended Nottoway, but rather “their husbands and wives are chiefly free negroes” “mulatto” and “white” (Cabell Papers, July 18, 1808; Cobb to Bowers, December 31, 1821). Between 1830 and 1850 at least two marriages between the remaining *ohwachira* occurred, as did one union between a matrilineal-descended Nottoway woman and an agnatic-descended Nottoway male, if not more [see Appendix B, Figure 49]. These endogamous Indian

Town marriages maintained clan and lineage exogamy, and demonstrate efforts to support and foster Nottoway solidarity within an increasingly narrow social position and shrinking Iroquoian demographic.

Name	Relationship <i>Ohwachira</i>	Under 10		10-24		25-35		36-55		Over 56		Total
		F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
Ned Scholar	<u>Agnatic</u>		4		2			1	1			8
Billy Scholar	<u>Agnatic</u>	1							1	1		4
James Taylor	Affine Woodson	2	2	2		1						7
Burwell Williams	Affine Woodson	2	3			2	2					9
Edith Turner	<u>Head female</u> Turner	1	1		1						1	4*
Henry Turner	Turner	1				1		1	1			3
Nancy Turner	Turner	1	1			1	1	1	1			5
John Turner	Turner	3	2					1	1			7
John Woodson	Woodson					1		1				2
Pamelia Gardner	Woodson(?)		2	1				1				4
Totals		10	11	15	3	3	3	5	5	5	2	53

Table 13. **Indian Town Households, c.1830.** *Source:* C1830.

<i>Ohwachira</i> Lands	Scholar	[Woodson]	Turner	Woodson
Head Matriline	None	Jincy Taylor Winny Williams	Edith Turner Nancy Turner	Pamelia Gardner
Residents	12	16	20	6

Table 14. **1830 Census reconfigured for Nottoway matrilineages:** the two remaining *ohwachira* [Turner and Woodson] and associated lineage-segments. *Source:* C1830.

In Table 13, the 1830 Census listed Scholar-descended households on the western Indian lands previously settled by their Nottoway father, Littleton Scholar. Ned and Billy Scholar were agnatic Nottoway with FPC wives. Affines James Taylor and Burwell Williams were listed as heads of their wives' matrilineal households [sibling set Jincy and Winifred Woodson-Bozeman]. Headwoman Edith Turner and other Turner households were adjacent, occupying their *ohwachira* lands. A Gardner household neighbored matrilineal-descended John Woodson's farm. Gardner was likely Polly Woodson using an affine surname or an agnatic-descended family, collateral kin, or Indian Town renters. Other off-reservation households are not included [e.g. William Bozeman, James Turner and James Woodson]. All households were recorded as "Free Colored Persons." Edith Turner's household [*] enumeration was 5, as she owned one slave in 1830.

By 1830 Southampton had 1,745 free non-White residents, or when compared to the 1790 enumeration, an increase of 200% in forty years. Drewry remarked the FPC

population had “increased rapidly... with a greater proportion of free negroes than any other neighboring counties except Nansmond and Isle of Wight” (1900:108-109). During this era, the Nottoway community composed less than 5% of the free non-White population: in 1830 there were at least twelve Nottoway farms in Southampton, with fifty-three Indian Town residents [Table 13 and 14].

H.	Name	Age	Race	Relationship	No.	Property and Notes
40	Edwin Turner	40	Mulatto	Indian Town Headman	12	\$1500, Allottee Household
41	Lizzy Ricks	38	B / M	Woodson <i>Ohwachira</i>	6	Allottee Household
42	Thomas Crocker	50	B / M	Woodson <i>Ohwachira</i>	3	\$300, Allottee Household
43	Robert Wiggins	40	B / M	Woodson <i>Ohwachira</i>	9	Allottee Household
44	Alex Stewart	35	Mulatto	Woodson <i>Ohwachira</i>	6	Allottee Household
45	Charles Stewart	25	Mulatto	Agnatic Nottoway	2	\$100 Personal (Agri.)
46	Millie Turner	25	Mulatto	Woodson <i>Ohwachira</i>	6	Allottee Household
47	Bedney King	35	B / M	Woodson <i>Ohwachira</i>	8	Allottee Household
48	John Williams	45	Mulatto	Woodson <i>Ohwachira</i>	7	Allottee Household
49	James Bird	45	Black	Indian Town Renters	11	(?) Affine / Collateral Kin
50	Mason Chavers	90	B / M	Affine Head (Scholar)	7	Agnatic descendants
51	James Gray	50	White	Reserve Neighbor	14	Smallholder
52	William Gray	24	White	Reserve Neighbor	1	Smallholder
53	Not inhabited					
54	Jane Hill	30	Mulatto	Affine family	3	Collateral Kin
55	Susan Lamb	57	White	Reserve Neighbor	4	\$1500 Real, \$500 Pers.
56	Charlotte Bryant	73	White	Rose Hill Plantation	6	\$4000 Real, \$9100 Pers.
57	Sarah Hill	14	Black	Affine family	2	Collateral Kin
58	Sophia Artis	45	Black	Affine family	10	Collateral Kin
59	Mary Artis	26	Black	Affine family	5	Collateral Kin
60	Mima Crocker	45	Black	Affine family	5	Collateral Kin
61	Robert Fitch	32	White	Smallholder farm	4	\$1500 Real, \$2000 Pers.

Table 15. **Indian Town households and neighbors, c.1860.** Matrilineal Iroquoian households [H] are listed by their *ohwachira*, in consecutive order. Most of the Nottoway affines or collateral kin [Ricks; Crocker; Wiggins; King and Bird] were listed as Black [B] and agnatic and matrilineal Nottoway described as Mulatto [M]. White neighbors in 1860 were plantation or smallholding slave owners [**bold**]. Smallholding and plantation FPC laborer-families [Hill, Artis and Crocker] intermarried multiple times with the Nottoway. *Source:* C1860.

By 1850 eleven households with forty-seven individuals clustered along Indian Town Road, with a similar number of mostly agnatic descendants living in at least fourteen off-reservation households. The 1860 Indian Town population was counted as

seventy-seven individuals living in eight matrilineal households [Table 15], alongside three affine or agnatic-descended compounds. Huddled between Indian Town and the neighboring smallholding farms and plantations, an additional three FPC families of Nottoway collateral kin lived in five laborer households, with twenty-five residents.

Thus, a total of nearly 100 individuals were residentially affiliated with Indian Town in 1860, comprising approximately 5% of Southampton’s “free people of color.” Members of the Nottoway’s remaining *ohwachira* were subsumed within this population, equaling a little over half or perhaps 3% of the total county FPC demographic.

As demonstrated in Chart 2 and Tables 13, 14 and 15, 1830-1860 Southampton Census schedules indicate a fairly stable FPC population size, while both White and slave numbers decreased during the same period. Manumissions contributed to some reduction in the resident slave labor, but other social and political currents also impacted the county demography. Antebellum Virginia law required manumitted slaves to leave the Commonwealth within a certain period of months, and indeed records indicate some recently freed Southampton slaves were issued orders to remove (Acts Passed... Commonwealth of Virginia 1830-1831:107-108; LP of Anthony, December 20, 1826; Parramore 1992:71). This legislative action is an example of the type of constrictions manumission underwent in the decades leading up to the Civil War, in an effort by Virginia planters to reduce options for newly freed slaves – as a form of labor control. The continued habitation of freed slaves near their former homes was seen to encourage unrest among those who were forced to remain enslaved. Moreover, a free non-White labor force was acceptable as long as it was not too large; FPC hired and shared labor helped middling sort production and supported the economy in a particular

way. When abolition loomed in national-level discussions or when an FPC population was seen to be too large, removal was encouraged.

Barbara Fields (1985) argues that Mid-Atlantic White planters found the negotiations with “Free Black” laborers to be a necessary aspect of the agricultural cycle. A large block of Southampton’s landholders [39%] owned no slaves at all, while 20% owned between one and three slaves. An additional 18% owned less than ten slaves [see Chart 3]. Thus nearly 80% of Southampton property owners relied on an infusion of wage laborers, hired slaves or slave exchanges to meet the labor needs for cotton, cereal and mixed agriculture. Southampton planter Daniel Cobb repeatedly reported utilizing a half-dozen hands during the routines of plowing and weeding, but over twenty were required during the planting and harvesting seasons (Crofts 1997). Even large slaveholders in the Chesapeake region “could not expect to meet all of their labor needs from their slaveholdings alone.” Some Mid-Atlantic planters whose inventory listed over twenty enslaved peoples, as was the case for 8% of Southampton County’s slave owners, recorded annual expenses for “hiring twenty-one other black hands” during harvest time (Fields 1985:83).

More so than smallholders, non-slaveholders depended on slave hires or contractual laborers during the agricultural cycle. The latter of these demographic categories was primarily comprised of non-landowning FPCs and Whites. Their wages and terms of service were negotiable, but many owners found “the wages asked were too high” or more frequently, “the length of contracted service too short” (70). Some laborers refused contracts by the year, preferring shorter periods that allowed a wider range of choice and more flexibility. Consistent with the processes of polarization within the axial

division of labor, Southamptoners and other Mid-Atlantic slaveholders saw a need to address the labor “shortage,” but equally were problematized by the presence of a too large a “free black” population that demoralized the enslaved and left many questions unanswered about the social position of FPC property owners. Divisions over solutions to the perceived contradiction were the most intense in those areas whose heavy commitment to labor rested equally upon slaves and FPCs. The problem, as Fields identifies it, was that the free Colored population was “an anomaly within slave society...declared by the legislature to constitute an evil in need of eradication, [but yet] free blacks also provided a necessary source of labor” (Fields 1985:71). Thus Nottoway farmers occupied a somewhat liminal status within this labor market. Their families both depended on and contributed to the FPC labor pool in Southampton County.

The mid-nineteenth century “Negro and Mulatto Laws” were directly linked to the development of Virginia’s plantation structures and are examples of the state apparatus supporting the production of cash crops through labor control. The shift in Southampton’s slave numbers between 1830 and 1840 also reflect the peripheralization of the South. Large swaths of American bottomlands came into the commodity market and were opened for agricultural development following the forced removal of Southeastern Indians to Oklahoma.

Southampton slave owners increased internal slave sales during this period and removed large slave gangs to newly acquired “Deep South” plantations being developed by Old Southampton families. Virginians and other White Southerners saw the potential for increased cotton production along the Mississippi bottomlands and actively pursued the development of this agro-industry. As Great Britain’s textile industry grew and the

demand for Southern cotton increased, members of Southampton's Blow, Maget, Mason, Ridley and Trezvant families among others, purchased Deep South lands and transferred their Southampton slaves to the southwest, in order to develop new plantations (Crofts 1992:24-38; Otto 1994:1-17; Wolf 1997:278-285).

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, FPCs were increasingly encouraged by the White landowning-elite to emigrate out of the United States altogether, a stance that gained popularity in Southampton beginning in the 1820s. The increase in Southside FPCs created market competition within the local economy and the population's size was seen as a potential threat to the stability of controlling enslaved labor. Thus, the "encouraged" emigration of FPCs from Southampton may be seen in this context. The financial support of the wealthy, and the development of state-supported mechanisms to facilitate FPC removal, may also be viewed as part of the peripheralization process. The American Colonization Society, an organization supported by prominent Southampton landowners, sponsored several waves of removals from Southampton County to the coast of West Africa. Intriguingly, the earliest envoys included surnames of FPC laborers, residents, renters and, possibly, collateral kin of Indian Town: Artis, Brown, Byrd, Gardner, Green, Taylor and Turner among others [compare Table 12]. One of those Southampton emigrants, Anthony W. Gardner, became the president of the Republic of Liberia (Paramore 1992:72).

The perennial movement to colonize FPCs in Africa eventually failed for a number of reasons: internal problems of the American Colonization Society's organization, an absence of continued financial support and resistance of FPCs to remove from their American homelands. The most substantive reason however, regardless of

what Virginians and other Southerners argued concerning the dangers of too large an FPC population, was that the political economy of the region could not dispense with their labor (Fields 1985:71).

Despite the challenges associated with African colonization, Nathaniel Turner's slave revolt was the impetus for widespread FPC exodus from Southampton in 1831-1832. The social and political climate in Southampton following the Nat Turner insurrection was more rigid in its construction of Black and White societal roles and the county became more entrenched in its plantation-based social institutions. With the exception of the trials and gruesome executions of Turner and his cohort, Southampton's longer-term handling of the slave rebellion was one of containment and conservatism. Future Southamptoners remained reluctant to even discuss the insurrection and attempted to "regulate the event in the history of the county to minor status" (Balfour 1988:4).

In example of Southampton's changed social landscape, immediately following the slave uprising White-Black fraternization was suspended at most Baptist churches. When reconvened as mixed congregations later in the year, restrictions on Black participation were increased and the churches' social-spaces were more fully segregated. These practices spilled over into other social arenas and became codified in specific ways at places of business and county civil institutions. Whatever generalities there were concerning race-based social hierarchy in Southampton before Nat Turner, afterward there existed an "unpleasant feeling the white Brethren have towards the black Brethren" and a lack of White "fellowship [with] the Coloured members" of Southampton society (Scully 2008:221-232).

After 1831, state-imposed legislation increasingly restricted slave and FPC freedoms and curtailed the legal and property rights of Southampton FPCs. It became illegal for slaves or FPCs to congregate, unless Whites conducted the meeting; it was a crime to teach enslaved peoples or FPCs to read and write and non-White ministers could no longer preach sermons at gatherings. Non-Whites were forbidden to purchase slaves, unless they were buying enslaved kin or receiving slaves through inheritance. Firearms and ammunition were prohibited to non-Whites, as was liquor within one mile of any public assembly. Any person responsible for writing or calling for an insurrection by non-Whites was to be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law; FPCs were no longer allowed jury trials, but like the enslaved, were to be tried by justices of oyer and terminer (Guild 1936). The Nottoway successfully resisted some of these imposed sanctions, particularly in matters of slave ownership and trials of oyer and terminer (DB26:395; LP Parsons Turner 1838; SS1850).

Four months after Turner's August 1831 slave rebellion, the largest single Southampton migration to Africa occurred: one-sixth of the FPC population left Norfolk aboard the schooner *James Perkins*. In the following months dozens of additional "honest industrious people" joined the emigrant ranks. The *Jupiter* transported thirty FPCs from Southampton in May 1832, followed by eleven more aboard the *American* in July. The *Jupiter* again carried twenty emigrants in November and the *Roanoke* set sail for Liberia with a Southampton Artis family in December 1832 (Parramore 1992:115-116).

The Nottoway response to the Nat Turner Insurrection went unrecorded. There are no references to Nottoway participation with the famed slave resistance (Roundtree 1987:210), despite the tribe's Trustee involvement in the eventual prosecution of

Nathaniel Turner. Future Trustee James W. Parker led a party of armed volunteers during the rebellion and his nearby farm was the site of the “battle in Parker’s Field” (Drewry 1900:62-64). Parker served as a justice during Turner’s trial and made the initial public interrogation of the accused insurgent. Parker’s observations may have resulted in several anonymous Richmond newspaper editorials within days of the bloodshed (Oats 1975:118, 123-124). Trustee Thomas R. Gray was a Jerusalem lawyer appointed to defend Turner and his cohorts, and later, Gray published the only interview with Turner as the *Confessions of Nat Turner* (1831). Longtime Nottoway Trustee and Treasurer Jeremiah Cobb was the presiding judge over the trial and eventually delivered the guilty verdict and death sentence against Nathaniel Turner. If there was an opportunity to implicate Nottoway Town’s residents in any of the conflict or aftermath, the Trustee lawyers, judges and authors were the most likely to do so, being fully acquainted with the tribe and the circumstances of the rebellion. The extant documentary record suggests the Nottoway were not a factor. Further, given the Nottoway’s proximity to the events, the silence concerning Indian Town may reflect the dominant White population’s perception of the Nottoway community as slaveholders and slave hirers. One may speculate that this social position offered a level of protection, of sorts, for Indian Town following the insurrection (Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, pers. comm., 2013).

The Nottoway response to the FPC emigration to Africa also went unrecorded. The evidence for a Nottoway-Liberia connection is inconclusive, yet the lists of emigrant FPC surnames demonstrates that some of the population from which the Nottoway were employing tenant farmers, labor sharing and selecting marriage-mates opted for removal, rather than weather an uncertain future in Southampton County. Therefore, the possibility

exists that some Nottoway collateral kin, or their descendants, left Southampton for West Africa. Thus, like the previous diasporic waves of Iroquoian removal northward, the emigration of this large block of FPCs in 1831-1832 most likely impacted the Nottoway community in some meaningful way. In the very least, the loss of FPC landowners and skilled artisans shifted resources for segments of the Southampton population and narrowed the opportunities for cooperation among FPC smallholders. Post-1830 Indian Town narrowed in FPC residency and the Nottoway developed farm operations that more closely resembled their middling and plantation White neighbors. Possibly more than ever, Nottoway Town became the locus for a *particular sort* of FPC economic development and collaboration within an increasingly rigid and stratified Southampton political economy.

The processes of polarization continued to shape Nottoway notions of peoplehood, but ultimately produced a sense of community that was partially matrilineal Iroquois, but also increasingly referenced multiple forms of navigable identities. Indian descent, whether matrilineal, agnatic or bilateral, was seen as a component of a larger form of “like people.” Kinship connections with Whites and Blacks impacted and influenced personal and household affiliations. Notions of community belonging also strongly associated with “free” or “free issue” descent, meaning marriage mates and one’s parents were not formerly or recently enslaved; some of the Nottoway’s affines were also of non-matrilineal Nottoway descent. Thus, the residents of Indian Town shared a mutual sense of pastness, one that was an intermediary position between White colonizers and enslaved Africans, yet with perceived associations to both. Self-sufficiency and independence became linked to property ownership and while economic

relationships amongst PPC and Nottoway peoples were substantive, Nottoway affiliations and collaborations with White middling sort and plantation owners were also significant. The polarity and asymmetry of the system's mechanics encouraged the Nottoway to carve out a social, political and economic place for their people – which aligned with slave owners and cash crop producers – but was also situated against the tensions and contradictions of the system's impositions.

Concluding Discussion on Nottoway Peoplehood

In 1849-1852, the Nottoway sued their Treasurer and former Trustees for misappropriation of Indian Town assets. During the proceedings, the tribe's lawyers suggested the community was “exceedingly ignorant of their rights,” regarding real and personal property. As with previous petitions, the tribe's advocates made overtures to the court's sense of justice. Yet the nearly seventy years of legal disputes, court cases, pleas to the executive branch and legislative requests suggest the Nottoway were actually quite sophisticated in their navigation and understanding of, and adherence to, the state's legal code. The tribe's communal agency provides evidence for their sense of solidarity and community recognition as a *particular kind* of people, with particular legal rights.

The processes of polarization also shaped the Nottoway's sense of peoplehood, particularly with regard to the codification and alignment of Virginia law, racial categories, property ownership and labor. Here, it is worth highlighting conflicting exterior perceptions of the Nottoway during this period. The c.1849 Southampton Court identified the Nottoway Indians as “numerous,” reflecting the outside opinion of at least some county residents. However, the African and European ancestry of the community

confounded other observers' notions of the Nottoway. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's 1847 census for the Bureau of Indian Affairs recorded the Nottoway as the only tribe in Virginia and enumerated the community's total as forty individuals "mixed with the African race" (1851:524). In the same year, during the allotment proceedings of Nottoway headman Edwin Turner, the Trustees counted only sixteen matrilineal heirs. Following the 1849-1852 tribal lawsuits, Schoolcraft was informed through "verbal information" that there were "nine descendants of the Nottoway residing in [Virginia], in amalgamation with the African race" (1855:36-37).

The discrepancies in the data may be linked to three categories of Nottoway:

- 1) Matrilineal members of the *ohwachira* who had already received allotments,
- 2) Eligible matrilineal heirs and residents of Indian Town, and
- 3) Agnatic Nottoway and their descendants.

Thus while these records are only suggestive, one may see a relationship between the Iroquoian's descent system, the state codification of aboriginal property rights and the wider society's construction of race. The Nottoway's partial African ancestry, crossed with matrilineal descent, impacted etic perspectives of Indian Town's population. These forces also influenced Nottoway notions of group membership and their social construction of community. Antebellum *ohwachira* segments employed several strategies to navigate the system's polarization processes and to address the changing structures of Southampton's political economy, but it is clear the Nottoway recognized there were a limited number of options available. Fissions within the Nottoway community, such as removal, reflected individual and *ohwachira* decisions on how to best resist and accommodate the system in which they were embedded.

Increasingly for the Nottoway, “like people” (Field notes 2006-2011) became associated with land ownership and an economic niche as cash-cropping non-White smallholders. Yet there was also a conflation of racialized peoplehoods with socio-economic class, whereby partial White ancestry affiliated Nottoway with the plantation-owning elite and partial African ancestry associated the Nottoway with laborers, some of who were enslaved. Nottoway efforts to counter the latter association expressed itself through Indian Town’s alignment with the socio-economics of their neighboring middling farmers and plantation owners. As the only non-Whites to combine property ownership [land] with labor control [slaves], the Nottoway’s limited slave ownership was meaningful and significant. Moreover, the community’s utilization of slave hires and shared slave labor with neighboring plantations suggests Indian Town peoplehood was aligned in a *particular* manner: one that was matrilineal Iroquoian, but included Black and White ancestry; one that recognized Nottoway were free from bondage, but used slave labor and were slave owners; one that had rights as the communal “Nottoway Tribe of Indians,” but fostered individually-owned real and personal property.

Virginia laws aimed at controlling the labor and mobility of slave and FPC populations (e.g. Guild 1936) also influenced emic notions of Nottoway group membership, likely as individual phenotypes restricted some community members’ social mobility. In part, the internal constructions of Nottoway peoplehood was linked to kinship, whether matrilineal, agnatic [and eventually bilateral] or through marriage as affines and collateral kin. The small community increased tribally endogamous marriages during the mid-century, without violating the matriclan rule of exogamy. This pattern suggests Nottoway community cohesion and indicates some level of Nottoway

separateness from other peoples. By 1860 Indian Town marriages not between the remaining *ohwachira* were with FPCs identified as Black or Mulatto – some of who were agnatic Nottoway descendants. The earlier practice of marrying Whites, such as amongst the Bozeman and Scholar segments, seems to have ceased by the midcentury. However, some FPC affines were descendants of neighboring White property owners and at least one White neighbor fathered a matrilineal Nottoway at the end of the Reservation Allotment Period (Field notes 2009-2011; Painter 1961; and see Appendix C, Figure 50). Therefore, one may argue that as Southampton society increasingly segregated along socio-economic class and racial lines 1831-1865, the processes of polarization contributed to Nottoway notions of peoplehood.

The Nat Turner insurrection and the tightened Virginia slave and FPC legal codes impacted Indian Town, particularly the freedoms of non-matrilineal descendants and collateral kin. The 1831-1832 removal of Southampton FPCs to Liberia also reflected choices made by individual families under the restrictive social climate following the slave revolt. A careful examination of the following decades' documentary record suggests cleaves formed within the Indian community over property ownership, matrilineal descent and degrees of African ancestry. Evidence of these shifting notions may be seen in the state's legal opinions, Southampton Courthouse records and Chancery suits.

Actions against the remnants of the Scholar *ohwachira* may be the best example of shifting Nottoway perspectives concerning community membership and hierarchy. By all accounts, Littleton Scholar was the last member of his matrilineage to remain at Indian Town. Married to a White woman, Scholar's children were agnatic-descended

Nottoway, but not members of a clan. In as much, they had no use rights to matrilineal lands, but were allowed to settle communal property on the western edge of the reservation. Both sons of Littleton Scholar married FPC wives, and thus further distanced their kinship ties with Indian Town. When allotment initiatives moved forward in the 1830s, Scholar-occupied lands were targeted for division and severalty – even though other tracts of Indian land were uninhabited. Scholar farms were allotted to Turner and Woodson *ohwachira* members.

The result of allotment was that some Scholar descendants became renters of the farms on which they resided; other agnatic descendants became evicted and were forced to relocate. The impact of Scholar matrilineage extinction was a separation from indigenous land, which precipitated more engagement with the market: some descendants became mobile wage-workers for agricultural producers, others purchased private property and operated their own smallholding farms, yet others relocated to urban centers and became part of the industrial work force. Thus Nottoway matrilineal descent and access to tribal resources through the *ohwachira* remained a strong organizing principle for Indian Town. Agnatic descendants became non-Iroquoian, but because of Indian ancestry, could be considered “like people” for purposes of cooperation and marriage mate selection. Propertyless, agnatic Nottoway were subject to the same stratigraphic forces that impacted all peoples within the wider capitalist economy.

The 1837-1864 court certification of multiple Nottoway as “not a free negro or mulatto” and “free persons of mixed blood...not negroes” indicates the Nottoway sought to distinguish themselves from other peoples (e.g. M1848-1855:231; OB18:320). The oppression of state enforced labor and other disadvantages associated with African

ancestry led some Nottoway to seek endorsement as non-subjects to “slave, negro and mulatto laws.” Virginia’s Attorney General argued the Nottoway, despite partial African descent, maintained their rights as “tributary Indians” and “as a dependent nation of Indians.” He further stated that laws for “free negroes & mulattoes” could not apply

“to the case of [a] member of any of the tribes of tributary Indians although such member may be in the statutory definition a mulatto...they are under the full powers of our laws, but it is in the their character of members of a dependent nation of indians that their relation to the government is formed, and not their individual character as mulattoes” (LP Parsons Turner 1838).

Virginia Iroquoians with some African and European ancestry were hypothetically not subject to the laws created to restrict the economic and social mobility of Free Negroes and Mulattos. Thus, the Nottoway occupied a narrow socio-political space as non-White, non-Black and non-Mulatto descendants of Iroquoian-speaking peoples.

Significantly, the attorney general’s opinion regarded a Nottoway individual who had already applied for allotment and personal property in fee simple. Southampton officials recognized allotted Nottoway property ownership as severalty from Nottoway tribal assets. This distinction was the cause of negating Indian rights, assuming allottees’ legal position to be severed from the tribe as well, just as their real and personal property. This was the source of Nottoway being identified as “free negroes,” and in one case, tried in the court of oyer and terminer (Rountree 1979a:27-31, 1987:205-212).

Moreover, Southampton clerks were inconsistent with their descriptions of Nottoway allottees as “descendants of a female of the Nottoway Tribe of Indians,” “formerly of the Nottoway,” “a Nottoway Indian,” “members of the Nottoway Tribe” and “a descendant of the Nottoway Tribe of Indians.” The forgoing references indicate there was confusion over the legal status of the Nottoway during the antebellum Allotment

Period (DB28:699; 25:60; DB24:116, 520, 553; M1830-1835:381). Thus, the court's varying legal identification also reflected Nottoway individuals' liminal social status: being Indian allottees of partial African descent. This ambiguous position resulted in Nottoway efforts to clarify their legal, personal and real property rights as Indians with treaty lands. The 1837-1838 petition of Parsons Turner, the 1837-1840 Nottoway suit against their Trustees and the 1849-1852 case against their former Treasurer best illustrate Nottoway agency and sense of solidarity as a people during this era. The cases also provide evidence for Indian Town's continual use of the state's legal system to address community grievances, a persistence that dated back to the colonial period.

Based on the tribe's relationship with the Commonwealth and the retention of indigenous lands, the Nottoway had a special legal status in Virginia. Southampton's demography, particularly with regards to property ownership, indicates tribal members occupied a unique social, political and economic position as well.

CHAPTER V

The Allotment of Nottoway Real and Personal Property

“Supposedly, respect for private property would replace communal bonds and hasten Indians’ progress toward yeoman farmer ideal. Holding allotments in trust...would allow Indians to learn to regard land as real estate and manage their own affairs...these alterations in reservation land tenure were aimed at the ultimate incorporation of reservation land and resources into the American economy.”

~ Melissa Meyer 1996:51-52

Free status, property ownership and legal rights as tributary Indians distinguished the Nottoway from other Free Peoples of Color. It was the combination of these characteristics that allowed the Nottoway to carve out an economic niche for Indian Town’s matrilineages. As small-producing farmers, they found affinity with other Southampton property owners and fraternized with peoples that shared aspects of their socio-economic position. Ultimately, the control of land, labor and finances were central to the transformation of the Nottoway community. This chapter investigates the civil suits and court orders relating to the division and allotment of the Nottoway’s reservation lands and financial trust, in order to explicate the tribe’s legal and economic strategies prior to the Civil War. The evidence presented demonstrates the interconnectedness of Indian assets and resources with Southampton’s most prominent and politically connected men of finance, wealth and affluence.

The Nottoway’s use of property and labor to replicate the economic structures of Virginia’s plantation society elevated their social standing among non-Nottoway Southside peoples, the majority of whom were landless, laborers or enslaved. As tributary Indians with communal land, they held a particular legal status within Southampton,

despite acknowledged Black and White ancestry. Matrilineal-descended Nottoway distinguished themselves as Indians through a long-term bureaucratic relationship with Virginia's state and local government. Indian Town's decades-long struggle to capture their financial trust and real estate away from state-enforced Trustee management further strengthened their unique social, legal and political position within antebellum Southampton. As the economic system's mechanics constricted the maneuverability of free "colored" and enslaved laborers, the Nottoway more fully engaged the market as owners and producers. Resistance to the system's impositions expressed itself through Nottoway requests for partible shares of their real and personal estate. As landowners, the Nottoway developed, sold and mortgaged their assets and hired, shared and exchanged labor with other property owners. Allotment was the means by which the Nottoway more fully integrated into the periphery of the world-system.

Nottoway land ownership during the Allotment Period may be considered in two blocks of time, each with specific characteristics. Most land divided between 1830 and 1845 was sold immediately by individual allottees, in some cases before surveys of the property were complete, indicating acquiring monetary capital was the primary interest. In contrast, the majority of property allotments from 1845-1875 were retained by tribal members and developed into smallholding farms managed by conjoined elementary families. Land allotments were requested and sold as group efforts, with *ohwachira* members of sibling sets or parallel cousins leading the allotment initiatives and sales. Indian Town residents actively pursued partible property and full access and distribution of cash resources, many times in opposition to their Trustees' recommendations. Most importantly, property sales and monetary resources were divided among the matrilineage

members and civil actions against the Trustees were communally conducted under the tribal name. As during the earlier tribal initiatives to self-direct land sales and monetary distributions, the mid-century Nottoway utilized state structures to aggressively pursue their legal, property and civil rights.

Name	Year	Allotment Notes	Value	Sale Amt. / Purchaser	Trust
Edith Turner	1830	416.5 acres	\$4 per	\$1660 / H.B. Vaughan	None
Wm. Bozeman	1830				
Henry Turner	1835	½ shares 140 acres	\$361.99	\$500 / Lewis Worrell	\$58.88
Green Turner	1835	½ shares Trust			
John Turner	1837	½ share 47.5 acres	\$357.35	\$237.50 / Benj. Lamb	\$117.77
Nancy Turner	1837	¾ share 17.5 acres	\$119.11	\$70 / Theo. Trezvant	\$19.65
Parsons Turner	1837	½ share 51 acres	\$357.35	\$229.5 / D. Dromgoole	\$117.77
Jack Woodson	1837	½ share 47.5 acres	\$357.35	\$237.50 / Benj. Lamb	\$117.77
Jincy Woodson*	1837	½ share 47.5 acres	\$357.35	–	\$117.77
Mary Woodson	1837	½ share 51 acres	\$357.35	\$229.5 / Theo. Trezvant	\$117.77
James Turner	1840	98 ½ acres	\$4 per	\$475 / James French	(\$83.99)
John Turner§	1840	½ share & Indian Outlet			–
Parsons Turner§	1840	½ share & Indian Outlet		\$260 / James French	–
William Turner*	1840	120 acres	(?)	–	–
Nancy Turner§*	1840	119 ac. 10 acres set aside		\$375 / James French	–
Patsy Williams	1840	86 ¼ acres	\$345	\$1083 / James French	\$83.99
Sally Williams	1840	86 ¼ acres	\$345	(+ Indian Outlet)	\$83.99
John Williams	1840	98 ¼ acres	\$393		\$83.99
Mary Williams§	1840	½ share 81 ½ acres	(?)	\$240 / James French	–
Jincy Woodson§*	1840	½ share & Indian Outlet		\$210 / James French	–
John Woodson§	1840	½ share & Indian Outlet		\$216 / James French	–

Table 16. **Nottoway allotments of real and personal property, 1830-1840.** Double lines divide allotment initiatives; [*] identifies individuals who retained lands for residential or agricultural purposes. Most tracts were uninhabited; [§] identifies recipients of half-shares based on the Superior Court case when Nottoway sued the Trustees to receive full allotments. *Sources:* Circuit Superior Court 1831-1841:289, 320, 344, 431, 458 in Rountree n.d. and Rountree 1987; DB23:498, 512, 517-518; DB24:116-117, 146, 314, 520; DB25:3-4, 60-61; LP Edith Turner, March 1830; LP William Bozeman, March 1830; LP Henry and Green Turner, March 1835; LP of John Woodson, Jincy Woodson, Parsons Turner and wife, June 1837; LP Commissioners Report in favor of John and Nancy Turner, June 1837; LP William Turner, January 1840; LP James Turner and others, November 1840; M1830-1835:381, 390; OB1835-1839:270, 296-297, 320, 333; OB1839-1843:109, 243, 251.

The Nottoway’s Trustees attempted to retain half-shares of the tribal land and financial trust, under the direction of Treasurer Jeremiah Cobb. After the Nottoway began

individually applying for allotments, the requested 1835-1837 divisions were only partially disbursed [Table 16], against Nottoway wishes. In a similar manner as the machinations of the early Trustee regimes, Cobb resisted dolling out large portions of cash from the tribal fund and depreciating the account's banking potential. Instead, the Trustees recommended from one-sixth to one-half disbursements. As in the previous decades, the Nottoway resisted the Trustee paternalism and engaged the Commonwealth directly. The Nottoway's 1838 legislative petition requested the General Assembly reword the 1824 Bozeman Act, and for the state to ensure full allotment when applied for by matrilineage members. The law was passed and the Trustees were forced to settle a dozen Nottoway accounts in 1840 (LP Henry and Green Turner and others, February 28, 1838; Rountree 1989:210-211).

Cobb's accounting of the Nottoway funds was less than straightforward his fellow Trustees later complained, which eventually resulted in the tribe's civil suit against the Treasurer and his former accomplices. Jeremiah Cobb was Treasurer for twenty-five years, a period that coincided with the allotment of reservation lands and the deepening of Nottoway contractualization. Trustees James S. French and Jeremiah Cobb were appointed alongside James W. Parker to oversee the 1840 land transactions (CC *Indian Trustees vs. Cobb et al.*, 1849-1852; LP Elizabeth Turner, December 1847; LP William Turner, January 1840; Newsom to Johnson, January 23, 1854).

The actual disposition of the Nottoway Trust's liquid assets may have been the motivation for allotting so much land in 1840 and so little direct distribution of monetary resources [see Table 16]. Some accounting arrangements were clearly called in, as Jerusalem lawyer James S. French entered into a series of loan agreements with merchant

Theodore Trezvant to secure the monies necessary to outright purchase the Indian lands. In turn, Trezvant was forced to settle existing debts far and wide, from Portsmouth merchants to Tennessee relatives (DB24:480-484). As recorded in Southampton's deed books and seen in Table 16, French received the rights to Trezvant's Indian lands as well as purchased the majority of tracts located in the Indian Woods and Indian Outlet. French flipped the properties within the year to Henry B. Vaughan, selling a total of 913 acres for \$3476 – a figure similar to what French outlaid in cash for the Nottoway lands (DB24:480, 25:62). Thus Vaughan, who previously purchased large swaths of Nottoway land in the 1820s and 1830s, acquired the majority of the 500 acre Indian Woods and 360 acre Indian Outlet. It is unclear what James S. French gained through the transactions, with an apparent loss or marginal financial gain through fencing the Nottoway land to resolve the cash deficits of fellow Trustee and Treasurer Jeremiah Cobb.

It is tempting to link James French's 1840 purchases and financial wrangling with his 1838 legal work on behalf of the tribe in an important court case, in which Virginia's Attorney General confirmed the Nottoway's tributary treaty status (David Campbell Executive Papers). The linkage of the Nottoway monetary fund to the personal finances of Trustee Treasurer and County Judge Jeremiah Cobb, Trustee and lawyer James S. French and the merchant Theodore Trezvant can only be hinted. All concerned owed money to one another, and Cobb and French acted in official capacities as Nottoway Trustees and Land Commissioners. It seems clear that the connection of Virginia politics, Indian accounting, Indian land surveys and Indian land purchases were being acted upon by one and the same individuals over long periods of time. The sheltering and manipulation of Nottoway assets [such as investing in stock with merchants like

Trezvant] and the less than transparent accounting of Cobb, however, muddles the motivation of actors like French.

Notwithstanding French's Nottoway business, he had a "mysterious career" and was an unusual character for an "obscure country lawyer." Unpacking French's relationships may provide an example of the Nottoway guardians' connections to the wider Virginia political economy. Born in Petersburg and raised in Norfolk, James Strange French was a graduate of the College of William & Mary and the University of Virginia, practiced law in Jerusalem, and later Alexandria. In 1831 he represented accused Southampton insurgents in the Nat Turner slave rebellion, alongside fellow Trustees Thomas R. Gray and presiding Judge Jeremiah Cobb. James S. French also had an unsuccessful career as an Indian-themed fiction writer. French owned the 1833 copyright to frontiersman David Crockett's popular biography *Sketches and Eccentricities of Col. David Crockett of West Tennessee* and wrote the little-known 1836 novel *Elkswatawa; or the Prophet of the West*. Both volumes were politically minded towards anti-Washington corruption. Thus, it was not coincidental that French was connected socially to anti-Jacksonian figures, such as Congressman James Trezvant, brother of Jerusalem merchant Theodore Trezvant, and Mathew St. Clair Clarke, clerk of the House of Representatives – the anonymous author of *Sketches*. French was also a suitor of Southampton's Martha Rochelle, who later dismissed French's overtures in favor of John Tyler, Jr., son of the tenth U.S. president elected in 1841 under the Whig banner of "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" (Crofts 1992:106-107; Parramore 1992:139-143; Samuel Bassett French Collection).

As a Jerusalem lawyer, James French lobbied the Governor of Virginia on behalf of the Nottoway's civil rights in 1838, clarifying [possibly unintentionally] the tribe's treaty status within the legal system of the state. Yet, he clearly orchestrated the 1840 financial maneuvers required to liquidate various parties' assets in order to purchase nearly 1000 acres of Nottoway land. In an 1840 Southampton correspondence of George Henry Thomas, the future U.S. General known during the Civil War as the "Rock of Chickamauga," James French was described as having "got himself...[into a] scrape" in some Southampton affair. Historian Thomas Parramore indicates this conflict led to French's departure from Jerusalem "under a cloud." Nonetheless, French went on to practice law in Alexandria and had an important role in the development of Virginia's infrastructure. In 1843 French, alongside prosperous Southampton planter and politician James Maget, purchased the bankrupt assets of the *Portsmouth and Richmond Railroad*. James French eventually became the president of the *Alexandria, London and Hampshire Railroad*, a position he retained for many years (Crofts 1992:186-187; DB25:62; David Copeland Executive Papers; Parramore 1992:127, 143, 256; Samuel Bassett French Collection; Thomas to Thomas, October 19, 1840).

Whatever the configuration of debt and credit that led to the bankrolling of the 1840 Nottoway transactions, it is clear that James S. French provided the cash for the Nottoway sales. Treasurer Jeremiah Cobb released as little capital as possible and merchant Theodore Trezvant was forced to leverage his personal property to front the money to French, including selling Nottoway and Cobb's existing debts among others (DB24:116-117, 146, 314, 480-484; DB25:3-4, 60-61). It was during this 1837-1840 period that Theodore Trezvant's Jerusalem business went into a tailspin. Trezvant's

mercantile demise has been attributed to the realignment of businesses with the coming of the railroad to Southampton (Crofts 1992:44; Parramore 1992:126-127), but the Nottoway land deals and cash required to support the 1840 tribal settlements has not been previously considered.

Most of the 1830-1840 land allotments were selected from uninhabited tracts of reservation land, south of the Indian Road [Figure 31]. These arrangements were likely made through *ohwachira* agreements with the Trustees. However, some of the 1837 allotments targeted areas occupied by agnatic Nottoway – particularly the non-matrilineal descendants of the Scholar *ohwachira*. Nancy Turner’s 1837 sale of seventeen and one-half acres to Theodore Trezvant was drawn from deceased headman Littleton Scholar’s old lands, a tract that his son’s wife Mason Scholar [nee Chavis] still resided on. Scholar’s family then rented the lands from Trezvant for an unknown amount annually (DB24:314). However, some Scholar descendants and their affines removed after the land sales (C1840-1850; Crofts 1997:53-54; Forbes 1993:202). Mason Scholar remained, and in 1840 repurchased the allotment from cash-starved Trezvant, but for twice the price (DB24:481).

Elderly Nancy Turner, living on her *ohwachira* lands, arranged to have James French set aside ten acres for her use when she sold the rights to her 1840 allotment [see Table 16]. Nottoway William Turner retained a portion of his allotment land, near where the “old Edi Turner settlement” was located on the western edge of the Indian Woods (DB25:62). As well, Jincy Taylor did not sell her allotment outright, since it was located in the vicinity of the Woodson *ohwachira* lands bordering the Scholars. These actions suggest that some of the Turner and Woodson tracts along the Indian Road were

occupied. If so, the Nottoway allotments of 1840 began to impinge on *ohwachira* settlement areas.

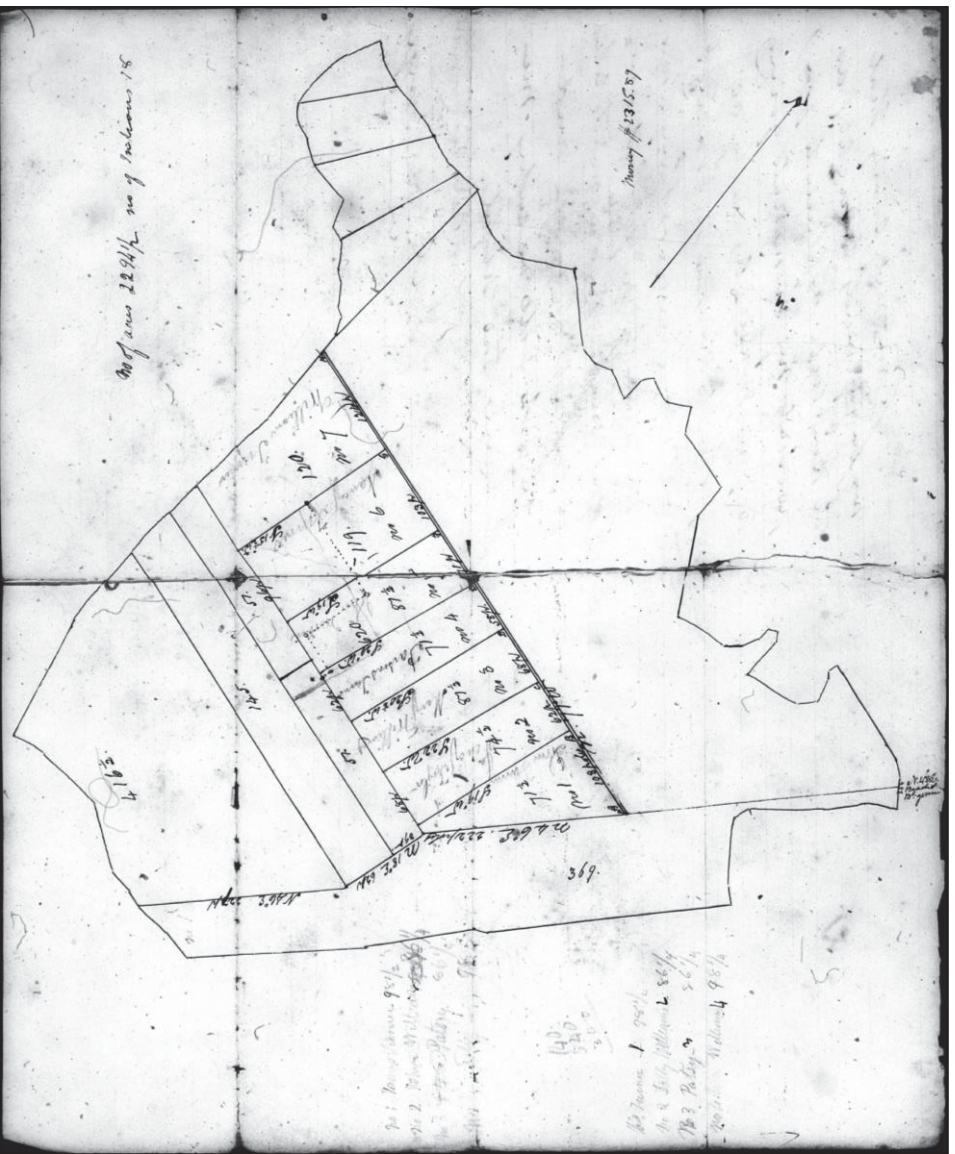


Figure 31. **Nottoway Reservation survey, c.1840.** Map is inverted to approximate cardinal northeast. The earliest allotments 1830-1835 are at the bottom of the map, followed by the first 1837 allotments on the far left. Additional 1837 allotment requests were surveyed from the mid-section of the map, locally called the Indian Woods. Most of the parcels were half-allotments, which spurred the 1838 Nottoway petition to the General Assembly and the additional allotment requests of 1840. The outcome of those proceedings allotted the 369 acre elongated tract on the right side of the map, to twelve applicants. James French purchased the Indian Outlet, before it was divided, infusing large amounts of cash into the unmarked Nottoway farms located in the upper undivided portion of the map. *Source:* LP *Report of Commissioners Allotting Indian Land*, Oct. 1837.

In contrast to the 1830-1845 Allotment Period, most property divisions after midcentury were retained by tribal members and used as securities on individual debts and for extensions of personal credit [Table 17]. Therefore, the second half of the

Allotment Period, from 1845-1875, differed from that of the earlier era. Allotted land was not sold outright, but occupied and developed as small producing farms. However, some tracts were sold within several years; in some instances, property acquisition was a means to promote other agendas. The entire Taylor lineage segment relocated during this period, opting to timber their tracts, sell their shares and remove to Richmond and Petersburg for wage labor opportunities (C1850-1860 Petersburg, VA; DB28:44, 357-358).

Name	Year	Allotment Notes	Sale Amt. / Purchaser	Trust
Elizabeth Turner	1847	No record of allotment	No record of survey	No record
Edwin Turner	1847	48.5 ac. 1/16 of 1125	–	\$18/14.55
Caroline Bozeman	1848	42.5 ac. 1/16 of 1125	\$172.62 / James Gray [1852]	\$18/14.55*
Rebecca Woodson	1848	45 ac. 1/16 of 1125 ac.	\$225 / James Gray [1853]	\$18/14.55*
Robert Taylor	1850	Surveyed together 105	\$150 Timbered [1850]	\$18/14.55*
Benjamin Taylor	1850	ac. 1/8 of 1125 acres	\$200 / James Gray [1853]	\$18/14.55*
Patsy Bozeman	1851	48 ac. 1/13 of 884 ac.	–	\$10/12.80*
Milly Woodson	1852	64.5 ac. 1/12 of 836 ac.	–	\$14.28*
Indiana Bozeman	1852	50 ac. 1/12 of 836 ac.	–	\$14.28*
John Taylor	1854	59 ac. 1/10 of 721.5 ac.	\$157.5/Edwin Turner [1855]	\$15.92
Lamb Bozeman	1868	71.5 ac. 1/14 of 721.5 error [662.5]	–	None
Lydia Bozeman	1871	75 ac. with a balance of 575 acres	–	None

Table 17. **Nottoway allotments of real and personal property, 1845-1875.** Each allottee's proportion was determined by the number of potential applicants, e.g. one of sixteen, one of fourteen, etc. The 1868 allotment to Lamb Bozeman miscalculated the available acreage, as John Taylor's allotment was previously deducted from a survey of 721.5 acres. Jincy Woodson-Taylor sold her 1837-1840 allotments alongside her sons in 1855. Unlike the majority of midcentury applicants, the Taylor lineage-segment removed to urban centers. Figures marked [*] owed money to the Trustees at the conclusion of the 1847-1852 Chancery Court case. Survey fees, attorney's fees and clerk's tickets offset most of the remaining monetary shares of each allottee. *Sources:* C1860, Petersburg, VA; CO1832-1858:309; DB28:44, 306, 339, 357-358, 671, 699; LP Elizabeth Turner, December 1847; LP Edwin Turner, September 1847; LP Caroline Bozeman October 1848; LP Rebecca Woodson, October 1848; LP Robert Taylor, July 1850; LP Patsy Bozeman, April 1851; LP Milly Woodson, March 1852; LP John Taylor, June 1854; LP Lamb Bozeman, November 1868; LP Milly Bozeman, January 1871; M1848-1855:46, 60-61, 218, 222-223, 229, 231, 260, 273, 281, 284, 312, 314, 345, 395, 416, 421, 487, 545, 563; M1855-1861:2, 5, 34-35, 77, 87; M1861-1870:1, 169, 496, 577, 611, 620-621; OB1843-1849:552, 584, 559, 672, 697; OB1870-1875:110-111.

Importantly, Indian Town headman Edwin Turner purchased allotment lands from Nottoway planning removal (DB28:699), and thereby retained tribal land, but enlarged

his personal property. Other Nottoway collaborated on lands sales with White smallholders, such as James Gray, who carved a substantial middling farm of nearly 200 acres on the Indian Road adjacent to *ohwachira* compounds (DB28:306, 339). Judging by the household composition and residence of allottees following the transactions, the funds from some land sales were reinvested in multi-generational, matrilineal, sibling-set *ohwachira* farmsteads (C1850-1870; D28:306, 339).

The matrilineal component of the Nottoway community requested allotments near the time of their adulthood and of those that did not sell, kept their personal tracts as individual property owners. Not all eligible claimants applied for Indian lands. The control of Indian resources eventually shifted toward the Woodson *ohwachira*, particularly after the Civil War. The final 600 acres of Nottoway land was divided by one segment of the matrilineage. By that time [1878], non-Nottoway male affines and nuclear family interests held more influence over Nottoway affairs, as agnatic, matrilineal and affinal men of individual family segments cooperated for income pooling and resource mobilization.

During the second half of the Allotment Period, the Trustee's accounting of Nottoway affairs was more judicious and attentive to the tribe's property rights. Newly appointed Trustee James W. Parker requested balanced books from Treasurer Jeremiah Cobb. The trust fund's cash shortage, evidenced by the increase in land surveyed for the 1840 allotments and Cobb's limited direct payout, suggest Nottoway trust monies were either missing or not in liquid assets. Thus, Cobb's motivation for recommending half-shares in 1835-1838 becomes clear when the shortfalls in cash are considered. James

French's financial leverage against Trezvant, and the corresponding promissory notes for land sales, ultimately supported the monetary infusion to Nottoway farms.

French's tenure as a tribal Trustee ended by 1843, likely coinciding with the time of his Southampton departure. Cobb discontinued Nottoway annuity payments in 1844 and was "removed from the office" as Treasurer in 1845. Virginia Governor Joseph Johnson appointed James W. Parker, George A.W. Newsom and Jesse Barham as "Trustees to take charge of the property of the said tribe of Indians with authority to call upon those heretofore acting as trustees for a settlement of accounts." As with previous gubernatorial appointments, the Nottoway Trustees were "required to report their proceedings to the Executive" (LP Elizabeth Turner, December 1847; Joseph Johnson Papers; OB1843-1849:44).

New Trustees Parker, Newsom and Barham found the accounts "lost or mislaid, so that there is no accessible information," and that "no interest had been received" by the Trustees or the Indians for nearly five years. The new Trustees entered suit against Cobb to retrieve "his Treasurer's books, now in his possession" and to collect on existing debts owed the Nottoway estate, including those of Indian Town neighbor Benjamin Lamb. In an 1849 letter to the Southampton Court, Trustee Parker noted the missing Nottoway annuity amounted to \$873.40, with interest from 1844, and \$218.04 was due from Lamb's estate, with interest back to 1841 (LP Elizabeth Turner, December 1847, underlined emphasis in original).

Records from the ensuing 1849-1852 Chancery Court case indicate that indeed the tribe's trust monies had not been invested in public stock or securities. Rather, Cobb personally retained the money for almost three decades and utilized the resource to his

own advantage and personal gain, through loans, investments and other enterprise. The banking shortcomings, financial misappropriations and accounting subterfuge came to a head in the 1849-1852 case, when Indian Town filed suit against Cobb and *every bondsman and tribal Trustee* involved in creating the original 1820 tribal trust fund (CC *Indian Trustees vs. Cobb et al. and Indian Trustees vs. Everett et al.* 1849-1852).

The Taylor sub-lineage – males of the Woodson *ohwachira* – alongside Nottoway headman Edwin Turner, sued “on behalf of themselves and all other members of the tribe” against their Trustees’ mismanagement of trust funds. In contrast to previous judicial arguments, their counsel noted the Indians were “still very numerous” in Southampton County. As an adjunct to Indian Town’s claim, for the first time in nearly half a century, the Nansemond heritage of the tribe was trotted out and the court officially recognized the petitioners as the “Nottoway and Nansemond Tribe of Indians.” This formally confirmed Indian Town’s historical relationship with the Commonwealth. The suit repeated the legislative language of an 1816 Act of the General Assembly, which amended the process of appointment for tribal Trustees as a result of the earlier nineteenth-century Trustee scandals. The combined tribal names also reinforced the “numerous” interested Indian parties in the court proceedings. Combined with the legal actions as a corporate group, the use of the Nansemond name speaks strongly to Indian Town’s sense of peoplehood during the mid-nineteenth century (CC *Indian Trustees vs. Cobb et al.* March 1851).

Documents from the 1849-1852 tribal lawsuits indicate that the monies collected by the former Trustees Benjamin Cobb, Jeremiah Cobb, John T. Blow, Henry Welsh and Thomas Fitzhugh following the 1820 land sales were supposed to be invested “in public

securities or stock,” the interest collected annually and applied “to support the Indians.” The former Trustees entered “into bond in the penalty of \$12,000 conditioned as the act directs, with Richard Blunt, Alexander P. Peete and Henry T. Maget their securities.” However, according to the new tribal Trustees Parker, Newsom and Barham, the land was sold but the former guardians “neglected to invest [the money] in the public securities or stock and suffered it to remain in the hands of Jere Cobb without any other security than the aforesaid bond.” The Nottoway wished to recapture the funds they were entitled to, and if necessary, were willing to file suit against every bondsman, Trustee and estate executor to recover the tribe’s communal monetary property.

By 1849 all of the former Trustees, except Jeremiah Cobb, had “died or removed from the commonwealth.” Cobb was accused of retaining the monies starting in 1820, of which only \$1200 remained of the approximately \$5300 received from the tribe’s land sales. Cobb was reported to have paid the per capita interest to the tribe annually, until 1844 when he ceased monetary distributions. The Nottoway complained that they “often demanded of Jere Cobb the amount due from him to the trust fund in order that it might be invested as directed by the Act of Assembly, but he has always declined payment under various pretenses.” The tribe’s lawyers, John R. Chambliss and E.W. Massenburg, lamented that while the Indians were “very numerous,” they were “exceedingly ignorant of their rights” (*CC Indian Trustees vs. Cobb et al.*, 1849-1852).

The new Trustees reported the bond executed by the tribe’s previous custodians was “insufficient to secure the amount due from Jere Cobb,” as a result of his depressed finances and the other obligors “having become insolvent.” The court allowed the tribe’s request to “draw new parties” and secure the debt from their former Trustees and any

assets of their Trustees’ estates ‘as they have failed to comply with the conditions of the said bond.’ Accordingly, Chambliss & Massenbourg filed suit. Table 18 summarizes the interested parties and demonstrates the breadth and depth of the Nottoway’s legal efforts to gain control of Indian finances syphoned off by their supposed protectorates.

Defendant Name	Role	Response	Outcome
Jeremiah Cobb	Former Treasurer Executor of B. Cobb	None	Died during proceedings; Referred to Executor W. Cobb
Benjamin Cobb	Trustee	Deceased	Referred to Executor J. Cobb; Referred to Sheriff J. Darden
John T. Blow	Former Trustee	Deceased	Referred to Barham and Blow
Henry Welsh	Former Trustee	Relocated	Publication of charges; absent
Thomas Fitzhugh	Former Trustee	Deceased	Referred to Executor Cary
Richard Blunt	Bondsman	Deceased	Referred to Executor Blunt
Alexander P. Peele	Bondsman	Relocated	Publication of charges; absent
Henry T. Maget	Bondsman	Relocated	Publication of charges; absent
William W. Cobb	Administrator of J. Cobb	Counter Offer	Implicated Urquhart & Lamb; Settled for \$818.83 & interest
George B. Cary	Executor of T. Fitzhugh	Asked for Dismissal	Died during proceedings; Referred to Sheriff A. Myrick
Jane Blunt	Executor of R. Blunt	Deceased	Referred to Sheriff J. Darden
Jeptha Darden	Committee of R. Blunt Committee of B. Cobb	Asked for Dismissal	Implicated J. Cobb, cited statute of limitation, dismissed
Cuthbert Barham	Administrator of J. Blow	None	Dismissed on final decree
John T. Blow	Administrator of J. Blow	Relocated	Publication of charges; absent
Alexander Myrick	Committee of Fitzhugh	None	Dismissed on final decree
John C. Gray	Justice of the Court	Deceased	Dismissed on final decree
William Briggs	Justice of the Court	Deceased	Dismissed on final decree
William Ricks	Justice of the Court	Deceased	Dismissed on final decree
William S. Everett	Justice of the Court	None	Dismissed on final decree

Table 18. **Defendants in the suits *Trustees of the Nottoway and Nansmond Indians vs. Jeremiah Cobb, et al. and Trustees of the Nottoway and Nansmond Indians vs. Everett, et al.***
Sources: CC Indian Trustees vs. Cobb et al., 1849-1852; CO1832-1858:260-261, 266, 273, 289, 307, 309.

The Southampton Chancery Court ordered Jeremiah Cobb to answer the allegations, to account for any Indian money he retained and to identify “in what capacity he received the [money] and what part thereof if any he [had] legally expended.” The

Court further instructed Cobb “without evasion or equivocation” to itemize his interest payments, reveal on what amount the interest was calculated and submit a receipt for his last annuity disbursement. The Court ordered Cobb to make an “account of his transactions as Trustee” and render whatever funds due the Nottoway in a “full and fair settlement.” Cobb never responded to the January 1849 subpoena and by October of 1849 was deceased, dying intestate with William W. Cobb named as his estate administrator (*CC Indian Trustees vs. Cobb et al.*, 1849-1852; CO1832-1858:260-261; 273).

In the ensuing flurry of subpoenas to identify culpable parties, most former Trustees and bondsmen were declared, “removed” from the Commonwealth or “deceased,” with their executors requested to answer. George B. Cary, whose father had rented and purchased Nottoway lands, was identified as the executor for Trustee Thomas Fizhugh. Cary stated he had “long since parted with the whole estate” and that Fizhugh “never did receive any of the funds...having passed into the hands of Jerra Cobb the Treasurer.” Cary requested to be discharged from the suit. Moreover, Cary suggested the statute of limitations had long absolved him of any responsibility (*CC Indian Trustees vs. Cobb et al.*, 1849-1852; CO1832-1858:266).

In a similar manner, Southampton County Sheriff Jephtha Darden was subpoenaed to answer as the administrator of Trustee Benjamin Cobb and bondsman Richard Blunt. Darden agreed the parties sold the Indian land and bonded the proceeds, but rather than investing the funds, the Trustees loaned the money out, collected the interest and disbursed the dividends annually to the Nottoway. Further, Darden declared no assets had passed into his hand from the estates in question and that the property of the deceased had “long ago been distributed by Jere Cobb.” Sheriff Darden asked any charges against him

be dismissed claiming, “the act of limitations is in complete bar to the plaintiffs claim.” Chambliss & Massenburg in turn requested subpoenas on the surviving Justices of the court and amended the bill to include all parties associated with the Nottoway Trustees’, bondsmen’s or court representatives’ estate management. Chambliss & Massenburg requested a decree against the co-obligors who were either party to or endorsed the defaulted transaction, “for whatever they may be bound and grant unto [the Nottoway] such other and further relief as justice and equity may dictate.” As demonstrated by Table 18 and revealed in the court proceedings, the defendants all deferred to others for responsibility of the Nottoway trust, and with the death of Jeremiah Cobb, laid the blame for any wrongdoing or misappropriation solely on him (*CC Indian Trustees vs. Cobb et al.* 1849-1852; CO1832-1858:260-261).

In death, the “eminent citizen” Jeremiah Cobb was implicated by his fellow Southamptoners as the source of the Nottoway trust’s mismanagement and financial impropriety. As Trustee and Treasurer, Cobb had presided over the Trustee Circle for nearly thirty years. In as much, the co-defendants argued Cobb was solely responsible for any “mislaidd” Iroquoian assets. Cobb was the last Trustee to have such full power over the Nottoway estate, the last in a long line of Southampton wealth-builders to use their roles as Indian protectorates to syphon, embezzle and manipulate Iroquoian resources.

To contextualize Cobb’s role and consider his cohorts’ accusations, it is worthwhile to consider Cobb’s socio-economic position, as the Cobb family may be considered members of the elite plantation class. In the decades before his death, Jeremiah Cobb was a Southampton County lawyer, judge and a Democratic member of the House of Delegates. He owned a large plantation home, and at one point, almost

three-dozen slaves. Midcentury records indicate the family claimed \$2580 in real estate in Nottoway Parish and owned nineteen slaves at the height of the Indian Town trial. Four hundred acres of Cobb farmlands were under cultivation, with the number and value of horses and farm implements exceeding almost all of their neighbors. Therefore, Cobb's combined wealth placed him within the very small minority of Southampton elites (AG1850; C1850; Crofts 1992:108; Oats 1975:124; SS 1850). What is not known is how much wealth this prominent Southampton family accumulated as the stewards of the Nottoway trust.

The subpoena for Jeremiah Cobb fell to Assamooisick lawyer and estate executor, William W. Cobb – the Treasurer's son. William W. Cobb's response to the court's query added new insight into his father's handling of the Nottoway trust, but as the other co-obligators, the younger Cobb attempted to escape responsibility as the executor of his father's property. Cobb agreed that his father was a Trustee, but suggested no sizable assets of the senior Cobb's estate had yet transferred to the executor. Moreover, the monies from the 1820 land sales were not in Cobb's possession, but loaned to multiple parties, the interest from which the former Treasurer collected annually and distributed to the Nottoway. Large portions of the monies were advanced to Charles F. Urquhart, a man from an ultra elite plantation-owning family (*CC Indian Trustees vs. Cobb et al.*, 1849-1852; Livingston and Kennedy 1856:270).

With Cobb or other Trustees as middlemen, the Nottoway's resources were repeatedly tied-up with the wealthiest and most politically connected families of Southampton. To provide perspective on Cobb's third party borrower, Charles Fox Urquhart's family descended from an Aberdeen Scottish merchant who settled in the

Southside region during the eighteenth century. William Urquhart married Virginia-born Mary Simmons – the granddaughter of the Nottoway’s first Trustee John Simmons. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, their son John Urquhart owned 14,000 acres in Isle of Wight and Southampton Counties, and was the proprietor of the well-known Urquhart’s Storehouse, the chief merchant of Urquhart’s Wharf and the owner of several trans-Atlantic shipping vessels. In stride with his class, Urquhart arranged to have American painter Thomas Sully paint his wife’s portrait. Urquhart was educated at the College of William & Mary and he sent his sons to Jefferson Medical College and the University of Virginia. The family owned multiple plantations in North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia with names such as “Clements,” “Oak Grove,” “Warrigue,” “Mount Holly” and “Charlie’s Hope” (Balfour 1989:16-19; Cobb 1992:126; Goode 1887:181).

Sometime after 1820, Jeremiah Cobb loaned the majority of the Nottoway’s money to John Urquhart’s son Charles, considered to be one of the wealthiest men in the region. By 1850, Charles F. Urquhart’s real estate was valued at a staggering \$47,000 and he owned 180 slaves in three states. Urquhart lived in Southampton on a 2,800-acre plantation, where his livestock alone was valued at \$2,755 – more than Jeremiah Cobb’s entire real estate assessment. Urquhart’s other plantations were managed in absentia. William Branch, who acted as Urquhart’s overseer for seventy enslaved laborers, managed an operation in Fayette County, Tennessee. In North Carolina, Urquhart had a three-man team oversee his Northampton County plantation’s production. In addition to Urquhart’s personal holdings, his brothers also owned farming operations and enslaved laborers in multiple locations: two plantations in Bertie County, North Carolina, two in

Isle of Wight and two in Southampton. Combined, five Urquhart brothers owned an unbelievable number of enslaved laborers – tallied at 611 individuals in 1850 (AG1850; C1850; C1850 Fayette County, TN; C1850 Northampton County, NC; SS1850; SS1850 Bertie County, NC; SS1850 Fayette County, TN; SS1850 Isle of Wight County, VA; SS1850 Northampton County, NC).

One wonders what exactly the ultra-wealthy Charles F. Urquhart did with the Nottoway trust money, or why he would borrow a few thousand dollars from Jeremiah Cobb on such extensive credit. Whatever the true reason, there is no mistaking that success generated more success; the Urquharts were the capitalists of agro-industry. In 1828 and 1836 the Urquhart brothers petitioned the Virginia Legislature to allow them to incorporate a “cotton and woolen manufactory.” In 1837 the Urquhart brothers’ venture became known as the “Mount Holly Manufacturing Company,” the capital stock ordered to be not less than \$20,000 and divided into shares of \$100 each. The Legislature prohibited the Isle of Wight “manufactory” from owning more than 500 acres or growing beyond \$50,000 in capital stock value. The Urquharts sought textile specialists to further develop the Virginia factory, and ultimately relied on mercantile connections with Scotland to identify and relocate skilled specialist from Great Britain’s textile industry (Acts Passed...Commonwealth of Virginia 1837:234; Crofts 1992:189; Goode 1887:181).

Raised by a merchant father who controlled the import / export exchange between Glasgow / London and Smithfield, the Urquhart brothers understood market dynamics and business politics more than most. The conspicuous family was well connected and politically active. Older brother James B. Urquhart was a two-term member of the House

of Delegates, while Charles F. Urquhart was the Union candidate for the Virginia state convention in 1861; a nephew Thomas H. Urquhart occupied a seat in the state Senate. As entrepreneurs, the Urquharts were early growers of cotton for export and significantly invested in wool manufacture. The family's annual wool production dwarfed their neighbors; in the 1850 Agriculture schedule, the three Southampton Urquhart plantations alone enumerated 440 sheep with an annual yield of 1305 lbs. of wool. By 1860 the market had shifted toward cotton. The Urquharts reduced their sheep herds, invested in cotton agriculture and produced upwards of 100-bushel bales. They also sought ways to improve and increase their agricultural production; two of the fourteen Southampton subscribers to Edmund Ruffin's *Farmer's Register* were Urquharts (AG1850-1860; Crofts 1992:189; *Farmer's Register* 1834:774; Goode 1887:181).

According to William W. Cobb in 1849, Charles F. Urquhart's Nottoway debt had only recently been repaid in full – a nearly thirty-year loan agreement. Questions emerge about what arrangement Cobb and Urquhart made concerning the Indian trust money, what further financial relationship the two men had and what circumstances precipitated such a lengthy loan with so little return from such prominent men of property, finance and wealth.

In a manner that came to typify the Trustee responses of nineteenth-century Nottoway scandals, William W. Cobb argued that his father never received “commissions on the sums of money which passed through his hands as Treasurer, which he was entitled to not only by law, but by a special order of the board of Trustees.” Cobb further dismissed the debt, “that if the said commissions [on money from Urquhart] are allowed...which in justice and equity should be done, there would be but a very small

amount, if indeed any, due to the said Indians.” Clearly William W. Cobb, as others before him, had well learned the shell game of the Trustee Circle. His reference to the “special order” passed by the Trustees indicated that either he had access to such official papers of the Nottoway Trustees, or that under legal advice of counsel, no “other Trustees who were appointed under the act of 1819” survived to disagree with his version of events. William W. Cobb, with some confidence suggested, if “it should be decided that [Jeremiah Cobb] is not entitled to any commission for failure to charge [the Nottoway] at the proper time, there will not then be due the amount of \$1200, as charged.” Cobb continued, “[The] Treasurer paid up to July 1845 interest on \$873.40 and that this is in fact all that is due from the said Treasurer if his commission should not be allowed” (CC *Indian Trustees vs. Cobb et al.*, 1849-1852).

Based on the extant court documents, no long-term accounting was offered for exactly how much Nottoway money Cobb retained, how he loaned it out, nor how he calculated the interest, and other than Urquhart, to whom or for how long. There was no indication from Cobb concerning what manner Urquhart invested the money or what annual return the Nottoway made from the loan. Further, no explanation was made for the differences in 1820 sale prices and the 1845 trust-fund account; there were no discussions of the deductions made for various 1830-1850 Indian allotments, nor what monetary amount was annually given to the Nottoway, or how many annuities were distributed. In short, there was not much clarity offered from the court’s subpoena of the Cobbs and the defendants presented little evidence other than depositions of innocence and a meager accounting of recent transactions. The case was continued and the Southampton Court ordered William W. Cobb to “render before a Commissioner...an account of the

transactions of his intestate [Jeremiah Cobb] as Trustee of the Nottoway and Nansmond tribe of Indians” (*CC Indian Trustees vs. Cobb et al.*, 1849-1852; CO1832-1858:273).

The principal amount of the 1820 Nottoway land sales [approximately \$5300] and the accumulation of interest was never fully discussed in court. During William W. Cobb’s testimony, he indicated Giles Reese, the 1820 purchaser of lot number four, transferred the property to Benjamin Lamb, who became a long-time neighbor of the tribe. Yet, Lamb “never paid the whole of the purchase money in his lifetime to the Treasurer, nor has it been paid since his death.” This critical insight reveals that at on at least two major accounts, the Nottoway’s principle monies were tied up in defaulted loans or poorly managed thirty-year lending arrangements. Based on the court records, the security of the loans was highly questionable, as none of the middling farmers or wealthy plantation owners were ultimately held accountable for the missing funds. Cobb stated the monies owed by Lamb totaled \$218.04 with interest from 1841, nearly ten years in arrears. Ironically, Cobb assured the court the “sum is secured by a deed of trust on the said land,” but that his father was not responsible for the money, nor could Cobb, as his father’s representative, collect the outstanding debt (*CC Indian Trustees vs. Cobb et al.*, 1849-1852).

The nearly four-year court case was quietly dismissed during the spring of 1852. A partial settlement was reached with William W. Cobb, who was ordered by the court to pay the Nottoway \$818.30, plus interest from July 1845. Benjamin Lamb’s executor N.M. Sebrell was tracked down and charged \$348.13 for the lapsed land mortgage. All of the open 1847-1852 allotment applications for Nottoway trust monies were settled and closed [see Table 17]. The legal fees, clerical bills and commissions associated with the

court case, however, consumed the residual increments of trust money. Only the large cash disbursement from Cobb remained to be divided among the matrilineal heirs.

1855							
May 20	Amount to Wright forward			142 81		142 81	16 42
"	By balance brought in			16 42		16 42	
"	" Amount due Pennington & Whitely			159 23		159 23	
"	" \$110 to the Honl Bayly to pay						
"	" balance due the heirs			143 31		143 31	
"	" By balance due brought over			159 23		159 23	
Dec 15	By suit do of funds of A. Robertson for rent of Indian fine place						
"	" Do Commission on \$1000	50				100 00	
"	" By interest on \$1143.31 to date						3 11
"	" Do Commission for 15 years	10 00					
"	" Do paid Rent for Elizabeth's house	2 22					
"	" " balance due the heirs	140 59					
"	" By balance due brought over			153 31		153 31	3 11
"	" " balance brought in			140 39		140 39	
"	" " balance due the heirs with interest on \$140.39 from Dec. 15						3 11
	By paid charge						
	Respectfully submitted						
	Edmund S. Bennett						

Figure 32. Nottoway Trustee account ledger, 1855. The document demonstrates contractualization of Indian resources, as well as the efforts of mid-century Trustees to accurately record the state of Nottoway finances following the 1849-1852 lawsuit. Note the entries for calculated interest, allotment disbursement to John Taylor, income from the "rent of the Indian Seine place," and the commissioners and clerk's fees. Source: LP John Taylor, 1856.

Following John Taylor's allotment, the Trustees and Commissioner Henry S. Howard balanced the account books in December of 1855 [Figure 32]. The Nottoway trust fund showed a positive balance of \$143.70, but there was no record of William W. Cobb's payment between 1849 and 1856. The mutual dismissal of the case indicates some agreement was reached; yet, no record exists of what it was (CC *Commissioner's Report of John Taylor*, March 1856). A hint that not all was resolved, Trustee George A. W. Newsom wrote Virginia Governor Joseph Johnson in January of 1854:

"I beg leave to resign the appointment of trustee of the Nottoway tribe of Indians in this county. I think my appointment dates in 1849. I hope you will give this matter your earliest attention as I wish to be released of all responsibility in the matter acts in relation the appt. of Trustees 1816 & 1820" (Joseph Johnson Executive Papers).

No further proceedings against the former Trustees emerged before the Civil War. Based on a careful review of the documentary record, it is obvious the new Nottoway Trustees and their legal representatives were more careful and transparent with recordkeeping than previous generations. As with the Trustee lease agreements and mismanaged Nottoway assets of the 1770-1790s and the Trustee misappropriation scandals of the 1800-1810s, the exact disposition of the Nottoway trust between 1820 and 1845 may never be known. Equally, the way in which the Trustee Circle Treasurer employed, invested, appropriated and syphoned the Virginia Iroquoian's capital for the benefit of Southampton's elite may never fully be revealed. It is also unknown what the countywide backlash may have been against Indian Town, after so many subpoenas and threats against the personal property of so many prominent landowners, court officials and men of finance.

However, what is evident is that the Nottoway resisted Trustee manipulation and paternalism, confronted their protectorates' embezzlement and actively sought financial

control of their real and personal property. A pattern of struggle, resistance, accommodation and acceptance is revealed through decades of legislative and judicial proceedings. It is also clear that some Nottoway followed another Indian Town pattern of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – they opted for removal after concluding the 1849-1852 Trustee suit. One entire matrilineal sibling-set removed during the jural joust. Following the Trustee court case, other *ohwachira* segments consolidated their holdings more fully in elementary family farms [Figure 33].

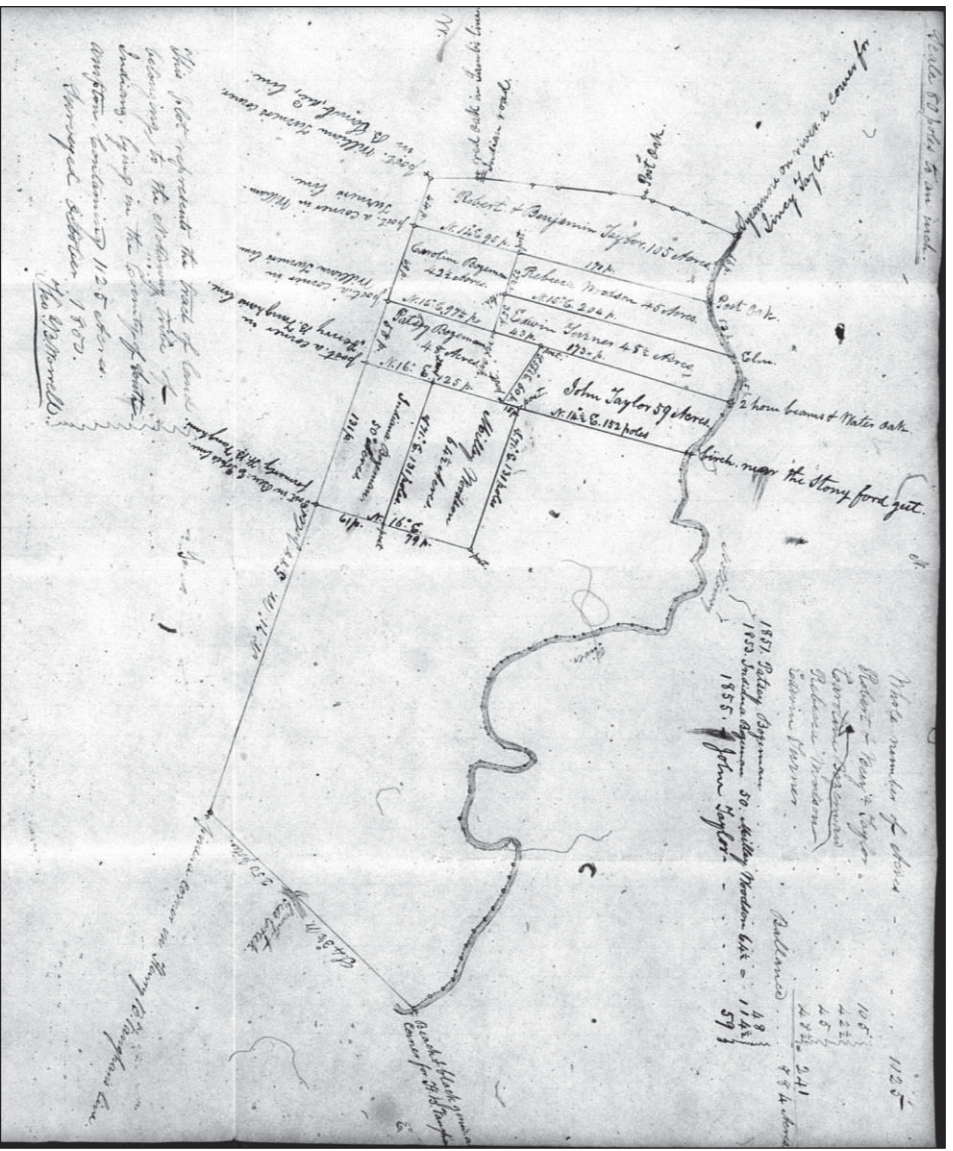


Figure 33. **Indian Town allotment surveys, c.1850-1855.** Milly Woodson's allotment [center of the map] became one of the main Nottoway *ohwachira* compounds during the last half of the nineteenth century. Her daughter, Susanna Claud, and her descendants, maintained the farm allotment until the late 1940s. Source: LP Plot of Indians Land 1125 acres, Nov. 18, 1850.

With the infusion of capital, more active participation in labor sharing, cash crop production and individual farm development, Indian Town showed signs of prosperity during the decade before the Civil War. Chapter VI investigates the constellation of the Nottoway's prime Southside farmland, the increased nineteenth-century market demand for agricultural exports and the region's access to improved modes of transportation. Alongside labor, peoplehood and property, production played an important role in the community's transformation.

CHAPTER VI

The Antebellum South, Southampton and the Nottoway within the World-System

“[I]ncorporation is] the process by which a zone which was at one point in time in the external arena of the world-economy came to be, at a later point in time, in the periphery of that same world-economy... incorporation involves ‘hooking’ the zone into the orbit of the world-economy in such a way that it virtually can no longer escape, while peripheralization involves the continuing transformation of the minstructures...”

~ Immanuel Wallerstein 1989:129-130

Antebellum Indian Town and Southampton within the Periphery

The intertwining of the American South and Southampton County with the nineteenth-century world-economy can be directly linked to the cultivation and marketing of cash crops and the entrance of America as a nation state within the global-system. Innovations in railroad transportation and improved shipping lanes allowed Southampton exports of cotton and peanuts to meet the growing needs of the metropol – Great Britain’s textile industry. Wagonloads of Southampton cash crops, mostly planted and harvested by enslaved labor, were hauled to Petersburg ports where ships on the Appomattox River carried cargoes to Norfolk, Philadelphia and New York, and then destinations across the Atlantic, such as London and Liverpool (Otto 1994:108-109; Wallace 2005:160-161; Wolf 1997:2787-282).

At the time of the Nottoway’s reservation allotment, the American South broadly, and thus Southampton specifically, were peripheral locations within the world-economy. The South’s agricultural produce was key to the growing textile industry in Great Britain (Braudel 1984:572-575, 578; Wallerstein 1979:220). The Nottoway, as a matrilineal tribal group transitioning from communal land tenure to private property ownership, were

subject to the same transformative processes of peripheralization, the deepening of capitalist development in Southampton. Five interrelated processes characterize the extension of capitalist economic relationships to more and more aspects of Nottoway life (Hopkins, et al. 1982b:104-106; Shannon 1989:115-116).

First, as described in Chapters III-V, the commodification of Indian land and labor were the most important developments, followed by the availability of finished goods to be traded, bought, sold and owned as property. Cash crop production was the principal means by which the Nottoway engaged the emergent world-system, through sales and rentals of Indian land for capital acquisition and the use of partible land allotments as collateral for personal credit. The contractualization of these social and economic relationships through formal legal agreements, and the corresponding entrenchment of Indian Town's peoples within the county and state bureaucracy, was a second key transformative process. The polarization of peoples within this economic system was the result of increased specialized tasks, which required different modes of organizing labor. Forms of labor control that managed coerced laborers, such as the enslavement of Southampton, and labor contracts of freer peoples involving cycles of debt and wage labor, created a polarity of social groups as the system broadened and deepened. The state supported the producers' labor control through coercive legal statutes, and thus constricted the upward mobility of the South's laboring class.

Two additional transformative processes, mechanization and interdependence, are the subject of this chapter. Capitalist deepening in Southampton involved mechanization, the use of machinery to increase production. The efficiency of agro-industrialism reflects

the constant drive of the system to reduce labor costs and increase profit margins. Ditching, plowing and planting implements became technologically part of Nottoway livelihoods, producing cash crops for adjacent plantations [as laborers] and on Indian Town farms [as entrepreneurs]. The invention of the steam engine and the laying of railways in Southampton provided a more efficient means of competing in the trans-Atlantic trade and greatly expanded commercial enterprises.

Specialized divisions of labor were integrated with the production needs of an expanding national and global economy. Previous Nottoway pursuits such as subsistence farming and home manufactures were progressively eliminated. Nottoway agricultural production became geared toward sale and export, whereby subsistence essentials [such as coffee, flour, salt and sugar] could be purchased from the derived income. The ensuing move from self-sufficiency towards an entry into a market economy increased interdependence, as the importation of necessary goods flooded Southern markets and Southampton exports of raw agricultural produce were shipped out to meet market demand. Specialized economic needs more fully co-joined aspects of Nottoway daily life through production and consumption, and eliminated any remaining self-sufficiency.

During the Antebellum, Southampton's dominantly agricultural and slave-based economy continued to intensify in capitalist development through the five processes outlined above. Competing merchants operated within the market and managed petty producers – the landowners of Southampton's farms and plantations. Local decision making about crop rotation, indentures for capital, leasing of lands and the hiring of labor influenced the expansion and contraction of production. Southampton's elite planters, the

landowners, financiers and operators of factory-style plantations were competing capitalist. They possessed the elements needed to participate in the system: “the machines, the materials, the capital, and above all the human labor...[which] must be ‘coercible’ in some way” (Wallerstein 1989:131).

A mixture of contractual labor, coerced labor and slave rentals operated within Southampton during the Reservation Allotment Period. Virginia and Southampton’s infrastructure and financial institutions continued to develop, providing a level of security, currency standardization and market strength (Crofts 1993; Wright 2006). Nottoway commercial interactions with Virginia and Southampton’s political economy transformed the community’s character. Indian Town’s petitions to allot their reservation, lawsuits to gain control of their financial assets and Nottoway individual’s more full engagement with the market evidence some of the transitions underway.

As seen in Southampton court documents, Nottoway concepts about property ownership shifted during this period, as did their notions of labor value (e.g. Cabell Papers; *CC Indian Trustees vs. Cobb et al.*, 1849-1852; DB26:395-396; 27:430). Indian Town residents purchased slaves and employed slave labor, as well as hired themselves out as wageworkers and sharecroppers. The Nottoway sold livestock, agricultural produce and became reliant on the mercantile goods that pervaded the South. As the community attempted to disengage their Trustees’ management of the tribal estate, individuals increased their adherence to Virginia’s state structures of law and commerce.

The growth of mercantile and agro-industrial capitalism in Nottoway country may be examined through three interrelated areas:

- 1) the infrastructural development of the Southside transportation,
- 2) the importation and consumption of finished goods and
- 3) the production and exportation of agricultural cash crops.

The following sections overview the increased mechanization of the agro-industrial economy of Southside Virginia c. 1830-1875 and Indian Town's interdependence with the commodity chains and labor of the nineteenth-century.

Transportation: Steam and Iron in the Southside

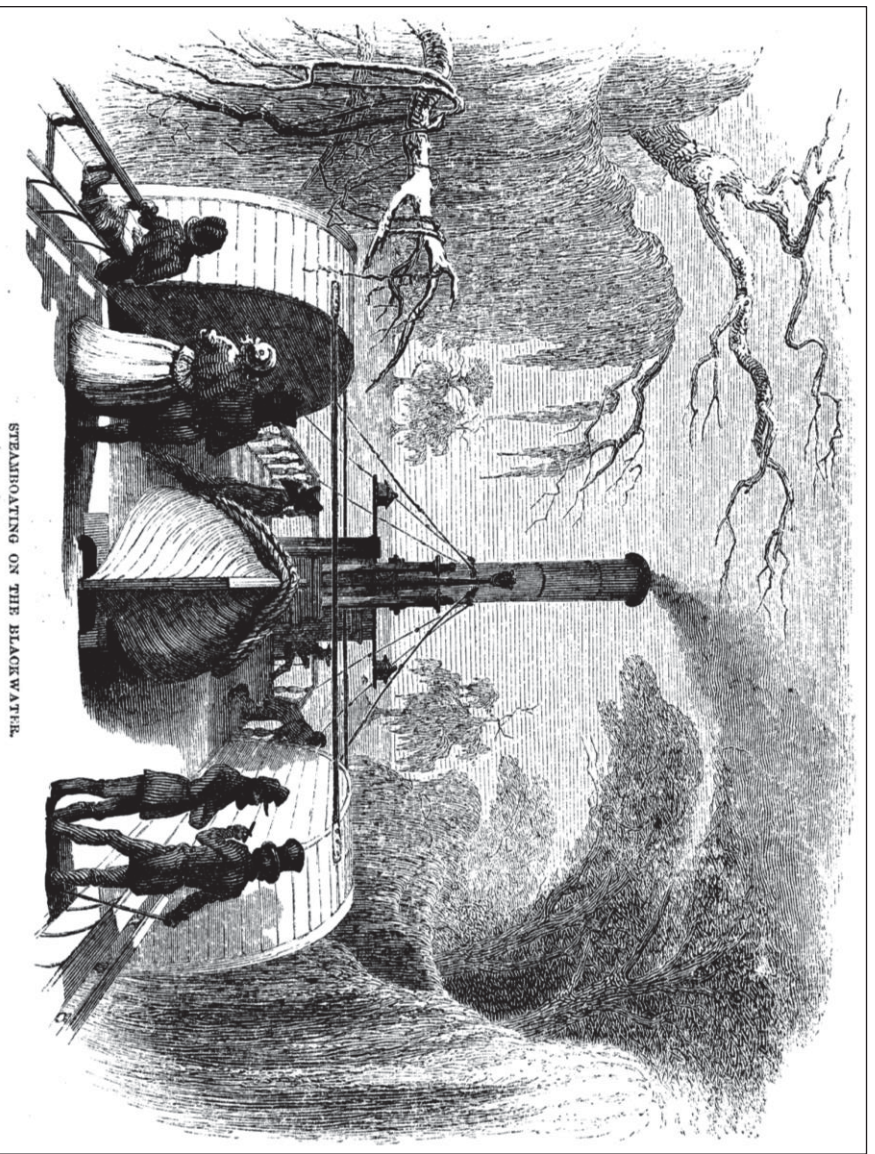


Figure 34. The deck of the steamship *Stag* en route from the *Seaboard and Roanoke* station at Franklin, Southampton County down the Blackwater to Edenton, North Carolina. Source: *Harper's Magazine* 14:434 [1857].

Prior to the Civil War, Southampton's access to wider markets, technology and information was transformed by innovations in transportation. Nottoway labor diversified as industry associated with railroads, shipping and factory production opened opportunities in the urban centers of Richmond, Petersburg and Norfolk. Before the 1820s, the economics of transport had shackled the young United States to markets in Europe. For Americans at the turn of the nineteenth century, one ton of goods could be moved 3000 miles from European to American ports as cheaply as moving the same tonnage thirty miles by land. This systems-dynamic was true for all segments of the market (North 1965:213). Costs associated with internal transport dropped rapidly after the introduction of the steamboat in 1816 and with the construction of the canal system after 1825 (Cochran 1981:44-48).

Merchants in Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia and Edenton, North Carolina contracted steamers with names such as *Curlaw*, *Leonora* and *Hope*, to tow barges of Southampton lumber or ship agricultural produce down the Nottoway, Meherrin and Blackwater Rivers [Figure 34]. One steam vessel, the *Southern Star*, had 460 tons in displacement and was 135 feet in length [Figure 35]. Built in nearby Murfreesboro, North Carolina, the vessel was outfitted with engines in Wilmington, Delaware and when operating in the 1850s, provided regular transportation between the Meherrin and New York City. The New Jersey-built *Seabird* trolled the Chowan drainage and offered not only freight room for 250 bales of cotton, but also facilities for vegetable produce, livestock and slaughtered beef and pork. The steamboat *Fox*, which previously ran the short distance "from New York [Manhattan] to Flushing [Queens]" was redirected to

make the Southampton connection to Norfolk and Edenton in the 1830s. By the beginning of the Civil War, a conglomerate of Virginia-Carolina businessmen chartered the *Albemarle Steam Packet Company* and commissioned Delaware shipwrights to build a 160-foot 357-ton side-wheel steamer. This vessel, the *Virginia Dare*, would provide reliable service from the Tidewater railhead in Southampton to Edenton for the next seventy years (Friddell 1978:3; *Harper's Magazine* 14:434 [1857]; Parramore 1992:128-138; *The Knickerbocker* 8:45 [1836]). Thus, Southampton and the Nottoway were increasingly connected to more efficient transportation networks of an industrializing market.

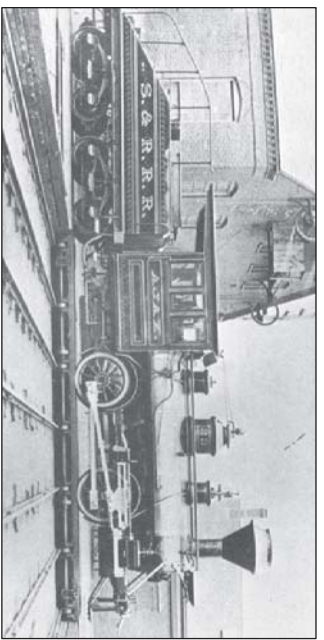
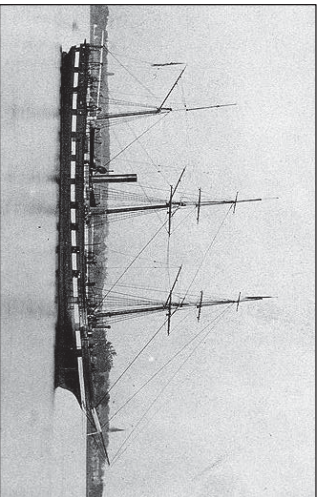


Figure 35. **The cargo steamer *Southern Star* [left] and Engine No. 22 of the *Seaboard and Roanoke Railroad* [right].** The *Southern Star* transported goods in the 1850s from the Meherrin to New York City. During the Civil War, it was converted to a military cruiser and renamed *U.S.S. Crusader*. The *Seaboard and Roanoke Railroad* was chartered in 1846 and later employed matrilineal Nottoway. Sources: Field notes 2011; US Naval History Photo.

More than steam-powered boats, the railroad steam engines radically changed Southampton's transportation networks. An increase in iron use, first in agricultural implements and then in textile machinery, contributed to Britain's economic expansion as the European center of the world-economy. The use of iron in railroads during the 1830s provided the base for this continued increase and "the true expansion of the iron and steel industry [and], its transformation into the leading industry of the nineteenth-century

world-economy” (Bairoch 1974:85-97; Braudel 1973:275-277; Wallerstein 1989:26; Wolf 1997:290-294). The development of railroads encouraged the enlargement of coal and iron mining and justified the intense investment in transportation (Polanyi 2001:15-16; Wolf 1997:292). In Southampton, iron railways linked rural agricultural produce to regional urban markets and shipping lanes [Figure 36].



Figure 36. **Railways Surrounding Indian Town, 1862.** Jerusalem is center in the image, framed by the words “Indian Land.” The *Petersburg and Norfolk* cuts the map on the upper right [east]; the *Seaboard and Roanoke* runs across the bottom from Weldon, N.C. to Suffolk and Virginia Tidewater ports; the north-south *Petersburg and Roanoke* is on the left side of the map, linking Petersburg, Richmond and Washington D.C. [off map north] to points south. *Source: Eastern Portion of Military Department of North Carolina, 1862.*

The *Petersburg Railroad* began operating from the Roanoke River in 1833, directly connecting the South to Washington D.C. and other points north. Skirting the

edges of Southampton, the rail line provided Southside residents quick-access to Petersburg markets, where trans-Atlantic vessels could move the shipping for any produce delivered. The *Portsmouth and Roanoke* [P. & R.] commenced service in 1835 with the *John Barnett* as the first locomotive running west from the ports and wharfs of Portsmouth and Norfolk to the Blackwater and Roanoke Rivers. Passengers and produce could be shipped in less than one day from Weldon, North Carolina to Tidewater, Virginia with connecting steamers up the Chesapeake Bay to Washington, D.C. and Baltimore, Maryland. A second Liverpool-made engine was added in 1836 to the P. & R., designed and delivered by Robert Stephenson's factory at Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Parramore 1992:124-125).

Within a few years, the *Petersburg Railroad* linked north-south lines with new railways at Raleigh and consolidated their union as the *Richmond, Petersburg and Fredericksburg Railroad* [R. P. & F.]. With stiff competition, the P. & R. linked into the completed Weldon and Wilmington lines but was eventually driven to bankruptcy in 1843, its assets purchased by Jerusalem lawyer and Nottoway investor James S. French. Reorganized, it later reopened as the *Seaboard and Roanoke* and rebuilt the entire Carolina line by 1849 [Figure 36]. Ten years later, the *Petersburg and Norfolk Railroad* opened track along the eastern section of the county (Miller 2009:51; Parramore 1992:127-128). And so in the space of twenty-five years the rural isolation of Southampton was lost to the crossroads of Mid-Atlantic rail traffic. Traversed by three rail companies, the Nottoway, as with all county residents, entered into a new period of

commerce and technology. The railroads' arrival reorganized the county's settlements and population centers, and business realigned along the rail stations and depots.

In addition to improved transportation lanes for farm produce, a second impact of the steamers and railroads on Nottoway households were opportunities for wage labor outside of the agricultural sector. The *Atlantic Journal* reported "a few Nottoway" were known to "wander occasionally through the streets" of Richmond. Some tributary Indians were noted to "spend part of the year in service in the city or on some of the steamers which ply the Virginia waters." However, urban subsistence was not always successful, as wage-work was not always forthcoming; some urban Nottoway were considered by onlookers to be living "in a degraded state" (Pollard 1894:10; Mead 1832:127).

Other migrations were more effective. The Taylor lineage-segment of the Woodson *ohwachira* relocated to Richmond and Petersburg during the 1850s. One allottee acquired work as a carpenter and lived alongside other laborer households in the urban center. Following the Civil War, members of Scholar descendant-households worked as Petersburg railroad break men, coal yard workers and steamboat hands. The *Seaboard Railroad* employed grandchildren of 1850s Nottoway allottees (C1850-1870 Petersburg, VA; DB28:44, 357-358; Field notes 2011).

Through allotment and partible land, Nottoway increasingly separated Southampton kinship ties in favor of individuals' labor mobility. As their access to lands and tribal resources were severed by allotment and land sales, Nottoway descendants were forced to seek alternative subsistence, such as agricultural wage work or as urban laborers in Petersburg and Norfolk. Relocated Nottoway wage-laborers reconfigured their

domestic units around sibling sets or nuclear families (e.g. C1850-1870 Petersburg, VA [Woodson-Taylor]; C1910 Petersburg, VA; C1900-1920 Sussex, VA [Woodson-Artist]; C1920-1930 Portsmouth, VA [Woodson-Hurst]; see Appendix B, Figures 48 and 49).

Through a careful tracing of labor migrations in the documentary record, it is clear the descendant community's wage-labor affiliation with transportation were substantive. As a result of this line of inquiry, the Nottoway may be directly linked to the increased mechanization and specialization of the global economy. By the early twentieth century, some matrilineal grandchildren of the 1850s allottees were employees of America's rising Northern industrial titans. Charles Schwab's *Bethlehem Steel*, J.P. Morgan and Andrew Carnegie's *U.S. Steel*, Henry Clay Frick's *H.C. Frick Coal Company* and the *Goodyear-Zeppelin Corporation* were all employers of Nottoway allottee descendants. While beyond the scope of the present research, future work may further explore these linkages, as Nottoway labor mobility can be connected to the entrance of America as a core nation of the world-system (C1920-1930 Portsmouth, VA; C1920 Akron, OH; C1940 Fayette County, PA; DC1917 Wille Artis; DC1942 Benjamin Thomas Artis, William Artis; Field notes 2011).

Consumption of Finished Goods

As the system center and “workshop of the world,” nineteenth-century Britain manufactured goods efficiently and cheaply and could undersell similar goods produced in other markets around the globe (Wallerstein 1979:viii; Wolf 1997:265-278). Southampton and other Virginia locales imported an array of finished goods from

England, many of them through Northern U.S. markets (Albion 1939; Foner 1941:12; Wolf 1997:283). In fact, Britain supplied nearly half of the U.S. manufactures, 1815-1873. Finished products, such as English ceramics, were regularly imported and widely consumed by Virginia households in the periphery – including those at Tidewater Indian Towns. This market displaced Nottoway production of similar wares, such as the low-fire earthenware shown in Figure 37 (for a limited discussion of Nottoway colonoware, see Binford 1990).

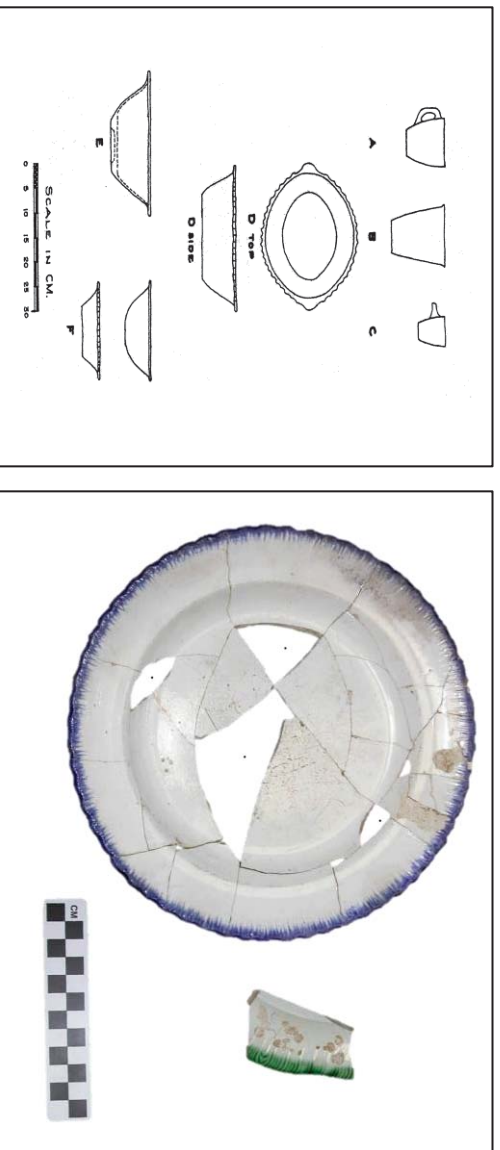


Figure 37. **Nottoway colonoware, Indian Town, mid-eighteenth century** [left]; A-C cup forms, D scalloped bowl, E-F dish or plate forms. **English pearlware plate, 1780-1840** [right]; shards indicative of the examples collected from Nottoway reservation house sites. *Sources*: Beaudry 1993; Binford 1990; National Park Service.

Following this example, evidence for Nottoway acquisition of imported antebellum ceramics comes from limited archaeological surveys of Nottoway Town sites (Russell Darden, pers. comm., 2007 and Howard MacCord, pers. comm., 2008). Some researchers, however, misinterpret the appearance of nineteenth-century wares [Figure 37] as a signal of Indian removal; in fact the scattered English ceramic shards were not the remains of “Euro-American occupants” (Binford 1964:251, 257), but rather the refuse

of nineteenth-century Nottoway farmsteads. Through a reevaluation of state-catalogued archaeological samples, Shannon Dawdy reached a similar conclusion concerning historic Meherrin reservation sites (1994:122-125). Continued archaeological research on Virginia's reservation-era communities will likely make more of finished goods' commodity exchange and their role in transitional Native economies (Atkins 2012; Shephard 2012; also see Greene and Plane 2010), as ceramics were but one form of finished good consumed by Nottoway households.

Great Britain exchanged manufactured products for the agricultural produce of the peripheries. Southampton's Indian peoples were engaged in this commodity chain, whether by providing labor for adjacent planters, renting Indian lands to producers, producing their own crop for market or consuming the imports of the merchants. The finished goods / raw material exchange network also included semiperipheral zones such as the Northern United States, which had a limited textile manufacture. Antebellum American imports of finished goods typically entered the U.S. via a Northern port, despite having a secondary Southern destination. This pattern of commerce fostered structural differences between the North and South and contributed to the emergence of the North as a semiperiphery (Coclanis 2005:24-26; North 1974:69-73; Wallace 2005; Wallerstein 1979:29; 1989:247; Wolf 1997:279).

In example of the growing North-South asymmetry, in 1790 the commerce of Virginia and New York was "roughly equal." Sixty years later the value of Virginia's imports had declined by nearly 85%, while the Commonwealth's exports remained mostly stationary [Table 19]. In contrast, the value of New York's imports had increased

by sixteen times the 1790 figure. New York City's 1850 exports were fifty times greater than they were in 1790, and totaled one-third of the nation's exports and three-fifths of the nation's imports (Albion 1939:389-391, 410; Goldfield 1977:12). Virginia subsidized New York's commercial position, as Southern states paid for the export services provided by Northern merchants, bankers and factors. The European trade imbalance between the North and South was the source of Southern efforts to gain "political independence" from being the "slave colonies of the North" (DeBow 1852 XII:32, XIII:503).

Year	New York Direct Foreign Imports	Virginia Direct Foreign Imports
1769	\$907,200	\$4,085,782
1791	\$3,022,000	\$2,486,000
1824	\$36,000,000	\$639,000
1825	\$49,000,000	\$553,000
1827	\$39,000,000	\$431,000
1829	\$43,000,000	\$375,000
1832	\$57,000,000	\$550,000
1838	\$68,453,206	\$377,142
1840	\$50,440,740	\$545,086

Table 19. **New York and Virginia direct foreign imports for select years, 1769-1840.** *Source: Merchants Magazine and Commercial Review* 1846:281-282.

Northern merchants dominated the export of Virginia's raw materials, particularly Richmond's tobacco, and controlled the importation and distribution lanes for finished European goods. As well, Northern cities' limited industrial manufactures were funneled to Southern ports. Virginia sent produce northward for export and ships returned southward with manufactured products, leaving only the capital behind (Goldfield 1977:1-28). Some contemporary Virginians argued direct trade with Europe from Norfolk would secure the Old Dominion's "commercial independence" from Northern merchants. The Virginians' rhetoric speaks strongly to the semiperiphery / periphery tension that masked the core's hegemony and eventually led to the Civil War:

“These Northern gentlemen have grown too fat at our expense...we should establish manufactures of every kind within our own limits” (Richmond *Enquirer* Feb. 1, 1850).

“[Our] own export commerce would stimulate capital investment in Virginia, as it [has] done in northern market centers” (Richmond *Enquirer* paraphrased in Goldfield 1977, brackets added).

“Why shall we be obliged to do business for the benefit of Northern ports alone?” (Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer*, Dec. 10, 1852).

“The export and import trade of Virginia is now taxed with transport coastwise; it is burthened with charges of Northern merchants” (Burwell 1852 in *DeBow's Review* XII:32).

“No people are independent who are compelled to rely upon others for industry” (Richmond *Whig*, Dec. 17, 1850).

“It is now a well established theory of political economy that the centre [New York City] of trade robs the extremities of their...independence as well as their wealth” (Richmond *Daily Dispatch*, Feb. 3, 1860, brackets added)

Richmond, Petersburg and Norfolk served as initial destinations for Southern export-bound produce and were major distribution points for imported manufacturers. On a smaller scale, the Franklin depot on the Blackwater River received regional crops for export, which could be shipped south via steamboat through the Albemarle or after 1834, loaded on the railway for markets in Norfolk. Franklin was the Southampton point for mercantile imports, and alongside Petersburg, the location of growth for the Southside region's weakly developed merchant class (Parramore 1992:122-130). Norfolk was the gateway port to Virginia's Southside and northeastern North Carolina:

“Norfolk has more foreign commerce than any town in Virginia, and in 1815, owned more shipping than any place in the U. States south of Baltimore, except Charleston. The amount of shipping in 1815 was 34,705 tons. A canal proceeds from the S. branch of the Elizabeth river, 9 miles above Norfolk, through the Dismal Swamp, to Albemarle Sound. By means of this canal, the produce of a large section of North Carolina is brought to the Norfolk market” (Morse 1821:524).

A portion of the Southside's produce was not suitable for international export, such as the extensive vegetable farms that emerged and diversified during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Norfolk's harbor thus served primarily as a funnel for Northern merchants, and Northern importers and traders were able to offload large quantities of mercantile goods. New York City dominated this trade, capturing 68.5% of the nation's total value of imports in 1860, while Richmond and Norfolk managed less than .1% of the total direct foreign imports, 1821-1860. New York's prominence as an import center and the volumes handled by Northern merchants ensured low prices and wide distribution to the Southern periphery. Virginia merchants bypassed local or regional manufactures in favor of less expensive and popular European and Northern alternatives (Goldfield 1977:241-245).

Members of Nottoway matrilineages participated in these market-driven, commercial and agricultural endeavors, particularly in the growing of cash crops for export and the consumption of finished imported goods. Market pressures eliminated the community's home manufactures, whatever they may have been – spinning, weaving, pottery making or carved wooden implements – in favor of acquiring and consuming finished goods. The Nottoway and other Southamptoners sought inexpensive, European and Northern manufactures over other kinds of products. Nottoway labor, land leases and cotton, vegetable [and later peanut] cultivation significantly linked Indian Town to the world-system's commodity chains. Discussed further in sections below, Allotment Period *ohwachira* households developed plantation-like structures of cash-cropping small farms

and contributed to the production and export of Southampton’s antebellum cotton, Indian corn, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes and other “truck garden” produce.

Year	Nottoway Mercantile Goods	<i>Ohwachira</i>	Source
1837	“farming utensils... household and kitchen furniture”	Turner	WB12:106
1845	“2 feather beds and furniture... farming utensils”	Woodson	DB26:395
1846	“household and kitchen furniture, farming utensils”	Woodson	DB26:544
1846	“2 ploughs”	Woodson	DB26:600
1848	“old waggon”	Woodson	DB27:313
1850	Value of farm implements and machinery: \$20	Woodson	AG1850:421
1850	Value of farm implements and machinery: \$15	Turner [W]	AG1850:433
1860	Value of farm implements and machinery: \$40	Turner [W]	AG1860:416
1860	Value of farm implements and machinery: \$10	Woodson	AG1860:416
1860	Value of farm implements and machinery: \$5	Woodson	AG1860:416
1860	Value of farm implements and machinery: \$10	[agnatic]	AG1860:416
1860	Value of farm implements and machinery: \$5	Woodson	AG1860:416
1870	Value of farm implements and machinery: \$25	Turner [W]	AG1870:1
1870	Value of farm implements and machinery: \$70	Woodson	AG1870:3
1870	Value of farm implements and machinery: \$25	Woodson	AG1870:3

Table 20. **Select Indian Town households’ farmstead material goods appraised for value, purchased by cash or used as collateral on debt during the Reservation Allotment Period, c.1830-1870.** Later Turner *ohwachira* entries represent a Nottoway household of a Turner male married to a Woodson *ohwachira* female [W], hence a potential conflict in ownership of partible property between male farmers and Nottoway matrilineages.

Table 20 demonstrates select examples of Nottoway Town consumption of imported goods and finished commodities, c.1830-1870. The first table entry is derived from the 1837 will of headwoman Edith Turner, a rare Virginia document from an Iroquoian woman, in which she transferred all of her partible property to the primary hereditary male of the Turner *ohwachira*. Entries from 1845-1846 reflect Woodson *ohwachira* securities on debt as individual lineage segments used moveable property for capital collateral in order to finance agricultural endeavors. The acquisition of “2 ploughs” and an “old waggon” represent Woodson *ohwachira* cash purchases of

agricultural machined goods at auction, evidence of contractualization, interdependence and mechanization of Nottoway households. Nottoway *ohwachira* acquisition of a second-hand wagon was likely a means to transport cotton or other produce to market. Agriculture Census schedules for 1850-1870 therefore reveal the accumulation of finished farming tools and implements for the production of cash crops, and the continued deepening of capitalist development at Indian Town.

Nottoway Agricultural Produce: Cotton, Peanuts and Market Gardens

Cotton

Cotton was one raw material that fueled Britain’s eighteenth-century textile industry. By the end of that century, industrial textile production in Western Europe took on a new independent role in relation to capital, wealth and labor recruitment. No longer the “accessory to commerce,” industrial production became the master of economic relationships. The rise of industrial production required increased and constant flows of raw material to supply the core factories and demanded large-scale labor forces – the development of “working” classes. Wage-labor under industrial capitalism became the “pivotal form of labor recruitment.” The characteristics of this labor force varied “according to the place and time of their entry into the accumulation process.” Thus there were Southampton plantation laborers and share-croppers who supplied vegetables to feed the wage-laborers of Philadelphia and New York; the enslaved peoples who toiled over Southside cotton grown for export to Liverpool; and the wage-workers who flocked to Norfolk, Petersburg, and Richmond to facilitate the receipt and increased transport of

raw produce (Braudel 1984:571-574; Goldfield 1982:36, 70; Hobsbawm 1973:52-57; Marx 1967 III:330, 336; Polyani 2001:77; Wolf 1997:266-267).

Within the nineteenth-century competition among European cores, the British and Austrians replaced the French as direct importers of the world's cotton market. By 1820, the Southern U.S., including Southampton, overtook India as the dominant source of Europe's imports (Siddiqi 1973:154). The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 greatly improved production efficiency and cotton cultivation became the principal Southern American export, with Britain's textile industry as the prime recipient and beneficiary of the exchange (North 1966; Smail 1999).

Crop and Market Year	Norfolk and Portsmouth Receipts in Bales	Direct Exports	
		Coastwise	Foreign
1858-1859	6174	6174	\$
1859-1860	17,777	17,488	289
1860-1861	33,193	32,941	252
1865-1866	59,096	58,363	733
1866-1867	126,287	112,119	14,168
1867-1868	155,591	147,312	8279
1868-1869	164,789	157,262	7527
1869-1870	178,352	173,607	4745
1870-1871	302,930	297,788	5142
1871-1872	258,730	254,043	4687
1872-1873	405,412	397,130	8,282
1873-1874	472,446*	418,328	20,346
1874-1875	392,235*	309,636	67,312

Table 21. **Cotton exports from Norfolk and Portsmouth, 1858-1861 and 1865-1875.** Figures include other Mid-Atlantic and Southern States' shipping of cotton through Virginia ports; all figures are approximate. [§] Richmond exported 495 bales to foreign ports in 1858, which was the only Virginia cotton internationally exported that year. [*] Includes shipments through other ports. *Source:* Walker 1876:162-163.

Growth in the cotton market fueled the South's economy (Otto 1994:12-15). Southampton was also a benefactor of this changed market dynamic, since only the

Commonwealth's most southerly soils were suitable for cotton cultivation. By the end of the antebellum era, half of all cotton produced by Virginia was Southampton-grown (Crofts 1992:80). In a similar pattern to the market for Virginia's imported finished goods, the Old Dominion's cotton exports were dominantly coastwise. In the years leading up to the Civil War, the movement of cotton through Norfolk and Portsmouth ports show an increase in Southern production, but a substantial linkage to Northern industry and merchants [Table 21].

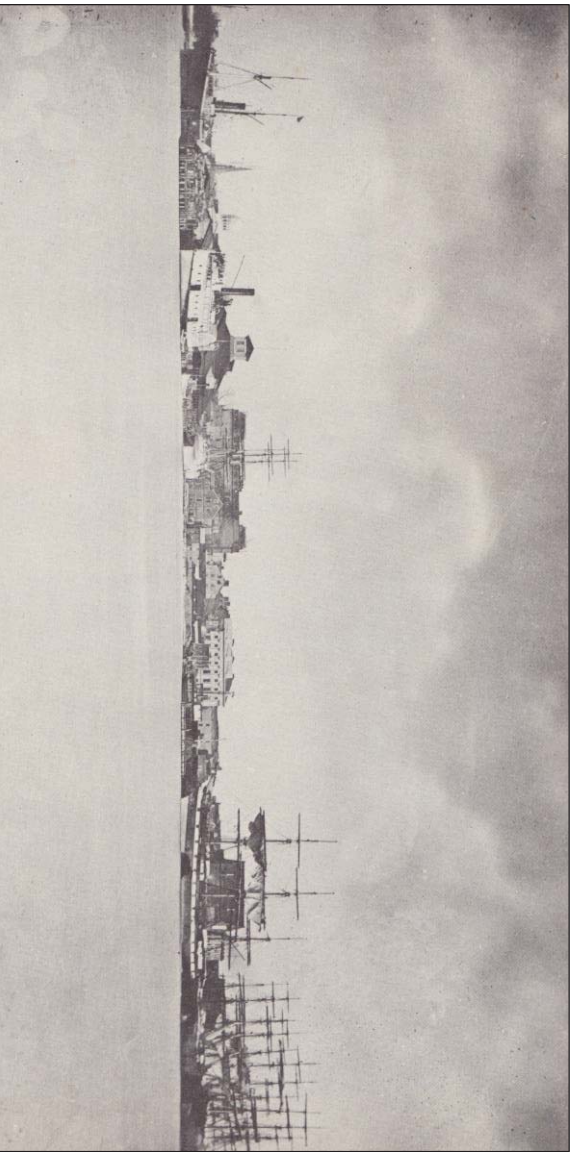


Figure 38. **The Norfolk harbor in the 1870s.** The steam-powered riverboats, sailing vessels and transatlantic freighters lining the docks reflect types of transportation utilized to pool and export Virginia agricultural commodities. Right of center is the Customs House. The wooden ships at far right are loading cotton. Nottoway-grown cotton was exported for Northern U.S. or European markets. *Source:* Cook Collection, Valentine Richmond History Center.

By the 1850s Norfolk's shipping consisted of a limited direct-international export of raw materials, mostly of Southside timber and some cotton [Figure 38]. Northern merchants and financiers in Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia and New York City received the majority of Virginia's exports, before directing them to Northern destinations and

trading them to European markets. This economic relationship characterizes the role of the semiperiphery, as the North syphoned off Southern surplus and limited direct Southern access to the British center. Published records for Norfolk’s coastwise and international trade are more complete for the period after the Civil War, detailing the established destination pattern of Southampton cotton exports.

Destination	Port	Cotton Bales
Amsterdam, Netherlands	Direct	2180
Antwerp, Belgium	Via Philadelphia	200
Baltimore	Direct	48,466
Boston and Providence	Direct	112,435
Bremen, Germany	Direct	1403
Great Britain	Direct	63,629
Great Britain	Via New York	3000
Great Britain	Via Baltimore	1363
Great Britain	Via Boston	11,463
Great Britain	Via Philadelphia	500
Havre, France	Via Philadelphia	119
Philadelphia	Direct	21,186
New York	Direct	127,549

Table 22. **Norfolk and Portsmouth cotton exportation, 1874-1875**, approximate figures based on reports from the *Secretary and Superintendent Norfolk and Portsmouth Cotton Exchange*. *Source*: Walker 1876:164.

Table 22 demonstrates the linkage of Southern and Southampton-grown cotton to the nineteenth-century commodity chains of American and European textile production. The quantity of Southampton and Indian Town cotton agriculture varied from year to year. Multiple factors contributed to efficiency and productivity: weather conditions, market demand, labor and capital constraints. Shipping of Southampton cotton followed several routes to market. Roadway and rail to Petersburg, riverine steamboat shipping down the Blackwater and railroad freight to Norfolk and Portsmouth.

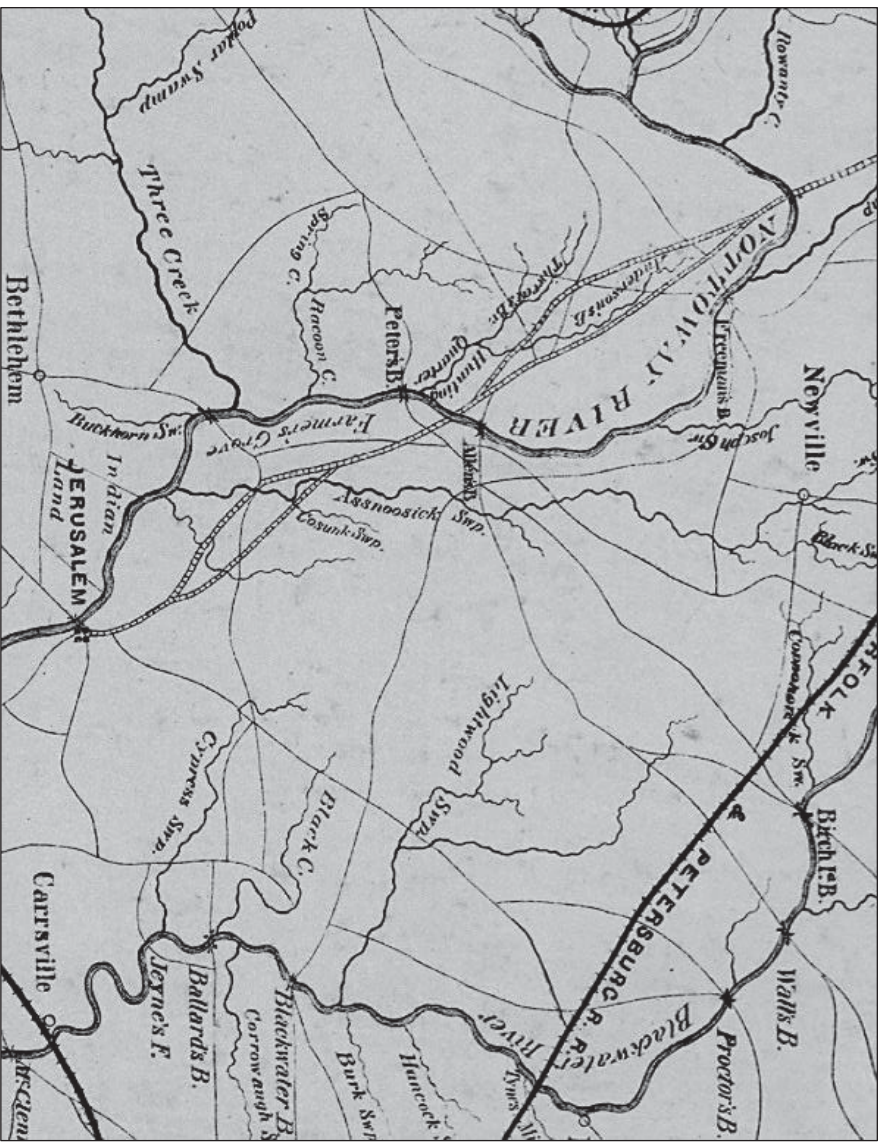


Figure 39. **The Plank Road from Jerusalem to Petersburg.** The hatched roadway heading north from the county seat of Jerusalem was adjacent to Nottoway *ohwachira* farms [marked on the map as “Indian Land”] and surrounding cotton-growing plantations. Nottoway income pooling helped fund the wooden bridge over the Assanosoick Swamp in order to more efficiently transport crops to market for export. *Source: Eastern Portion of the Military Department of North Carolina, 1862.*

In 1853-1855, Southampton cotton cultivators raised money to improve the overland-roadway to Petersburg, including a private bridge over the Assanosoick Swamp, which at its lower extremities emptied into the Nottoway River at Indian Town [Figure 39]. Individual subscribers agreed to provide financing “for the benefit of the neighbor hood” in “building a bridge a cross the Assanosoick swamp.” This contractualization included twenty-four producers, two of which were Nottoway-affiliated men: James Taylor a Woodson *ohwachira* affine and father to Indian Town

headmen Robert and Benjamin Taylor, and Jordan Stewart, an agnatic Nottoway and descendant of the minor Scholar *ohwachina*. Significantly, Taylor and Stewart contributed as much or more capital than their White contemporaries and were the only non-Whites to help fund the construction (Crofts 1992:17; 1997:53-54).

Fellow subscriber and Southampton planter Daniel W. Cobb lived on the east side of the Nottoway River, adjacent to the *Rose Hill* plantation and the Nottoway settlement. His 1850s diary entries indicate much cooperation in farming activities in the vicinity of Nottoway Town, including the harvest and shipment of cotton. In addition to eleven enslaved peoples, Cobb relied on shared labor with his middling farm and plantation neighbors. Agnatic Nottoway men were among Cobb's contractual hires. During the 1850 harvest, Cobb hired Jordan Stewart "at the attractive rate of \$1 per day" and in 1852 "traded labor" with Stewart, showing that local White plantation owners had a reciprocal relationship with Nottoway-descended laborers and landowners (Cobb in Crofts 1997:81). Select examples of Cobb's 1850-1859 diary entries characterize the routines of cotton planting, harvest, labor and commercial potential:

"My carte halling out lott manure in cotton land with other help"

"2 ploughs planting cotton, 1 plough bedding cotton land and laying off rows. 3 hands sowing. 1 hand spreading manure[.] 1 hand beeing guanno for cotton"

"fine weather for planting our crops[.] water has left the land quite fast[.] The N[ottoway] River has risen som 3 or 4 ft[.] I planted cotton with 3 ploughs ½ the day"

"1 plough going in my Cotton[.] slow work[.] 3 hand only weading...My family is gorn to Mrs. Lambs to spend the day" [Nottoway Town neighboring farm]

"my [slave] women is getting out cotton...I made a beginning on my Cotton hous with 3 or 4 [hired] hands...My [slave] women get only 80 or 90 lbs. of cotton per day[.] my cotton is not open yet much[.] cotton is selling for 3 cts per lbs in seed, & 12 in bail"

“My [slave] women is picking out cotton. I have 2 men hands at work... we have much company or hired hands &c”

“I finished all of my tops by 12 o’clock] and Spent the ballance of the day in picking out Cotton...I got out 1000 lbs [about two bales] &c”

“We have much company...with 20 hands[.] Mr. Little helpe with 10 hands, him self and 2 sons [and others, including] [Charles] Steward...With 3 of my own and self... a heavy days work &c” [Charles Stewart was an agnatic Nottoway and brother to Jordan Stewart, Alex Stewart, etc.]

“[I] wanted 1 hand...for Yesteady work & giving \$1.00 per day”

(Cobb in Crofts 1997:80, 110, 114, 121, 122, 134, 150, brackets added).



Figure 40. **Southampton cotton crop, 2012.** This productive field stands adjacent to the former Nottoway Indian Reservation, near the historic homes of Daniel Cobb, Jeremiah Cobb, Jesse Little and Charles F. Urquhart. Indian assets, slave labor and cotton production helped the Trustees and their associates build significant wealth in Southampton. *Source:* Photo by author.

Daniel Cobb utilized a cotton gin owned by his father-in-law Jesse Little directly across the river from the Nottoway *ohwachira* farms and the plantation acreage pictured in Figure 40. Cobb and other planters drew on surrounding landowners to help gin and cart wagonloads of cotton bales to Petersburg [Figure 41]. It is probable that Nottoway cotton reached either Petersburg or Norfolk through similar contractual and reciprocal relationships. Cotton bales generally ranged between 300 to 400 lbs. and according to Cobb, Nottoway River planters shipped two to five bales of cotton per wagonload to Petersburg, where it was sold at the going market rate. Planters received higher prices from anxious Petersburg wholesalers at the beginning of the harvest season. By the time of the Civil War, Cobb and many Southampton planters staggered their cotton crop. Some growers picked cotton fields two or three times and made as many trips to market (Crofts 1992:88-89).

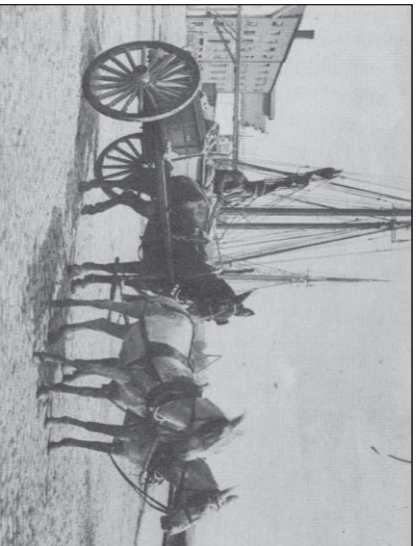


Figure 41. **A mule team and common cart at the Norfolk harbor [left], and a Southside ox team and wagon [right].** Nottoway farms had both mule and oxen to complete heavy draft work and general farm use. The “common cart” and wagon were routinely “used for the delivery of produce” to market. Nottoway interlocutors described matrilineal household heads as using both: “She hitched two cows to a wagon to drive,” “hich[ed] her cart to Courtland” “the wooden bridge with the boards on it, which they would cross with a wagon” and “take...peanuts to market to sell. *Sources:* AG1850-1880; Cook Collection, Valentine Richmond History Center; Field notes 2011.

Cobb's diary records some of the particulars regarding carting, ginning and transporting Southampton cotton to Petersburg in the 1850s and may be considered an approximate to the Nottoway experience:

“I sent all my cotton to the Jimn[,] send all my crop”

“2 bails of Cotton 400 [lbs.] to the bag...dun with all my hands”

“I sent a waggon load of cotton to the Jimn... 13,000 lbs of Cotton...\$375”

“My waggon and ox Carte was engaged in halling Cotton to J. L.[ittle's] Ginn[.] I cared [carried] 2 loads a peace which made 4372 Cwt and will make 3. 400 weigh bails [300-400 lbs. bales]. I want to go to town[.] I am toald Cotton is selling for 11cts”

“I sent my waggon & Carriage wheels to the shop to Vicksvill [upper Southampton] to have the tires tiened so I got my waggon wheals dun as I am going to town this weak[.] My foalks is picking cotton[.] I went to J Littles to here from my cotton[.] it will be ready Wednesday evening for Town”

“I fixed my waggon to starte to Petersburg and started this evening with 3 bales of cotton[.] I am told it has got down to 10 ½ from 11 ½ Cts”

“I prepared my waggon & Carte to Carry 4 bails for myself & 1 for W.J.C. at 50 per Cwt & toal [toll] paid on the [Petersburg] road”

“I started my waggon to Petersburg[.] 3 bales of cotton[.] 1 mine, say 2 Fathers &c”

“My waggon got home by 7 or sooner all right[.] I got 10 ¾ for cotton[.] I got many other articles &c”

(Cobb in Crofts 1997:70, 166-167, 171, 174, brackets added).

During the 1850s, the Petersburg price for cotton ranged from .10 cents to .11 ½ cents per lbs. and Cobb cleared between two to four bales annually during the late 1840s and early 1850s. In response to market demand, by the end of the decade cotton production had increased across the county. Cobb estimated he raised nearly eight bales of cotton in 1859, or at least double the production from ten years earlier (Crofts 1992:71;

1997:174). His plantation neighbors generated at least two to three bales annually, but some planters recorded as many as twenty. Others raised no cotton at all.

Name	Relationship	Slaves	Ac.	Bales	Source
Charlotte Bryant	Plantation neighbor, <i>Rose Hill</i>	10	322	5	AG 1850:424
Thomas Crocker	Woodson <i>ohwachira</i> affine	–	10	1	AG 1850:424
Susan Lamb	Smallholding neighbor	5	250	3	AG 1850:424
Edwin Turner	Turner <i>ohwachira</i> male	–	40	–	AG 1850:434
Edwin Turner	Turner <i>ohwachira</i> male	–	200	–	AG 1860:416
Thomas Crocker	Woodson <i>ohwachira</i> affine	–	50	–	AG 1860:416
Alex Stewart	Woodson <i>ohwachira</i> affine	–	40	–	AG 1860:416
Charles Stewart	Agnatic Nottoway	–	–	–	AG 1860:416
Bedney King	Unknown; [Nottoway affine?]	–	25	–	AG 1860:416
James Bird	Unknown; Indian Town renter	–	–	2	AG 1860:416
James Gray	Smallholding neighbor	1 [4H]	140	9	AG 1860:416
William Gray	Smallholding neighbor	[1H]	175	–	AG 1860:416
Susan Lamb	Smallholding neighbor	2 [1H]	200	3	AG 1860:416
Charlotte Bryant	Plantation neighbor, <i>Rose Hill</i>	11	400	12	AG 1860:416
Edwin Turner	Turner <i>ohwachira</i> male	–	150	–	AG 1870:1-2
James Hill	White tenant farmer for Turner	–	75	3	AG 1870:1-2
Thomas Vaughan	Plantation neighbor	–	500	7	AG 1870:1-2
William Gray	Smallholding neighbor	–	175	2	AG 1870:3-4
William B. Lamb	Smallholding neighbor	–	75	2	AG 1870:3-4
D.W. Nicholson	Plantation neighbor, <i>Rose Hill</i>	–	380	7	AG 1870:3-4
Thomas Crocker	Woodson <i>ohwachira</i> affine	–	50	1	AG 1870:3-4
Alex Scholar	Woodson <i>ohwachira</i> affine	–	75	–	AG 1870:3-4
Georgianna Stith	Plantation neighbor	–	250	3	AG 1870:3-4

Table 23. **Southampton Agriculture Census, 1850-1870, cotton bales** [300-400 lbs.] **from Indian Town and immediate neighbors.** Triple bar divides schedules; dashed line indicates discontinuous listing, all other entries are transcribed in order of appearance. Acreage [Ac.] listed was under cultivation, not total acreage owned; entries without acreage indicate lack of property ownership, but cash crop production. Table excludes other market crops. **1850 Census:** small farms that produced below \$100 were omitted in original. **1860 Census:** Nottoway *ohwachira* labor and agriculture included agnatic and collateral kin, such as the Nottoway allottees that resided in Bedney King’s household, and possibly slave hires or labor exchanges. Neighboring plantations used slave labor, slave hires [H], shared labor and wage-labor. Slaves listed in the table are taken from the 1850 and 1860 Southampton Slave Schedule. **1870 Census:** farms with less than three acres or producing less than \$500 worth of products were not enumerated in the original. Edwin Turner rented portions of his land for cotton tenant farming; Nottoway lands were some of the few non-White farms to produce cotton and other crops for export and profit.

Cotton-growing landowners neighboring Indian Town produced three to four bales on average, 1850-1860. Nottoway farms averaged 2.3 bales annually, 1850-1870 – or approximately 816 lbs. each year [Table 23]. The details of the Agriculture Census suggest one to four bales were produced on Indian lands each season: some by Nottoway *ohwachira*, some by sharecropping or rentals. Indian Town also provided “hired out” wage-labor for cotton planting, ditching and harvesting on neighboring farms.

As the cotton market slowly increased, Southampton plantations and smallholding farms began producing more cotton crops each year. According to the 1850 Agriculture Census, Daniel Cobb was the only planter in his vicinity to take cotton to market. By 1859, sixteen from his nearby planter cohort were engaged in cotton production (AG1850:443-444; AG1860:404). In contrast, where the soils south of the Nottoway River were better suited to grow cotton, Indian Town farms were among over twenty-five nearby landowners to produce a cotton crop for profit, 1850-1870. Of the ten closest landowners in the Indian Town vicinity, seven grew cotton and produced a total of thirty-nine bales for the 1849 crop. Of those 1850 plantation producers, one owner, Lewis Thorpe, grew 46% of the cotton surrounding Indian Town. Significantly, Thorpe’s real estate – valued at \$1,863 – was previously Nottoway reservation land just a few generations earlier, sold during the Trustee machinations of the 1790-1820s. Directly between Indian Town and Thorpe, four large plantations raised agricultural produce for market, only two of which grew cotton. The character of Southampton cotton labor may be demonstrated through the revelation that Lewis Thorpe owned only *one* enslaved laborer in 1850. Inasmuch, it is important to recognize Thorpe’s nearly twenty bales of

1849 cotton were manured, plowed, planted, weeded and picked by many more people beyond Thorpe's immediate household.

In consideration of Lewis Thorpe's labor needs and other surrounding middling and plantation operations, seven "residences" were situated along the 1850 Indian Town Road between Thorpe and the Nottoway. Of those "households" four *plantations* owned twenty-five enslaved laborers, most as smallholders with less than ten slaves apiece. The interim residences were "Free Colored People," all of who were Nottoway collateral kin, containing seven labor-age individuals. At least twenty-two adult Nottoway farmers or other labor-age individuals resided at 1850 Indian Town, in addition to children under ten and seniors over sixty. Thus, the "Free Colored" population of Indian Town Road – the labor force of Nottoway and their collateral kin – outnumbered that of enslaved laborers. In a similar pattern to Daniel Cobb's hiring of agnatic Nottoway men [Charles and Jordan Stewart], Lewis Thorpe and other plantation owners relied on Indian families and collateral kin for shared or wage-labor. Charlotte Bryant's *Rose Hill* and Susan Lamb's neighboring farm also utilized Nottoway labor to produce cotton for market.

The combination of Nottoway labor along with productive agricultural lands has been unrecognized by previous researchers studying exports from the region. Indian Town's role in the agricultural economy of Southampton is significant to the explanation of community's development during the Antebellum. Close affiliation of Nottoway Town with adjacent free laborers engendered fraternization, marriage mate exchange and community building. However, in a county dominated by smallholding and large slave-labor plantations, Nottoway households were some of the few landed, non-White small

producers of cotton for sale and profit. Combined with the processes of polarization, Indian Town notions of peoplehood were reinforced, yet transformed by these relationships. Control of capital, property ownership, contractual hires and a continuing association with plantation crop production positioned Nottoway peoples to have increased affiliation and share concerns with their landowning neighbors.

Peanuts

The arrival of peanuts as an agricultural crop in Virginia occurred during the latter half of the eighteenth century. However, early Virginia crops were mostly experimental and had little impact on regional and global markets (Jefferson 1787:63; Smith 2002:14). The popularity of Europe's West African peanut trade reintroduced the plant to Virginia farmers. Significantly, this networking coincided with Africa's more complete incorporation as a peripheral zone of the world-system. Virginia peanut cultivation did not become a major crop until after the Civil War (Parramore 1992:183) and as such, the Nottoway's engagement with peanut agriculture and factory work date to this later period. The crop's earlier introduction in Southampton, however, can be linked to the trans-Atlantic trade that emerged during the antebellum period. The introduction of peanuts to the Nottoway and Southampton County is directly related to developments in other parts of the world-economy and as such provides another avenue to connect the local community to the growing trans-Atlantic system.

Plantation structures emerged in West Africa as Europe suspended [1807] the international trade in enslaved peoples. Corresponding to this development, agricultural

cash-crop production transformed Africa's export commodity exchange and encouraged the French and British to stay in West Africa after the decline of the slave trade. Commercial peanut cultivation began in Gambia 1829-1830 [British] and Senegal 1841 [French] (Klein 1972:424; Brooks 1975:32). Peanuts, and to a greater degree palm-oil products, became staple African exports to France, Great Britain, Germany and America. Among other uses, pressed palm oil was an early form of machine lubricant for the needs of the growing industrial centers (Schnapper 1961:118-128; Wallerstein 1989:148; Wolf 1997:330-332). Chronologically consistent with this system expansion, the first recorded U.S. peanut imports were from Gambia in 1835 (Smith 2002:16).

The peanut was reintroduced along the pre-existing Atlantic networks to Southside Virginia in the 1840s. A Sussex farmer purchased seed from a West Indian trader at the port of Norfolk in 1842 (Kocher and Dearslyne 1954:120) and a Nansmond County farmer is said to have marketed peanuts in Southampton during a court week in 1844 (Parramore 1992:183). By 1857 local reports indicate peanuts were planted regularly; a Surry farmer remarked they were increasingly "cultivated in this and adjoining counties" and an article in the agricultural journal *Country Gentleman* reported quantities of peanuts were "bought every year to the Baltimore market, from the counties in Virginia bordering the southern portion of the Chesapeake" (Smith 2002:17).

Peanuts would play a significant role in Southampton and the Nottoway's agricultural economy after the Civil War during the Post-Reservation Period. As such, further discussion of the peanut industry in Southampton is beyond this scope of work, but a few points are noteworthy. Peanut productivity was somewhat constricted by the

slow cultivation methods required for harvesting the crop. Post-Reservation Nottoway descendants recalled “one person, twenty acres and one mule” was the production limit for a single allottee-generation farm hand. As during other agricultural cycles, “at harvest time everyone pitched in” [Figure 42] but allottees complained, “it was a lot of hard labor... before the invention of the peanut picker” (Field notes 2006).

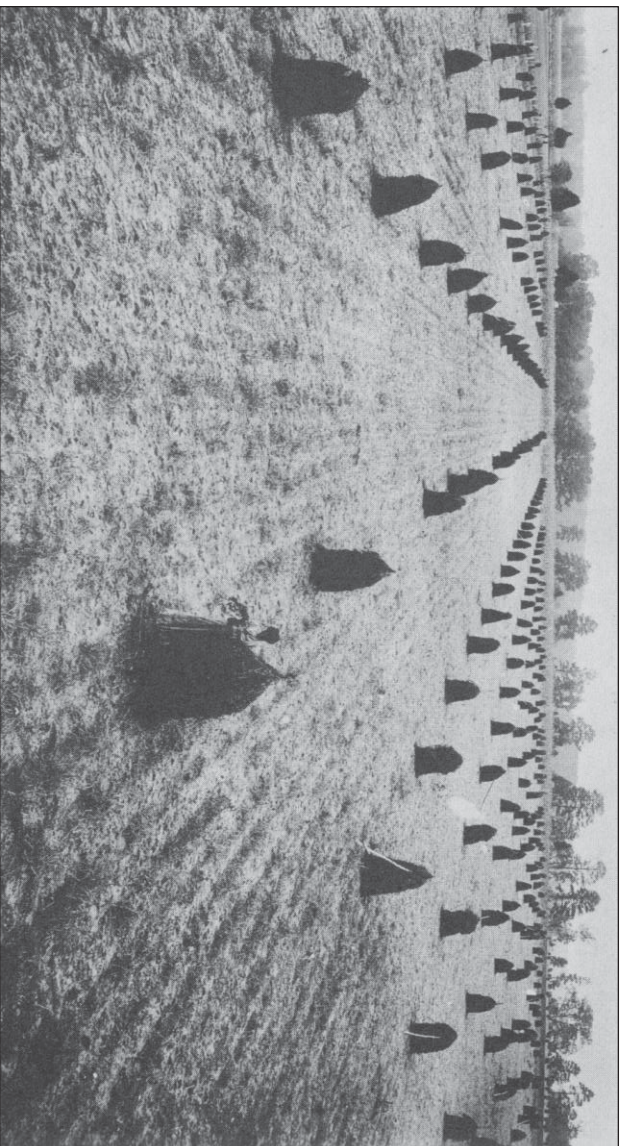


Figure 42. **Peanuts shocked to dry.** This fourth-quarter nineteenth-century image captures the character of pre-mechanized peanut cultivation. Mule team plow scars are visible between the stands of peanut vines, wrapped around six-foot posts to dry. In 1872 Petersburg’s *Rural Messenger* indicated fifty to eighty stakes to the acre was common. By the end of the Reservation Allotment Period, the Nottoway and other Southampton farmers were planting over 13,000 acres in peanuts and harvesting over 262,000 bushels annually. *Sources:* Cook Collection, Valentine Richmond History Center; Exposition Committee 1888:1; Parramore 1992:183.

Several Southampton farmers are credited with experimenting and improving peanut cultivation through inventions of mechanized planting and harvesting devices. One farmer-inventor was blacksmith Benjamin Hicks, who by 1902 had patented a gasoline-powered machine for stemming and cleaning peanuts [Figure 43]. Hicks came from an Indian Town affine family several times intermarried with Nottoway allottees.

Hicks and his family members were variously described as “Negro” “Mulatto” and “Indian” (C1870; C1870 Norfolk, VA; Field notes 2007; Parramore 1992:184). Hicks contributed to the development of the “peanut picker” and is “believed to have helped revolutionize farming in Southampton and the peanut growing area” (Miller 2009:33; VDHR Benjamin F. Hicks 1847-1925 Marker, U-120-a).

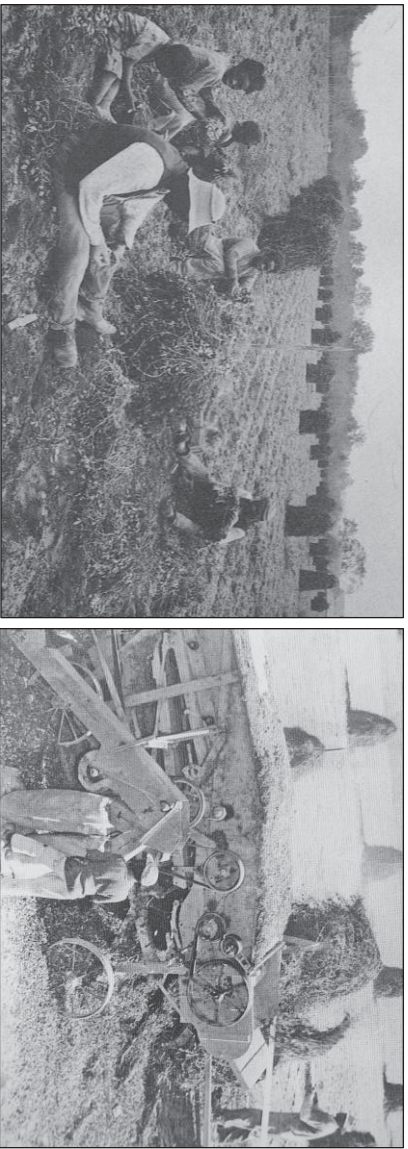


Figure 43. **Southside peanut picking, c.1875-1890** [left] and **twentieth-century Southampton mechanized peanut harvest** [right]. The “peanut picker” eventually replaced what was once a hand-picked-and-cleaned operation. The machine’s design was patented by Benjamin Hicks in 1901 and manufactured by *Benthall*. Seven to twelve-man teams operated the thrashing machine, which picked, de-stemmed and funneled peanuts into bushel bags. *Sources*: Cook Collection, Valentine Richmond History Center; Southampton Heritage Village, Agriculture and Forestry Museum; Miller 2009:33.

Late nineteenth and early twentieth-century matrilineal Nottoway grew peanuts as a cash crop on several farms in Southampton, including allotment lands on Indian Town Road. Allottees used their peanut crop for security on debt and took annual peanut harvests to nearby markets. As the main agricultural staple, peanut farming became a major source of rural allottee-descendants’ family income. In the early decades of the twentieth century, a peanut processing plant was constructed on the edge of the old reservation, near where Indian Town Road intersected the main route to Courtland [U.S.

58 Business] (Field notes 2011; TRDB 2:471; Patricia Wilson MS 1990).

Truck Gardens

Cotton and peanut cropping were among several staple agricultural products Southampton farmers pursued. Corn, beans, peas, potatoes, oats, rye and wheat were among the other large-scale nineteenth-century operations. Southampton was also home to some of the finest orchards, melon and berry patches in the Commonwealth. Apples, cantaloupes, pears, peaches, strawberries and watermelons were “grown in all parts of the county to great perfection...for the great markets of the Northern cities” (Exposition Committee 1888:2). During the 1850s, the port of Norfolk became known as the “Atlantic Garden” and the city’s economy was synonymous with the coastwise trade of Southside Virginia and northeastern North Carolina fruit and vegetable produce (Goldfield 1977:238). Norfolk was the North’s market garden port and contemporaries called the exchange “the truck trade” (*Merchants’* 1858:733).

The mild Southside climate, proximity to a tidewater deep harbor and technological innovations in agro-industry provided favorable conditions for truck garden cultivation. Fruits and vegetables were not ideal produce for direct export to foreign ports, but rather more suitable for the northern coastwise commerce. The garden market exports, to primarily Baltimore and New York, supported the semiperipheral North’s industrializing cities. The burgeoning service industries, specialized professions and factory work of the North’s urban centers fostered the coastwise export of raw Southern agricultural produce. The import-export relationship of low wage and low skilled Southside agriculture supporting the North’s higher wage and technologically advanced industrial production is a typical core / periphery style relationship of the semiperiphery.

The processes of mechanization, polarization and interdependence indicative of the periphery’s development may also be seen in this light.

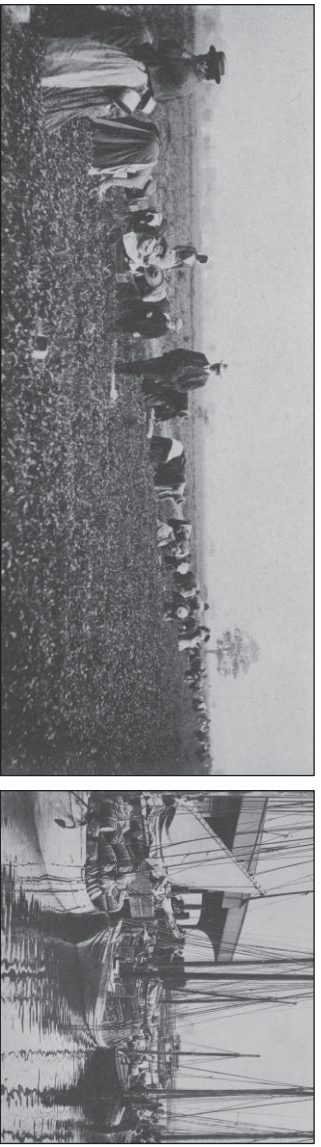


Figure 44. **Laborers and owner of a truck garden, Nansemond County** [left] **and sailboats loaded with produce** “waiting to unload truck farm produce at a Norfolk pier” [right]. Market demand for produce, fertile ground and inexpensive labor encouraged diversification of the Southside agricultural economy. *Source:* Cook Collection, Valentine Richmond History Center.

The coastwise commerce between Virginia and the North increased during the late Antebellum, with the vegetable and fruit trade accounting for \$450,000 of the \$535,000 total value of 1858 goods “trucked” north. Baltimore and New York received 93% of Norfolk’s coastwise exports “supplying the tables of the hotels and private houses of the northern cities with fruit and vegetables.” Periodicals of the era boasted a small fortune could be made from the middling farms surrounding Norfolk [Figure 44]. One paper indicated a Southside planter “recently shipped one thousand baskets of strawberries to New York,” while another article entitled “Virginia Feeding the North” reported a local farmer sent 300 bushels of peanuts weekly to the Empire State. At the conclusion of the five-month 1858 market season, 20,000 bushels of dried apples had also been delivered. A Norfolk merchant boasted shipments of 6,000 to 8,000 bunches of radishes to Baltimore daily; another stated he sent 600 barrels of sweet potatoes a week. One Southside man estimated in 1857 that Norfolk’s Northern vegetable truck trade

exceeded the value of tobacco manufactured in Richmond. In short, the coastwise northern trade of Southside produce was big business and the market demanded an increase in production as the Antebellum wore on (*Merchants*' 1858:733; Norfolk *Southern Argus*, quoted in *American Agriculturalist* 1854:166; Norfolk *Southern Argus*, quoted in Richmond *Enquirer*, May 2, 1854; Norfolk *Southern Argus*, May 1, 1851 cited in Goldfield 1977:239).

Commodity	Amount	Quantity	Value	Commodity	Amount	Quantity	Value
Apples, dried	Bushel	1892	\$3845	Peas	Bushel	76	\$112
Apple Brandy	Bbls.	39	\$1287	Rosin	Bbls.	148	\$508
Corn	Bushel	43,164	\$33,867	Tar		613	\$1379
Cotton	Bales	288	\$14,400	Staves	No.	40,000	\$1800
Fish	Bbls.	109	\$436	Shingles		903,750	\$4391
Flaxseed	Bushel	896	\$1593	Turpentine	Bbls.	24	\$74
Flour	Bbls.	75	\$475	Wheat	Bushel	17,519	\$20,131
Peaches, dried	Bushel	192	\$1356				
				<i>Total</i>			\$85,454

Table 24. **Select Norfolk coastwise exports, September 1858.** Of the produce listed, Nottoway farms recorded growing apples, corn, cotton and peas 1850-1860. *Sources:* AG1850, 1860; *Merchants*' 1858:733.

The 1858 *Merchants and Mechanics' Exchange* reported the port of Norfolk cleared diverse commodities for coastwise exchange [Table 24]. Other calculations from June, July and August of the same year indicate seasonality impacted some characteristics of the commerce. Shipping list from multiple steamers and other sources specified 128,595 packages [barrels, boxes and baskets] of peas, cucumber, beans, tomatoes, radishes, rhubarb, asparagus, apples, pears and peaches, valued from \$3.50 to \$10 per container, were exported north during the summer of 1858. Another tabulation suggested 75,000 to 100,000 watermelons had left Norfolk for Northern ports (*Merchants*' 1858:733).

Much of this truck garden produce came from the Southside counties of Isle of Wight, Nansemond, Southampton, Surry and Sussex. Corn and sweet potatoes dominated the Southampton crop, but other supplements included Irish and White potatoes, and stock varieties of black-eye peas, coffee peas, red peas and yellow peas. Southampton was known for “the finest sweet potatoes” and the county’s agricultural fields, including those at Indian Town, generated the highest yield for a Virginia borough in 1850. In both 1850 and 1860, Southampton out-produced every other Virginia county for swine, peas and cotton (Crofts 1992:78).

Southampton hams were reputed to be the “choicest bacon hams,” “celebrated,” “eagerly sought,” “juicy, tender and finely flavored” and comparable to English Westphalia ham “by those who indulge in the luxuries of the table” (Crofts 1992:78-79; Exposition Committee 1888:3). Indian Town matrilineages raised dozens of pigs annually for Southampton-produced hams, bacon and lard. Nottoway swine were finished at matrilineage compounds or sold to some of the region’s emerging processing facilities that surrounded Indian Town. Annual hog killing provided staple meats for home consumption and a cash crop [Figure 45], both of which were important for surrounding plantations and Nottoway households (AG1850, 1860, 1870; Crofts 1997:65; Phillips MS 1977; Field notes 2010). The livelihood and value of Nottoway lard and pork sales may be seen through comparable period excerpts:

[1834] “shipped 10,000 pounds of bacon and lard...on produce cars to Portsmouth, ‘all of which was disposed of next day, at liberal prices.’”

[1847 in Petersburg] “Corn is worth \$4.50 and flower 7.25 Bacon 10 ¼ per lbs”

[1859 in Petersburg] “Bacon 12.5 to 15 cents per lbs. lard same...”

[1859] “I sent a man and 1 woman to help Mr. Little kill hogs to day... 1 Sow to have 5 pigs and saved then 1 more to have pigs and eat them up”

[1859] “I had 4 women killing some Turkey for Town and loaded up my wagon for Town with cotton, Turkeys, Lard and Sorsages [sausages]”

[1861] “I sent 609 lbs. of Bacon to Mr. J. Little to Carry to Peters burgh by putting 1 of My horses to his waggon to Carry it”

[1866] “My carte on the road to town...\$1.50 cts per 1000 and 3 lbs of bacon” (Cobb in Crofts 1997:78, 100, 102, 143, 204, 284; Paramore 1992:123, brackets added).

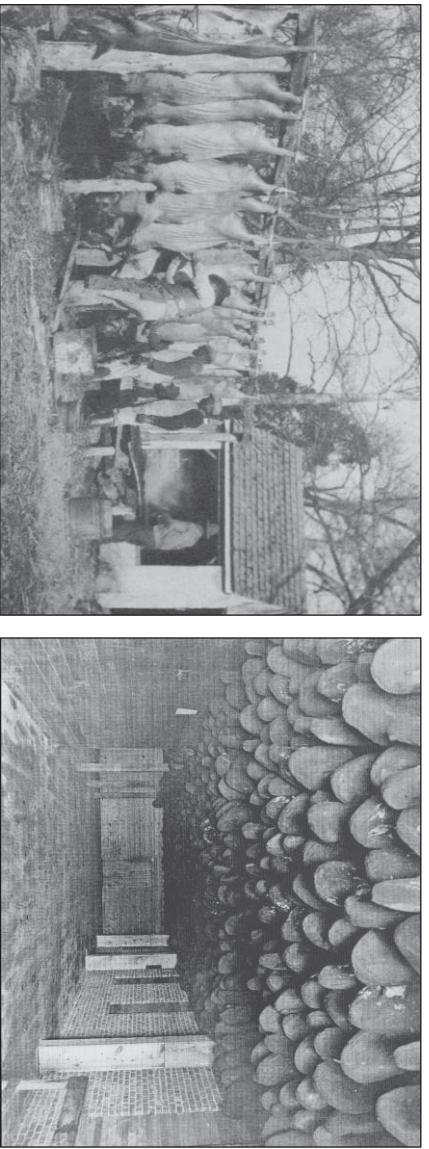


Figure 45. **Southside hog killing** [left] and **Southampton hams curing, Boykins** [right]. Nottoway swine production during the mid-nineteenth century surpassed neighboring plantations and middling farms. *Sources:* Cook Collection, Valentine Richmond History Center; Kitty Lassiter Family Photos.

Hog killing and corn shucking were two moments in the agricultural cycle in which farmers routinely assisted each other. Daniel Cobb recounted winter hog killings each year of his diaries and indicated the extent to which Southampton planters in the Nottoway neighborhood relied on one another. Landowners regularly swapped owner labor, hired workers and recruited specialized slave laborers for hog processing. Hog killing required a winter cold spell and two intense days of butchering, processing and salting, followed six weeks later by smoking. Cobb recorded culling thirty hogs in December of 1851, some 2500 lbs. with six hands to assist; in 1857 he culled twenty hogs

averaged at 117 lbs. each. The January 1859 slaughter included thirty-nine hogs, weighed at 4000 lbs., which Cobb estimated to be .075 cents per lbs. or \$300 (Crofts 1997:71-72, 99). Thus, not all of Cobb's hog livestock were for home use, but valued as a cash crop.

Nottoway hog ownership 1850-1860 reflected this cash-cropping pattern as well. Records indicate Nottoway households owned twenty, thirty, forty and over fifty hogs during a given season [Table 25]. The Nottoway were interested in the marketability of swine as much as they were the subsistence. Indian Town neighbor Charlotte Bryant culled a similar amount of livestock as Cobb in 1850 [\$369] and 1860 [\$350], whereas the smallholding Lamb farm only \$100 worth in 1850. Nottoway headman Edwin Turner produced more livestock for market that year, as did Nottoway affine James Taylor and one of the agnatic Scholar descendants. In contrast, the Trustee Ridley family did not record any slaughtered animals on the *Bonnie Doone* plantation. Located southwest through the Indian Woods, it is plausible that *Bonnie Doone's* large enslaved population [212 individuals], were the recipients of culled and processed neighboring landowners' and Nottoway hogs. Equally possible, Nottoway pork products were sent to market and sold for going rates in the same manner as recorded by Daniel Cobb. Nottoway Edwin Turner's 1860 sounder contributed to an estimated \$300 worth of culled livestock that year, nearly as much as his elite plantation neighbor at *Rose Hill* and more than Lamb's smallholding outfit. Combined with agnatic Nottoway, affines and collateral kin, Indian Town's 1860 passel was enumerated at 134 hogs, those culled valued at \$600 – all compounded on reservation allotment or tribally-owned land. Thus, Nottoway cash-crop livestock and husbandry *surpassed all neighborhood plantations' production.*

Name and Relationship to Indian Town	Milch Cows	Sheep	Swine	Bushels of				Butter, lbs.	Wool, lbs.	Hay, Tons	Value	
				Indian Corn	Peas	Irish Potatoes	Sweet Potatoes				Home Mfr.	Animals Culled
Charlotte Bryant <i>Rose Hill</i> Plantation	10	26	125	1750	100	25	300	250	150	12	100	369
Thomas Crocker [affine] Woodson ohwachira	3	-	25	300	10	-	-	-	-	2	-	65
Susan Lamb Smallholding Farm	4	-	50	750	16	5	20	50	-	5	15	100
Thomas Ridley Trustee Family <i>Bonnie Doone</i> Plantation	1	25	126	2500	600	7	200	100	40	10	-	-
Edwin Turner [head male] Turner ohwachira	2		54	400	30	10	25	50	-	2	25	182
James Laylor [Nottoway affine] Jordan Stewart [agnatic] Scholar descendant	3	11	26	250	15	2	70	20	10	1	4	155
Charlotte Bryant <i>Rose Hill</i> Plantation	7	17	95	400	15	10	30	-	-	6	-	350
Susan Lamb Smallholding Farm	2	-	30	100	50	-	30	-	-	6	-	150
William Gray Smallholding Farm	2	-	-	100	125	30	130	-	-	15	-	70
James Gray Smallholding Farm	7	7	70	300	55	25	40	-	10	2.5	-	450
James Bird [collateral kin?] Indian Town renter	1	-	40	130	10	5	5	-	-	2.5	-	125
Bedney King [affine?] Woodson ohwachira farm	-	-	1	75	10	-	10	-	-	11.5	-	50
Charles Stewart [agnatic] Scholar descendant	-	-	10	60	5	5	10	-	-	3.5	-	25
Alex Stewart [agnatic] Woodson ohwachira affine	1	-	13	40	10	5	10	-	-	17.5	-	30
Thomas Crocker Woodson ohwachira affine	-	-	20	60	30	10	25	-	-	1.5	-	70
Edwin Turner [head male] Turner ohwachira	-	-	50	175	125	15	175	-	-	7.5	-	300

Table 25. **Indian Town and neighbors' select agricultural produce, 1850-1860.** Triple bar divides schedules, dashed line indicates discontinuous listing; all other entries are consecutive. Indian Town-affiliated farms are in **bold**. Figures do not reflect entire record of production, such as crops of cotton [see Table 23] wheat or oats. Cattle, oxen and horses not included. *Sources:* AG1850:423-424, 433-434, 443-444; AG1860:416-417.

Therefore, in addition to cotton, one economic niche the late antebellum Nottoway cornered was the Southampton swine market. Whether by contractual sale to neighboring plantations or for export, a substantial portion of Nottoway income was gained through animal husbandry. This subsistence pattern continued into the Post-Reservation Period. Family documents of matrilineal Nottoway descendants indicate allottees “lived on the old Indian Reservation...[where they] worked in the fields picking cotton, working hogs [and] planting in the fields.”

Oral history interviews conducted in the 1970s reveal multiple descendants born during the Post-Reservation Era [c.1880-1900] recalled the allottee generation [c.1830-1875] “worked in the fields and picked cotton and tended hogs.” One Woodson *ohwachira* farmstead, constructed near the time of the Civil War, was recorded as having a large fenced area for pigs, and an additional “pen near the house for a sow with new piglets.” Another document specifically mentioned allottee production of “fresh meat” from domestic pig and cow butchering, “smokehouse cuts,” “side meat, shoulder and sausage” at Indian Town (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Field notes 2011).

Communally held matrilineage and allotment lands also produced a substantial amount of fodder and grain. The 1860 Agriculture Census demonstrates increased Nottoway hay cropping, with some individual tabulations being twice the amount of neighboring farms [Table 25]. Combined, eleven Indian Town households (C1860) produced forty-six and one half tons of hay, nearly 21% of the neighborhood crop and three times as much as any plantation in the vicinity [of thirty-four nearby landowners]. Indian corn production appears fairly stable between the two schedules, 700 Indian Town

bushels were recorded in 1850 and 540 bushels for 1860. This productivity continued after the Civil War, as agnatic and matrilineal Nottoway farms' Indian corn bushels were estimated as a total of 935 in 1870 and 835 in 1880 (AG1870:3-4; AG1880:25-26).

Growing Indian corn was one cropping staple with continuity to the Nottoway past. The community's relationship to corn growing remained constant through the colonial period and references to nineteenth-century Nottoway agricultural production begin with corn, "The quantity of land occupied by the Tribe is about 144 acres, all high land, the greater part is commonly planted with corn..." (Cabell Papers July 18, 1808).

At the end of the growing season, fall corn-shucking activities were the social highlight of Southampton's agricultural cycle. Field hands, owners, slaves and volunteers joined in stripping husks from corncobs. At larger farms, the host offered a feast, and singing and dancing could accompany the end-of-day's labor. Corn-shucking time was a form of harvest festival and the social highlight of nineteenth-century Southampton agrarians. More than winter hog slaughtering, "at no other time during the agricultural year did so extensive a level of interfarm cooperation and reciprocity take place" (Crofts 1997:68).

Nottoway farmers, both matrilineal and agnatic descendants, participated in this autumn revelry. Plantations up and down the Indian Town path hosted these corn-shucking events, as did farms across the river. It was a time of labor exchange. As recalled by Daniel Cobb, agnatic Nottoway Jordan Stewart was a frequently hired hand and shucking volunteer, as well as among the farmers Cobb sent slaves to help bring in neighbors' harvest and shuck corn.

[1851] "finished haling up my Corn... I made 125 or [1]30 Bbls this year[.] I suppose 20 Bbls less than 1850... I had 25 or 30 hands to shuck it?"

[1852] “I sent Lewis to help Gurley shuck Corn. Iv housed 85 Bbls of fine Corn. I began to pick my Cotton a gain the 3 time &c”

[1852] “I sent 1 hand to help Jordan Stewart Shuck Corn at 2 or 3 hours by sun. I picked Cotton to day”

[1854] “I shucked Corn[,] began in the morning with few hands[,] we finished by 9 with an increase of hands[,] some 20 additional]. We shucked some 150 or 180 Bbls by the Judgement of some of the hands.[] I’v housed 55 or 60 Bbls so I put it down at 220 or [2]30 Bbls with 2 horses & proberall 8 Bales of Cotton... We finished all peaceable and well so far as I know by drinking 2 gallons of liquor[,] 1 sheep[,] 1 Turkey and parte of Yurlen [yearling] &c” (Cobb in Crofts 1997:81-82, brackets added).

Shucked corn was stored in corncribs while still on the cob; corn intended for human use was shelled before being ground at a mill. Thus, Nottoway corn took several forms during the Allotment Period; whole on the cob in corncribs, shelled from the cob in barrels, ground into meal and kept in cloth sacks. The latter did not keep well and was prone to spoilage from moisture, so either frequent trips to the mill or small incremental home grinding were the common practices. Corn stalks and tops were used as blade fodder for livestock, as was whole corn, bales of hey and bushels of oats. According to the extant documentary record, fodder production was a constant and increasing Nottoway pursuit. *Ohwachira* land and allotments yielded 103 bushels of oats in 1860, more than tabulated for Nottoway farms at any other time. Increased production of fodder and grain coincided with the enlargement of Indian livestock holdings, but also reflected bales and bushels for potential market in Petersburg or Southampton.

Alex Stewart, an agnatic-descended Nottoway from the remnant Scholar *ohwachira*, periodically used his corn and pea crop for collateral on debt, as well as his livestock and personal property. Married to matrilineal Nottoway allottee Martha [Patsy]

Woodson-Bozeman, Stewart had no real estate to leverage against debt or to apply for credit, as his farmland belonged to the matrilineage. One 1845 contract with Thomas Maget inventoried Stewart's "twenty head of hogs and increase[,] 3 head of cattle & increase...my present growing crop of corn[,] fodder[,] peas & potatoes & also five barrels of corn & one thousand pounds of fodder now in hand..." (DB26:396). In 1849 Stewart used "one fourth of [his] crop of corn[,] fodder and peas now growing on [his] wife's land" and one-third of another tract's "crop of corn[,] fodder & peas..." to settle existing debt – some of which was owed to another Nottoway. The court provided the forum to secure the credit and schedule an auction to "sell the...crop of corn fodder and peas to the highest bidder for cash" (DB27:430). The value and productivity of Stewart's crop may be seen from his ability to buttress his finances against existing and expected yields. Significantly, Stewart's cropland and labor pool were matrilineally organized, but the moveable property appeared to be his, or at least recorded as such.

By 1860, Indian Town had diversified and expanded market crop production. Included in this increase was orchard produce, sold fresh, dried or pressed for cider and brandy. The "best apple brandy to be found in the world" originated from the orchards and presses of Southampton. Known locally as "Apple Jack," Southampton brandy was considered a locally specialty, "proverbially peculiar to this county" (Crofts 1992:79; Parramore 1992:50-51).

Either apple or peach trees, planted during the 1850s, began to yield a marketable Nottoway harvest a decade later. It is unclear which form of orchard product the Nottoway produced for profit, as apples and peaches had been introduced into Iroquoian

communities at a relatively early date (Barnwell 1908:34; Lawson 1709; Rountree 1990:108; Woodard 2006). As early as 1733, William Byrd noted the presence of abandoned Indian peach orchards during his visit to the upper Roanoke River and Tuscarora migration into New York after the Carolina war left a series of “irregularly planted” apple orchards along their path (Boyce 1973:32). While there were clearly apple and peach trees at Indian Town during the colonial period, orchard production for profit was not present. Moreover, nineteenth-century orchard development adds further evidence of the community’s transforming political economy, as this feature represents a structural change in Nottoway provisioning.

Edwin Turner was listed as the Nottoway orchard’s owner in the 1860 Census. As headman of the Turner *ohwachira*, this record may reflect the orchard’s placement on Turner lands. Conversely, the trees may have been on his wife’s [Woodson] matrilineage lands, indicating Southampton officials perceived Turner as the owner despite the property’s matricentered communal ownership. Yet another possibility was that Edwin Turner’s orchard was on allotment land or private land, the latter of which Turner owned in addition to accessing tribal shares. Nonetheless, Indian Town’s only orchard was of some stature, the products valued at \$200 annually. The significance of the orchard becomes clear when one realizes middling farm neighbor Susan Lamb produced no orchard commodities in 1860 and the elite Bryants of *Rose Hill* marshaled only \$100 from the old 1770s orchards planted on Indian land rentals. Nottoway 1860 yields were competitive or out-produced neighboring landowners. None of the twenty adjacent plantations or middling farms raised more than \$300 [3], whereas some were recorded

yielding \$150-200 [3], others claimed \$100 or below [5] and most, none at all [9] (AG1860:416-417).

No orchard produce was recorded at Indian Town in 1870, possibly due to underreporting or a leasing agreement. The neighboring Lamb farm, enumerated a yield of \$142, but then none in 1880. In that year, an Indian Town *ohwachira* again claimed fifty apple trees in production. If this Nottoway orchard was new, it was planted at least by 1870 (AG1870:3-4; AG1880:25). The orchard reportedly belonged to William Artis (AG1880:26), yet he was not a landowner, as his farm was on allotment land distributed to his Nottoway wife, Indiana Woodson/Bozeman-Crocker (M1848-55:345, 416, 421, 487). Possibly, Artis's 1880 orchard and that of Edwin Turner in 1860 were one and the same – situated on Woodson *ohwachira* lands that were eventually divided and allotted. The discontinuous Agriculture Census enumeration may have been the result of an Indian Town leasing arrangement with Lamb, as there is no evidence of Edwin Turner selling or losing land to debt (DB29-32; Rountree 1987:212). While conjectural, Lamb's 1870 neighboring farm listing of \$142 orchard products but absent 1880 return is suggestive of some form of Nottoway exchange, c.1870.

Planting, managing and harvesting the fruit trees were only the initial stages of the orchard industry. Across the river, diarist Daniel Cobb operated a mill, press and still – the machinery necessary for the Nottoway and others to make vinegar and brandy. First operating in 1856, Cobb ran his distillery August through September, producing “eight or more forty-gallon barrels of brandy” annually (Crofts 1992:68). In 1859, a barrel of peach brandy brought Cobb \$48, nearly twice as much as the barrels of apple brandy;

Cobb recorded \$280 dollars in orchard sales that year. If Nottoway production commanded similar prices as Cobb's, or as those listed in Table 25, the *ohwachira* members took in cash from one of the following orchard products: four barrels of peach brandy, eight barrels of apple brandy, an undetermined amount of apple vinegar, 100 bushels of dried apples [\$2 per], twenty-eight bushels of dried peaches [\$7 per] or some combination of the above to reach a total of \$200 in orchard commodities. Thus, Nottoway orchard productivity was substantive in whichever arrangement.

Daniel Cobb's journal entries provide a comparable for the total of Nottoway agricultural production and sense of value for the orchard, fodder and other crops during the Allotment Period. Nottoway produce bound for export or contracted for sale to neighboring planters earned the income for Indian Town households. Southampton Agriculture Censuses and Cobb's diary record content for an otherwise silent Nottoway account book:

[1853] "I sent 2 Bbls and 1 Bushell of corn to Jerusalem[.] \$2.40 Cts pe[r] Bbl"

[1857] "\$12 planted 250,000 Corn hills...2.5 Bbls of seed[.] \$60 [to plant] 30 Bushels of peas[.] 12 to the hill[.] 36,000 peas to plant[.] \$12...sowed 35 Acres in Cotton it 100 Bushel of seed[.] \$14 [bedded] 7 Bushels of potatoe plantings[.] 30,000 draws[.] 22 bushels of oats on tolerable good land[.] Worth \$22[.] 1 Bushel of Irish potatoes...Worth \$1.50"

[1859] "I housed 2000 lbs. of corn that at \$3.50 makes \$700. I made some 7 bales of cotton[.] made \$350. some 10,000 lbs of Blaid fodder and top fodder to the am[ount] of 150 dollars"

[1859] Price Corn \$5. per [barrel], Fodder \$1 to 1.25[.] Wheat \$1.40 to 1.50, Oats in propotion[.] Flower from 6 to 8 dollars"

[1859] "250 Bbls of corn...13000 lbs of Cotton[.] 6 barrells of peach brandy[.] 4 barrells of apple brandy[.] 20,00[0] lbs of fodder[.] some 150 bushels of black Cow peas[.]...My Brandy come to 280.00[.] My Corn at \$3 come to \$700[.] My fodder at \$1.00 come to

\$200[.] My peas at \$1.00 per bus \$150[.] My Cotton after picked \$375.00[.] \$1705.00 [Total]" (Cobb in Crofts 1997:71, 78, 81-83, 99, 143, 174, brackets added).

Category	1860		1860		1860		1859	
	Alex and Charles Stewart	Thomas Crocker	Edwin Turner	Daniel Cobb*	Unit	Value	Unit	Value
Corn	40 Bu.	60 Bu.	60 Bu.	\$168	175 Bu	\$490	250 Bu.	\$700
Cotton			1 Bale	\$50			7.5 bales	\$375
Peas	10 Bu.	5 Bu.	10 Bu.	\$10	125 Bu	\$125	150 Bu.	\$150
Irish Potatoes	5 Bu.	5 Bu.		\$15	15 Bu.	\$22.5		
Swt. Potatoes	10 Bu.	10 Bu.		\$30	175 Bu	\$262.5		
Fodder	17.5 T	3.5 T	2 Tons	\$462	7.5 T	\$165	9 Tons	\$200
Culled stock	Culled	Culled	Culled	\$100		\$200		
Orchard			Unk.			\$200	Brandy	\$280
Oats	13 Bu.		15 Bu.	\$6	40 Bu.	\$18.40		
Estimated Income		\$908		\$344		\$1483		\$1705
Livestock	\$50	\$75	\$125	\$250		\$400		\$700
Farm Value	\$300		\$300	\$300		\$1500		\$4400
Farming Imp.	\$5	\$10	\$15	\$10		\$40		\$100
Pers. Property		\$100	\$100	?		?		\$200
Slaves	1		\$1090				11	\$12,000
Debts due			?	?		?		\$200
Total Worth			\$2538		\$904		\$3423	\$19,305
Matrilneal Interests in Nottoway			X		X		X	
Real and Personal Trust			Trust <\$250		Land <\$5047			

Table 26. **1860 Nottoway farms and plantation** [*] **comparative income and net worth.** Figures are estimates based on period reports of crop prices, but underreporting for income and personal property is expected. Shares in the Nottoway tribal estate are not figured. Of which, 721 acres remained undivided by matrilneal Nottoway, valued between \$2884 and \$5047. Agnatic Nottoway Alex and Charles Stewart “households” are combined, as they were brothers living on Woodson matrilneal allotment land [Alex’s wife]. Charles was landless, but produced a crop for profit. Alex Stewart’s slave ownership is based on an 1845 document, in which he used a slave as a security on debt. Thomas Crocker’s listing is a single Nottoway household, but like Stewart, he lived on Woodson *ohwachira* allotment land and repurchased Nottoway allotments in his wife’s matrilneal compound; a sibling set of Iroquoian sisters joined two households. Headman Edwin Turner, by far, was the most prosperous of Nottoway Town. His estimated potential income for 1860 was approximately \$225 shy of Daniel Cobb’s self-reported plantation earnings. The backbone of Cobb’s wealth was in the late-antebellum rising slave prices. Moreover, Cobb’s strategic marriage into the elite family of planter Jesse Little provided Cobb a 700-acre dowry by will. *Sources:* AG1860:416-417; Brookmire 1918; C1860; Crofts 1997:97-100; DB26:396; *Norfolk Merchants and Mechanics’ Exchange* cited in *Merchants’* 1858:733.

Using Cobb’s diaries of 1850s Petersburg sales, the 1860 Agriculture Census and the port of Norfolk’s 1858 tabulations of price estimates and returns, one may estimate the potential income generated by c.1860 Nottoway farmsteads [Table 26]. When

combined with the calculated value of real and personal property, it becomes clear that while the Nottoway *ohwachira* were productive, they were economically beneath the plantations owners. Daniel Cobb represented the lower end of this prosperous socio-economic spectrum, with just over eleven slaves, 900 acres of land and a total worth of about \$20,000.

For the 1860 Nottoway farms listed in Table 26, Indian resources were dominantly tied to the pea and potato garden market, fodder production for livestock and swine farming. Each of the households listed retained matrilineal interests in the Nottoway land and trust, through female-descended children and grandchildren. Thus the reserve's resources raised the total worth of each household. Land ownership, whether by allotment, private purchase or access to matrilineage lands, separated the Nottoway from the majority of Southampton's population – who were free and or enslaved – but landless laborers.

Indian Town farms, orchards and livestock economically situated the community as middling to lower Southampton producers. In some regards, the accumulated and inherited wealth of smallholding White farms socio-economically separated the Nottoway from their neighbors. As argued in Chapters III and V, much of the Nottoway's potential for resource accumulation and inherited investment was syphoned off by elite Trustee-planters through the peripheralization process. As the community more fully entered the market during the Allotment Period, the deepening of capitalism further entrenched matrilineage members and their affines in a system structured on commodity chains and contractualization for land, labor and credit.

Category	1860							
	Susan Lamb*		James Gray*		William Gray*		Edwin Turner§	
	Unit	Value	Unit	Value	Unit	Value	Unit	Value
Corn	100 Bu.	\$280	300 Bu.	\$840	100 Bu.	\$280	175 Bu.	\$490
Cotton	3 Bales	\$150	9 Bales	\$1350				
Peas	55 Bu.	\$55	55 Bu.	\$55	125 Bu.	\$125	125 Bu.	\$125
Irish Potatoes	25 Bu.	\$37.5	25 Bu.	\$37.5	30 Bu.	\$45	15 Bu.	\$22.5
Swt. Potatoes	40 Bu.	\$60	40 Bu.	\$60	130 Bu.	\$195	175 Bu.	\$262.5
Fodder	2.5 T	\$55	2.5 T	\$55	15 T	\$330	7.5 T	\$165
Culled stock	Culled	\$125	Culled	\$125	Culled	\$450	Culled	\$200
Orchard							Unk.	\$200
Oats	16 Bu.	\$7.36	150Bu.	\$69	16 Bu.	\$7.36	40 Bu.	\$18.40
Wool			10 lbs.	\$3.50				
Estimated Income		\$770		\$2595		\$1432		\$1483
Livestock		\$300		\$800				\$400
Farm Value		\$1500		\$1000		\$1000		\$1500
Farming Imp.		\$50		\$100		\$25		\$40
Pers. Property		\$500						?
Slaves	2	\$2180	1	\$1090	1	\$1090		
Debts due		?		?		?		?
Total Worth		\$5300		\$5585		\$3547		\$3423
Matrilineal Interests in Nottoway Real and Personal Trust								
							721 ac.	<\$5047
							Trust	<\$250

Table 27. **Nottoway and smallholder farms comparative income and net worth, 1860.** White middling farmers [*] directly neighboring Indian Town produced similar crops and income values as Indian farms [§], but controlled more personal property and labor. Members of Edwin Turner's household, among others, retained interest in the undivided 721 acres of tribal lands, valued between \$4 and \$7 per acre. According to the extant Trustee accounts, a rate of 6% annual interest was applied to the Nottoway trust, which was balanced at \$143.70 in December 1855, plus a \$10 annual income from rentals, minus 5% commission fee. Hypothetically, the Nottoway trust was less than \$250 in 1860, assuming no annuities were annually dispersed. *Sources:* AG1860:416-417; Brookmire 1918; C1860; Crofts 1997:97-100; DB26:396; LP John Taylor March 1856; *Norfolk Merchants and Mechanics' Exchange* cited in *Merchants'* 1858:733.

As demonstrated by their agricultural development, evidence suggests the Nottoway adapted to this political economy and engaged the market rather vigorously after the Allotment Period began. The data in Table 27 confirm that the Nottoway were competitive producers during this time period. The 1860 Indian Stewart farm generated more income value [\$908] than the White Lamb family outfit [\$770] just across the Indian Path. Edwin Turner outperformed [\$1483] a young White neighbor, William Gray

[§1432]. What may not be seen in Tables 26 and 27 is that Indian Town residents toiled on their own farm operations *and* acted as contractual laborers for the neighboring plantations. Thus, an unrecorded portion of Nottoway income was derived from the wage work and day rates of neighboring planters, but Indian labor supported both operations.

Unlike Cobb, Bryant, Ridley and other prosperous plantation owners with large slave holdings, the Grays and Lambs owned just one or two slaves. Fifty-seven year old Susan Lamb's household had only four members in 1860 and William Gray was single owner-operator. Gray's father James had a large household of fourteen, but five were children, four were teenagers and the remainder young women. In contrast, neighboring Indian Town residences contained twenty-seven adults and eleven teenagers available for labor in 1860. With this disclosure, it becomes clear that while all three neighboring White farms relied on slave hires during the agricultural season, like Daniel Cobb, a portion of their contractual wage labor pool came from adjacent Nottoway Town farms.

Cash cropping for the demands of the market garden diversified the Nottoway's agricultural-economy, and shaped the routines and choices of Indian Town's farmers. Based on the evidence, one may argue the conjoined Nottoway farms were beginning to show levels of prosperity during the years prior to the Civil War. Allotments were retained, and others sold. The trust funds were divided and disbursed. The monetary infusions from both were invested in agricultural pursuits, which the Nottoway developed into income-producing ventures.

A careful reading of Southampton's deed books and other court records suggests cycles of debt and repayment were part and parcel of the antebellum political economy,

for all free peoples. That the Nottoway and their affines had property to leverage against existing debts and future incomes, distinguished them from the majority of Southampton's non-propertied, landless laborers – Black, Indian or White. At the beginning of the 1860s, Indian Town had lost substantial amount of their reservation, yet the *ohwachira* retained nearly 725 acres and a small financial trust. Individual allotments and Nottoway personal property adjacent to the tribal lands were in the hundreds of acres. In these spaces, the smallholding farms and the resource pooling of “like people” were the backbone of Indian Town’s livelihood.

Concluding Summary

The drive for the accumulation of real and personal property by prosperous capitalist owners, coupled with the confines of slavery, slave hires and wage labor, ensnared the Nottoway in an economic system that they did not and could not control. If incorporation involved the capture of Nottoway territory into the orbit of the world-economy in such a way that it could no longer escape, “peripheralization” involved the continuing transformation of the minstructures within the system’s dynamics (Wallerstein 1989:129-130). The ensnarement into a larger economy played out through continued transformation of Indian land and labor, and the participation in extended credit relationships to support new initiatives. However, the increased mechanization of transportation and agricultural production improved the efficiency of Southampton’s plantation system and encouraged more cash crops for market, and thus for export. In exchange for capital, the Nottoway produced for market demand and replicated the

structures of the plantations' agro-factories. Within this market interdependence, the Nottoway – like other Southamptoners – consumed material goods for farm improvement and finished commodities imported from abroad.

Nottoway residential patterns transformed during the Allotment Period, and while some lineage segments remained conjoined and matrilineal resource pooling was present, elementary family units became the center of Nottoway production. With allotment, individual family members controlled smaller parcels of land and gained more steerage of individual personal finances. Allottees invested the proceeds from land sales and income into their immediate families and personal initiatives, some of which included removal to urban centers for wage labor. The uneven development of the system's dynamics encouraged Nottoway corporate agency, in an effort to end decades of Trustee manipulation and syphoning-off of their resources. However, through allotment and a political economy of individualism, the tribe's matrilineal organization and communal Iroquoian structures were undermined.

As property owners, the Nottoway replicated the farming operations of their middling and prosperous neighbors and more intensely participated in the cash-crop economy of cotton and truck gardens. Through Nottoway economic relationships, such as slave hires and labor exchange with adjacent farmers, Indian Town shared affiliations with their neighboring White landowners. The non-White legal and social status of the Nottoway, however, engendered associations with other Free People of Color. Virginia Iroquoian intermarriages with FPCs included agnatic Nottoway descendants. These

unions and liaisons developed as preferred partnerships with “like people” – a component of which was Indian – but also of Black and White ancestry.

The breakup of the remaining communal land holdings continued through the Civil War. The Nottoway’s kinship and descent-system became increasingly conflicted with other factors of the economic system’s dynamics. Property ownership, inheritance, labor pooling, sharing, and mobility all favored male heads of households and male cooperation. Severalty from Nottoway assets and a reliance on elementary family resources eventually undermined an already weakened Iroquoian social organization and their traditional matrilineal descent system.

CONCLUSION

The Collapse of the Ohwachira

As demonstrated in Chapter VI, Nottoway Town showed signs of prosperity and agricultural success in the years prior to 1861. Conjoined *ohwachira* farms composed a significant block of smallholding property owners, producers and laborers along Indian Town Road. The community effectively utilized the state machinery to recover lost capital and reinvested the monies into farm production, cornered an economic niche with swine husbandry and engaged in cotton, pea and potato cash crops. The brief ten-year period of Nottoway economic stability and increase was destroyed as a result of the 1861-1865 Civil War and crushed whatever foothold the Nottoway had gained. The war also contributed to the demise of Indian Town's kinship system and social organization, through undermining the social order that had existed under the peripheral South's labor control and mode of production.

Like Southamptoners of all socio-economic classes, "they were just struck down, as was everybody else, by the war...there was deep deprivation and poverty" (Friddell 1978:2, 6). With emancipation and the elimination of the race-based axial division of labor, the Nottoway allottees struggled to resituate themselves as competitive wage-laborers and smallholding property owners. Indian "certification" no longer carried the same social and political status as during pre-Civil War times, only an attachment to undivided tribal property. The influx of thousands of freed slaves into the Southampton population stripped away Nottoway distinctiveness as a *particular kind* of people. During

Reconstruction, the last Nottoway allotments were made, as Indian Town families attempted to recover from economic diminishment, boost farm income and socially distinguish themselves as individuals within the South's transforming political economy.

While no significant Civil War battles were fought in the Southampton environs, the loss of county resources in support of the war effort was significant. Confederate requisitions drained away White and Black labor for military service, and appropriated much of the county's productive agriculture and animal husbandry. One period observer noted Southampton's "center of civilization, refinement & wealth" had been rendered "poor and desolate" by 1862. Food shortages became a severe problem across the county as Robert E. Lee's Southern army claimed all farm produce "except for those that were actually necessary for the sustenance of life" (Crofts 1992:201-203). The county court empowered magistrates to consolidate existing private property and stock, in order to redistribute stores to families that had little or no food, including the farms in and around Indian Town. Children of reservation allottees, who lived through the conflict, recalled, "when the soldiers came" through the *ohwachira* "fields" along the Nottoway River (Patricia Phillips MS 1977). Countywide loss of property and provisions were substantial among all segments of Southampton society (Fridell 1978:2, 6; Parramore 1992:157-177). Descendants of Nottoway reservation households recalled their elders "talked of the old days, when life was hard following the Civil War" and that Indian Town residents "got along...without much." Susanna Turner, daughter of allottee Milly Woodson/Bozeman-Turner reportedly stated, "we lived off the land" but "supplies were very short" (Field notes 2011).

Compounding the provisioning problems, Southern railways fell in to disrepair during the war and were the subject of intense fighting and wartime damage, as opposing sides attempted to maintain or gain control of strategic shipping lanes. Surrounding Southampton, all but one railroad line to Petersburg were destroyed by 1865. Roadways were blocked, bridges burned and waterways made impassable by scuttled war ships. When the war ended, “paroled soldiers, civilian refugees and former slaves struggled to reach their homes, stymied by a wrecked transportation system” (Otto 1994:48; Cumming 1895:240-257). As a consequence, poor transportation paralyzed the southern economy for generations thereafter, making recovery difficult as the South attempted to repair the infrastructure devastated by the conflict. In Southampton, the once-thriving cotton agro-industry disintegrated during the wartime as coastal ports fell into Union control and Southampton labor forces were stripped away by conscription and enlistment. Southampton slaves used the encroaching Federal army as an opportunity for freedom; nearly one hundred of the county’s coerced laborers escaped and enlisted in the Union ranks east of the Blackwater River (Crofts 1992:214, Otto 1994:48-49, 60).

Among these volunteers were members of the Sykes family, who escaped from Jacob Williams’s St. Luke’s Parish plantation. Harrison, Henry and Joseph Sykes fought in Company I of the First U.S. Colored Calvary. After emancipation freed their parents and siblings, Sykes’ youngest brother and nephews eventually married Nottoway *ohwachira* women. Alongside freed laborers from *Rose Hill* [e.g. Sarah Claud], these late nineteenth-century affine families contributed to a changed demographic at Indian Town (Crofts 1992:214-215; MB6:394, 13:1; Rountree n.d.; TRDB 2:471; see Appendix C, Figure 50).

Clearly, the emancipation of slaves following the Civil War impacted the demography of the Nottoway community and *ohwachira* marriage-mate selection. Previous generations of Nottoway had closely affiliated property ownership, the use of slave labor and agricultural productivity with social status. However, post-Civil War Nottoway families became economically competitive with White middling farmers and plantation owners whose property and productivity were decimated by four years of war. Having lost control over their coerced labor force, Southampton's agriculturalists sought to maintain their property, farm production and social order during the dire economic period of Reconstruction. Newly freed slaves were able to negotiate for their labor, income share and residency. Cotton prices soared following the war, providing a limited, but substantive, lifeline for Southampton landowners and sharecropping cotton growers (Crofts 1997:218-226; and see Fields 1985:131-193 and Otto 1994:47-74).

The war had multiple and long-lasting economic impacts on the Nottoway. Wages dropped as property owners attempted to bargain with freed slaves for annual pay, share crop tenancy and other sustenance in exchange for labor. Northern-installed political officials oversaw the county's administration, including the Freedman's Bureau who assisted the regulation of former slaves' contractualization with property owners. Smallholding and plantation assets, whether tied up in Confederate currency, bonds or slaves, were wiped out. Land values stagnated or depreciated and many creditors were unable to recover extended credit lines or extensive debt. The default of many loans dried up local sources of capital. The war's economic devastation required Nottoway farmers to leverage much personal property in order to maintain existing agricultural operations (CC *Bozeman vs. Lanier Bros.*, 1869; Crofts 1992:221-223; DB30:408).

I argue that the scramble for scarce resources and the increased wage-labor pool would ultimately lower the Nottoway's social status. As the post-war economy slowly recovered, individual allottees used their personal property for extensions of credit and long-term loans, entering some Nottoway households into a cyclical credit dependency with their White neighbors (DB32:53, 31:508, 32:345, 33:246-247, 591-592, 37:517-518). Private property as collateral, farm ownership and a small tract of tribal land continued to distinguish Nottoway Town residents from Southampton's propertyless masses, but social divisions with other non-Whites became increasingly blurred.

Southampton's 1860 slave population [5408] was three times that of the free non-White population [1794]; by 1870 Southampton census takers estimated 55% of the county's residences were non-White, nearly doubling the number of full, free citizens from ten years before. Competition among landless White and "Colored" laborers increased. The social divisions between peoples "free" before the Civil War and those recently emancipated underwent realignment during Reconstruction, a period described by some as the "new order of things" (Crofts 1992:218-234). The previous racial terminology used by Southampton officials was maintained through this period, however "Black" increasingly replaced "Negro" and "Mulatto" on county census schedules (C1870-1880, 1900).

As perceptions about the racial divisions within Southampton society became a binary of Black and White, there was little room for "persons of mixed blood, not being Negro or Mulatto." Significantly, for the first time in Southampton's official population tallies, twenty-two residents of Nottoway Town were listed as "Indian" in the 1870 Census. The following 1880 Census did not repeat this identification, indicating that for a

brief time following emancipation, county officials distinguished Nottoway individuals from others with African ancestry. The separation of Nottoway peoples from the wider Southampton Black community, however, would dissipate with the allotment of the final tracts of tribally held lands. Additional forms of *otherness* would come to replace a strictly “Indian” notion of peoplehood; property ownership, education, civic leadership and economic success would all play important parts in defining who were “like people” (Field notes 2006-2012; and see Blakey 1988).

During Reconstruction, freed slaves became active in county politics and organized independent church congregations. South of Nottoway farms, Bryant’s Baptist Church was formed in 1874. Nottoway affiliation with the Methodist Church of their White neighbors shifted during this period toward the Baptist Church favored by the emancipated slaves. Post-Civil war Nottoway marriage-mates were Baptist, several of them church leaders and preachers, and thus these individuals influenced the settlement’s overall religious leanings. Church membership strengthened allottee descendants’ social ties with segments of the African American community and led to increased interaction with formerly enslaved families. One insight that may be gleaned from Nottoway Baptist involvement: with affines as church organizers and preachers, the Nottoway situated themselves as leadership families within the wider non-White community. This position was strengthened, as Indian Town residents were landowners, encouraged sharecropping and were employers of wage labor (AG1870; Field notes 2006-2012).

Black property ownership grew in the years following the Civil War and new forms of labor cooperation emerged as a result of economic freedom. Property ownership constituted standing in the community; many White prosperous planters were left *only*

with their land at the war's end. Others lost their land completely through debt. Post-Civil War Nottoway communal and private property ownership situated them to be in a status position among Southampton's White and Black population. Thus, it is significant that just like neighboring plantation owner Daniel Cobb, Indian Town farmer Edwin Turner hired White sharecroppers to cultivate portions of his lands in the post-war years. White tenants on Indian farms were less common than Black-run sharecropping on White-owned plantations. In either arrangement, the cash crop tenancy allowed individual families to form truck gardens, manage their own labor and decide which crops to grow for market. Groups of men could pool their resources in order to purchase necessary farm implements, seed and livestock, as well as exchange labor with one another. As indicated by the agriculture schedules presented in Chapter VI, labor cooperation at the end of the Allotment Period was among matrilineal male Nottoway, agnatic Nottoway descendants, their sisters' affines and collateral kin (AG1870; Crofts 1992:243, 246, 277, 280; DB28:541; Field notes 2011; Patricia Phillips MS 1977).

Following the Civil War, and after the initial Southern shock of Reconstruction regulations subsided, Southampton labor and property contractualization resumed in earnest. Labor commodification polarized peoples within the system. Nottoway-descended peoples became subsumed within the "Negro" population. This status carried a socio-economic position, but one that was of a different stratigraphic character than during the Antebellum; Jim Crow's Virginia was not Old Southampton. Whereas a spectrum of phenotypes previously identified individuals, the new rule of "one drop" of detectable African "blood," classed an individual as "Negro" or "Black." The degrees of freedom that reinforced the old color-caste system, then simply divided the caste between

White and non-White. Legal degrees of “Mulatto,” “Slave,” “Free Persons of Color,” “Free Persons of Mixed Blood” or “Indian” were replaced with labels of “Colored,” “Black” or “White” for an entirely unbound labor force. The Jim Crow South lessened the upward socio-economic mobility of individuals with perceived African ancestry. A result of the one-drop rule was an internal stratification among non-Whites, whereby phenotype and “respectability” determined one’s social position within the community (White 1983:188-269; and see Birmingham 1977; Frazier 1966; Wilson 1973; Wynes 1971).

My research shows that, with no ability to resituate themselves with regard to racial identity, the Nottoway and their collateral-kin allies occupied the middle to upper tier of the “Colored” population, which was squarely below propertied Whites. Indicating the Nottoway’s changed social position, as an adjunct to the final division of Indian land, the tribe’s lawyer, William B. Shands, informed the Southampton Court that the Nottoway allottees were all “negroes and very poor,” and thus in need of consideration (CC *Edwin D. Turner et al. vs. William Turner et al.*, 1881). A few years later, representative Shands replied to queries from James Mooney at the Bureau of American Ethnology. Mooney’s handwritten Southampton circulars all inquired “Any Nottoway speaking any of the language?” Shands and others wrote back, “no,” but that there were county individuals that “belong to the Nottoway Tribe” near Jerusalem. Shands remarked,

“Some few years since under the law I obtained a decree of the court dividing the residue of their tribal lands among those Indians who still had an interest in them. I think there was some ten of them who received shares and you may say this was an end of the Nottoway as a Tribe” (Mooney MS 2190).

The shortage of Nottoway capital likely precipitated the efforts to divide the remaining 500+ acres of reservation land in 1877. After the 1878-1885 allotments and property divisions, *ohwachira* members timbered the tracts and used the proceeds to invest in Indian Town housing and farming ventures (*Commissioners Sale of Valuable Land and Standing Timber*, 1908, Southampton County Loose Papers; CC Edwin D. Turner et al. vs. William Turner et al., 1881-1885; CC Edwin D. Turner et al. vs. Jesse S. Barham, 1878-1880; DB41: 222-223, 225).

It is interesting to note that Mooney's Virginia BAE circulars identified few tribal groups by name, and even fewer tribal leaders (Rountree 1990:202-203). In my reading of the circulars, Virginia respondents [mostly county physicians or lawyers] acknowledged only three of the contemporary state-recognized tribes. A little over a dozen prominent Tidewater White men knew the Pamunkey. Four individuals recognized the town on the Mattaponi River and the Nottoway were identified in three circulars. Each group's headmen were listed and addresses provided to the Smithsonian's BAE. Southampton's William B. Shands wrote James Mooney a longer letter in which he identified and commented on the Nottoway, but also the Pamunkey. Shands described both tribes as "extinct," but nonetheless remarked "mixed bloods" remained in the vicinity of their old reservation lands (Mooney MS 2190). For the Nottoway, Shands made a literal reading of the law with regards to communally held property. As a corporate body, in 1889 the Nottoway no longer held real estate or a tribal trust fund. However, the Nottoway allottees and their families composed a sizable block of Southampton farmsteads at the end of the Reservation Allotment Period (C1870-1880, 1900).

By the end of the Allotment Period [c.1875], the Nottoway's matrilineage organization was quickly transitioning to nuclear family residences – single and conjoined sibling-sets in proximity to their parents' homes. Nottoway-controlled property was now discontinuous, so that lineage-segments' residences became separated along Indian Town Road. In some cases, newlywed couples removed to form nuclear families on other county farmlands, often adjoined by a sibling and a family of collateral kin (C1880, 1900, 1910; C1900, 1910 Sussex Co. VA). Other uterine sibling-sets relocated to urban centers and maintained ties with the rural homestead on the “old Indian reservation” (Field notes 2011). According to oral history interviews conducted with matrilineal descendants of Nottoway allottees in the 1970s, the extended family was remembered back three to four generations, but bilateral reckoning of both maternal and paternal lines was common by the beginning of the Post-Reservation Era, c.1880 (Patricia Phillips MS 1977). Continued tribal exogamy, the physical distancing of *ohwachira* members and the increased prominence of collateral kin relations, resulted in the decline of the Nottoway *ohwachira*. As tribally organized kin units, the *ohwachira* ceased to be relevant in a capitalist economy that encouraged labor mobility, partible property, consumption, but above all, individualism (C1870-1880, 1900-1940; C1900-1920 Sussex County, VA; C1900-1940 Nansemond County, VA; C1920-1940 Portsmouth, VA; Field notes 2011).

Nottoway descendants born at the end of the nineteenth century expressed confusion over the multiple use of family names, indicating whatever matrilineal form operating beneath the surface was quickly unraveling by that time (Field notes 2011; Patricia Phillips MS 1977). Nottoway allottee Milly Woodson/Bozeman/Turner-Hurst's

matrilineal grandchildren, who participated in the oral history interviews of the 1970s and 1990s, suggested their mother and uncles' multiple surname use were ways to avoid and elude county officials. Most despised contractualization and record keeping, as it was seen as a means of "cheating," "abusing" and "fooling" their relatives "out of their land" (Field notes 2011; Patricia Phillips MS 1977). Allottee descendants remained suspicious of county officials, lawyers and financial institutions, as these were seen to be the mechanisms by which families "lost their land" (Field notes 2010). A sentiment of betrayal and loss pervaded the oral histories of Nottoway allottee descendants, particularly those who lived through the last divisions of the old reservation farmlands in the 1940-1950s (Field notes 2011). In two cases, inheritance laws and tax liens forced the private property divisions of the last remaining allotment tracts (CO11:446, 477-479, 497; 14:331-332, 400; DB69:435 TDB13:552; WB23:83).

With regard to descent, the interviewed matrilineal Nottoway descendants "looked down upon people marrying kinfolk" and indicated their maternal relatives recognized an intricate set of kinship relations within a limited "circle of acquaintances." The previous generation of allottees and their children condoned "cousin marriages" traced through their paternal lineages "for some reason," even though "it was known not to be a good thing to do" (Field notes 2011). Some Nottoway descendants recalled their grandparents spoke of having to leave the immediate area "to get a wife," because they "were too closely related to a certain cluster of families" (Field notes 2006). Other allottee descendants recounted being minded by their maternal grandmothers and great-grandmothers, "take your eyes off her, she's 'so-and-so's' cousin's child" (Field notes 2011). During my 2006-2011 interviews, elderly interlocutors indicated they did not

understand their senior maternal relatives tracking of kin, multiple uses of surnames and exactly how everyone in the community was “related,” “connected” or why there were some preferences or distinctions made between “daddy’s people” and “momma’s people.”

Several individuals violated the rule of matrilineage exogamy during the Post-Reservation Era [see Appendix C, Figure 50]. One turn-of-the-century marriage between two matrilineal descendants caused great disagreement within the family. The discord resulted in the severance of a mother-daughter relationship and motivated the relocation of the couple to an urban center. The children of the union stayed with their maternal grandmother on allotment land until adulthood. The disagreement was so strong that the daughter later refused to attend the mother’s funeral, which in fact was the last *ohwachira* interment in the Nottoway’s Indian Town Road cemetery, c.1949 (C1910-1920; Death Certificate, Susana Claud; Field notes 2011; Patricia Phillips MS 1977; TRDB8:117).

The foregoing discussion reveals evidence for the collapse of the *ohwachira* matrilineal descent and the undermining of the Nottoway’s kin-based social organization. The evidence may be analyzed in the following ways. First, one of the taboo marriages described above took place between two members of the Woodson matrilineage. However, the male was also an agnatic Turner descendant, son of [then] deceased headman Edwin D. Turner. The violation was not due to tracing relatives through the pater, as at least two previous marriages also conjoined the remaining *ohwachira* [Parson and Mary Turner; Edwin and Betsy Turner; see Appendix B, Figure 48]. As well, agnatic Nottoway descendants were deemed acceptable marriage mates for *ohwachira* descendants. The incest taboo was violated because it was between two matrilineal

descendants, separated by a descending generation [see Appendix C, Figure 50]. I would argue that this confirms matrilineal Nottoway descent was still recognized by a portion of Indian Town’s residents at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Second, as exogamic principles motivated marriage mate selection outside the *ohwachira*, the violation also indicates post-allotment descending generations were increasingly recognizing bilateral descent. Continued out-marriage or domestic unions with Whites, FPCs, and after the Civil War, emancipated slaves and their descendants, diminished the cultural relevance of Iroquoian descent. Without reservation allotments to call upon as matrilineal resources, the utility of Nottoway descent system was overwhelmed by other pressing socio-economic conditions. The functions of individual property rights, mobility and ownership, separated many Nottoway from their lands. The search for wage-labor separated the family members from each other. Widespread adoption of paternal surnames, violations of the matrilineal incest taboo and patricentric property inheritance provide evidence of the Nottoway *ohwachira* collapse. In fact, in the final division of communal shares of the tribal lands 1878-1880, Edwin D. Turner’s children claimed descent from “a female of the Nottoway Tribe of Indians,” but all used their paternal and married surnames in Southampton’s Chancery Court. Moreover, the female petitioners also included their affines as party to the allotment request:

“This day this cause came on to be heard on the petition of Edwin D. Turner [Jr.], Virginia Turner, Maria Turner, Frances [Turner] Harrison and her husband John Harrison and Rebecca [Turner] Britt and her husband John Britt and answer of Jesse S. Barham surviving Trustee of the Nottoway Tribe of Indians” (CC *Edwin D. Turner et al. vs. Jesse S. Barham*, 1878-1880, brackets added).

Lastly, Edwin D. Turner’s children attempted to claim their father’s allotment and purchased property through inheritance (CC *Edwin D. Turner et al. vs. William Turner et*

al., 1881-1885). Thus, the descendants had contemporaneous court cases to divide the tribal estate through their matriline and also argued for inheritance through paternal descent, thereby demonstrating a dual, or bilateral, form reckoning. Some aspects of matricentered property ownership remained (DB42:631), but increasingly, the division of property, labor cooperation and economic initiatives shifted to males: matrilineal Nottoway, their sisters' affines and agnatic Nottoway descendants (DB37:190; OB27:664; TRDB2:471). Tellingly, the last tracts of continuously held Nottoway property were divided among bilateral descendants of the two last *ohwachira* in an inheritance case, settled in 1953. By that time, the far-flung Nottoway descendants were living in Southampton, Portsmouth, Baltimore and Philadelphia (CO14:331-332, 400; Field notes 2011).

The Nottoway of Virginia: A Study of Peoplehood and Political Economy, c.1775-1875 is an explanatory case study of the ways in which an Indian community was changed by the processes of colonialism and capitalism. The collapse of the Nottoway's traditional forms of social organization and their kinship system may be seen as an outcome of historical forces, but it is a little known narrative in the historiography and anthropology of Virginia.

In researching this project, I became gripped by the individual narratives that emerged from the documentary record, and compelled by the extraordinary resilience and persistence of the Nottoway people. My research demonstrates their efforts of resistance; that they fought the bureaucracy of the state and county for so many decades – generations in fact – in an effort to retain their lands and support their families in the face of so many obstacles. From this perspective, the activism and the ability of the Nottoway

to adapt, overcome challenges and prosper in the years leading up to the Civil War is a significantly different narrative than the one previously accepted for the Nottoway.

It is a captivating story that the nineteenth-century Nottoway held on to their indigenous lands and were able to situate themselves as successful smallholders within the narrow political economy afforded them. Through private property ownership and investment in agro-industry, the Nottoway achieved a level of socio-economic stature and stability that has been previously unrecognized and undocumented. I argue that as individual property owners with communal land holdings, the Nottoway occupied a *particular* position between the wealthy and prosperous Whites, White and Black landless laborers, and the enslaved. The larger events and historical forces of the Civil War destroyed this social position, which was a small, but a previously unidentified space in Southampton's antebellum society. Reconstruction was a period in which all peoples of the South adjusted, realigned and accommodated a new political and social reality. For the Nottoway, it was a period in which their community was dismantled, subsumed and more fully integrated into an economic system over which they had little control.

The transformation of the Nottoway was a process of both accommodation and resistance. Rather than being passive recipients of the Colonial Encounter, Nottoway peoples engaged the system in which they became incorporated and attempted to mediate those complex and alterative processes as best they were able. Contemporary descendants of Nottoway people can be proud of their historical leaders and the actions of their nineteenth-century community. The collapse of the kin networks and *ohwachira*, the relocations of individual families to urban centers, and the shifts in labor and provisioning practices are all part of a wider American story.

APPENDIX A

The Etymology of “Nottoway”

As a term, *Nottoway* has been used to identify Iroquoian peoples of Southside Virginia since at least the mid-seventeenth century. It was not however, originally a self-designated identification. The shared name of the people who composed Indian Town is thus an important consideration for the collective identity or *peoplehood* of Southampton’s Indian community. Frank T. Siebert (1996) suggests *Nottoway* stems from Proto-Algonquian **na:tawe:wa* and refers to the eastern massasauga or pit viper in the Great Lakes region. Historically, Algonquian-speakers used the term to describe Iroquoian peoples as “snakes,” “treacherous” or “marauders.” The extension of the meaning as “Iroquoian” is secondary (Boyce 1978:289; Fenton 1978:320; Morgan 1870:52; Tooker 1978:406).

In Algonquian languages beyond the geographical range of the viper [e.g. Cree and Southern Algonquian], the semantic meaning of *Nottoway* may not relate to snakes at all: */*na:t-/* “close upon, mover towards, go after, seek out, fetch” and */*-awe:/* “condition of heat, state of warmth” [hence *viper* in the Great Lakes]. Historical developments in other Algonquian languages extend the meaning of */*-awe:/* to “fur or hair” [e.g. Cree, Montagnais, Ojibway, Shawnee], an obvious relationship to “state of warmth” (Siebert 1996:639). Thus, Virginia’s *Nottoway* may have referenced the Iroquoian’s trading position as middlemen between Algonquian-speakers and more southerly groups: */*na:t-/* seek + */*-awe:/* fur, or in seventeenth-century Southern Algonquian, *fur hunters*.

Siebert and others agree that in the South, the “Iroquoian” designation was primary (1996:638). The earliest Virginia reference to “Nottaway” (Bland 1650 in Salley 1911) frames English-Algonquian / Iroquoian exchanges in terms of trade: roanoke [shell beads] for skins [beaver, deer and otter]. The emergence of the Virginia fur trade with Algonquian-speakers as the initial southern guides, scouts and porters (Briceland 1987) may have been the cause of the Algonquian term’s fixation to the *Nottoway* as Iroquoian fur-trading peoples. It was a name that became Indian Town’s *doing business as* sobriquet with outsiders, colonial administrators and eventually, Southampton County officials.

APPENDIX B

“Within the lineage are smaller segments, usually of three generations, composed of an older woman, her daughters, and grandchildren. While residence is no longer matrilineal, many of the conservative families still are extended in terms of the matriline, or live close enough for the women to cooperate in household and lineage tasks.”

~ Report on the Grand River Iroquois
(Myers n.d. in Eggan 1972:5)

“There has been an intrusion of patrilineality over the years and now everyone bears a surname and a given name that is usually recognized as European in origin...The inheritance of these surnames is normally patronymic, the child inheriting the surname of the father at birth, and eventually passing on this name to his children...Women take their husbands’ surnames at marriage. Occasionally, a woman’s English surname is taken by her children if the father is absent or unknown, or if the mother is highly respected...”

~ Anthony F.C. Wallace (2012:162)

Tracking Nottoway Descent, Kinship and Marriage

Nottoway records are strewn with individuals using multiple surnames and various diminutives for personal names. European-style surnames were adopted in the eighteenth century, sometimes as honorifics, by descent or through some other association. Females most often acquired new last names, partially through marriage but also as matrilineal descent shifted to bilateral reckoning. The Reservation Allotment Period [1824-1877] was the era in which the Nottoway’s descent system unraveled and the tribe’s Iroquoian kinship terms faded through language loss. Thus for a period of time, the surname use of matrilineal and agnatic-descended Nottoway exhibited a confusing array of monikers in the historical documentary record. Through the lens of the Iroquoian kinship system, patterns and relationships may be gleaned, and the familial organization revealed. For purposes of discussing the descent reckoning and marriage patterns of one *ohwachira*, the following standards are used:

- 1) An individual's matrilineage is represented by the first surname: *Woodson-Bozeman*, the hyphenated second name is the affinal lineage.
- 2) The format continues, collapsing the previous generation's marriage with a forward slash and adding new hyphenated affine surnames: *Woodson/Bozeman-Williams*.
- 3) For an individual of agnatic Nottoway descent, the originating *ohwachira* is bracketed, followed by the affinal lineage: *[Scholar]/-Stewart*.
- 4) Individual Nottoway appear in historical records using Euro-American first and last names; where appropriate, these names are used. The last names in the Nottoway records do not always follow the American convention, whereby the children take the surname of the father. In some instances, however, they do. In multiple instances, surname usage changed during different circumstances, reflecting the matrilineal system's conflict with the bilateral American standard and the collapse of the *ohwachira*. Using the Iroquoian descent system as a guide, a careful tracking of individuals in the documentary record reveals the patterns of Nottoway Town's kinship and social organization.
- 5) Kinship schedules utilize the following symbols: circles are females, triangles are males, horizontal bars denote siblings, descent lines are vertical from equal signs, equal signs indicate unions and parentage but not always marriage, and strikeouts indicate death. A semi-curved line indicates where descent lines cross.
- 6) Blue, Green and Purple are used to denote Nottoway matrilineage members. The Woodson *ohwachira* is Blue. Grey indicates first-generation agnatic descendants. Light Brown identifies FPCs, who may be of combined Black, Indian and White descent. Dark Brown indicates enslaved or recently freed affines [see Appendix C]. White signifies individuals of Euro-American descent. Orange denotes individuals born after 1865 with at least one recently enslaved parent and a red equal sign indicates a violation of the marriage exogamy taboo [see Appendix C].

The Woodson Ohwachira

Nottoway using the Woodson surname first appeared in Southampton's documentary record during the late-eighteenth century ([1773] Ayer MS 3212; LP 1792; [1794] DB:97-98, 102, 153; [1795] DB:250-251). This suggests that the acquisition of the Woodson name came about through limited in-marriage sometime mid-century. The

last name of Woodson was not common in the region prior to 1800, and in fact, no Woodsons appear on any land patents, tax records or quit rent polls associated with colonial settlement beyond the Blackwater (Joyner 2003). A matrilineal Nottoway woman, Nanny Woodson, signed deeds on behalf of the tribe in 1794 and 1795, alongside James Woodson and Henry Woodson, who may have been Nanny's brothers or uncles. Documents suggest Nanny Woodson was born sometime close to the French and Indian War, since she was counted one of the "35 Indians" and paid an annuity by the Nottoway Trustees in 1773. She lived on the reserved land at Indian Town and during the 1802-1803 Nottoway-Tuscarora removals occupied an agricultural tract of seventeen acres. Seven separate Woodsons appeared in Nottoway records prior to 1800, but parentage and sibling connections were not clearly defined. The genealogical relationship of Nanny Woodson to other Nottoway is unclear. However the birth order of matrilineal-descended individuals with the Woodson surname from nineteenth-century documents suggest descent from a female sibling-set in close age grade:

Born circa 1789	Anny/Anna/Ann Woodson
Born circa 1791	Winifred/Winny Woodson
Born circa 1794	Polly Woodson ~ later listed as <i>Karé hout</i>
Born circa 1795	John/Jack Woodson
Born circa 1796	William/Billy Woodson
Born circa 1802	Jenny/Jincy Woodson

The Woodson *ohwachira* included each of the individuals listed above, but the fragmentary nature of the record obscures the previous generation's relationship with most of the children. At least two sibling-sets are identifiable. From a careful reading of the documents, it is clear that Micajah Bozeman, a White man, farmed a portion of the Indian land. According to the Trustees he had a common-law marriage with Nanny

Woodson and was the “father of one of her children.” This statement indicated Nanny Woodson and several offspring and that the Trustees were unsure of the exact relationship.

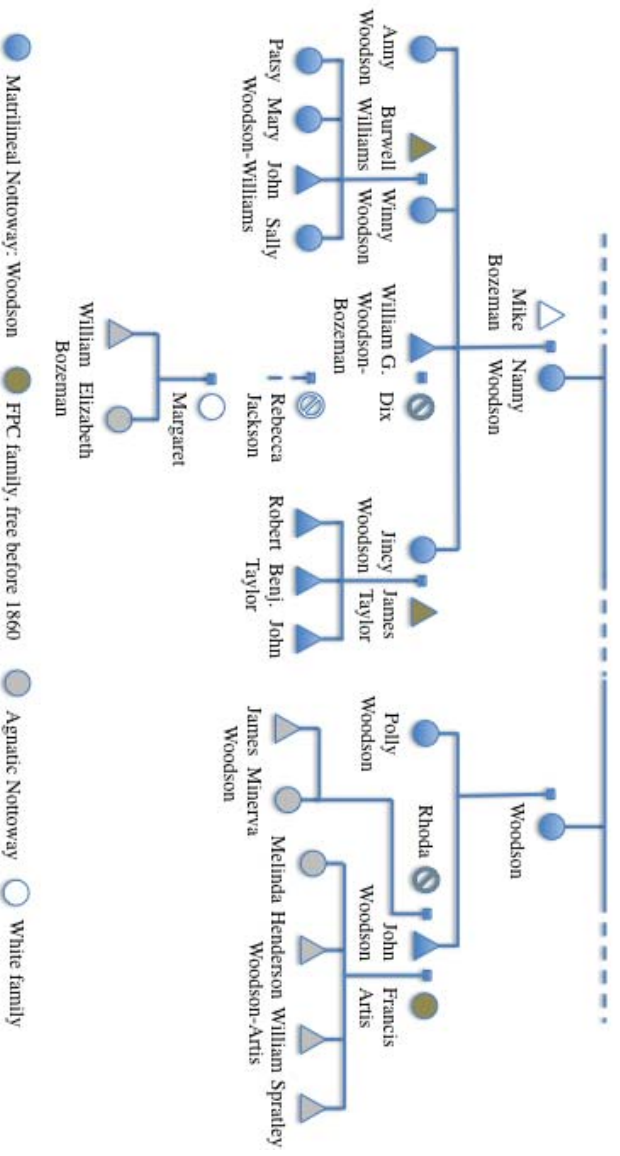


Figure 46. **Select lineage segments of the Woodson *obwachiria***; not all ascending or descending generations are illustrated. Descendants of Nottoway men [agnatic] and non-Nottoway wives were not members of the matrilineage, a typical feature of the Iroquoian descent system.

The Trustees indicated Nanny Woodson died c.1805. Afterwards, her female children “composed a family” of residence at Indian Town. “Jenny Woodson, 6, lives with her sisters Amy and Winny Woodson,” but Billy Woodson was removed “not far from the Indian land” to live with his father “since the death of his mother.” Billy Woodson’s residence with Micajah Bozeman was “by permission of the Trustees, not one intended for service, but as his son, and we [the Trustees] believe from every appearance he is treated as such.” Billy Woodson was “sent to school by his father” in North Carolina and taught by Quakers to “read and write a little.” While his father kept Billy, other orphaned Nottoway were hired out or apprenticed to planters by the Trustees (Briggs and Pittman 1995:11; Cabell Papers July 18, 1808).

The senior matriline of Indian Town, in the hands of Edith Turner, disagreed with the Trustees and Micajah Bozeman concerning the residence of maternally orphaned Nottoway. Near the time of her other complaints against the Trustees for mismanagement [see Chapter III], Turner applied to Governor William H. Cabell for assistance and argued the Trustees should return Billy Woodson and other Nottoway children to Indian Town (Cabell Papers July 18, 1808; Rountree 1987:201-202). The Trustees' perspective on the matron's request was one of disdain, "we have never heard of a murmur or complaint respecting his [Billy Woodson] place of residence except from Edy Turner; and we cannot believe that she has, or ought to have any control over the said Billy when opposed by the Trustees" (Cabell Papers July 18, 1808). Obviously as explored in Chapter III, the Trustees and the Nottoway leadership disagreed about many aspects of Nottoway autonomy, including control over the community's residents.

As with the dispute over the accounting of Nottoway finances and land, Governor Cabell rejected the Trustees remarks and ordered the return of the children to the tribe. Evidence suggests upon their reunion, the youths were incorporated into households headed by females, some of which were Iroquoian-speaking. A subsequent list of Nottoway households indicates Billy Woodson soon resided with his sisters: "Anny, Winny, Billy and Jenny Woodson" on "95" acres of cleared land (Palmer 1892 X:46).

What can be gleaned from these entries is that the Woodson children belonged to a matricentered community that fought to maintain some control over the residency of its members – beyond the nuclear family – and in the face of a non-Nottoway affine and Trustee interference. All of Nanny Woodson's children were referred to in the documentary record as "Woodson," however later in time three of her four children also

used the Bozeman surname (Cabell Papers, July 18, 1808; C1850-1860 Halifax County, NC; PPTL1807-1821). As “one of [Nanny Woodson’s] children” Billy Woodson’s siblings were Anny, Winny and Jenny Woodson. Potential parallel cousins, also classificatory siblings in an Iroquoian kinship system, were Polly and Jack Woodson. The kinship diagram [Figure 46] illustrates two sets of Woodson lineage segments from the first half of the nineteenth century.

Woodson-Bozeman

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Billy Woodson was known by several versions of his name, and he was sometimes more associated with his mother’s people and at other times “considered white” by his father’s contemporaries (Rountree 1987:208). Southampton tax lists and the county’s *Register of Free Negroes* identified him as “Bill Woodson M[ulatto]” and “William Woodson, mulatto, 5’6”, free born.” His intermittent schooling with Quakers is revealed in his semi-literacy as an adult through court records, deeds and census schedules (e.g. C1860 Halifax County, NC). Signatures on Nottoway documents appear in the hand of “William Woodson” and “Wm. Woodson.” Sixteen year-old “Bill Woodson, M[ulattoe]” was recorded as having “1 tithe” over near the Vick property in 1812. The following year, “Bill Woodson and wife Dix” were taxed living as laborers on Jacob Vick’s land. Bill Woodson’s wife may have been Indian, but based on the community’s broader marriage pattern, she was also likely of mixed African / White or African / Indian descent. The reason for the eventual separation of Bill and Dix Woodson is unknown; she may have died during childbirth or some other ailment (LP Dec. 1819; LP Dec. 11, 1821; PPTL1807-1821; RFN 31 July 1810).

Near his twenty-first birthday, Billy Woodson began identifying himself by his father's surname of "Bozeman." He was listed in 1818 as "Wm. Boseman," witness to his father's land purchase in Northampton County, North Carolina and by 1823, White landowners in Southampton considered "William Bozeman...to be a young man of good general character, that in intellectual improvements and moral deportment he far outstrips the rest of his tribe" (DB19:136, Northampton County, NC; LP Sept. 15, 1823).

The transformation of Billy Woodson into William Bozeman was a partial result of his residential distance from his maternal Nottoway relatives, but also as an outcome of the erosion of Iroquoian matrilineal descent. His schooling and the influence of his White father also contributed to this shift as he matured. Micajah Bozeman, consistently in debt, left Southampton County for North Carolina sometime during the 1810s (OB1803-1805:515; OB1805-1807:67, 75; OB1807-1808:66, 95, 109, 121, 159, 176-177; OB1819-1822:433). His son William followed south on the Carolina road. Like his father and other matrilineal male Nottoway, William Bozeman went looking for prospects elsewhere (C1820, Northampton County, NC; C1820, Halifax County, NC). When he returned to Southampton, William G. Bozeman identified himself "as a descendant of the Nottoway Tribe of Aborigines," but did so in a manner that suggests matrilineal inheritance was coming in conflict with male-centered property rights:

"Believing that his best interests would be consulted by separating himself from his tribe...some years past emigrated to another state, with no expectation of returning unless he can have it in his power to live among them with a reasonable prospect of comfort to himself and benefit to his posterity" (LP Dec. 13, 1823).

Like other males from identifiable matrilineal non-Iroquoian wives, William Bozeman's offspring were not entitled to any rights nor access to Nottoway benefits, unless he married a female within the remaining identifiable tribal matrilineages. This

recognition crystalized for Bozeman early in 1823 when his father died in debt and left no provision for William in his will. A young adult with prospects of owning land and farming, Bozeman was unable to benefit from his father's estate. Micajah Bozeman had remarried and had a new family in Northampton and left his property and land to his wife and underage children (OB1819-1822:347-348, 433; WB3:276 and DB22:313, Northampton County, NC). Aside from his history of debt in Southampton, some of which may have been unresolved at his death, Micajah Bozeman had also mortgaged the 250-acre Northampton farm. The courts tied up the assets, since both the grantor and grantee died before the term was due. Thus, with Micajah Bozeman's estate claimed by his legal wife and debtors looking for relief, it may have been prudent for William Bozeman to return to Southampton in 1823. There, he sought to explore prospects with his Nottoway kinsmen. William Bozeman's actions are good examples of political economy driving the decisions of individual Nottoway.

William Bozeman's sisters remained at Indian Town and he was familiar with the routines of labor and farming on the Indian land. Perhaps he thought he could carve out a place for himself among his mother's people. As discussed in Chapter III, it is conceivable Bozeman was invited to come back to help the community resolve their ongoing struggle with the Trustees for control over Nottoway assets.

In those efforts, Bozeman's 1823 remarks to the Virginia Legislature reveal a less than flattering commentary about the Indian community. He argued the matrilineal inheritance of the Nottoway "doomed [them] to an hopeless state of ignorance, poverty and moral depravity" and that they were deprived of the "incentives usually deemed necessary to stimulate man in the pursuit of happiness." However, Bozeman as "a

descendant on the maternal side from an Indian of the Nottoway Tribe,” also argued he was entitled to inherit property rights because of his matrilineal descent, “the children of females of the tribe shall be entitled to the property thus held by them, to the exclusion of the children of the males” (LP Dec. 13, 1823). Here, Bozeman was concerned about his future children’s inheritance of his accumulated property and real estate. Bozeman advocated for individual control. In rejection of matrilineal descent among a dwindling Indian population and resistance to the paternalism of the Trustee system, the educated Bozeman was attempting to modify both inheritance and kinship to the advantage of his people – both females and males.

In concert with a wider tribal strategy, Bozeman suggested that an improvement for the community would be to dispense with the matrilineal enforcement and allow all members of the Nottoway to hold property in “fee simple, free from the control of the Trustees and all other restrictions” (LP Dec. 13, 1823). He asked the General Assembly to reject both matrilineal descent and the old colonial law that identified “all children borne...according to the condition of the mother;” (Hening II:170) and thus allow all Nottoway equal shares in property and resources, regardless of maternal or paternal Indian descent. Bozeman outlined his position:

“Your petitioner is aware that he asks what may be considered an innovation upon the system heretofore adopted and still in practice relative to the property of his tribe, but he thinks he has shown that it is a system founded on injustice and fraught with consequences destructive to the best interest of the tribe...a man should have a perfect control over that which has descended to him from his ancestors...that their children and their children’s children (no matter whether their father or mother was an Indian) shall be entitled by descent to the fruits of their labors...” (LP Dec. 13, 1823).

Bozeman opined matrilineal usufruct rules and the absence of private property stood in the way of the Nottoway adopting “a life of sobriety, industry, order and

morality” and that they represented “human nature in its most wretched and miserable aspect.” A statement no doubt crafted for the ears of the Trustees, Bozeman’s petition stated the Nottoway were “Degraded beneath the dignity of man, [S]qualid poverty...and depravity (with but a very few exceptions) pervade the whole tribe” (LP Dec. 13, 1823, parenthesis in original). The language of the petition may have been an exaggeration of Bozeman’s point of view and been the prose of his legal counsel, but the sentiment was correct; Bozeman and other Nottoway wanted full access and control of tribal resources.

The General Assembly granted Bozeman’s request and agreed that he could access a division of the tribal land and estate, to hold fee simple. The 1824 Bozeman Act, however, only permitted those Nottoway heirs from the remaining matrilineages to access the trust. Future agnatic heirs could only inherit former Nottoway assets if their fathers applied for allotments as “descendants of a female” and transferred property legally in accordance with Virginia law. Through the 1824 Bozeman Act, the Commonwealth upheld Nottoway matrilineal decent and usufruct, as well as supported the old colonial rule concerning hypo-descent based on the “condition of the mother” (see Hening II:170). The act also encoded into law measures of checks and balances, with the Trustees, Southampton County Court and appointed special commissioners acting as local level administrators and gatekeepers. All future divisions of remaining Nottoway property would require individuals to demonstrate three things 1) validate their respective matrilineal descent before the court, 2) be of good character and 3) not likely a future ward of the state as the result of severalty and allotment (LP Dec. 13, 1823).

After the petition’s semi-success, Bozeman left Virginia for Northampton County. Within the year “William G. Boseman” married Rebecca Jackson, a White woman, and

either began or continued a farming operation in neighboring Halifax County. Bozeman's marriage outside the Nottoway community opened new opportunities for him. His father-in-law William Jackson was a White middling farmer with a large family, slave holdings and property. Jackson assisted Bozeman with small loans to start his new family (MB1824:21 and WB4:92, Northampton County, NC). In Halifax, Bozeman established a substantial farm compound. His success may have encouraged some Nottoway to relocate. William Bozeman continued to be identified as "White" and by 1840 had a fourteen-member household, including six resident FPCs and three slaves. From analyzing census data, which became more detailed after 1850, it is likely William's sister Anny [or Nancy] Bozeman was a member of his household compound. Rebecca Jackson died before 1847 and Bozeman remarried another White woman, thirty years his junior. The 1850-1860 Halifax Censuses indicate William Bozeman and his sister prospered in the years before the Civil War, their combined real estate was estimated at \$2280 and personal property figured at \$1046.

William Bozeman is an example of the ways in which changes in Nottoway residency and an individual's detachment from lineage lands directly impacted the Nottoway descent system. Through the influence of his Indian mother's White affine, Bozeman's residence shifted away from his matriline. Bozeman, like his father, acquired land and property as the central producer for a nuclear family, affecting a neolocal residence pattern with patricentered, bilateral descent emerging. His Halifax co-residence with his sister echoed the uterine sibling residential pattern at Nottoway Town, but his capital reinvestment was no longer within the traditional matrilineal framework. Instead, profit went to strengthen and develop separate, individual agricultural pursuits. With this

shift, formerly matrilineal Nottoway placed further emphasis on bilateral inheritance, patrilocal or virilocal residence and increased autonomy of the nuclear family.

Anthropology's research into the impact of residence change suggests descent shift is an eventual possible outcome, when income pooling aggregates toward males who control both mobile labor and partible property. Eventually, men who specialize as cash-crop farmers build modern farms separate from the matrilineage. Consequently, they use their earnings primarily for the support of their elementary families to the neglect of traditional obligations to the extended matrilineage. The data suggest the erosion of Nottoway matrilineages followed these structural shifts. The Nottoway research therefore confirms anthropology's ethnographic analysis of causal features for matrilineal descent to shift toward bilateral reckoning (see Aberle 1974:661; Eggan 1950:134-138; Fortes 1949:61-62, 1969:229-231; Fox 1967:98-112; Gough 1974; Turner 1957:24, 133-136, 218-221).

Woodson-Taylor

In Nottoway documents, siblings Anny/Nancy, Billy/William, Winny/Winifred and Jincy/Jennifer Woodson most often appear by their matrilineal name of "Woodson" (DB17:97, 21:287; LP Dec. 8, 1819). Through the 1820s-1840s, Jincy Woodson also used her married name of "Taylor" (CC June 1837; DB20:301-302, 25:62; LP June 20, 1837; OB18:297, 333). In the Indian Town section of the 1830 Census, the "Jas. Taylor" family of seven was enumerated on Woodson lands north of the Indian Path between the Scholar and Turner *ohwachira* compounds.

James Taylor was likely born a free man, although his origins are unknown and it is unclear what connections and circumstances brought him to Indian Town. He may

have been a descendant of Henry Taylor, a local “colored” farmer who was a generation older than James. The argument may be made that James may have been the “son” mentioned in Henry Taylor’s house on an 1813 tax list and a brother to the “[fn [free negro]]” title mentioned along with three horses in 1817 (PPTL1807-1821). Born in the mid 1790s, James Taylor was also possibly related to Richard and Phillip Taylor, both heads of “Other Free” households in the 1810 and 1820 Southampton Censuses. If his father was Henry Taylor, then James Taylor understood the labor and routines of Southampton farming; Henry Taylor ran three horses for plowing, worked his labor-age family in agriculture and was a slave owner.

James Taylor’s tenure at Indian Town was temporary. He was under the authority of his wife’s matrilineage and enjoyed the use of their lands for farming. Taylor had at least three children with Jincy Woodson, but by 1840 the common-law union had dissolved. James Taylor left Indian Town near 1837, when the series of western-most Nottoway land allotments were liquidated, including those occupied by agnatic-descended Nottoway residents. Taylor relocated to the eastern side of the county, across the river from Indian Town, settling alongside Jordan Stewart – one of the agnatic Nottoway separated from the Indian lands. Both men had standing in the wider Southampton community and worked the bottomland alongside their smallholding counterparts. By 1850 Taylor had a moderate farm: 250 acres valued at \$332, twenty farm animals [horse, milch cows, oxen, sheep, etc.] and farm equipment valued at \$65. With the exception of one old male slave, James Taylor at fifty-seven years of age, lived alone (Crofts 1992:17; 1997:53-54; C1840-1850; SS1850).

The Woodson-Taylor lineage segment illustrates that shifts in matrilineal descent took several forms at Nottoway Town. James and Jincy Taylor's adult children led the "Nottoway and Nansmond Tribe of Indians" as headmen in the 1849-1852 court case against the tribe's Treasurer Jeremiah Cobb. Like their mother, they inherited their leadership positions and rights to the Nottoway trust and land allotments through the matriline (CO1832-1858:309; M1848-1855:46, 218, 223, 229). The Nottoway Taylor allottees identified themselves by their father's surname, but recognized themselves as matrilineal Nottoway and traced their lineage as "descendants of a female" (CC July 1850). They inherited a patronymic surname, but were recognized as possessing inherent matrilineal rights as "tributary Indians" (David Campbell Executive Papers, March 29, 1838). However because of phenotype and parentage by James Taylor, who was listed as a "Free Colored Person" and "Mulatto," their status outside of Southampton County was in legal fact, ambiguous (C1840-1850).

In the 1850s, the Taylor men certified themselves with the Southampton County Court and received acknowledgement as, "residents in this county [and]...not negroes." The certification did not identify them as Indians or Mulattoes, but instead as "free persons of mixed blood." As more than a half-dozen Nottoway also sought this certification 1835-1865, individuals who socially required clarification of their legal status might have seen this action as a positive strategy. Virginia law at the time defined individuals not considered "Negro" but who had "one fourth" or more documented African ancestry as "Mulatto" (Leigh 1819:423). In Southampton, it was understood that matrilineal Nottoway were "tributary" to Virginia, and as "members of a dependent tribe of Indians," exempt from Negro and Mulatto laws, regardless of documented partial-

African ancestry (David Campbell Executive Papers, March 29, 1838). Thus, from a White-Indian mother and a Mulatto father, Robert, Benjamin, and John Taylor drew allotments as Nottoway descendants. Their certification as “free persons of mixed blood” is notable because the county officials did not register them as Nottoway Indians, as had been the case with previous Nottoway certifications of ancestry (e.g. John Turner and John Williams, OB18:320). Through the “satisfactory proof by a white person,” the Taylors were identified as simply “not negro” (MB1848-1855:231).

Possibly because an African phenotype dominated their appearance, the Taylors could not escape hypo-descent, regardless of being matrilineal Nottoway. Thus, along with inheriting their father’s surname they received his “Mulatto” appearance and social status. The recognition of this liminal status likely prompted the court certifications as the Taylor family made preparations to remove from Indian Town to Petersburg and Richmond. As evidenced by James Taylor’s real estate, slave holdings and accumulated personal property, the color-caste stratigraphy was not absolute in antebellum Southampton; it was dynamic and subjective. However, outside of the familiarity and personal connections of the rural Southside, the Taylor men may have encountered stiff competition in the urban centers. Issues of socio-economic class, one’s color-perceived caste, or freed or enslaved status propelled men and women toward different opportunities – and maybe even different spouses.

The Taylors’ certification as Southampton “free persons of mixed blood” may have been an advantage in the labor market of Petersburg and Richmond. They were not identified as Indians by urban census takers, and hence official documentation may have been important to their status in an environment outside the Nottoway community.

Robert, his wife and mother were all marked “Mulatto” once settled in Petersburg, where he worked as a carpenter and lived among other laborer households (C1860 Petersburg, VA). Removal to separate urban centers undermined the old matricentric residence configuration; Robert Taylor maintained a matrilineal residence with his mother in Petersburg, but like William Bozeman, Benjamin Taylor established a neolocal male-headed household.

It is unclear whether the Taylors’ role as headmen was motivated by their drive for increased capital or whether their acquisition of capital partially contributed to their rise as leaders. The sale of their allotment lands corresponded to their relocation to Richmond and Petersburg, then Virginia’s industrializing cities. As tributary Indians, they were not alone in the urban centers. A period magazine article mentioned relocated “Nottoway and Pamunkeys” in the streets of Richmond, adding, “They have but seldom intermarried with negroes” (Mead 1832:127). The journalist’s brief remarks confirm the urban environment attracted members of both reservation communities and that the question of African ancestry of Virginia’s Indians was a topic of general discussion. Thus, Pamunkey reservation Indians relocated to Richmond and Petersburg contemporaneously as the Nottoway, taking jobs as boatmen, laborers, sailors and fishermen (C1850-1880, Petersburg, VA). Descendants of some of these same migrants eventually returned to Pamunkey’s Indian Town and become community leaders and headmen (C1900 King William County, VA; Rountree 1990:197, 346). Most likely, these urban Indian residents were seen as having assets and abilities that would assist the community’s political and economic navigation with outsiders (Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, pers. comm., 2011).

The Petersburg Woodson-Taylor males participated in Nottoway politics after their relocation. They petitioned the court for a special reservation land survey (CC Oct. 1850), speculated on allotment timber (DB28:44) and complained of Trustee mismanagement of the tribal trust (CO1832-1858:309). Portions of the old Scholar lands were part of Jincy Taylor's 1837 allotment and were managed by her son, Robert Taylor. Therefore like Billy Scholar's widow Mason Chavis, at least one of Ned Scholar's children exchanged cash to remain engaged in agriculture on the original Scholar lands. These tracts were otherwise lost through tribal exogamy and others' matrilineal inheritance. Alexander [Scholar]-Stewart rented portions of his father's family lands from the Petersburg Taylor allotments (DB27:430, 28:357-358). The youngest of the sibling-set, John Taylor, assisted the overall community by selling his 1855 allotment to Nottoway headman Edwin D. Turner (DB28:699), allowing the Turner *ohwachira* to expand matrilineal lands. Though unlike headwoman Edith Turner, who utilized her monetary compensation to support the needs of the wider community, the Taylors invested their monies to advance their individual nuclear families in Petersburg. By doing so, they eventually lost substantive ties with the Nottoway community in Southampton County. Thus, while the Taylors were sensitive to tribal usufruct, they were savvy about the market's economics of individualism.

The Taylor family was one of the first complete Nottoway Woodson *ohwachira* lineage-segments to remove to an urban center after the sale of their allotment lands. Participation in wage labor and the opportunities of the market encouraged relocation, new residences and the cooperation of men. Within a larger general pattern, the allotment and sale of Nottoway matrilineal lands often led to an increase in individual private

property ownership, as well as engendered non-contiguous lineage territory. Privately owned, marketable property also encouraged a neolocal residence configuration and undermined the traditional organizing principal of the matrilineage (Gough 1974:638-639; Jong 1951:115-119; Schrieke 1955:107-123). The Taylor example demonstrates this change in the following ways: 1) an exogamous marriage to a non-matrilinal, non-Nottoway spouse [at least the third consecutive tribally exogamous marriage in this lineage-segment] contributed to 2) the offspring's maintenance of matrilineal descent for one generation with the adoption of a patronymic surname, followed by 3) the complete removal of the sub-lineage from the tribal land base to an urban center, and finally 4) the construction of new urban households where males headed nuclear families.

Woodson/Bozeman-Williams

The Woodson-Taylor lineage-segment provided an example of a lineage member's intermarriage with a FPC male and participation in an economic system that contributed to her descendants' relocation, shift in residence form and continued decline of matrilineal relevance. Another female Woodson sibling's exogamous marriage resulted in a different outcome. Like James Taylor, Burwell Williams was a "free colored person" living at Indian Town with a Nottoway wife. Taylor and Williams's marriage to Indian women represent a general pattern of Nottoway matrilineage / clan exogamy, but also a strategy on the part of FPC males seeking advancement. Male economic motivation for unions with Nottoway women may be described in two primary ways.

First, Nottoway tribal farmland was rentable and desirable by farmers for its productivity and fertility (DB17:97-104; Cobb to Bowers, Dec. 31, 1821). After allotment, Indian land was partible and transferrable. The productive bottomlands of the

Nottoway River were “capable of producing any and every crop common for this section of country, & blessed with the finest cattle & hog range.” However, some Nottoway land remained uncultivated, a fact recognized by outsiders (Cobb to Bowers, Dec. 31, 1821). The historical circumstances of two centuries of colonization rendered the Nottoway to a weakened and diminished state, unable to *hold the line* versus the political, economic and kinship structures of the dominant society. Thus, the manipulation of Nottoway resources and the economic enterprise of outsiders contributed to the erosion of Iroquoian social organization and Nottoway intermarriage.

Obtaining Indian-controlled land for one’s use was one option for landless FPC farm laborers looking for opportunities to earn capital in a less restrictive setting. Economic relationships with Indian Town may have operated somewhat differently than the forms of contractualization offered by neighboring White middling farm or plantation owners. However, before the Allotment Period, Indian land was not partible or transferrable, and thus was under the authority of the *ohwachira*.

Based on a careful examination of documentary sources, several men negotiated with the Nottoway matriline to use Iroquoian lands over extended periods of time. FPCs and Whites farmed matrilineal Indian lands throughout the nineteenth century, some as renters, but others as affines. As a common-law husband of Jincy Woodson, James Taylor utilized the Nottoway agricultural lands for nearly ten years. The control over those parcels of Indian land, however, remained with Woodson and her siblings. Eventually, Taylor’s union with Woodson dissolved and he removed across the river. During his stay at Indian Town, Taylor was able to earn enough capital to purchase his own farm and become a small freeholder.

Thus, a second point regarding outsiders' land use at Indian Town: through strategic unions, FPC affines of Nottoway women *could access agricultural lands without rental or purchase.*

In example, Burwell Williams lived at Nottoway Town for nearly forty years and raised crops to support his family, but never owned the land he worked. Residence at Nottoway Town required occupying lands under the authority of the matrilineages. Nottoway residence patterns 1800-1860 indicate second-generation agnatic descendants did not continue as male "heads" of households, unless they were married to females of the remaining *ohwachira*. Thus, Burwell Williams's forty-year Indian Town residence was permissible because either he was the child of a Nottoway woman or married to a Nottoway matriline. Evidence suggests the latter. Matrilineal women married non-Nottoway men and their descendants inherited Nottoway usufruct rights. Nottoway men who married non-Nottoway women also occupied lineage lands, but their children had no hereditary rights and only continued residence at Indian Town by discretion of the *ohwachira*, usually for one generation. Therefore, only matrilineal women's affines and their descendants were able to consistently gain usufruct rights to Indian Town's agricultural tracts. During the Allotment Period, matrilineal males increasingly managed Nottoway land and cooperated closely with their sisters' FPC husbands, some of who were agnatic-descended Nottoway.

Based on Nottoway allotment records and other county documents, mid-century tribal members descended from a "Williams" lineage. No Williams appear on Nottoway documents before Burwell Williams's tenure at Nottoway Town. His descendants, however, often alternated between being identified as "Williams" and by existing

surnames associated with their matrilineage: “Woodson” and “Bozeman.” There were a narrow number of women who could identify as a “Woodson” and “Bozeman” and who also descended matrilineally. The sister of William G. Bozeman was the correct age and lineage to have been the marriage partner of Burwell Williams.

Born in 1791, Winifred or “Winnie” Woodson was of marriageable age during the first decade of the 1800s, but had no children as of 1808. The following decade she was taxed as “Winnie Boasman...on Indian Land.” She owned one slave over sixteen and had a horse in 1817, but paid no tax on herself or her children, all exempted as Indians. Neither were they enumerated in the 1820 Southampton census – no matrilineal Nottoway were. Burwell Williams was counted alone at Indian Town. Winifred’s sister Ann Woodson did not appear on Nottoway documents after 1820 either, near the time of their brother and White father’s departure from Southampton to North Carolina. “Nancy” Bozeman [diminutive of Ann] removed from Indian Town and was likely the thirty to forty year-old “Nancy Boasman...Free White Person” enumerated in Halifax’s 1830 Census and possibly one of the forty to fifty year-old females [Free White and Free Colored] in William Bozeman’s 1840 Halifax household. Later records indicate she remained a conjoined neighbor of William Bozeman’s and shared residence and kinship with individuals marked as “Mulatto” (Cabell Papers July 18, 1808; C1820; C1830-1870, Halifax County, NC; PPTL1807-1821).

In contrast, Winnie Woodson-Bozeman remained at Indian Town, but did not appear by name in the 1820, 1830 or 1840 Southampton Censuses. However, by 1830 Burwell Williams’s household was reported to have nine residents, five children and four adults, indicating underreporting in the earlier records due to the children and wife’s

matrilineal exemption as Indians (C1820-1840; PPTL1807-1821). Nottoway individuals who requested allotments in the 1830-1840s included a sibling-set, “John Williams, Patsy Williams and Sally Williams members of the Nottoway tribe of Indians” who were “descendants of a female of the Nottoway” (CC Nov. 1840; DB25:60). Another individual, Mary, also a Woodson-Williams sibling, married Nottoway allottee “Parsons Turner.” She appeared in Nottoway documents as “Mary Turner” and “Mary Williams” (DB24:146, 25:60-61; OB18:297, 333). Based on census schedules and county records, a conjectural birth order for Burwell Williams and Winny Woodson-Bozeman’s children can be made:

Born circa	1812	Patsy Williams (C1850 [1811], 1860 [1815], 1870 [1812])
Born circa	1814	Mary Williams (C1850 [1814], 1860 [1815])
Born circa	1815	John Williams (C1850 [1824 {?1814}], 1860 [1815], 1880 [1815])
Born circa	1822	Sarah/Sally Williams (C1850 [1822], 1860 [1825], 1880 [1820])

Allowing for mortality, at least four children were born to Winny Woodson/Bozeman-Williams. While three of them used their paternal surname [Williams] on documents to apply for Nottoway land allotments, each traced their lineage through matrilineal descent [Woodson]. Mary Williams applied for her allotment as “Mary Turner” with her husband, Parsons Turner. She sold her allotment as “Mary Williams” and appeared in the census in Parson Turner’s home as “Mary Woodson” (C1850; DB25:60-61; OB18:297). Later Nottoway allottees would draw on the matrilineal “surnames” of “Woodson,” but also on the married surnames of their grandmothers: “Turner” and “Bozeman.” A kinship diagram [Figure 47] for the lineage segment of Winny Woodson/Bozeman-Williams can help visualize and organize the shifting surname usage.

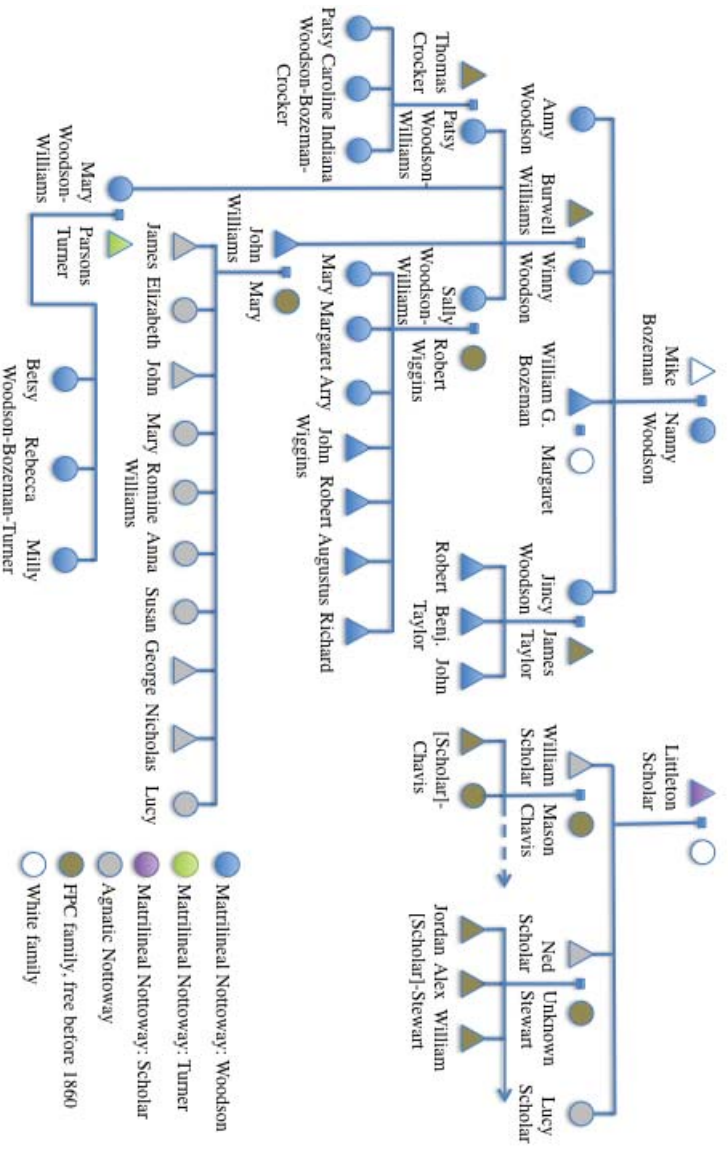


Figure 47. **Matrilineage segment of Nottoway Winifred Woodson/Bozeman-Williams.** Also depicted is the Scholar *ohwachira* [upper right], which became extinct through exogamy. Marriage-partner selection shifted during the nineteenth century to include more FPCs and fewer Whites. Note the intra-Nottoway marriage of Mary Woodson-Williams and Parsons Turner.

The documentary evidence suggests the following conclusions: 1) Male FPC marriages to Nottoway women, such as that of Burwell Williams and James Taylor, allowed them to establish productive farms on Indian land. 2) FPC economic farm productivity likely impacted Indian Town’s concepts of labor and personal property. 3) Williams’s and Taylor’s understandings of the dominant society’s kinship and social organization influenced Nottoway notions of the same. 4) Nottoway families maintained matrilineal descent, but adopted paternal surnames. The inconsistent usage indicates an erosion of the Iroquoian kinship system. 5) However, conjoined uterine sibling sets of the *ohwachira* continued to act in ways consistent with Iroquoian preferences for mother-

daughter-son / sister-brother relationships, suggesting enduring social structures of Iroquoian kinship and reciprocity.

Woodson/Bozeman/Williams-Turner

Matrilineal Nottoway Mary Woodson-Williams married matrilineal Nottoway Parsons Turner. As these individuals were from different *ohwachira*, their union is important because while it was exogamous, it was an intra-Nottoway marriage between two matrilineal-descended Iroquoians from different extended families. The children of Parsons Turner and Mary Woodson-Williams applied for land allotments as “Milly Woodson” [born c.1831] and “Rebecca Woodson” [born c.1829], indicating they used their mother’s matronymic surname for Nottoway identification (M1848-1855:229, 260, 345, 395). Later in time they were referred to as “Rebecca Woodson, sometimes called Turner” and “Milly Turner” (DB28:339, 29:506). This pattern was consistent with other Nottoway lineages-segments’ adoption of the paternal surname but maintaining matrilineal reckoning. Most interesting is both siblings were also called “Milly Bozeman alias Turner” (DB37:517) and “Rebecca ~~Bezeman~~ Woodson” (CC Sept. 1850, strikethrough in original). The usage of the Bozeman name was linked to an earlier ancestor, their grandmother [MM] Winifred Woodson-Bozeman. Rebecca and Milly were the third descending generation of the lineage to matrilineally inherit the Bozeman surname, but the surname’s origin was a patronymic acquisition from an affine to the matrilineage.

Like clan affiliation, the exact genealogical linkages fade over time. Surely the Bozeman surname was identified with the allotment of the reservation, as the 1824 act of the General Assembly carried William G. Bozeman’s name. The Southampton Court and

the matrilineal Nottoway petitioners repeatedly referenced “the act passed...for the benefit... of William G. Bozeman” when requesting allotment lands, and thus the name carried a level of authority as securely “Nottoway.” The strategic use of the Bozeman surname in the documentary record represents Nottoway agency in linking specific descent lines with matrilineal inheritance. That the surname was acquired from a male affine three or four or generations earlier mattered less than the association of the lineage with inherited Nottoway property rights. In contrast, the affine surname “Williams” was not carried forward by matrilineal descent in the second descending generation.

An older sibling of Milly and Rebecca Woodson/Bozeman-Turner was likely Betsy Turner, born c.1825. A woman using the name “Elizabeth Turner” applied for an allotment in 1847 alongside “Rebecca Woodson” and “Edwin Turner” (CC Sept., Oct., Dec. 1847; OB20:584, 697). Indian Town headman Edwin D. Turner was married to a “Betsy Turner,” whose children would later successfully claim matrilineal inheritance to Nottoway land allotments (CC Oct. 1877). However, the allottee Elizabeth Turner and the matriline Betsy Turner may or may not have been the same individual. Nonetheless, Betsy Turner’s descendants strongly identified with the Woodson *ohwachira*, suggesting her matriline was affiliated and the surname Turner was affinal, either by marriage or inherited through the pater. Milly Woodson/Bozeman-Turner’s descendants recognized all of Betsy Turner’s children as close relatives, and thus resulting in them becoming taboo as potential marriage mates (Field notes 2008, 2010, 2011; Patricia Phillips MS 1977).

The Woodson/Bozeman-Turner sibling-set were matrilineal descendants of Winny Woodson/Bozeman-Williams through Mary Woodson-Williams [Figure 48]. As

stated, their father was also a matrilineal allottee, Parsons Turner. Thus, Betsy, Milly and Rebecca were some of the few children whose parents were both matrilineal Nottoway. Because notions about matrilineage exogamy continued to be strong at Nottoway Town, the unions of Parsons and Mary Turner, and Edwin and Betsy Turner, are significant in the following ways.

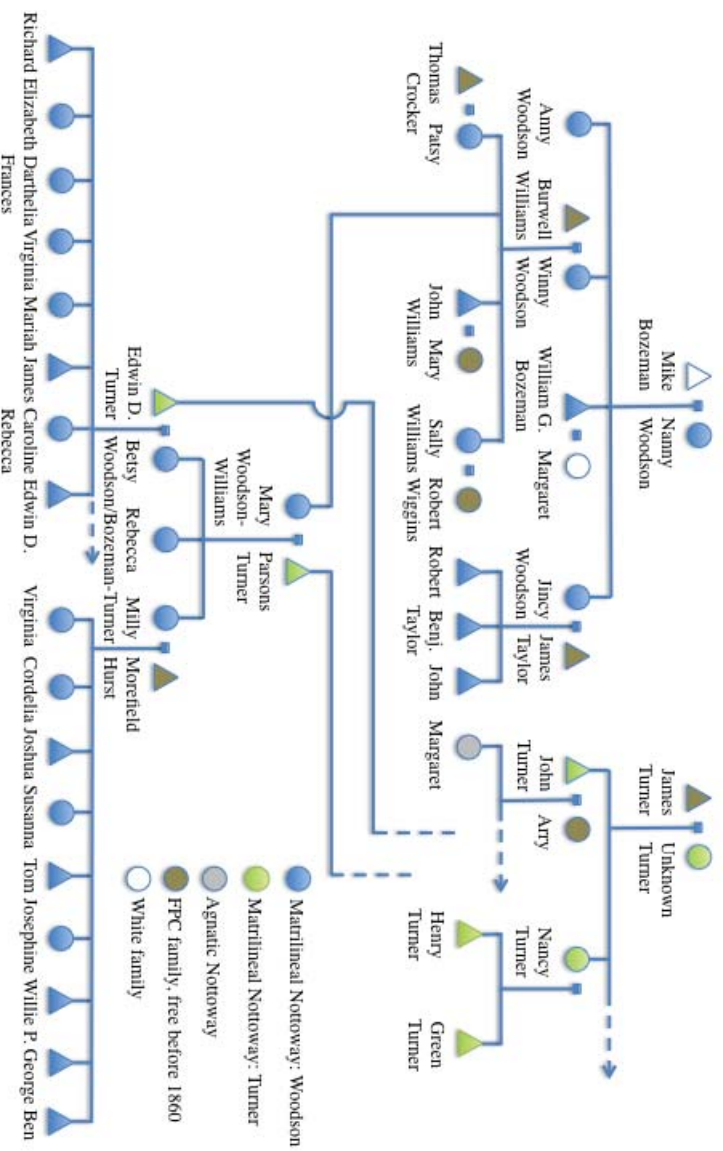


Figure 48. **Lineage segment of Mary Woodson-Williams**, showing marriage-mate exchange with the Turner *ohwachira*. Both Parsons Turner and Mary Williams were allottees. Note the large sibship size of the last descending generation. With a small number of remaining *ohwachira*, finding appropriate marriage partners at Indian Town was a compounding problem for the matrilineages.

First, as incest prohibitions and imbalanced age / sex ratios were the catalysts for so many Nottoway marriages beyond Indian Town, marriage mate exchange between the remaining *ohwachira* signal an endurance of the Iroquoian kinship system and a maintenance of social roles. Second, these marriages provide evidence that the lineage-segments of the Woodson and Turner matrilineages were not from the same *ohwachira*,

and therefore by extension, also not originally from the same clan. Formal clan structures likely collapsed quickly with the removal of the majority of Iroquoians during the eighteenth century. However, remaining kin-based reciprocal responsibilities, descent-group exogamy and differing social obligations at Nottoway Town were rooted in Iroquoian structures. Lastly, the ongoing selection of marriage partners with Whites and FPCs was also the result of exogamic principles, although when crossed with sib size, age / sex ratio, and changes in residence and labor practices, the unintended consequence was the future collapse of the Nottoway *ohwachira*.

Woodson/Bozeman/Williams-Crocker

Patsy Woodson-Williams was about twenty-nine when she and her siblings requested allotment lands in 1840. Later census records indicate she lived at Indian Town her entire life and eventually married a “Mulatto” man named Thomas Crocker. Although she took her allotment with her sib-set as “Patsy Williams,” she was listed as “Patey Woodson” and “Patsy Crocker” in county census schedules (C1850-1860). Patsy Woodson-Williams sold her allotment lands, but Thomas Crocker repurchased several tracts, where they maintained a modest farm alongside Woodson’s *ohwachira* members. One of the tracts was previously allotted to Nancy Turner and occupied by Mason Scholar (DB25:60, 27:313, 470). Another seventy acres was allotment land of William Turner, which likely included the old Edith Turner farm (DB30:560).

Crocker also purchased forty-one odd acres of Turner-Woodson allotments, old Scholar lands on the western edge of the reservation. Thomas Crocker’s purchase of former Nottoway allotments allowed one segment of the Woodson *ohwachira* to regain control over a lost section of matrilineal farmland. It is possible that several families

remained settled on this property, despite recent shifts in ownership. The relationship of Crocker to the Scholar family and their Chavis and Stewart affines is unclear. Thomas Crocker was born to a FPC family that had a long relationship with the *Rose Hill* plantation and the adjoining Scholar lands. Crocker's sister labored at *Rose Hill*, alongside the Artis and Hill families, and several marriages occurred between these families and Nottoway allottees. Descendants of agnatic Nottoway lived in Thomas Crocker's home, one of who later assumed ownership of the small farm (C1850-1910; Field notes 2007, 2011). The "Crocker farm" became one hub of Indian Town during the mid to late nineteenth century and three of the Woodson/Bozeman/Williams-Crocker children applied for allotment lands:

Born circa 1828	Patsy/Martha Crocker
Born circa 1831	Caroline Crocker
Born circa 1833	Indiana Crocker

The eldest daughter's allotment record stated her name as "Patsy Bozeman," utilizing the surname inherited by her matriline in a similar pattern later used by her parallel cousins Milly and Rebecca. Patsy's sister filed several years earlier as "Caroline Bozeman" to request her share of the real and personal Nottoway estate. "Indiana Bozeman" followed her older sisters and received her allotment in 1852-1853 (OB20:672; M1848-55:46, 222-23, 229, 260, 273, 281, 345, 416, 421, 487). Each of these women drew on their maternal granduncle [MMB] and grandmother's [MM] paternal Bozeman surname, likely because of the recognition of "Bozeman" as an authoritative Nottoway lineage, despite the fact the name's origins were from an affine three generations earlier [see Figure 46, 47 or 48]. This sibling-set also identified

themselves by their father's surname [i.e. Indiana Crocker] and by their own married names: Patsy Stewart, Caroline Artis and Indiana Artis (C1850-1860; DB28:306).

It may have been important for the children of Thomas Crocker to firmly establish their matrilineal Nottoway linkage beyond their mother, who applied for her lineage lands as "Patsy Williams." Parallel cousins Milly and Rebecca petitioned for land under the surname "Woodson," but unlike their Crocker classificatory siblings, they had two Nottoway-allottee parents. "Bozeman" may have been the surer route for late-antebellum Nottoway descendants whose father was classed "Black" or "Mulatto" by the dominant society. "Caroline Bozeman" applied for her allotment lands near her eighteenth birthday [1848]; her siblings petitioned in 1851 [Patsy] and 1852 [Indiana]. That the 1850 census listed the siblings by different surnames reflects the strategy; petitioning Caroline was enumerated as "Bozeman," minor Indiana as "Crocker" and married Patsy "[Martha] Stewart" (C1850; M1848-55:46, 222-23, 229, 260, 273, 281, 345, 416, 421, 487; OB20:672). Judging by the Reconstruction-era petitions of Patsy Stewart's children, who also utilized the Bozeman surname, this stratagem was deemed successful.

Patsy Woodson/Bozeman/Williams-Crocker married Alexander [Scholar]-Stewart, the son of agnatic Nottoway descendant Ned Scholar [Figure 49]. As this union is an example of Nottoway *lineage* exogamy but *community* endogamy, this marriage is significant in several ways. First, it demonstrates the proximity and continuing interaction of agnatic Nottoway descendants in and around antebellum Indian Town and likely reflects a pattern difficult to track in the fragmentary marriage records left by FPCs in Southampton. FPC surnames associated with residence and labor at Nottoway Town are remarkably consistent for this period. That some of their descendants were identified in

later census schedules as Indians is not surprising given the cycles of intermarriage, particularly of Nottoway males with females from outside the Iroquoian matrilineages and agnatic-descended females with non-Nottoway males. Throughout the nineteenth-century, the names Artis, Brown, Byrd, Crocker, Gardner, Joyner, Ricks and Smith are found repeatedly in the extant documents showing close proximity to Indian Town, if not actual residency [See Chapter IV, Table 12] (C1830, 1850; PPTL1782-1792, 1792-1806, 1807-1820; SCLP1822).

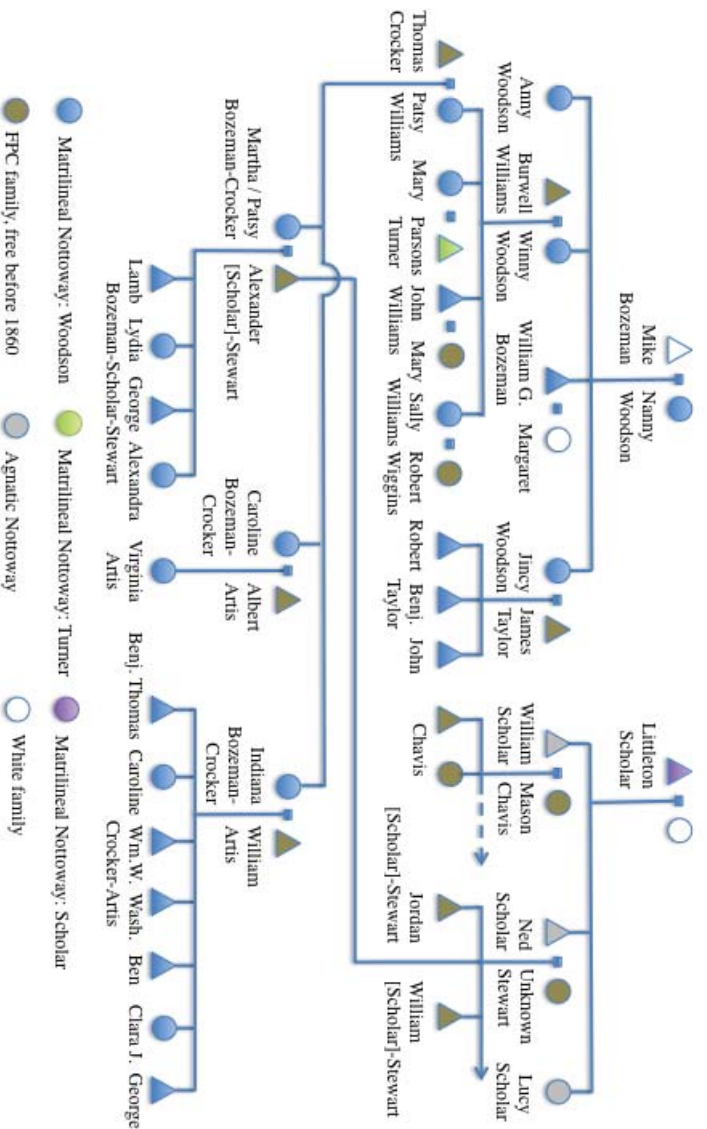


Figure 49. Intermarriage of a matriline from the Woodson *ohwachira* with an agnatic descendant of the extinct Scholar *ohwachira*. Second generation agnatic descendants removed from Indian lands and were generally considered FPCs by the dominant society, variously identified as Mulattos or Negroes. After the Civil War, some of these individuals, or their descendants, were enumerated as Indians in the 1870 Census. Agnatic descendants did not retain *ohwachira* usufruct rights or lineage / clan affiliation.

That the Nottoway influenced matrilineal descent among their FPC affines is an intriguing additional observation, for which, Alexander [Scholar]-Stewart is a good example. His father married a Stewart female and subsequently, almost all of their

children carried the Stewart surname. The same pattern is present with the [Scholar]-Chavis lineage. Alex Stewart occasionally identified by his father's moniker of "Schola," but *his* children utilized the Bozeman surname through *their* matriline to apply for Nottoway land allotments. Patsy Woodson/Bozeman/Williams-Crocker and Alexander [Scholar]-Stewart family's situational use of surnames indicate strategic choices as much as it represents the collapse of the Iroquoian matrilineal system. The *ohwachira* influence on affinal matrilineal descent appears to only have lasted until about the time of the Civil War, a time in which most matrilineal tendencies began to shift toward complete bilateral reckoning. The later nineteenth-century generations started to conform to this patrilinial pattern, coinciding with the further breakup of the reservation's matrilineal lands, increased private property ownership and widespread lineage removal in search of wage labor (C1870-1930; C1920-1940 Nansemond County, VA; C1920-1940 Portsmouth, VA; C1930 Philadelphia, PA; CC *Edwin Turner et al. vs. Indian Trustees*, 1885; Field notes 2007-2012; Patricia Phillips MS 1977).

APPENDIX C

A Sample of Post-Reservation Era Nottoway Male, Affine and Collateral Relations

Deed Book 37:190

This deed made this 21st day of August 1883 between George Minick of the first part and Wm. H. Parker, Trustee of the second part, all of the County of Southampton & State of Virginia. Witnesseth: That for the consideration of one dollar, the party of the first part doth grant and convey with general warranty one gray mare to him the said Trustee, party of the second part. In trust to secure the payment of the sum of one hundred dollars due to J.K. Britt, C.H. Blunt, J.R. Crocker, Wm. Artis, Jas. Claud, Augustus Wiggins and Thos. Hill in equal amounts. The parties just above named having paid to the Commonwealth of Virginia the above sum of one hundred dollars, as securities on a peace bond of the said George Minick. And should the said George Minick fail to pay to the said Trustee the said sum of one hundred dollars, by the 25th day of November 1883, then the said Trustee shall proceed to sell at public auction after giving legal notice of each sale, the above described Mare and apply the proceeds of same to the payment of the above debt and expenses of this deed and cost of sale.

Witness the following signatures and seals

George his X mark Minick

Wm. H. Parker, Trustee

One document from the Post-Reservation Era (DB37:190-191) indicated a half-dozen Indian Town men participated in a financial agreement. The intended outcome of the investment transcribed above is unclear. The \$100 value of one mare indicates the horse put up for collateral was expected to be of significant pedigree. Horseracing and gambling were common Southampton activities during the nineteenth century. The men entered into the deed in August of 1883, equally dividing the \$100 bond for the sale of “one grey mare.” The list of associated names provides a window into the cooperation of

men and the nature of Indian Town kinship and collateral relations at the beginning of the

Post Reservation Era:

- 1) **John K. Britt** - listed as a literate Mulatto carpenter and farmer on late nineteenth-century census schedules, Britt was an affine of allottee Mariah Turner. After her death, Britt married her sister, allottee Caroline Rebecca Turner and later, Georgetta Brown (C1880, 1900-1910; C1870 Hampton, VA). Britt was active in the management of his wives' Nottoway allotments, coordinating timber sales and milling from their allotment lands. Britt also acted as an executor to his sister-in-law, allottee Frances Harrison (DB41:222-225).
- 2) **James Robert Crocker** - formerly Robert Chavis, a [Scholar]-Chavis descendant and lifelong Indian Town resident. Crocker was a descendant of Billy Scholar, but was raised by Thomas Crocker and allottee Patsy Woodson-Williams. Thereafter, he adopted the Crocker surname. Crocker maintained a small farm adjacent to *Rose Hill*, on old Scholar *ohwachira* lands. Allottee descendants recalled him to be a stern man (C1860, 1880-1920; Field notes 2011).
- 3) **William Artis** - matrilineal Nottoway; formerly William Crocker, his mother was allottee Indiana Bozeman/Crocker-Artis. The Artis sub-lineage eventually moved to Sussex County and urban centers. William Artis's children [Kenneth and Willie Artis] and sister's son [Robert Barrett] worked together in the tobacco factories of Petersburg (C1860, 1880; C1900 Sussex County, VA; C1910 Petersburg, VA).
- 4) **James Thompson Claud** - affine of matrilineal Nottoway Susanna Turner, who was a daughter of allottee Milly Woodson/Bozeman/Turner-Hurst. Claud's father was a White man, Dr. E.C. Barrett; his enslaved mother was Sarah Claud-Hill. His descendants described him as a "short [man] with a mustache, coal black hair and rosy light skin." Claude was recalled as living on the reservation land "up on the road," but "worked for White folks. He grubbed the land." Claud was very close to his sisters, who were fathered by FPC Thomas Hill. A half-brother by E.C. Barrett was named Charlie Barrett, who also married a matrilineal Nottoway, Annie Wiggins. Claud was known to be educated, a preacher and to visit multiple Baptist Churches in the vicinity of Courtlund. With regard to associations, Claud was remembered by his family to have been a "particular" man. "He ran the other children off of the property" as a "protective measure... he did not want his children to mingle" with other "certain children." Allottee descendants recalled that

he thought of himself “as better” than some people. Close family referred to him by the un-translated sobriquet of “Mehtah” (C1880, 1900-1920; Field notes 2011; Patricia Phillips MS 1977).

5) **Augustus Wiggins** - matrilineal Nottoway, his mother was allottee Sally Woodson/Williams-Wiggins (C1860). Augustus’s sister was the mother of William Lamb, the “last of the Nottoway,” as recorded by Painter (1961). Lamb’s father was a White neighbor of Indian Town, William “Bill” Lamb. Augustus’s brother John H. Wiggins married matrilineal Nottoway Odelia Turner, in violation of the exogamy taboo. Turner was the oldest surviving daughter of Milly Woodson/Bozeman/Turner-Hurst. Odelia was remembered by allottee descendants as “Aunt Puss” and described phenotypically as looking like “an old White woman” (Field notes 2011).

6) **Thomas Hill** - listed as Black (C1870), Hill was the father of James Thompson Claud’s sisters and the husband of Sarah Claud-Hill. After the Civil War, Thom Hill continued to refer to himself as a “Free Negro,” as he was proud of his free birth (C1850; Field notes 2011). Thomas Hill worked the *Rose Hill* plantation, alongside other FPCs, such as the Crockers; Sarah Claud was part of the *Rose Hill* enslaved workforce, before emancipation at the end of the Civil War. Hill’s daughter Adeline married agnatic Nottoway John H. Williams, son of allottee John Williams. Another daughter, Susanna Sarah Hill was later known by her married nick-name “Scrap Nelson.” Sister Johnnie Roberta Hill-Scott ran a store across from the reservation, off River Rd., during the twentieth-century (Field notes 2009, 2011).

The forgoing list characterizes the shifting social roles of Indian Town, ones that were interconnected by consanguinity and affinity to Blacks, Indians and Whites – but were dominantly male-centered. As indicated by the agriculture schedules presented in Chapter VI, labor cooperation at the end of the Allotment Period was among matrilineal male Nottoway, agnatic Nottoway descendants, their sisters’ affines and collateral kin. In the document described above, Indian Town’s males were neither exclusively matrilineally organized or matrifocally affiliated. The men involved were listed as Mulatto and Black; some were born free, others born slaves. Being Indian was “only a

portion of what it meant” to be “like people.” Therefore, along with erosion of the matrifocal community, the property and labor agreement above also reflects a shift in notions peoplehood (Field notes 2006, 2007, 2011). Figure 50 illustrates some of the Post-Reservation Era kinship connections, marriage arrangements and collateral relations of the Nottoway allottees and their descendants.

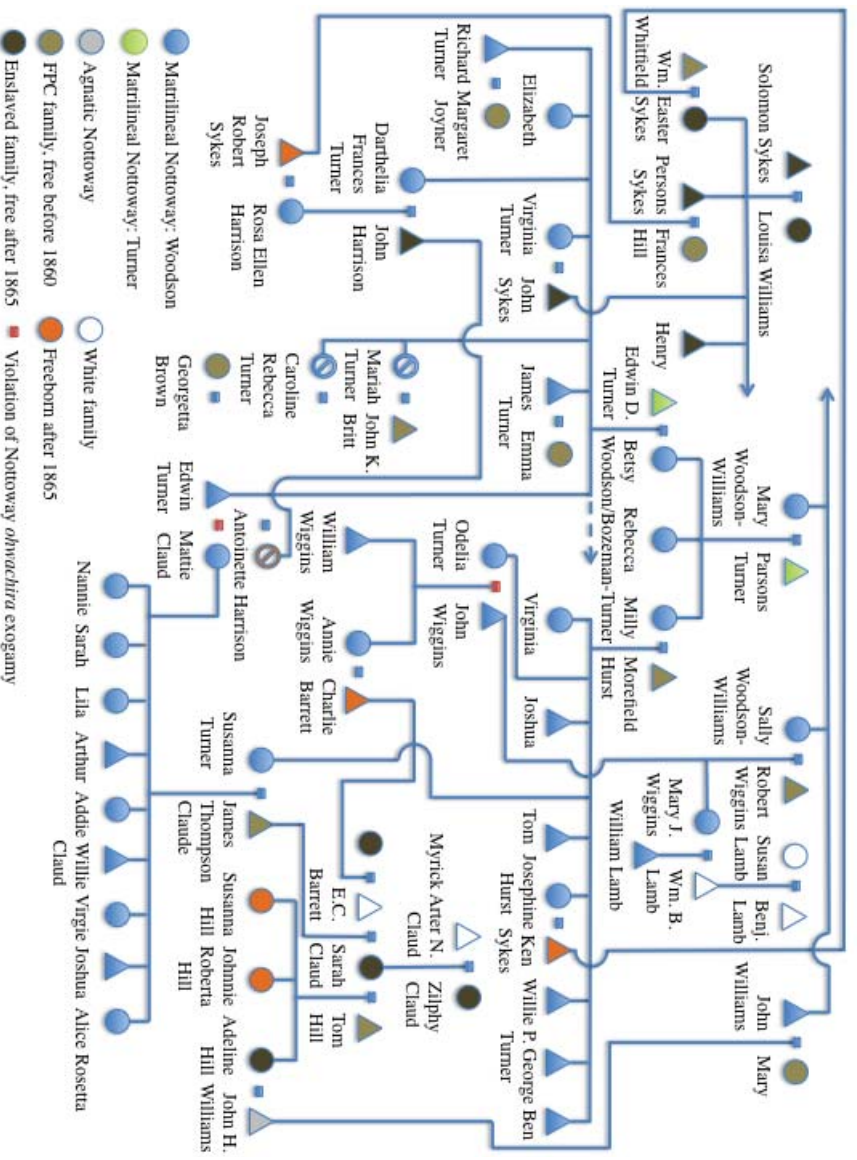


Figure 50. **Woodson obwachira affines and collateral kin relations**; equal signs indicate unions, but not always marriage. A post-Civil War increase in Nottoway marriages with recently emancipated families and their offspring [orange] is observable, as is a continued pattern of mating with individuals of White ancestry. Most importantly for the breakdown of the matrilineages: late-century violation of the *obwachira*'s exogamic principles. At least two endogamous marriages [red equal signs] within the Woodson matrilineage are depicted above.

WORKS CITED

Abbreviations

AG	Agricultural Schedule [U.S. Federal]
C	Census [U.S. Federal]
CC	Chancery Cause [County]
CO	Chancery Order Book [County]
DB	Deed Book [County]
DC	Draft Card [U.S. Federal]
LP	Legislative Petitions [State]
M	Court Minute Book [County]
MB	Marriage Book [County]
OB	Order Book [County]
PMB	Procession Map Book [County]
PPTL	Personal Property Tax List [LVA]
RFN	Register of Free Negroes [LVA]
SCLP	Southampton County Loose Papers [LVA]
SS	Slave Schedule [U.S. Federal]
TRDB	Trust Deed Book [County]
WB	Will Book [County]

Aberle, David F.

- 1974 Matrilineal Descent in Cross-Cultural Perspective. In *Matrilineal Kinship*, David M. Schneider and Kathleen Gough, ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Albers, Patricia C.

- 1993 Symbiosis, Merger, and War: Contrasting Forms of Intertribal Relationship Among Historic Plains Indians. In *The Political Economy of North American Indians*, John H. Moore, ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Albion, Robert Greenhalgh

- 1939 *The Rise of the New York Port, 1815-1860*. North Haven, CT: Archon Books.

Alexander, Rani T.

- 1996 The Emerging World System and Colonial Yucatan: The Archaeology of Core-Periphery Integration, 1780-1847. *Journal of World-Systems Research* 2, no. 8.

- 1999a The Emerging World System and Colonial Yucatan: The Archaeology of Core-Periphery Integration, 1780-1847. In *World Systems Theory in Practice*, P. Nick Kardulias, ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- 1999b Mesoamerican House Lots and Archaeological Site Structure: Problems of Inference in Yaxcaba, Yucatan, Mexico, 1750–1847. In *The Archaeology of Household Activities*, Penelope Allison, ed. London: Routledge.
- Agnew, John
1987 *The United States in the World-Economy: A Regional Geography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Aquila, Richard
1997 *The Iroquois Restoration: Iroquois Diplomacy on the Colonial Frontier, 1701-1754*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- American Agriculturalist
1854 *American Agriculturalist* 11. New York: Orange Judd Publishing Company.
- Anderson, Benedict
1991 *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Appadurai Arjun
1986 Is homo hierarchicus?. *American Ethnologist* 13, no. 4:745-761.
- 1990 Difference in the Global Cultural Economy. In *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*, Mike Featherstone, ed. London: Sage Publications.
- Appadurai, Arjun, ed.
1988 *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arrighi, Giovanni
1979 Peripheralization of Southern Africa, I: Changes in Production Processes. *Review* 3, no. 2:161-191.
- Asad, Talal
1973 *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*. Berkshire, UK: Ithaca Press.

- Atkins, Ashley
 2012 Producing Pottery and Community: Colonoware Production on the Pamunkey Indian Reservation, and Rippin Hall Plantation. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Baltimore, MD.
- Angel, Johannes
 1984 The Contribution of Public Goods to Household Reproduction: Case Study from Brazil. In *Households and the World Economy*, Joan Smith, Immanuel Wallerstein and Hans-Dieter Evers, ed. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Axtell, James
 2001 *Natives and Newcomers: The Cultural Origins of North America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ayer, Edward E. Collection
 1774 MS 3212. The Nottoway Indians. In Acct. with Henry Taylor, John Thomas Blow, Thomas Blunt & Edwin Gray, their Trustees. Chicago, IL: The Newberry Library.
- Bairoch, Paul
 1974 *Révolution Industrielle et Sous-Développement*, 4 ed. Paris & La Haye: Mouton.
- Balfour, Daniel T.
 1988 *A History of The Town of Courland: In Celebration of 100 Years of Incorporation*. Lawrenceville, VA: Edmonds Printing.
- 1989 *Southampton County & Franklin: A Pictorial History*. Norfolk, VA: The Donning Company.
- Balibar, Etienne
 1991 The Nation Form: History and Ideology. In *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, ed. London: Verso.
- 1991a 'Class Racism'. In *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, ed. London: Verso.
- 1996 Fictive Ethnicity and Ideal Nation. In *Ethnicity*, John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, ed. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Balibar, Etienne and Immanuel Wallerstein, eds.
 1991 *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*. London: Verso.

- Bamford, Sandra C. and James Graham Leach, eds.
 2009 *Kinship and Beyond: The Genealogical Model Reconsidered*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Barbeau, Charles M.
 1917 Iroquoian Clans and Phratries. *American Anthropologist* 19, no. 3:392-402.
- Barham, W.B., MD.
 1915 W.B. Barham to William G. Stanard, June 15, 1915. Richmond: Virginia Historical Society.
- Barnwell, John
 1908 The Tuscarora Expedition: Letters of Colonel John Barnwell. *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 9, no. 1:28-54.
- Barton, Paul
 2012 The Seneca-Cayuga Tribe of Oklahoma. Paper presented at the Eastern Woodland Indian Conference, Heinz History Center, Pittsburgh, PA.
- Bastide, Roger
 1973 Le Principe D'individuation (Contribution à une Philosophie Africaine). In *La Notion de Personne en Afrique Noire, Colloque International du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* 544:33-43. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- Bateman, Rebecca Belle
 1991 We're Still Here: History, Kinship, and Group Identity Among the Seminole Freedmen of Oklahoma. Ph.D. dissertation: Johns Hopkins University.
- Beauchamp, William M.
 1905 *A History of the New York Iroquois, Now Commonly Called the Six Nations*. Albany: New York State Museum Bulletin 78.
- Beaudry, Mary C., ed.
 1993 *Documentary Archaeology in the New World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Berlin, Ira
 1998 *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Bernard, François
 1869 *Choctaw Village near the Chefuncte*. 41-72-10/27, Peabody Museum, Harvard College.
- Bertie County, North Carolina
 1722-present. Register of Deeds Office, Windsor, North Carolina.
 Deed Books
- Bill, John, Christopher Barker, Thomas Newcomb and Henry Hill
 1677 *Articles of peace between the most serene and mighty Prince Charles II. by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. and several Indian kings and queens, &c.: Concluded the 29th day of May, 1677*. London.
- Binford, Lewis R.
 1964 Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Investigation of Cultural Diversity and Progressive Development Among Aboriginal Cultures of Coastal Virginia and North Carolina. Ph.D. dissertation: The University of Michigan.
- 1967 The Ethnohistory of the Nottoway, Meherrin and Weanock Indians of Southeastern Virginia. *Ethnohistory* 14, no. 3/4:103-218.
- 1990 Colonial Period Ceramics of the Nottoway and Weanock Indians of Southeastern Virginia. *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia* 45, no. 3:147-160.
- 1991 *Cultural Diversity among Aboriginal Cultures of Coastal Virginia and North Carolina*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Biolsi, Thomas
 1992 [1998] *Organizing the Lakota: the Political Economy of the New Deal on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Birmingham, Stephen
 1977 *Certain People: America's Black Elite*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Blakey, Michael L.
 1988 Social Policy, Economics, and Demographic Change in Nanticoke-Moor Ethnohistory. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 75, no. 4:493-502.
- 2001 Bioarchaeology of the African Diaspora in the Americas: Its Origins and Scope. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30:387-422.

- Blow Family Papers
1613-1960 Special Collections, Earl Greg Swem Library, College of William & Mary.
- Blu, Karen I.
2001 *The Lumbee Problem: The Making of An American Indian People*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Blumburg, Rae Lesser
1991 *Gender, Family and Economy: The Triple Overlap*. London: Sage Publications.
- Bowers, Carr
1821 Letter to Jeremiah Cobb, Dec. 27, 1821. In Legislative Petitions for Southampton, Co., VA. Richmond: Library of Virginia.
- Bowne, Eric E.
2005 *The Westo Indians: Slave Traders of the Early Colonial South*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Boyce, Douglas W.
1971 Notes on Tuscarora Political Organization, 1650-1713. M.A. thesis: University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- 1973 Tuscarora Political Organization, Ethnic Identity, and Socio-historical Demography, 1711-1825. Ph.D. dissertation: University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- 1978 Iroquoian Tribes of the Virginia-North Carolina Coastal Plain. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol.15 (Northeast), Bruce Trigger, ed. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.
- 1987 “As the Wind Scatters the Smoke”: The Tuscaroras in the Eighteenth Century. In *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, ed. University Park, PA: Penn State Press.
- 2007 Did a Tuscarora Confederacy Exist? In *Four Centuries of Southern Indians*, Charles Hudson, ed. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Brannon, Jeffery T. and Joseph M. Gilbert
2002 *Land, Labor and Capital in Modern Yucatan: Essays in Regional History and Political Economy*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

- Braudel, Fernand
- 1958 [2009] History and the Social Sciences: The Long Durée, Immanuel Wallerstein, trans. *Review* 32, no. 2:171-203. Reprinted [2012] In *The Longue Durée and World-Systems Analysis*, Richard Lee, ed. Albany: State University of New York.
- 1967 [1973] *Capitalism and Material Life, 1400-1800*, Miriam Kochan, trans. New York: Harper and Row.
- 1979 *Afterthoughts on Material Civilization and Capitalism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- 1981 *The Structures of Everyday Life: Civilization and Capitalism 15th-18th Century*. Volume I. Sian Reynolds, trans. New York: Harper & Row.
- 1982 *The Wheels of Commerce; Civilization and Capitalism 15th-18th Century*. Volume II. Sian Reynolds, trans. London: William Collins and Sons.
- 1984 *The Perspective of the World: Civilization and Capitalism 15th-18th Century*. Volume III. Sian Reynolds, trans. New York: Harper & Row.
- Braund, Kathryn E. Holland
- 1993 *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Braverman, Harry
- 1974 *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Breen, T. H. and Stephen Innes
- 2004 "Myne Owne Ground": *Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Briceland, Alan V.
- 1987 *Westward from Virginia: The Exploration of the Virginia-Carolina Frontier, 1650-1710*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- Briggs, Martha Wren and Carol Pitman
- 1995 *Circle and Tracts of the Nottoway Indians*. Wakefield, VA: Dory Press.
- 1997 The Metes and Bounds in a Circle and Square: The Nottoway Indians in Virginia. *Virginia Cavalcade* 46, no. 3:132-143.

- Brooks, George E.
 1975 Peanuts and Colonialism: Consequences of the Commercialization of Peanuts in West Africa, 1830-70. *Journal of African History* 16, no. 1:29-54.
- Brooks, James F., ed.
 2002 *Confounding the Color Line: The Indian - Black Experience in North America*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Brown, Kathleen M.
 1996 *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Byrd, William II
 1733 [1876] *A Journey to the Land of Eden, Anno 1773* [i.e. 1733]. Albany, NY.
- 1967 *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*. New York: Dover.
- Cabell, William H.
 1805-1808 Governor William H. Cabell Executive Papers. Richmond: Library of Virginia.
- Calcaterra, Angela
 2011 Locating American Indians along William Byrd II's Dividing Line. *Early American Literature* 46, no. 2:233-261.
- Calloway, Colin G.
 1995 *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Camp, Stafford V. III
 2010 *The Camps of Barn Tavern, Virginia*. Courtland, VA: Self-published.
- Campbell, David
 1837-1840 Executive Papers of Governor David Campbell. Richmond: Library of Virginia.
- Carsten, Janet
 2000 Introduction. In *Cultures of Relatedness: New Approaches to the Study of Kinship*, Janet Carsten, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Carter, Kent
 1999 *The Dawes Commission and the Allotment of the Five Civilized Tribes, 1893-1914*. Orem, UT: Ancestry.com Incorporated.
- Catlin, George
 1835 *Not-to-way, the Thinker and Chee-a-ka-tchee, Wife of Nottoway, Iroquois* c.1835-1836. Washington: Smithsonian American Art Museum.
- 1844 *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*. 2 vols. New York: Wiley and Putnam.
- 1868-1892 Papers and illustrations of George Catlin. San Marino, CA: Manuscripts Dept., Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.
- Gayton, Andrew Robert Lee and Fredrika J. Teute
 1998 *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Chabal, Patrick
 1983 *Amilcar Cabral: Revolutionary Leadership and People's War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chafe, Wallace
 1997 The Importance of Native American Languages. In *The David Skomp Distinguished Lectures in Anthropology*. Bloomington: Department of Anthropology, Indiana University.
- Chase-Dunn, Christopher
 1980 Socialist States in the Capitalist World-economy. *Social Problems* 27, no. 5:505-525.
- 1984 Urbanization in the World-system: New Directions for Research. In *Urban Affairs Annual Review*, 26. Cites in Transformation, M.P. Smith, ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- 1989 *Global Formation: Structures of the World Economy*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Chase-Dunn, Christopher and Kelly M. Mann
 1998 *The Wintu and Their Neighbors: A Very Small World-system in Northern California*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- Chiweza, Asiyati Lorraine
 2007 The Ambivalent Role of Chiefs: Rural Decentralization Initiatives in Malawi. In *State Recognition and Democratization in Sub-Saharan*

- Africa: A New Dawn for Traditional Authorities*, Lars Buur and Helene Maria Kyed, ed. Houndmills, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Clifford, James
1988 *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Clifford, James and George E. Marcus
1986 *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cobb, Jeremiah
1821 Letter to Carr Bowers, December 31, 1821. In Legislative Petitions for Southampton, Co., VA. Richmond: Library of Virginia
- Cochran, Thomas C.
1981 *Frontiers of Change: Early Industrialism in America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Coclanis, Peter A.
2006 *The Atlantic Economy During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: New Perspectives on Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.
- Collet, John
1770 *A Compleat Map of North Carolina from an Actual Survey*. Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archive and History.
- Collier, Jane Fishburne and Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo
1981 *Politics and Gender in Simple Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Collier, Jane Fishburne and Sylvia Junko Yanagisako
1987 *Gender and Kinship: Essays Toward a Unified Analysis*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Comaroff, John L., and Jean Comaroff
1992 *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Conkey, Laura E. Ethel Boissevain and Ives Goddard
1978 Indians of Southern New England and Long Island: Late Period. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol.15 (Northeast), Bruce Trigger, ed. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

- Cook Collection
1850-1900 George and Huestis Cook Photograph Collection. Richmond, VA:
Valentine Richmond History Center.
- Cook, Samuel R.
2000 *Monacans and Miners: Native American and Coal Mining Communities in
Appalachia*. Lincoln, NE: Bison Books.
- Cox, Oliver
1959 *The Foundations of Capitalism*. New York: Philosophical Library.
- Crane, Verner
2004 *The Southern Frontier 1670-1732*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama
Press.
- Crane, James
1819 *Spelling Book in the Tuscarora Dialect and Short Catechism*. Buffalo,
NY: American Antiquarian Society.
- Crawford, James M., ed.
1975 *Studies in Southeastern Indian Languages*. Athens, GA: University of
Georgia Press.
- Crofts, Daniel W.
1992 *Old Southampton: Politics and Society in a Virginia County, 1834-1869*.
Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- 1993a A Journey Back: Old Southampton in the Mid-Nineteenth Century.
Virginia Cavalcade 42:130-143
- 1993b *Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis*.
Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Crofts, Daniel W., ed.
1997 *Cobb's Ordeal: The Diaries of a Virginia Farmer*. Athens: University of
Georgia Press.
- Cumming, Kate
1895 *Gleanings from the Southland*. Birmingham, AL: Roberts and Son.
- Cusick, David
1828 *David Cusick's Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations*. Lockport,
NY: Turner and McCollum.

- Dawdy, Shannon Lee
 1994 The Secret History of the Meherrin. M.A. thesis: College of William & Mary.
- 1995 The Meherrin's Secret History of the Dividing Line. *North Carolina Historical Review* 72, no. 4:385-415.
- Debo, Angie
 1973 *And Still the Waters Run: The Betrayal of the Five Civilized Tribes*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- De Bow, J.D. B., ed.
 1852 *De Bow's Review and Industrial Resources, Statistics, etc.* New Orleans, LA.
- de Bry, Theodore
 1590 *A Map of that part of America, now called 'Virginia'*. In *A brief and true report of the new found land of Virginia* by Thomas Harriot [2007]. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
- De Cleene, N.
 1937 La Famille dans L'organisation Sociale du Mayombe. *Africa* 10:1-15.
- Deloria, Phillip J.
 2004 Historiography. In *A Companion to American Indian History*, Phillip J. Deloria and Neal Salisbury, ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Deloria, Phillip J. and Neal Salisbury Salisbury, eds.
 2004 *A Companion to American Indian History*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- DeMallie, Raymond
 1998 Kinship: The Foundation for Native American Society. In *Studying Native America: Problems and Prospects*, Russell Thornton, ed. Madison: University of Wisconsin.
- Dening, Greg
 1980 *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land: Marquesas, 1774-1880*. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press
- Den Ouden, Amy
 2005 *Beyond Conquest: Native Peoples And the Struggle for History in New England*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

- Divale, William
 1984 *Matrilocal Residence in Pre-Literate Society*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press.
- Donham, Donald L.
 1999 *Marxist Modern: An Ethnographic History of the Ethiopian Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Donham, Donald L. and Wendy James
 2002 *Southern Marches Of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays In History & Social Anthropology*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Dorian, Nancy C.
 1977 The Problem of the Semi-speaker in Language Death. *Linguistics* 15, no. 191:23-32.
- Douglas, Mary
 1970 *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology*. London: Routledge Chapman & Hall.
- Drewry, William Sydney
 1900 *Slave Insurrections in Virginia, 1830-1865*. Washington: The Neale Company.
- Dunaway, Wilma A.
 1996a *The First American Frontier: Transition to Capitalism in Southern Appalachia, 1700-1860*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- 1996b Incorporation as an Interactive Process: Cherokee Resistance to Expansion of the Capitalist World-System, 1560-1763. *Sociological Inquiry* 66, no. 4:455-470.
- 1997 Rethinking Cherokee Acculturation: Women's Resistance to Agrarian Capitalism and Cultural Change, 1800-1838. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 21:155-192.
- Eastern Portion of Military Department of North Carolina*
 1862 G3902.C6 1862 .U5. Washington: Library of Congress Geography and Map Division.
- Edwards, J. and M. Strathern
 2000 Including Our Own. In *Cultures of Relatedness: New Approaches to the Study of Kinship*, Janet Carsten, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Eggan, Fred
 1950 *Social Organization of the Western Pueblos*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 1972 Lewis Henry Morgan's Systems: A Reevaluation. In *Kinship Studies in the Morgan Centennial Year*, Priscilla Reining, ed. Washington: The Anthropological Society of Washington.
- Elwert, George and Diana Wong
 1980 Subsistence Production and Commodity Production in the Third World. *Review* 3, no. 3:501-522.
- Etheridge, Robbie
 2003 *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World, 1796-1816*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- 2006 Creating the Shatter Zone: Indian Slave Traders and the Collapse of the Southeastern Chiefdoms. In *Light of the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians*, Thomas J. Pluckhahn and Robbie Etheridge, ed. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- 2009 *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Ethridge, Robbie and Sheri Marie Schuck Hall, eds.
 2009 *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Evers, Hans-Dieter, Wolfgang Clauss and Diana Wong
 1984 Subsistence Reproduction: A Framework for Analysis. In *Households and the World Economy*, Joan Smith, Immanuel Wallerstein and Hans-Dieter Evers, ed. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Exposition Committee
 1888 *Sketch and Map of Southampton County, Virginia*. Richmond: Richmond Dispatch Steam Presses.
- Fabian, Johannes
 1983 *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press.

- Farmer's Register
1834 *The Farmer's, A Monthly Publication Devoted to the Improvement of the Practice*, vol. 2. Shellbanks, VA: Edmund Ruffin.
- Farrer, Claire F.
1996 *Thunder Rides and Black Horse: Mescalero Apaches and the Mythic Present*. Longrove, IL: Waveland Press.
- Feagin, Joe R.
2006 *Systemic Racism: A Theory of Oppression*. New York: Routledge.
- Featherstone, Mike and Scott Lash
1995 Globalization, Modernity and the Spatialization of Social Theory: An Introduction. In *Global Modernities*, Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash and Roland Robertson, ed. London: Sage Publications.
- Feeley, Stephen D.
2007 Tuscarora Trails: Indian Migrations, War, and Constructions of Colonial Frontiers. Ph.D. dissertation: College of William & Mary.
- Fenton, William N.
1951 Iroquois Studies at the Mid-century. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 95, no. 3:296-310.
1978 Northern Iroquoian Culture Patterns. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol.15 (Northeast), Bruce Trigger, ed. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.
- Fenton, William N. and J.N.B. Hewitt
1944 The Requickening Address of the Iroquois Condolence Council. *Journal of Washington Academy of Science* 34, no. 3:65-85.
- Ferguson, Brian and Neil Whitehead, eds.
1992 *War in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Fischer, Edward F.
1999 Cultural Logic and Maya Identity: Rethinking Constructivism and Essentialism. *Current Anthropology* 40, no. 4:473-500.
- Fisher, William H.
2000 *Rain Forest Exchanges: Industry and Community on an Amazonian Frontier*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

- Fixico, Donald L.
 2000 *The Urban Indian Experience in America*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Flannery, Kent
 1972 The Cultural Evolution of Civilization. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics* 3:399-426.
- Foner, Phillip Sheldon
 1941 *Business & Slavery: The New York Merchants & the Irrepressible Conflict*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Forbes, Jack D.
 1993 *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of the Red-black Peoples*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press.
- Forman, Grant
 1972 *The Five Civilized Tribes: Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Seminole*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Fortes, Meyer
 1949 Time and Social Structure: An Ashanti Case Study. In *Social Structure: Studies Presented to A.R. Radcliffe-Brown*, Meyer Fortes, ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- 1950 Kinship and Marriage among the Ashanti. In *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and Cyril Daryll Forde, ed. London: Oxford University Press.
- 1969 *Kinship and Social Order*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing.
- Foster, Michael K.
 1987 Linguistic Aspects of the In-Situ Hypothesis of Iroquoian Origins. Paper presented at the Conference on Iroquois Research, Rensselaerville, New York.
- Foster, Michael K., Jack Campisi and Marianne Mithun, eds.
 1984 *Extending the Rafters: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Iroquoian Studies*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Fouts, Raymond Parker
 1984 *Abstracts from Newspapers of Edenton, Fayetteville, & Hillsborough, North Carolina, 1785-1800*. Edenton, NC: GenRec Books.

- Fowler, Loretta
 1987 *Shared Symbols, Contested Meanings: Gros Ventre Culture and History, 1778-1984*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Fox, Robin
 1967 *Kinship and Marriage: An Anthropological Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Frank, Andre Gunder
 1966 *The Development of Underdevelopment*. Boston: New England Free Press.
 1967 *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
 1969 *Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution: Essays on the Development of Underdevelopment and the Immediate Enemy*, vol. 165. New York: Monthly Review Press.
 1978 *World Accumulation, 1491-1789*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- 1999 *Abuses and Uses of World-Systems Theory in Archaeology*. In *World-Systems Theory in Practice*, P. Nick Kardulias, ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Franklin, Sarah and Susan McKinnon, eds.
 2001 *Relative Values: Reconfiguring Kinship Studies*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Frazier, E. Franklin
 1966 *The Negro Family in the United States*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
 1997 *Black Bourgeoisie*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- French, Samuel Bassett
 1890-1897 Samuel Bassett French Collection. Richmond: Library of Virginia.
- Fridell, Guy
 1978 *Colgate Darden: Conversations with Guy Fridell*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- Fried, Morton
 1957 The Classification of Corporate Unilineal Descent Groups. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 87, no. 1:1-29.

- 1960 *On the Evolution of Social Stratification and the State*. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill.
- 1967 *The Evolution of Political Society: An Essay in Political Anthropology*. New York: Random House.
- Friedman, Kathie
 1984 Households as Income-Pooling Units. In *Households and the World-Economy*, Joan Smith, Immanuel Wallerstein and Hans-Dieter Evers, ed. London: Sage Publications.
- Fry, Joshua and Peter Jefferson
 1751 *A map of the most inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole province of Maryland with part of Pensylvania, New Jersey and North Carolina*. Washington: Library of Congress Geography and Map Division.
- Gallatin, Albert
 1836 *A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes Within the United States East of the Rocky Mountains and in the British and Russian Possessions in North America*. Cambridge, MA: University Press.
- Gallay, Allan
 2002 *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- 2010 *Indian Slavery in Colonial America*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Gallivan Martin D.
 2003 *James River Chiefdoms: The Rise of Social Inequality in the Chesapeake*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- 2007 Powhatan's Werowocomoco: Constructing Place, Polity, and Personhood in the Chesapeake, C.E. 1200-C.E. 1609. *American Anthropologist* 109, no. 1:85-100.
- Gallivan, Martin D. and Danielle Moretti-Langholtz
 2007 Civic Engagement at Werowocomoco: Reasserting Native Narratives from a Powhatan Place of Power. In *Archaeology as a Tool of Civic Engagement*, Barbara J. Little and Paul A. Shackel, ed. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.

- Gallivan, Martin D., Danielle Moretti-Langholtz and Buck Woodard
 2011 Collaborative Archaeology and Strategic Essentialism: Native Empowerment in Tidewater Virginia. *Historical Archaeology* 45, no. 1:10-23.
- Gatschet, Albert S.
 1883-1884 MS 372-b. Tuscarora Notebook. Suitland, MD: National Anthropological Archives.
- Geertz, Clifford
 1973 *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
 1983 *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books.
- Geertz, Hildred and Clifford Geertz
 1978 *Kinship in Bali*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gentleman's Magazine*
 1821 Nottoway Indians. 91:1, no. 129:505-506. London: John Nichols and Son.
- Gilmer, Jeremy Francis
 1863 *Map of Surry, Sussex and Southampton Counties, Virginia*. Richmond: Virginia Historical Society.
- Gleach Frederick
 1997 *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- 2003 Pocahontas at the Fair: Crafting Identities at the 1907 Jamestown Exposition. *Ethnohistory* 50, no. 3:419-445.
- Goode, George Brown
 1887 *Virginia Cousins: A Study of the Ancestry and Posterity of John Goode of Whitby, a Virginia Colonist of the Seventeenth Century, with Notes Upon Related Families, a Key to Southern Genealogy and a History of the English Surname Gode, Goad, Goode Or Good from 1148 to 1887*. Richmond: J.W. Randolph & English.
- Graffenreid, Christopher Von
 c. 1712 *Bericht seiner Reise nach Amerika*, Burgerbibliothek Bern
 Mss.Muel.466. Bern: Switzerland.

- Gray, Thomas R.
 1832 *The Confessions of Nat Turner, the Leader of the Late Insurrection in Southampton, Va., as Fully and Voluntarily Made to Thomas R. Gray, in the Prison where He was Confined, and Acknowledged by Him to be Such, when Read Before the Court of Southampton: With the Certificate, Under Seal of the Court Convened at Jerusalem, Nov. 5, 1831, for His Trial.* Richmond: Self-Published.
- Greely, Andrew M.
 1974 *Ethnicity in the United States: A Preliminary Reconnaissance.* New York: Wiley.
- Green, Michael D.
 1985 *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska.
- Green, Lance and Mark Plane, eds.
 2010 *American Indians and the Market Economy, 1775-1850.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Goldfield, David R.
 1977 *Urban Growth in the Age of Sectionalism: Virginia, 1847-1861.* Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
- 1982 *Cotton Fields and Skyscrapers: Southern City and Region, 1607-1980.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Goldenweiser, Alexander A.
 1914 The Social Organization of the Indians of North America. *The Journal of American Folklore* 27, no. 106:411-436.
- Gough, Kathleen
 1974 [1961] The Modern Disintegration of Matrilineal Descent. In *Matrilineal Kinship*, David M. Schneider and Kathleen Gough, ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gow, Peter
 1991 *Of Mixed Blood: Kinship and History in Peruvian Amazonia.* Gloucestershire, UK: Clarendon Press.
- Guild, June Purcell
 1936 *Black Laws of Virginia: A Summary of the Legislative Acts of Virginia Concerning Negroes from Earliest Times to the Present.* Richmond: Whitte & Shepperson.

- Haas, Marilyn L.
 1994 *The Seneca and Tuscarora Indians: An Annotated Bibliography*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press.
- Hagan, William T.
 1997 The New Indian History. In *Rethinking American Indian History*, Donald L. Fixico, ed. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Hale, Horatio
 1883 *Iroquois Book of Rights*. Philadelphia: Brinton.
- Hall, Thomas D.
 1986 Incorporation in the World-System: Toward a Critique. *American Sociological Review* 51:390-402.
 1987 Native American and Incorporation: Patterns and Problems. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 11, no. 2:1-30.
 1988 The Transformation of the Mexican Northwest into the American Southwest: Three Paths of Internal Development. In *Rethinking the Nineteenth Century: Contradictions and Movements*. Francisco O. Ramirez, ed. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
 1989 *Social Change in the Southwest, 1350-1880*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.
 1999 World-Systems and Evolution: An Appraisal. In *World-Systems Theory in Practice*, P. Nick Kardulias, ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Hall, Thomas D. and Christopher Chase-Dunn
 1991 *Core-Periphery Relations in Precapitalist Worlds*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
 1996 Comparing World-Systems: Concepts and Hypotheses. In *Pre-Columbian World Systems*, Peter N. Peregrine and Gary M. Feinman, ed. Madison, WI: Prehistory Press.
- Hannerz, Ulf
 1986 Theory in Anthropology: Small is Beautiful(?) Anthropological Theory and Complex Cultures. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28:362-167.
 1992 *Cultural Complexity: Studies in the Sociological Organization of Meaning*. New York: Columbia University Press.

- Hantman, Jeffrey L.
 2008 Jamestown's 400th Anniversary: Old Themes, New Words, New Meanings for Virginia Indians. In *Archaeologies of Place: Monuments, Memories, and Engagement in Native North America*, P. Rubertone, ed. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Harper's Magazine
 1857 North Carolina Illustrated. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 82, no. 14:433-450. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Harvey, Oscar Jewell and Ernest Gray Smith
 1909 *A History of Wilkes-Barré, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania: From Its First Beginnings to the Present Time, Including Chapters of Newly-discovered Early Wyoming Valley History, Together with Many Biographical Sketches and Much Genealogical Material*, 3 vols. Wilkes-Barré, PA: Raeder Press.
- Harris, Betty J.
 1990 Ethnicity and Gender in the Global Periphery: A Comparison of Basotho and Navajo Women. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 14, no. 4:15-38.
- Hatley, Tom
 1993 *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians Through the Era of Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hazard, Ebenezer
 1792-1794 *Historical collections: consisting of State papers, and other authentic documents, intended as materials for an history of the United States of America*. Philadelphia, PA: T. Dobson.
- Heath, Charles L.
 2003 Woodland Period Mortuary Variability in the Lower Roanoke River Valley: Perspectives from the Jordan's Landing and Sans Souci Sites. Paper presented at the 60th Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Charlotte, North Carolina.
- Heath, Charles L. and E. Clay Swindell
 2011 Coastal Plain Iroquoians Before and After European Contact: An Interpretive Study of Cashie Phase Archaeological Research in Northeastern North Carolina. In *The Archaeology of North Carolina: Three Archaeological Symposia*, Charles R. Ewen, Thomas R. Whyte and R.P. Stephen Davis, ed. North Carolina Archaeological Council Publication Number 30.

- Hening, William Waller
 1809-1823 *The Statutes at Large, Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature.* 13 vols. New York: R. & W. & G. Bartow.
- Hewitt, J. N. B.
 n.d. MS 3603. Nottoway vocabulary of 135 words, including numerals. Suitland, MD: National Anthropological Archives.
- n.d. MS 3844. Comparative vocabulary of Nottoway and Tuscarora. Suitland, MD: National Anthropological Archives.
- 1896-1916 MS 3598. Notes on Social Organization – the Family, the gens, and the clan; Ohwachire; Notes on suffrage, succession and function of clans. Suitland, MD: National Anthropological Archives.
- 1910 Tuscarora. In *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico: N-Z*, Frederick Webb Hodge, ed. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office.
- Hill, Jane H. and Bruce Mannheim
 1992 Language and World View. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21:381-406.
- Hobsbawm, Eric J.
 1973 *Revolutionaries: Contemporary Essays*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Hobsbawm, Eric J. and Terence O. Ranger
 1983 *The Invention of Traditions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Hodes, Martha, ed.
 1998 *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History*. New York: New York University Press.
- Hoffman, Bernard
 1959 Iroquois Linguistic Classification from Historical Materials. *Ethnohistory* 6, no. 2:160-185.
- Homann, Johann
 1715 *Virginia Marylandia et Carolina in America Septentrionali*. Washington: Library of Congress Geography and Map Division.
- Hopkins, Terence
 1982 The Study of the Capitalist World Economy: Some Introductory Considerations. In *World-Systems Analysis: Theory and Methodology*,

- Explorations in the World-Economy*; Hopkins, Terence K., Immanuel Wallerstein, Robert L. Bach, Christopher Chase-Dunn, and Ramkrishna Mukherjee, ed. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Hopkins, Terence and Immanuel Wallerstein
 1982 Structural Transformations of the World Economy. In *World-Systems Analysis: Theory and Methodology*; *Explorations in the World-Economy*, Hopkins, Terence K., Immanuel Wallerstein, Robert L. Bach, Christopher Chase-Dunn, and Ramkrishna Mukherjee, ed. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- 1987 Capitalism and the Incorporation of New Zones into the World-Economy. *Review*, X, 5, no. 6:763-79.
- Hopkins, Terence K., Immanuel Wallerstein, Nicole Bouquet, Neville Dyson-Hudson, Phillip McMichael and Dale Tomich
 1982a Patterns of Development of the Modern World-System. In *World-Systems Analysis: Theory and Methodology*; *Explorations in the World-Economy*, Hopkins, Terence K., Immanuel Wallerstein, Robert L. Bach, Christopher Chase-Dunn, and Ramkrishna Mukherjee, ed. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Hopkins, Terence K., Immanuel Wallerstein, Robert L. Bach, Christopher Chase-Dunn, and Ramkrishna Mukherjee
 1982b *World-Systems Analysis: Theory and Methodology*; *Explorations in the World-Economy*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Horn, James
 2008 *A Land as God Made It: Jamestown and the Birth of America*. New York: Basic Books.
- Howard University and John Milner Associates, Inc. (HUMIA)
 1993 *Research Design for Archaeological, Historical, and Bioanthropological Investigations of the African Burial Ground (Broadway Block) New York, NY*. 14 December. Washington: Howard University and New York: John Milner Associates, Inc.
- Hudson, Charles
 1976 *The Southeastern Indians*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.
 2002 Introduction. In *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760*, Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, ed. Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press.

- Hutchinson, Dale L.
 2002 *Foraging, Farming, and Coastal Biocultural Adaptation in Late Prehistoric North Carolina*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Hutchinson, John and Anthony D. Smith, eds.
 1996 *Ethnicity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hurtado, Albert L. and Peter Iverson, eds.
 2001 *Major Problems in American Indian History*. New York: Houghton Mifflin.
- Isle of Wight County, Virginia
 1701-present. Clerk's Office of the Circuit Court, Isle of Wight, Virginia.
 Deed Books
- Jackson, Jason Baird
 2003 *Yuchi Ceremonial Life: Performance, Meaning, and Tradition in a Contemporary American Indian Community*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- 2012 *Yuchi Indian Histories Before the Removal Era*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- James, Wendy, Donald L. Donham, Eisei Kurimoto, Alessandro Triunzi, eds.
 2002 *Remapping Ethiopia: Socialism and After*. Oxford: James Currey.
- Jefferson, Thomas
 1775-1825 Mss.B.135. Thomas Jefferson Papers. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.
 1787 [1832] *Notes on the State of Virginia*. Boston: Lilly and Wait.
- Jennings, Francis
 1984 *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Johansen, J.P.
 1954 *The Maori and his Religion in its Non-ritualistic Aspects*. København: E. Munksgaard, 1954.
- Johnson, Elias
 1881 [2007] *Legends, Traditions, and Laws of the Iroquois, or Six Nations, and History of the Tuscarora Indians*. Gloucester, UK: Dodo Press.

- Johnson, Joseph
 1852-1855 Executive Papers of Governor Joseph Johnson. Richmond: Library of Virginia.
- Josselin de Jong, P.E. de
 1951 *Minangkabau and Negeri Sembilan: Socio-political Structure in Indonesia*. Leiden, Netherlands: Ijdo.
- Joyner, Ulysses P., Jr.
 2003 *They Crossed the Blackwater: The First Settlers of Southampton County, Virginia*. Orange, VA: Self-published.
- Julian, Charles
 2010 A History of the Iroquoian Languages. Ph.D. dissertation: University of Manitoba.
- Kapler, Charles Joseph
 1913 *Indian Affairs: Laws, compiled to Dec. 1, 1913*. Washington: Department of the Interior.
- Kardulias, P. Nicholas
 1990 Fur Production as a Specialized Activity in a World System: Indians in the North American Fur Trade. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 14, no. 1:25-60.
- 1999a Multiple Levels in the Aegean Bronze Age World System. In *World-Systems Theory in Practice*, P. Nicholas Kardulias, ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Kardulias, P. Nicholas, ed.
 1999 *World-Systems Theory in Practice: Leadership, Production and Exchange*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Kelton, Paul
 2007 *Epidemics and Enslavement: Biological Catastrophe in the Native Southeast, 1492-1715*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Kertzer, David I. and Denis P. Hogan
 1989 *Family, Political Economy, and Demographic Change: The Transformation of Life in Casalechio, Italy, 1861-1921*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

- Kirchhoff, Paul
- 1955 The Principals of Clanship in Human Society. In *Readings in Anthropology*, Vol. 2, Morton H. Fried, ed. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell.
- Kirkland, Samuel K.
- 1789 Samuel K. Kirkland, Correspondences, 1765-1703. Clinton, NY: Hamilton College Archives.
- The Knickerbocker
- 1836 Leaves from the South-West and Cuba. *The Knickerbocker*, New York *Monthly Magazine*, vol. 8:44-54. New York: Clark & Edson.
- Klein, Martin
- 1972 Social and Economic Factors in the Muslim Revolution in Senegambia. *Journal of African History* 8, no. 3:419-441.
- Kocher, Lawrence A. and Howard Dearstyne
- 1954 *Shadows in Silver: A Record of Virginia, 1850-1900 in Contemporary Photographs taken by George and Huestis Cook with Additions from the Cook Collection*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Kohl, Philip L.
- 1998 Nationalism and Archaeology: On the Constructions of Nations and the Reconstructions of the Remote Past. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27:223-246.
- Kopytoff, Igor
- 1977 Matrilineality, Residence, and Residential Zones. *American Ethnologist* 4, no. 3:539-558.
- Krech, Shepard III
- 1984 *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Adaptions*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- 1991 The State of Ethnohistory. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 20:345-375.
- Krech, Shepard III, ed.
- 1981 *Indians, Animals, and the Fur Trade*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Kronenfeld, David B.
- 2006 Issues in the Classification of Kinship Terminologies. Toward a New Typology. *Anthropos* 101:203-219.

- Kupperman, Karen Ordahl
 2000 *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- 2007 *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Kurtz, Donald V.
 1996 Hegemonic Culturation and Work in State Formations. In *Ideology and the Formation of Early States*, Henri J.M. Claessen and Jarich G. Oosten, ed. Leiden, Netherlands: E.J. Brill.
- 2001 *Political Anthropology: Power and Paradigms*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Kurtz, Donald V. and Mary Christopher Nunley
 1993 Ideology and work at Teotihuacan: A Hermeneutic Interpretation. *Man* 28:761-778.
- Lamar, Howard and Leonard Thompson, eds.
 1981 *The Frontier in History: North America and Southern Africa Compared*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Landy, David
 1958 Tuscarora Tribalism and National Identity. *Ethnohistory* 5, no. 3:250-284.
- 1978 Tuscarora Among the Iroquois. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, 15 (Northeast). Bruce Trigger, ed. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.
- Langdon, Stephen J.
 1986 Contradictions in Alaskan Native Economy and Society. In *Contemporary Alaskan Native Economics*, Stephen J. Langdon, ed. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- La Roche, Cheryl J. and Michael L. Blakey
 1997 Seizing Intellectual Power: The Dialogue at the New York African Burial Ground. *Historical Archaeology* 31, no. 3:84-106.
- Lassiter, Kitty
 n.d. Family Photograph Collection. Boykins, VA.
- Lawson, John
 1709 *A New Voyage to Carolina: Containing the Exact Description and Natural History of That Country: Together with the Present State Thereof. And a Journal of a Thousand Miles, Travel'd Thro' Several Nations of Indians. Giving a Particular Account of Their Customs, Manners, &c.* London.

- Lederer, John
 1672 *A Map of the Whole Territory Traversed by John Lederer in his Three Marches.* In *The Discoveries of John Lederer, in three severel Marches from Virginia, To the West of Carolina and other Parts of the Continent.* London: Printed by J.C. for Samuel Heyrick, at Grays-Inne-gate in Holborn.
- Leenhardt, Maurice
 1979 *Do Kamo: Person in Myth in the Melanesian World.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Leigh, B.W.
 1819 *The Revised Code of the Laws of Virginia.* Richmond: Thomas Ritchie, Printer of the Commonwealth.
- Lewellen, Ted C.
 1992 *Political Anthropology: An Introduction.* Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Livingston, John and Joseph Camp Griffith Kennedy
 1856 *The Law Register: Comprising the Lawyers in the United States: the State Record; Containing the State and County Officers, the Organization, Jurisdiction, and Terms of the Courts for Every State and Territory: the Official Directory for the United States; Containing the Officers of the Federal Government...the Officers and Terms of the Federal Courts: the Collector's Assistant: Giving the Laws for Collecting Debts, Executing Deeds, Verifying Claims, and Taking Testimony, with Forms for Every State...the Whole Constituting an Official and Business Union Directory.* New York: Davies and Roberts.
- Lobo, Susan
 2002 *Urban Voices: The Bay Area American Indian Community.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Lounsbury, Floyd G.
 1947 Field notes from Tuscarora Reservation, Lewiston, NY. Cited in William N. Fenton (1978) Northern Iroquoian Culture Patterns. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol.15 (Northeast), Bruce Trigger, ed. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.
- 1964 The Structural Analysis of Kinship Semantics. In *Kinship and Social Organization*, Paul Bohannan and John Middleton, ed. Garden City, NY: Natural History Press.
- 1978 Iroquoian Languages. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol.15 (Northeast), Bruce Trigger, ed. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

- Lowery, Malinda Maynor
 2010 *Race, Identity, & The Making of a Nation: Lumbee Indians in the Jim Crow South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Lowie, Robert H.
 1968 *Relationship Terms*. In *Kinship and Social Organization*, Paul Bohannan and Middleton, ed. Garden City, NY: The Natural History Press.
- Marcoux, Jon Benard
 2010 *Pox, Empire, Shackles and Hides: The Townsend Site, 1670-1715*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Martin, Joseph
 1836 *A Comprehensive Description of Virginia and the District of Columbia: Containing a Copious Collection of Geographical, Statistical, Political, Commercial, Religious, Moral, and Miscellaneous Information, Chiefly from Original Sources*. Richmond: J.W. Randolph.
- Marx, Karl
 1967 *The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole*. Vol. 3. New York: International Publishers.
- Map of South Central Virginia Showing Lines of Transportation*
 1864 LC 2004627248. Washington: Library of Congress Geography and Map Division
- McCartney, Martha W.
 2006 Cockacoeske, Queen of Pamunkey: Diplomat and Suzeraine. In *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians of the Colonial Southeast*. Peter Wood, Gregory Wasilkov, and Thomas Hatley, ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- McKim Marriott (1976)
 1976 Hindu transactions: Diversity without dualism. In *Transaction and Meaning: Directions in the Anthropology of Exchange and Symbolic Behavior*, Bruce Kapferer, ed. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues.
- McIlwaine, H. R.
 1915 *Journal of the House of Burgesses*. 13 vols. Richmond: Library of Virginia.
- Mead, David
 1832 The Last Indians of Virginia. *Atlantic Journal* 1, no. 4:127-128.

- Meillassoux, Claude
- 1960 Essai D'interprétation du Phénomène Économique dans les Sociétés Traditionnelles D'auto-Subsistance. *Cahiers D'études Africaines* 1, no. 4:38-67.
- 1972 From Reproduction to Production: A Marxist Approach to Economic Anthropology. *Economy and Society* 1:93-105.
- 1973 The Social Organisation of the Peasantry: The Economic Basis of Kinship. *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 1, no. 1:81-90.
- Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review [Hunt's]
- 1846-1959 *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*. New York: George W. and John A. Wood.
- Merrell, James
- 1989a *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- 1989b Some Thoughts on Colonial Historians and American Indians. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 46:94-119.
- 2012 Second Thoughts on Colonial Historians and American Indians. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 69:451-512.
- Meyer, Melissa L.
- 1990 Signatures and Thumbprints: Ethnicity among the White Earth Anishinaabeg, 1889-1920. *Social Science History* 14:305-345.
- 1991 "We Can Not Get a Living as We Used To": Dispossession and the White Earth Anishinaabeg, 1889-1920. *American Historical Review* 96:368-394.
- 1994 *The White Earth Tragedy: Ethnicity and Dispossession at a Minnesota Anishinaabe Reservation*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Mihesuah, Devon Abbott and Angela Cavender Wilson, eds.
- 2004 *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Miles, Tiya
- 2006 *Ties That Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- 2010 *House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Miller, Lee
2000 *Roanoke: Solving the Mystery of England's Lost Colony*. New York: Arcade Publishing.
- Miller, Terry
2009 *Images of America: Southampton County*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing.
- Mintz, Sidney Wilfred
1985 *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Mithun, Marianne [Williams]
1974 A Grammar of Tuscarora. Ph.D. dissertation: Yale University.
- 1976 *A Grammar of Tuscarora*. New York: Garland Publishers.
- 1984 The Proto-Iroquoians: Cultural Reconstruction for Lexical Materials. In *Extending the Rafter: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Iroquoian Studies*, Michael K. Foster, Jack Campisi and Marianne Mithun, ed. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- 1992 Letter to Wes Taukchiray. 31 July 1992. Author's possession.
- 2001 *The Languages of Native North America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mooney, James
1889 MS 2190. Circulars and other material concerning Indians and traces of Indians in Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and North Carolina, 1889-1912. Suitland, MD: National Anthropological Archives.
- 1907 The Powhatan Confederacy, Past and Present. *American Anthropologist*, New Series 9, no. 1 (Jan.-Mar.): 129-152.
- Moore, John H.
2001 Evaluating Five Models of Human Colonization. *American Anthropologist* 103, no. 2:395-408.
- Moore, John H., ed.
1993 *The Political Economy of North American Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

- Moore, John H. and Michael E. Moseley
 2001 How Many Frogs Does It Take to Leap around the Americas? Comments on Anderson and Gillam. *American Antiquity* 66, no. 3:526-529.
- Moretti-Langholtz, Danielle
 1999 Other Names I Have Been Called: Political Resurgence Among Virginia Indians in the Twentieth Century. Ph.D. dissertation: University of Oklahoma.
- Moretti-Langholtz, Danielle, ed.
 2006 *A Study of Virginia Indians and Jamestown: The First Century*. Williamsburg, VA: National Park Service.
- Morgan, Lewis Henry
 1870 Indian Migrations. *North American Review* 110, no. 226:33-82.
- 1871 *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.
- 1877 *Ancient Society; or, Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery, through Barbarism to Civilization*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.
- Morgan, Phillip D.
 2000 *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-century Chesapeake and Lowcountry*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Morse, Jedidiah
 1822 *A report to the Secretary of War of the United States, on Indian affairs: comprising a narrative of a tour performed in the summer of 1820, under a commission from the President of the United States, for the purpose of ascertaining, for the use of the government, the actual state of the Indian tribes in our country*. Washington: Davis & Force.
- Mosely, Edward
 1737 *A New and Correct Map of the Province of North Carolina*. Mann Atlas, Vol. III, Eton College Archives, Eton, England.
- Mudar, Karen M., Erica Bubniak and John W. Verano
 1998 Cultural Identity and Mortuary Behavior: An Examination of the Hand Site Cemetery (44SN22) Southampton County, Virginia. *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 26:133-162.

- Mulroy, Kevin
 2007 *The Seminole Freedmen: A History*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Murdock, George Peter
 1949 *Social Structure*. New York: Macmillan.
- Myers, Merlin G.
 2006 *Households and Families of the Longhouse Iroquois at Six Nations Reserve*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- National Anthropological Archives
 n.d. NAA INV 9447700. Negative 1169 A. *Log Habitation 1791*. Smithsonian Institution.
- 1888 NAA INV 06212000. BAE GN01000a 06212000. *Group of Four Near Wood Cabin, 1888*. Smithsonian Institution.
- 1908 NAA INV 01756900. SPC Se Catawba NM 48736. *Group 1908*. Smithsonian Institution.
- 1925 NAA INV 01778000. SPC Se Choctaw NAA 4974. *Jim Family (Isaac?, Will, David D, Martha, and Wilson) Outside Their Log Cabin 1925*. Smithsonian Institution.
- National Park Service
 n.d. Archaeological Collection. Williamsburg: National Historical Park.
- Nabokov, Peter
 2001 *A Forest in Time: American Indian Ways of History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nash, June
 1979 *We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us: Dependency and Exploitation in Bolivian Tin Mines*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- 1981 Ethnographic Aspects of the World Capitalist System. *Annual Reviews in Anthropology* 10:393-423.
- Nash, Gary
 2006 *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early North America*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

- Naylor, Celia E.
 2008 *African Cherokees in Indian Territory: From Chattel to Citizens*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Needham, Rodney
 1971 *Rethinking Kinship and Marriage*. London: Tavistock.
- Nichols, Patricia Causey
 2009 *Voices of Our Ancestors: Language Contact in Early South Carolina*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- North, Douglass C.
 1965 The Role of Transportation in the Economic Development of North America. In *Les Grandes Maritimes Voies dans le Monde XVIe-XIXe*. Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N.
- 1966 *The Economic Growth of the United States, 1790-1860*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- 1974 *Growth and Welfare in the American Past: A New Economic History*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Northampton County, North Carolina
 1741-present. Register of Deeds Office, Jackson, North Carolina.
 Deed Books
 Marriage Book Index [originals in State Archives, Raleigh, NC]
 Will Books [originals in State Archives, Raleigh, NC]
- Oakley, Christopher Arris
 2005 *Keeping the Circle: American Indian Identity in Eastern North Carolina, 1885-2004*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Oates, Stephen B.
 1975 *The Fires of Jubilee: Nat Turner's Fierce Rebellion*. New York: Harper and Row.
- O'Brien, Jean
 1997 *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650-1790*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ollman, Bertell
 1993 *Dialectical Investigations*. London: Routledge.

- Ormi, Michael and Howard A. Winant
1994 *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. East Sussex, UK: Psychology Press, 1994.
- Ortner, Sherry
1984 Theory in Anthropology since the Sixties. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26, no. 1:126-166.
- Ortner, Sherry and Harriett Whitehead
1981 *Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Otto, John Solomon
1994 *Southern Agriculture During the Civil War Era, 1860-1880*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Owsley, Frank Lawrence
1949 *Plain Folk of the Old South*. Twickenham, UK: Athena Press.
- Painter, Floyd E.
1961 The Last of the Nottoway. *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 15, no. 4:34-38.
- Palmer, William P.
1875 *Calendar of State Papers and Other Manuscripts, 1652-1781*. 11 vols. Richmond: Library of Virginia.
- Parades, J. Anthony, ed.
1992 *Indians in the Southeastern United States in the Late 20th Century*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Parish Family Papers
1802 Pass for Melbery Turner, a Nottoway Indian and free woman, to travel from North Carolina to New York State. Parish Family Papers, 1780-1966, RG5/229, Swarthmore, PA: Swarthmore College Library.
- Parks, William
1736 *Royal Charter of the College of William & Mary*. Special Collections, Earl Greg Swem Library, College of William & Mary.
- Parman, Donald L.
1994 *Indians and the American West in the Twentieth Century*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

- Parramore, Thomas C.
1978 [1992] *Southampton County, Virginia*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- Peletz, Michael G.
1995 Kinship Studies in Late Twentieth-Century Anthropology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24:343-372.
- Perdue, Charles L., Jr., Thomas E. Barden and Robert K. Phillips, eds.
1976 *Weevils in the Wheat: Interviews with Virginia Ex-Slaves*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
- Perdue, Theda
1999 *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835*. Lincoln, NE: Bison Books.
- 2003 "Mixed Blood" Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Peregrine, Peter N.
1996 Introduction: World-Systems Theory in Archaeology. In *Pre-Columbian World Systems*, Peter N. Peregrine and Gary M. Feinman, ed. Madison, WI: Prehistory Press.
- Phelps, David S. and Charles L. Heath
2002 Cashie Series Ceramics from the Interior Coastal Plain of North Carolina. Paper presented at the 55th Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Greenville, South Carolina.
- Phillips, Patricia MS
1977 Oral history interviews with Nottoway allottee descendants and their collateral kin. MS copy in author's possession.
1990 Oral history interviews with Nottoway allottee descendants and their collateral kin. MS copy in author's possession.
- Phillips, Peter D.
1987 Incorporation of the Caribbean, 1650-1700. *Review* 10:781-804.
- Piker, Joshua Aaron
2004 *Okfuskee: A Creek Indian Town in Colonial America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Pluckhahn, Thomas J. and Robbie Ethridge, eds.
2006 *Light on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Polanyi, Karl
2001 *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Pollard, John Garland
1894 *The Pamunkey Indians of Virginia*. Washington: Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution.
- Potter, Stephen
1993 *Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs: The Development of Algonquian Culture and History in the Potomac Valley*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- Price, Richard
1983 *First-Time: The Historical Vision of an African American People*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Read, Dwight W.
2007 Kinship Theory: A Paradigm Shift. *Ethnology* 46, no. 4:329-364.
- Richards, Audrey
1940 *Bemba Marriage and Present Economic Conditions*. Livingstone: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Paper, no. 4.
- Richmond *Daily Dispatch*, Feb. 3. 1860. Richmond: Library of Virginia.
- Richmond *Enquirer*, Feb. 1, 1850. Richmond: Library of Virginia.
- Richmond *Enquirer*, May 2, 1854. Richmond: Library of Virginia.
- Richmond *Whig*, Dec. 17, 1850. Richmond: Library of Virginia.
- Richter, Daniel K.
1992 *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.
- 2001 *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Richter, Julie and Jody Allen
 2012 *Historical Overview of Africans and African Americans in Yorktown, at the Moore House, and on Battlefield Property, 1635-1867*. Williamsburg, VA: National Park Service.
- Rickard, Clinton, and Barbara Graymont, eds.
 1973 *Fighting Tuscarora: The Autobiography of Chief Clinton Rickard*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Roark-Calneck, Sue N.
 1996 A Wedding in the Bush: Continuity and Change in Algonquin Marriage. In *The Algonquins*, Daniel Clement, ed. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization.
- Rogin, Michael Paul
 1975 *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian*. New York: Alfred Knopf.
- Rosaldo, Renato
 1980 *Longot Headhunting, 1883-1974: A Study in Society and History*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Roseberry, William
 1984 *Coffee and Capitalism in the Venezuela Andes*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- 1985 Eric R. Wolf, Europe and the people without history (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983). *Dialectical Anthropology* 10, no.1:141-153.
- 1988 Domestic Modes, Domesticated Models. *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1, no. 4:423-430.
- 1989 *Anthropologies and Histories: Essays in Culture, History, and Political Economy*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Rothbard, Murray N.
 2011 *Conceived in Liberty*. Auburn, AL: Ludwig von Mises Institute.
- Rountree, Helen C.
 n.d. Names on Nottoway Official Records – State and County Ones. MS copy in author's possession, courtesy of Nottoway allottee descendants, 2003.
- 1973 Indian Land Loss in Virginia: A Prototype of Federal Indian Policy. Ph.D. dissertation: University of Wisconsin.

- 1979a The Termination and Dispersal of the Nottoway Indians of Virginia. Oliver Perry Collection, American Indian Resource Center, Department of Anthropology, College of William & Mary.
- 1979b The Indians of Virginia: A Third Race in a Bi-Racial State. In *Southeastern Indians Since Removal*, Walter L. Williams, ed. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- 1987 The Termination and Dispersal of the Nottoway Indians of Virginia. *Magazine of History and Biography* 95:193-214.
- 1989 *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- 1990 *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia Through Four Centuries*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Rountree, Helen C. and Thomas E. Davidson
 1997 *Eastern Shore Indians of Virginia and Maryland*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- Rountree, Helen C. and E. Randolph Turner III
 2002 *Before and After Jamestown: Virginia's Powhatans and Their Predecessors*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.
- Royce, Charles C.
 1975 *The Cherokee Nation*. Washington: The Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Rudes, Blair A.
 1976 Historical Phonology and the Development of the Tuscarora Sound System, Ph.D. dissertation: State University of New York, Buffalo.
- 1981a A Sketch of the Nottoway Language from a Historical-Comparative Perspective. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 47, no.1:27-49.
- 1981b Cowinçahakon/Akawççʔa:ka:ʔ: The Meherrin in the Nineteenth Century. *Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics* 6, vol. 3:5-7.
- 1999 *Tuscarora-English/English-Tuscarora Dictionary*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- 2000 Analysis of Place Names in Table 1 of Byrd and Heath, 1997. Paper presented at the Conference on Iroquois Research. Rensselaerville, NY.

- 2002a The First Description of a People: The Spanish among the Tuscarora before 1521. Paper presented at the Conference on Iroquois Research. Rensselaerville, NY.
- 2002b Early Vocabularies and Dictionary Development: A Cautionary Note. In *Indigenous Languages Across the Community*, Barbara Burnaby and Jon Allan Reyhner, ed. Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University.
- Rudes, Blair A., Thomas J. Blumer and Alan May
 2006 Catawba and Neighboring Groups. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol.14 (Southeast), Raymond D. Fogelson, ed. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.
- Rudes, Blair A. and Dorothy Crouse
 1987 *The Tuscarora Legacy of J.N.B. Hewitt: Materials for the Study of the Tuscarora Language and Culture*. 2 vols. Mercury Series Paper No. 108. Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization.
- Rushforth, Brett
 2012 *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Russell, John Henderson
 1913 *The Free Negro in Virginia, 1619-1865*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press.
- Sahlins, Marshall
 1961 The Segmentary Lineage: An Organization of Predatory Expansion. *American Anthropologist* 63:322-343.
- 1972 *Stone Age Economics*. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.
- 1981 *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- 1985 *Islands of History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 1988 Cosmologies of Capitalism: The Trans-Pacific Sector of the “World System.” *Proceedings of the British Academy for 1988*:1-51.
- 1993 Goodbye to Tristes Tropes: Ethnography in the Context of Modern World History. *Journal of Modern History* 65:1-25.
- 2000 *Culture in Practice: Selected Essays*. New York: Zone Books.

- 2011a What Kinship is (Part One). *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 17, no. 1:2-19.
- 2011b What Kinship is (Part Two). *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 17, no. 2:227-242.
- Sainsbury, W. Noel
 1860 *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*. 60 vols. London: Longman, Green and Roberts.
- Salley, Alexander Samuel
 1911 *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708*. New York: Scribner's Sons.
- Sasser, Ray
 1978 Personality and History as Motivational Variables: In the Differential Reaction of Two Communities to Acculturation. M.A. thesis: Ball State University.
- Saunt, Claudio
 1999 *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 2005 *Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schermerhorn, Richard Alonzo
 1978 *Ethnic Plurality in India*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Schilling, Vincent
 2009 "Nottoway Indian Tribe of Virginia Asserts Unfair Treatment in Bid for State Recognition," *Indian Country Today*, April, 15 2009.
- Schnapper, Bernard
 1961 *La Politique et le Commerce Français dans le Golfe de Guinée de 1838 à 1871*. Paris & La Haye: Mouton.
- Schneider, David M.
 1968 *American Kinship: A Cultural Account*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- 1972 What is Kinship all about? In *Kinship Studies in the Morgan Centennial Year*, P. Reining, ed. Washington: Anthropological Society of Washington.

- 1977 Kinship, Nationality and Religion in American Culture: Towards a Definition of Kinship. In *Symbolic Anthropology: A Reader in the Study of Symbols and Meanings*, J.L. Dolgin, D.S. Kennitzer & D. Schneider, ed. New York: Columbia University Press.
- 1980 *American Kinship: A Cultural Account* (Second edition). Chicago: University Press.
- 1984 *A Critique of the Study of Kinship*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Schneider, Jane
 1977 Was there a “Pre-Capitalist” World-System? *Peasant Studies* 6, no. 1:20-29.
- 1995 Introduction: The Analytic Strategies of Eric R. Wolf. In *Articulating Hidden Histories: Exploring the Influence of Eric R. Wolf*, Jane Schneider and Rayna Rapp, ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Schneider, Jane and Rayna Rapp, eds.
 1995 *Articulating Hidden Histories: Exploring the Influence of Eric R. Wolf*, Jane Schneider and Rayna Rapp, ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe
 1846 *Notes on the Iroquois*. New York: Bartlett & Welford.
- 1851 *Historical and Statistical Information, Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States: Coll. and Prepared Under the Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Per Act of Congress of March 3rd 1847, Volume 1*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Company.
- 1855 *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States: Collected and Prepared Under the Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Per Act of Congress of March 3rd, 1847, Volume 5*. Philadelphia: J.P. Lippincott & Company.
- Schortman, Patricia A. and Edward Urban
 1994 Living on the Edge: Core/Periphery Relations in Ancient Southeastern Mesoamerica. *Current Anthropology* 35, no. 4:401-430.

- Schrieke, B.
 1955 *Indonesian Sociological Studies: Selected Writings of B. Schrieke*, Pt. 1. The Hague: W. van Hoeve.
- Schusky, Ernest Lester
 1964 *Manual for Kinship Analysis*. St. Louis, MO: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Schweitzer, Peter P.
 2000 *Dividends of Kinship: Meanings and Uses of Social Relatedness*. London: Routledge.
- Scott, James C.
 1985 *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Scully, Randolph Ferguson
 2008 *Religion and the Making of Nat Turner's Virginia: Baptist Community and Conflict, 1740-1840*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
- Service, Elman R.
 1962 *Primitive Social Organization: An Evolutionary Perspective*. New York: Random House.
- Shannon, Thomas R.
 1989 *An Introduction to the World-System Perspective*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- 1996 *An Introduction to the World-System Perspective: Second Edition*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Shephard, Christopher
 2012 Triangulating Cultural Hybridity: Interpreting Gingaskin Social Boundaries in Documentary and Material Remains. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Baltimore, Maryland.
- Shepherd, Samuel
 1835 *The Statutes at Large of Virginia from October Session 1792 to December Session 1806 Inclusive...Being a Continuation of Hening*. 3 vols. Richmond.
- Sheridan, Thomas E.
 2005 Strategic Essentialism and the Future of Ethnohistory in North America. *Reviews in Anthropology* 34:63-78.

- Shoemaker, Nancy
 2002 *Clearing a Path: Theorizing the Past in Native American Studies*. New York: Routledge.
- Sider, Gerald
 1986 *Culture and Class in Anthropology and History: A Newfoundland Illustration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
 2003 *Living Indian Histories: Lumbee and Tuscarora People in North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
 2006 The Walls Came Tumbling Up: The Production of Culture, Class and Native American Societies. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 17, no. 3:276-290.
- Siddiqi, Asiya
 1973 *Agrarian Change in a Northern Indian State: Uttar Pradesh, 1819-1833*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Siebert, Frank T., Jr.
 1996 Proto-Algonquian* na: tawe: wa'massasauga': Some False Etymologies and Alleged Iroquoian Loanwords. *Anthropological Linguistics* 38, no. 4:635-642.
- Silverstein, Michael
 1998 Contemporary Transformation of Local Linguistic Communities. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27:401-426.
- Siskind, Janet
 1978 Kinship and Mode of Production. *American Anthropologist* 80, no. 4:860-872.
- Smail, John
 1999 *Merchants, Markets and Manufacture: The English Wool Textile Industry in the Eighteenth Century*. Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Small, David B. and Nicola Beth Tannenbaum, eds
 1999 *At the Interface: The Household and Beyond*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America
- Smedley, Audrey
 1999 *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

- Smith, Andrew F.
 2003 *Peanuts: The Illustrious History of the Goober Pea*. Champagne: University of Illinois Press.
- Smith, Anthony D.
 1986 *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. New York: Wiley.
- Smith, Gerald P.
 1971 Protohistoric Sociopolitical Organization of the Nottoway in the Chesapeake Bay – Carolina Sound Region. Ph.D. dissertation: University of Missouri.
- 1984 *The Hand Site: Southampton, County, Virginia*. Richmond: Archeological Society of Virginia.
- Smith, Joan and Immanuel Wallerstein, eds.
 1992 *Creating and Transforming Households: The Constraints of the World-Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, Joan, Immanuel Wallerstein and Hans-Dieter Evers, eds.
 1984 *Households and the World-Economy*. London: Sage Publications.
- Smith, Joan and Jamie Sudler
 1992 A Postscript on Method. In *Creating and Transforming Households: The Constraints of the World-Economy*, Joan Smith and Immanuel Wallerstein, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Snow, Dean R.
 2007a Migration in Prehistory: The Northern Iroquoian Case. In *Archaeology of the Iroquois: Selected Readings and Research Sources*, Jordan E. Kerber, ed. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- 2007b More on Migration in Prehistory: Accommodating New Evidence in the Northern Iroquoian Case. In *Archaeology of the Iroquois: Selected Readings and Research Sources*, Jordan E. Kerber, ed. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- So, Alvin Y.
 1984 The Process of Incorporation into the Capitalist World-System: The Case of China in the Nineteenth Century. *Review* 8:91-116.
- Southampton County, Virginia
 1749-present. County Clerk's Office, Courtland, Virginia.
 Chancery Court Cases
 Chancery Order Books

- Deed Books
 Legislative Petitions [most at Library of Virginia]
 Marriage Books
 Trust Deed Books
 Order Books
 Procession Map Book
 Personal Property Tax List
 Register of Free Negroes [Library of Virginia]
 Southampton County Loose Papers [Clerk's Office]
 Southampton County Loose Papers (SCLP) [Library of Virginia]
 Will Books
- Southampton County Heritage Village, Agriculture and Forestry Museum
 n.d. Photographic Collection. Courtland, VA: Southampton County Historical Society.
- Speck, Frank G.
 1903-1950 Mss. Ms. Coll. 126. Frank G. Speck Papers. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.
- 1928 *Chapters on the Ethnology of the Powhatan Tribes of Virginia*. Indian Notes and Monographs 1, no. 5. New York: Heye Foundation.
- Spier, Leslie
 1925 *The Distribution of Kinship Systems in North America*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Spotswood, Alexander
 1885 *The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1710-1722*, 2 vols. Richmond: Virginia Historical Society.
- Stack, Carol B.
 1975 *All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Stanard, William G. ed.
 1900 The Indians of Southern Virginia, 1650-1711. Depositions in the Virginia and North Carolina Boundary Case. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 7, no. 4:337-358.
- 1911 Miscellaneous Colonial Documents. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 19, no. 3:263-275.

- 1925 Virginia Council Journals, 1726-1753. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 33, no. 1:11-46.
- Stasch, Rupert
 2009 *Society of Others: Kinship and Mourning in a West Papuan Place*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Steckley, John L.
 2007 *Words of the Huron*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- Stein, Gil J.
 1999 Rethinking World-Systems: Power, Distance, and Diasporas in the Dynamics of Interregional Interaction. In *World Systems Theory in Practice: Leadership, Production and Exchange*, P. Nick Kardulias, ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Strathern, Marilyn
 1988 *The Gender of the Gift: Problems With Women and Problems With Society in Melanesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Strickland, S.S. and P.S. Shetty, eds.
 1998 *Human Biology and Social Inequality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sturn, Circe
 2002 *Blood Politics: Race, Culture, and Identity in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sturtevant, William C.
 1978 Oklahoma Seneca-Cayuga. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol.15 (Northeast), Bruce Trigger, ed. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.
- Styron, William
 1967 *The Confessions of Nat Turner*. New York: Random House.
- Surry County, Virginia
 1652-present [Fragmentary before 1671], County Clerk's Office, Surry, Virginia. Order Books
- Swanton, John R.
 1946 [1979] *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 137. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

- Taussig, Michael T.
 1980 *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- 1987 *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Thomas, George H.
 1840 Letter to John W. Thomas, October 19, 1840. Private papers of the Shands family. Courtland, VA.
- Thomas, Hugh
 1997 *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade: 1440-1870*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Thompson, William
 1983 *Contending Approaches to World System Analysis*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Thornton, Russell, ed.
 1998 *Studying Native America: Problems and Prospects*. Madison: University of Wisconsin.
- Todd, Vincent H. and Julius Goebel
 1920 Christoph von Graffenried's account of the founding of New Bern. *Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission* 9. Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughton.
- Tooker, Elizabeth
 1978 Wyandot. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol.15 (Northeast), Bruce Trigger, ed. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.
- Tragle, Henry Irving
 1971 *The Southampton Slave Revolt of 1831*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Traunter, Richard
 1698 The Travels of Richard Traunter on the Main Continent of America from Appomattox River in Virginia to Charles Town in South Carolina. MSS 5:9 T6945:1. Richmond: Virginia Historical Society.
- Treas, Judith
 1991 The Common Pot or Separate Purses? A Transaction Cost Interpretation. In *Gender, Family and Economy: The Triple Overlap*, Rae Lesser Blumberg, ed. London: Sage Publications.

- Trigger, Bruce G.
1978 Iroquoian Matriliney. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 48:55-65.
- 1982 Ethnohistory: Problems and Prospects. *Ethnohistory* 29:1-19.
- 1986 Ethnohistory: The Unfinished Edifice. *Ethnohistory* 33, no. 3:253-267
- 1990 *The Huron: Farmers of the North*. St. Louis, MO: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Turner, Victor W.
1957 *Schism and Continuity in an African Village*. Manchester, UK: University of Manchester.
- United States Bureau of the Census
1820 Fourth Census. Population Schedule.
1830 Fifth Census. Population Schedule.
1840 Sixth Census. Population Schedule.
1850 Seventh Census. Agricultural Schedule, Non-Population.
Seventh Census. Population Schedule.
Seventh Census. Slave Schedule.
1860 Eighth Census. Agricultural Schedule, Non-Population.
Eighth Census. Population Schedule.
Eighth Census. Slave Schedule.
1870 Ninth Census. Agricultural Schedule, Non-Population.
Ninth Census. Population Schedule.
1880 Tenth Census. Agricultural Schedule, Non-Population.
Tenth Census. Population Schedule.
1900 Twelfth Census. Population Schedule.
1910 Thirteenth Census. Population Schedule.
1920 Fourteenth Census. Population Schedule.
1930 Fifteenth Census. Population Schedule.
1940 Sixteenth Census. Population Schedule.

- United States Geological Survey
 1919 Boykins Quadrangle. Richmond: Library of Virginia
- United States Naval History and Heritage Command
 n.d. *U.S.S. Crusader*. Photo # NH 66399. Donation of Mrs. George W.S. Musgrave, 1968.
- United States, Selective Service System [Draft Cards]
 1917-1918 *World War I Selective Service System Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918*. Washington: National Archives and Records Administration.
- 1942-1945 *Selective Service Registration Cards, World War II*. Washington: National Archives and Records Administration.
- Verdery, Katherine
 2003 *The Vanishing Hectare: Property and Value in Postsocialist Transylvania*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Virginia, Commonwealth of
 Acts Passed at a General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia. Library of Virginia, Richmond
- Bureau of Vital Statistics, Death Certificates. Richmond.
- Department of Historical Resources [VDHR]. Highway Marker Program, Richmond.
- Legislative Petitions, Southampton County. Library of Virginia, Richmond.
- Virginia Historical Society [VHS]
 1737 MS 11:2 S1475:1. Deed, 1737/8 March 24 of the Trustees of the Nottoway Indians (i.e., Thomas Cocke, Benjamin Edwards, and John Simmons) and Cherrino, King Edmunds, Frank, Harrison, James, Peter, Wine Oak Robin, Wine Oak Robin, Jr., Sam, Robert Scholar, and Cockarous Tom, to John Simmons for 390 acres in Isle of Wight County, Va.
- 1754 MS 11:2 B6235:1. Deed, 1754 January 26, of the Trustees of the Nottoway Indians (i.e., Etheldred Taylor, Joseph Gray, and Robert Jones) and Sam, Dick, Tom, Wat Bailey, John Turner, Tho[mas] Turner, Jack Will, George Scip, and Harry, Chief Men, to Samuel Blow for 57 acres in Southampton County, Va.
- 1773 MS 11:4 J2324:1. Lease, 1773 Jan[ua]ry 1, to Enos James for 118 acres, part of the reserved lands of the Nottoway Indians in Southampton County, Va.

- Voss, Barbara L.
- 2008 Between the Household and the World System: Social Collectivity and Community Agency in Overseas Chinese Archaeology. *Historical Archaeology* 42, no. 3:37-52.
- Wallace, Anthony F.C.
- 2005 *Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- 2012 *Tuscarora: A History*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Wallace, Anthony F.C. and William D. Reyburn
- 1951 Crossing the Ice: A Migration Legend of the Tuscarora Indians. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 1:42-47.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice
- 1974 *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. New York: Academic Press.
- 1979 *The Capitalist World-Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1980 *The Modern World-System, II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750*. New York: Academic Press.
- 1984 Household Structures and Labor-force Formation in the Capitalist World-Economy. In *Households and the World-Economy*, Joan Smith, Immanuel Wallerstein and Hans-Dieter Evers, ed. London: Sage Publications.
- 1989 *The Modern World-System, III*. Waltham, MA: Academic Press.
- 1991a The Construction of Peoplehood: Racism, Nationalism, Ethnicity. In *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, ed. London: Verso.
- 1991b Household Structures and Labour-Force Formation in the Capitalist World-Economy. In *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, ed. London: Verso.
- 1991c *Report on an Intellectual Project: The Fernand Braudel Center, 1976-1991*. Binghamton, NY: Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems, and Civilizations.
- 2000 *The Essential Wallerstein*. New York: New Press.

- 2004 *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- 2011 *The Modern World-System, vol. IV: Centrist Liberalism Triumphant, 1789–1914*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel and Martin, William G.
1979 Peripheralization of Southern Africa, II: Changes in Household Structure and Labor-force Formation. *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 3, no. 2:193.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel and Joan Smith
1992a Households as an Institution of the World-economy. In *Creating and Transforming Households: The Constraints of the World-Economy*, Joan Smith and Immanuel Wallerstein, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1992b Core-periphery and Household Structures. In *Creating and Transforming Households: The Constraints of the World-Economy*, Joan Smith and Immanuel Wallerstein, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Walker, R.F. (superintendent of public printing)
1876 *Virginia: A Geographical and Political Summary*. Richmond.
- Ward, H. Trawick, and R. P. Stephen Davis
2004 *Time Before History: The Archaeology of North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Waugaman, Sandra and Danielle Moretti-Langholtz
2006 *We're Still Here: Contemporary Virginia Indians Tell Their Stories*. Richmond, VA: Palari Publishing.
- Weber, Max
1922 [1968] *Economy and Society*. Somerville, NJ: Bedminster Press.
- Weibel-Orlando, Joan
1999 *Indian Country, L.A.: Maintaining Ethnic Community in Complex Society*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press.
- Weiss, Lawrence David
1977 *The Development of Capitalism in the Navajo Nation: A Political-Economic History*. Minneapolis, MN: MEP Publications.

- Weslager, C.A.
 1943 *Delaware's Forgotten Folk: the Story of the Moors and Nanticokes*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Wheeler-Voegelin, Ermine
 1959 MS 7902. The 19th- and 20th-Century Ethnohistory of Various Groups of Cayuga Indians. Suitland, MD: National Anthropological Archives.
- Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer*, Dec. 10, 1852. Transcribed in David Goldfield (1977).
- White, Marilyn Mildred
 1983 "We lived on an 'Island'?: An Afro-American Family and Community in Rural Virginia, 1865-1940. Ph.D. dissertation: University of Texas at Austin.
- White, Richard
 1983 [1988] *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- 1991 *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1998 Using the Past: History and Native American Studies. In *Studying Native America: Problems and Prospects*, Russell Thornton, ed. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Whitehead, Neil L.
 1992 Tribes Make States and States Make Tribes: Warfare and the Creation of Colonial Tribes and States in Northeastern South America. In *War in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare*, Brian Ferguson and Neil Whitehead, ed. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press
- Williamson, Margaret Holmes
 2003 *Powhatan Lords of Life and Death: Command and Consent in Seventeenth-Century Virginia*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Wilson, Monica H.
 1950 Nyakyusa Kinship. In *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, A.R. Radcliffe-Brown & D. Forde, ed. London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute.
- 1956 *Communal Rituals of the Nyakyusa*. London: Oxford University Press.

- Wilson, Peter
 1973 *Crab Antics: The Social Anthropology of English-Speaking Negro Societies of the Caribbean*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Wolf, Eric R.
 1997 *Europe and the People Without History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
 1999 *Envisioning Power: Ideologies of Dominance and Crisis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 2001 *Pathways of Power: Building an Anthropology of the Modern World*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wong, Diana
 1984 *The Limits of Using the Household as a Unit of Analysis*. In *Households and the World Economy*, Joan Smith, Immanuel Wallerstein and Hans-Dieter Evers, ed. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Woodard, Buck
 2006 *Nottoway Language, Struggle and Death*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory, Williamsburg, VA.
- Woodard, Buck and Danielle Moretti-Langholtz
 2009 "They Will Not Admitt of Any Werowance From Him to Gouverne Over Them" The Chickahominy in Context: A Reassessment of Political Configurations. *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology* 25:85-96.
- Woodford-Berger, Prudence
 1981 *Women in Houses: The Organization of Residence and Work in Rural Ghana*. *Anthropologiske Studes*. Women: Work and Household Systems, 30-31-1981, Kungl. University; Socialantropologisks Institutiones S-10691-Stockholm, Sweden.
- Works Progress Administration [WPA]
 1937 *Historical Inventory Project*, Virginia Conservation Commission, Southampton County. Richmond: Library of Virginia.
- Wright, Gavin
 2006 *Slavery and American Economic Development*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Wynes, Charles E.
 1971 *Race Relations in Virginia, 1870-1902*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield.

- Yengoyan, Aram
1986 Theory in Anthropology: On the Demise of the Concept of Culture. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28:368-374.
- Zellar, Gary
2007 *African Creeks: Estelvasite and the Creek Nation*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Zenner, Walter
1996 Middlemen Minorities. In *Ethnicity*, John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ziegler-Otero, Lawrence.
2004 *Resistance in an Amazonian Community: Huaorani Organizing Against the Global Economy*. New York: Berghahn.

Field Notes

- 2006 Field notes, correspondence and papers on the Nottoway, Chereonhaka Nottoway, North Carolina Nottoway, the Nottoway Confederacy, the Nottoway-Weyanoke of Ohio and the Virginia Council on Indians.
Informal interviews in Isle of Wight Co., Portsmouth, Richmond, Southampton Co., Suffolk, Surry Co. and Williamsburg, VA. Summer research grant; proposal on file with the Department of Anthropology, College of William & Mary.
- 2007 Field notes, correspondence and papers on the Nottoway, Chereonhaka Nottoway, Meherrin, Southampton Co. and Virginia Council on Indians.
- 2010 Field notes, correspondence and papers on the Nottoway, Chereonhaka Nottoway, Meherrin. Southampton Co. and Virginia Council on Indians.
Formal interviews in Franklin, Portsmouth, Richmond, Southampton Co., Suffolk and Williamsburg, VA; proposal on file with the Department of Anthropology and the Internal Review Board, College of William & Mary, IRB PHSC-2010-07-22-6769-bwwood.
- 2011 Field notes, correspondence and papers on the Nottoway, Chereonhaka Nottoway, Meherrin and Southampton Co.
Formal Interviews in Baltimore, MD, Franklin, VA, Philadelphia, PA, Orlando, FL, and Portsmouth, Richmond, Southampton Co., Suffolk and Williamsburg, VA; proposal on file with the Department of Anthropology and the Internal Review Board, College of William & Mary, IRB PHSC-2010-07-22-6769-bwwood.

2012 Field notes, correspondence and papers on the Nottoway, Meherrin and Southampton Co.