



AMERICANS *Becoming* TODAY

AMERICAN INDIANS



Newsline

INDIAN TIMELINE: 1750-1812

1750s: France and England jockey for position to gain control in North America. Indian nations inevitably become embroiled in the conflict, as the Ohio Valley and western frontier become hot zones between empires. The "play-off strategy" incorporated so successfully before begins to erode as tribal peoples must choose sides.

1755: Braddock's defeat. A major expedition of British regulars and militia from Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland is badly defeated by a combined force of Indians and French. Raids against the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania are frequent and severe; a refugee crisis ensues in many eastern cities.

1760: The Cherokees, considered the major Indian power in the south, launch raids against the frontiers of Virginia and the Carolinas and destroy the fort and most of the garrison at Fort London in present-day Tennessee. A punitive expedition from South Carolina ends the assault; Virginia sends forces, but fighting is over by the time they arrive.

1763: The French and Indian War ends with the Treaty of Paris. The crown established the Royal Proclamation line, in part to serve as the demarcation between Indian and white settlements. Indian agents on the frontier communicate the restrictions of the Proclamation line to Indian tribes while white settlers ignore it and cross the mountains regardless. The long-established diplomacy of the "middle ground" in Indian diplomacy disintegrates as the newly victorious British begin to run roughshod over diplomatic protocol, denying presents and shifting policy toward force and coercion. This in large part leads to the outbreak of Pontiac's War, a multiracial offensive that captures ten British forts in fourteen days, with only forts Niagara, Pitt, and Detroit remaining. Once again the frontier is hit hard.

1764: A British expedition led by Henry Bouquet defeats a multiracial force at the Battle of Bushy Run, bringing a halt to the Indian offensive. Realizing the long overdue overhaul in Indian policy, the crown institutes the superintendent system, with Sir William Johnson in control of the north and John Stuart controlling the south—the first British attempt at a unified policy.

1768: A critical year. In the north, the Iroquois League sells to the crown the Ohio Valley lands they do not control at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix. In the south, the Cherokee sell lands they do not control in the lower Ohio Valley and present-day West Virginia. Frontier Virginians and eastern land speculators see these agreements as the inevitable beginning of the opening of western

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INDIANS IN WILLIAMSBURG

Primary Document Evidence of Indians in Williamsburg in the 1750s, 1760s, and 1770

Evidence of Indian presence in the colonial capital comes from a variety of sources: information on the number of Indian boys attending the Brafferton School (the Indian School at the College of William and Mary) from the bursar accounts, colonial newspaper articles, the Governor's Council journals, the palace expense accounts, and private journals or diaries all provide small but tantalizing glimpses of native peoples just before and during the Revolutionary War.

Maryland Gazette, September 11, 1751.

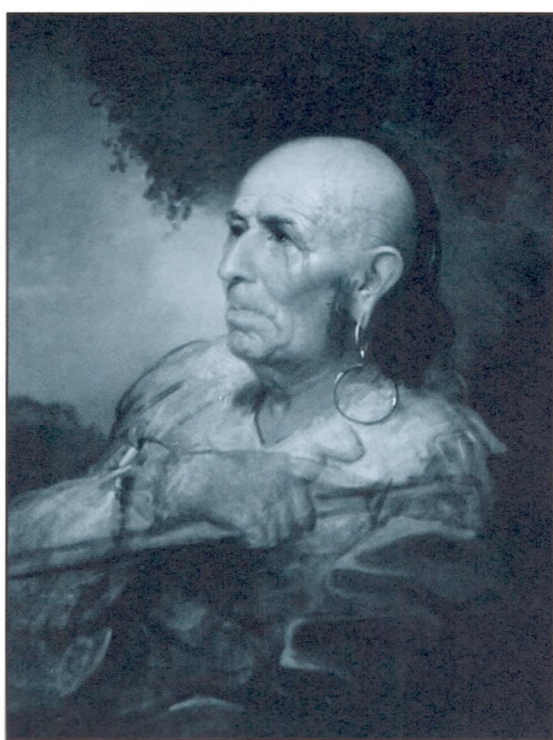
[Williamsburg] August 16. On Thursday last his Honour the President gave an Audience to the Ambassador of the Cherokee Nation, attended by his Nobles . . .

. . . President took them all by the Hand, wished them a good Journey home, and Prosperity to their Emperor and the Cherokee Nation.

On Monday the President had a private Conversation with them, when he explain'd to them the Happiness and Advantages the Christians enjoy, in the Hopes and Assurance of a blessed Immortality; and from thence persuaded them to send some of their Children to be educated at the College, that by their Means they might be instructed in the Principles of the Christian Religion, and be Partakers of the same happiness with the English. They heartily thank'd his Honour for this Instance of his affection, and assured him that his Offer was very agreeable to them; but that they could return no Answer without consulting their Emperor.

About a week before the arrival of the Cherokees, it was rumour'd, that the Nottaway Indians, being very inveterate against them, were determined to lie in Ambush and intercept them. This nation, 'twas said, was exasperated against the Cherokees, for murdering, many Years ago, seven of their young Men, whom they had invited to hunt with them; and had resolved to embrace this favourable Opportunity of revenging themselves. The President being informed of this, and a Report prevailing, that they had cross'd James River, and were on their March to the Westward, with an Intent to wait on the Road in Order to put their Design in Execution, ordered all the Cherokees to be completely arm'd, that they might be able to defend themselves in Case of an Attack; and likewise issued

Governor's Council Chamber the Capitol.



*Note: Artist not identified. For more information on this portrait see page 8.

a Proclamation, strictly requiring the Nottoways to desist from their bloody Design, and to repair immediately to their own Habitations to avoid the most rigorous Prosecution commanding also all Magistrates, Sheriffs, and others to be riding and assisting in preserving the Peace in their respective counties.

But all these Precautions proved unnecessary, the Nottoways arriving in Town yesterday with a white Flag. The Cherokees before informed of their Arrival, immediately gave the Signal of War, and were preparing for Battle, but several Gentlemen representing to them the friendly appearance of Nottoways, advised them to march out, and meet them in the same friendly Manner. At first they were inflexible; but being no less prevailed upon, they hoisted a white Flag, and by marching by Beat of Drum, met the Nottoways in the Market place, each Party singing the Song of Peace. After many of their accustomed Ceremonies, they join'd Hands and smoked the Pipe of Peace together: But not being able to hold any Conference, the Crowd being very great, they repaired to the Court House, where the Nottoways being sensible that these were not the Indians who had done them the Injury they complain'd of, produced a Belt of Wampum, which they had receiv'd of the Cherokees at their last Peace, and desired a Continuance of their Friendship. The Orator, who negotiates all their Treaties, receiv'd the Wampum, and rising up, made a long Speech to his Friends, telling

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"James, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, and WHEREAS our loving and well disposed Subjects [so named], gentlemen, and divers others of our loving subjects, have been humble suitors unto us, that we would vouchsafe unto them our license, to make habitation, plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of our people into that part of America commonly known as Virginia, and other parts and territories in America, either appertaining unto us, or which are not now actually possessed by any Christian Prince or people . . ."

First Charter of Virginia, April 1606



Copper Peace Medal with the figure of George I on one side and an Indian in the act of shooting an arrow at a stag standing behind a tree with four branches under the sun 1714-1750.]

INDIANS AND THE REVOLUTION

The Revolution proved devastatingly familiar to American Indians. Pressured on all sides, Indians divided during the conflict. The Revolution shattered the Iroquois Confederacy, most supporting the British, some supporting the Americans. Indian attacks on American targets seemingly confirmed the charge in the Declaration of Independence that the British had employed "merciless Indian savages, whose known role of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and condition." The war forced several thousand Oneidas to take refuge in miserable camps at Schenectady. Some Indians preserved or even extended their autonomy during the Revolutionary crisis, especially the Abenakis in Maine, the Chicksaws in Mississippi, and the Seminoles in Florida. But the Revolution's political and military effects destroyed the independence of others, such as the Oquogans and other Iroquois groups in New York. Most ominously, the Revolution freed Americans to pursue further western settlement that forced all too familiar changes on ever-shrinking Indian societies, processes set in motion in the 16th century and continued relentlessly into the 20th.

[Jon Butler, *Becoming America: The Revolution before 1776*, Harvard University Press, p. 242.]

VIRGINIA TODAY SNAPSHOT

"When the buffalo went away the hearts of my people fell to the ground, and they could not lift them up again. After this nothing happened."

Crow's Great Chief Plenty Coups
See Page 3 Radical Hope



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CULTURES

Disappearance of American Indian Cultures

Between 1680 and 1760 American Indian cultures disappeared altogether or merged with other cultures, almost always involuntarily. Inaccurate and confusing 17th-and 18th-century reports make it difficult to identify distinct American Indian cultural groups after 1600, as British settlement began. But in the British mainland colonies, roughly 160 such groups that existed in 1680 had been reduced to about 75 by 1800. In the southern colonies, for example, the Indian population fell from about 200,000 in 1685 to fewer than 60,000, while the European and African populations rose from 50,000 to more than 900,000.

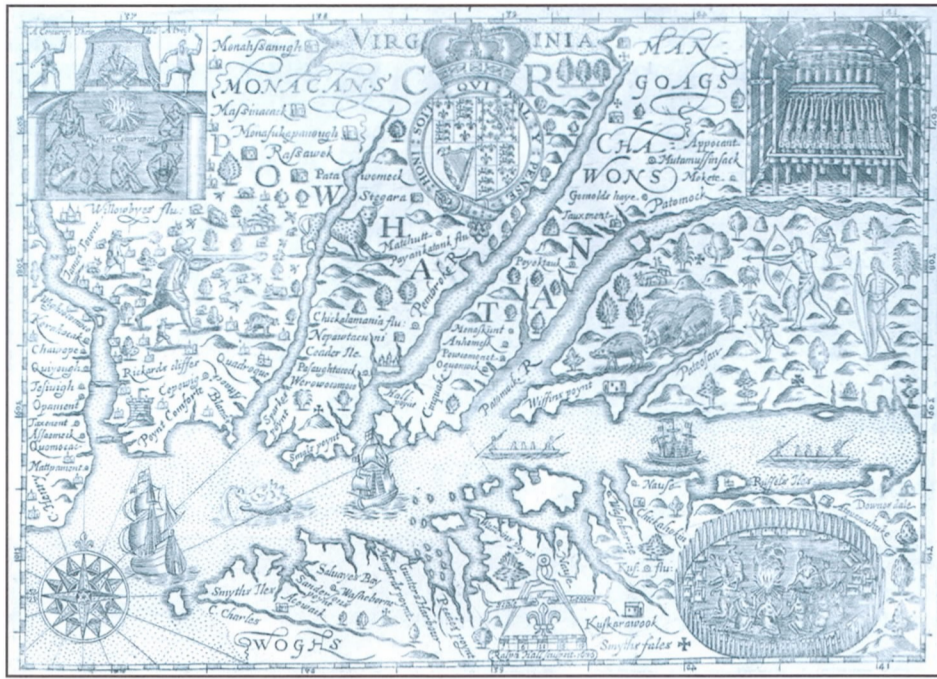
This radical population decline and cultural homicide in the mainland British colonies was the second of several stages in a tragic process that started in the 16th century and that continued into the 20th. The first major contraction began in the 1550s and stemmed from the ravages of European diseases and European conquest. Relatively isolated from far-flung disease environments, American Indians fell before the onslaught of European sicknesses. War proved equally devastating, including wars begun by Indians to stem European conquest.

The period from 1680 to 1760 sealed the massive reductions of Indian populations begun in the late 16th century from disease and conquest. Everywhere along the eastern seaboard, minuscule numbers of Indian survivors occupied ever smaller geographical pockets surrounded by more and more Europeans. In New England, epidemics reduced Massachusetts and Patuxet societies from about 25,000 people in 1600 to less than 300 people by 1770 while the European population rose to nearly 90,000. The 3,000 Indians living on Nantucket Island in 1642 had been reduced to about 1,500 in 1674, then to twenty in 1790. By 1700 the 20,000 Indians who once lived in Tidewater Virginia had been reduced to fewer than 2,000, by which time the European and African populations had reached 60,000.

This persistence (of adaptation, accommodation, and survival typified surviving Indian responses to English advances in the 18th century) among surviving Indians had important implications for pre-Revolutionary American society. It meant that between 1680 and 1700 Indians and Europeans lived side by side almost everywhere in rural 18th-century America, where they sustained innumerable encounters under circumstances new for everyone. Certainly exceptions existed. Tidewater Virginia was almost bereft of Indians by the 1720s, as was far eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and some sections of New England. But throughout most of the Carolinas, backcountry Virginia, western Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York, and western and northern New England, Indians remained a regular presence among Europeans, sometimes feared, sometimes loathed, occasionally admired, everywhere changed. The era of greater segregation would come in the 19th century as the European and African American populations boomed and the Indian population declined further, often forcibly. Yet in the pre-Revolutionary era, Indians solidified new ways of dealing with the European challenge, with each other, and with the natural world that they had previously claimed for themselves.

[John Butler, *Becoming America: The Revolution before 1776*, Harvard University Press, 2000, p. 12-16.]

Powhatan and His Council
John Smith Map



North America: Southeast Virginia Derivative of John Smith Map
*Note: See the two cartouches in the Robert Beverley article.

POWHATAN RELIGION

Any attempt in our time to describe the religion of Virginia's early Indians is best prefaced with a couple of caveats. First, surviving accounts of Powhatan beliefs and practices come from the English who encountered them. Since the Indians left no written records, descriptions of them come to us through the prisms of European value systems and the biases of men who encountered them—like John Smith, Gabriel Archer, William Strachey, John Clayton, and Robert Beverley—or through those in England who recorded what they heard from those who had been in Virginia. As 17th-century white settlement progressed, colonists increasingly derided Indians for their religion and sought to convert them. The Powhatan became less willing to discuss their own beliefs openly, muddling further the already dim understanding of the English.

Second, we should remember that traditional Indian religion was dying out by the end of the 17th century. During much of the 18th century, the Indians languished in religious limbo, their priests having abandoned the last remaining temples, resulting in the loss of their arcane knowledge to posterity. Later in the century, Baptist and Methodist evangelists would make inroads in wholesale conversion of Virginia Indians. Thus, the description of Powhatan religion which follows treats a culture largely in eclipse by the time the English Virginians transformed Middle Plantation into their new capital of Williamsburg after 1699. Three hundred years later, scholars are trying to piece together a more accurate view of Powhatan beliefs and practices as new evidence comes to light, chiefly through archaeology.

The Powhatan were polytheistic people, who seem to have been allowed some individual latitude as to which gods they chose to emphasize in their daily life. Although the Patawomecks in northern Virginia related a detailed creation story with five gods, including a great hare, most Powhatan groups believed that a mighty god, Ahone, created the earth, the heavens, and all good things. Because he was beneficent in nature, however, they felt no need to make offerings to him. The Indians paid more attention to lesser gods who could hurt them, such as those in thunder, lightning, or fire, the term for which was *kwiokos* (plural *kwiokostuk*). The most important of these *kwiokostuk* was



Okeus, or Okee, who visited punishment on those who neglected him through such things as storms, illness, or famine. The Indians made constant offerings and other forms of appeasement to Okeus and dedicated their temples to him. It is somewhat unclear whether the Indians thought Okeus to be a single entity or a group of spirits manifesting themselves in various natural phenomena. In the early 17th century, the Powhatan showed particular reverence for the sun, and developed rituals for sunrise and sunset.

Indians did not separate the world into "natural" and "supernatural" and saw gods as part of the living world. Like many Algonquian groups, the Powhatan believed in spiritual powers, called *mantóac*, who could manifest themselves in any form. Just as they saw spirits in nature, so also did they see their chiefs, priests, and shamans (or conjurers) as minor gods. Exhibiting considerable flexibility in their religion, the Powhatan seemed willing to add gods to their pantheon, and at least one *weroance*, or chief. Indians who saw the first English boar in the woods instantly identified it as the "God of the Swine."

Whenever they encountered difficulties of any kind, Indians made offerings to the god or gods they perceived to be vexing them. Offerings included commodities such as deer meat, blood, tobacco, and puccoon (a dye-producing plant). These rituals were mostly improvised, but sometimes people asked a priest to prescribe an offering appropriate to the need. Often the offerings were made on altar stones called *pawcorances* placed near the home or in the woods.

Priests and shamans, who were believed to gain their knowledge of the supernatural through dreams and visions induced by ordeal, fulfilled a number of important functions in Powhatan villages. The priest's chief role was that of keeper of the temple, which stood either in the village or near its edge. The priests were assisted in their duties by the shamans, who were thought to be able to conjure up gods, control weather, find lost objects, and divine the plans of enemies. The temple contained mysterious things, served as a storehouse and a resting place of deceased chiefs, and was off-limits to ordinary people. Priests and shamans were also healers, who accumulated and shared with one another knowledge of herbal remedies and other therapeutic practices.

Powhatan constructed their temples like other houses except that they had multiple rooms. The largest stood at Uttamussak, in the woods near the mouth of the Pamunkey River, and near it two other buildings. These measured about sixty feet long and were said to contain "the images of their kings and Divels and Tombes of their Predecessors." Seven priests watched over this special complex, while most village temples had only two or three priests. Ordinary temples were about twenty feet wide and 100 feet long with the door on the east end. An anteroom contained a hearth with a continuous fire. The west room contained pillars decorated with carved and painted busts that faced east, straw-stuffed images of animals and birds, and a platform holding the remains of deceased rulers, under which was kept an image of the god Okeus. A number of guardposts decorated with fierce images surrounded the temple. The temple complex at Uttamussak had an altar stone of clear crystal.

The Indians had no set calendar for their rituals, but rather practiced them as

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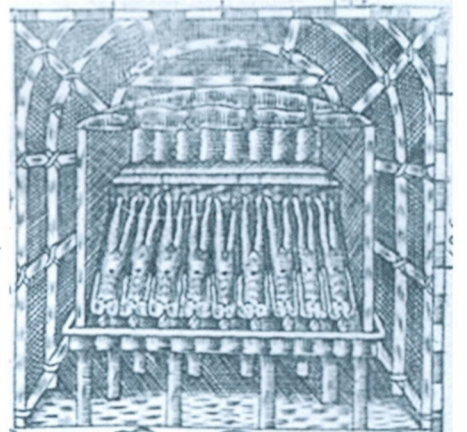
INDIAN TEMPLE

ROBERT BEVERLEY'S OBSERVATIONS OF AN INDIAN TEMPLE

I have been at several of the Indian Towns, and conversed with some of the most sensible of them in that Country; but I could learn little from them, it being reckon'd Sacrilege, to divulge the Principles of their Religion. However, the following Adventure discover'd something of it. As I was ranging the Woods, with some other Friends, we fell upon their Quioccosan (which is their House of Religious Worship) at a time, when the whole Town was gathered together in another place, to consult about the bounds of the Land given them by the English.



Thus finding our selves Masters of so fair an opportunity, (because we knew the Indians were engaged,) we resolved to make use of it, and to examine their Quioccosan, the inside of which, they never suffer any English Man to see; and having removed about fourteen Logs from the Door, with which it was barricado'd, we went in, and at first found nothing but naked Walls, and a Fire place in the middle. This House was about eighteen foot wide, and thirty foot long, built after the manner of their other Cabbins, but larger, with a Hole in the middle of the Roof, to vent the Smoke, the Door being at one end: Round about the House, at some distance from it, were set up Posts, with Faces carved on them, and painted. We did not observe any Window, or passage for the Light, except the Door, and the vent of the Chimney. At last, we observ'd, that at the farther end, about ten foot of the Room, was cut off by a Partition of very close Mats; and it was dismal dark behind that Partition. We were at first scrupulous to enter this obscure place, but at last we ventur'd, and groping about, we felt some Posts in the middle; then reaching our hands up those Posts, we found large Shelves, and upon these Shelves three Mats, each of which was roll'd up, and sow'd



fast. These we handed down to the light, and to save time in unlacing the Seams, we made use of a Knife, and ripp'd them, without doing any damage to the Mats. In one of these we found some vast Bones, which we judg'd to be the Bones of Men, particularly we measur'd one Thigh-bone, and found it two foot nine inches long: In another Mat, we found some Indian Tomahawks finely grav'd, and painted. These resembl'd the wooden Faulchion us'd by the Prize fighters in England, except that they have no guard to save the Fingers. They were made of a rough heavy Wood, and the shape of them is represented in the Tab. 10. No. 3. Among

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FORUM



Letter from

Margot Creveaux-Gevertz

This winter, as we prepared to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the founding of Jamestown, we had the opportunity to explore the three cultures that interacted in Virginia, setting the stage for institutions that would shape the future of the country.

We will continue this exploration to understand the cultural influences, similarities, clashes and ultimately, changes in peoples' lives that impacted events of the time or resulted from them.

We have only scratched the surface in talking about Virginia Indians, and the message from interpreters this winter was *please give us more!* This issue is a step in that direction, providing a variety of texts that offer a glimpse of both Indian and European perceptions of their interactions from early settlement through the Revolution.

Guests this summer will no doubt ask if residents would have seen Indians in and around Williamsburg during the 18th century. Clearly, the answer is "yes," according to the Virginia Gazette where we read accounts of trade, students enrolled in the Brafferton School, treaty negotiations, and official visits. Less certain from what we read in those articles is how the Indians would describe those same interactions. Take, for example, the acknowledgement of the "surprise" expressed by the Emperor of the Cherokee Nation and his entourage when attending such entertainments as the play *Othello*, an elaborate ball, and thundering fireworks. I can't help but wonder if the word "surprise" does justice to the gamut of emotions and thoughts that such entertainment may have triggered in the minds of these Indian guests.

We can also wonder how those responses might have been determined by culture and religious beliefs which we read about on page 2. For that matter, in addition to impacting reactions to situations, what role did different cultural values have on the establishment of policies, allegiances, and events that led to the domination of one culture over the other? It takes very little effort to see the parallels with global tensions in our own 21st century.

Many international guests are intrigued by the American Indian story. Some may have preconceived notions forged out of a lifetime of watching Hollywood westerns. There are also many who are aware of the plight of the Indian Nations and want to know what happened to them and why. With the events of America's 400th Anniversary and the wide media coverage that has drawn attention to Jamestown, both domestic and international guests may show more interest in this topic than ever before. They will appreciate our helping them to understand this complex piece of our history.

Watch for more information on American Indians and the cultural interactions that shaped Virginia and the nation. In the meantime, have a great summer!

Newsline

- lands. Ohio Valley tribes see it as an assault on their sovereignty and the beginning of troubles to follow.
- 1772: The last vestiges of royal authority in the west leave with the removal of regular troops from Fort Pitt. Indians seeking justice against the increasingly hostile and advancing frontier whites find none. Surveyors become commonplace in the Ohio Valley. White hunters kill Indian game. Tensions begin to rise.
- 1774: Lord Dunmore's War. Open warfare erupts between Virginia and the Shawnee. The Shawnee are defeated at the Battle of Point Pleasant and enter into the Treaty of Camp Charlotte, which relinquishes their control of lands south of the Ohio River.
- 1777: "The Year of the Bloody Sevens" After the murder of Chief Cornstalk at Fort

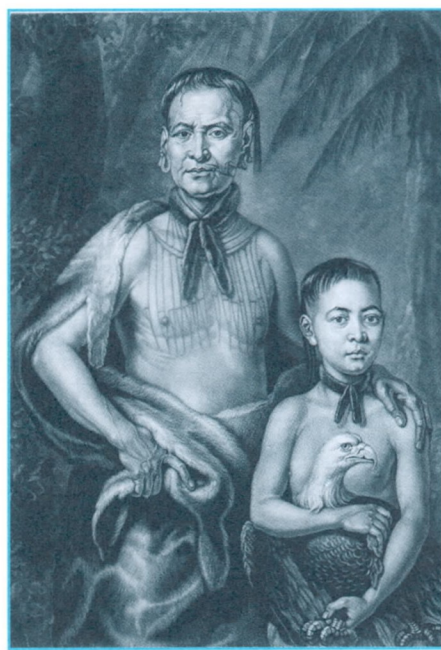
Republican Ideals and the American Indians

Beyond the immediate social and economic effects of the war, there were other, deeper, and more long-lasting forces that were greatly affected by the Revolution and its republican ideas. Despite a slackening of immigration and the loss of the loyalist émigrés, the population continued to grow. In fact, the 1780s saw the fastest rate of demographic growth of any decade in American history, a consequence of early marriages and high expectations for the future. After being delayed for several years in the late 1770s by intermittent warfare against the British and Indians, this swelling population resumed its roll westward. "The population of the country of Kentucky will amaze you," wrote one migrant in 1785; "in June 1779, the whole number of inhabitants amounted to 176 only, and they now exceed 30,000." Within a decade Kentucky had become more populous than most of the colonies had been at the time of the Revolution. In fact, more western territory was occupied in the first post-Revolutionary generation than in the entire colonial period.

Of course, the dreams of white Americans for this trans-Appalachian West had little or no place for the thousands of Indians who lived there. Although the Confederation Congress in 1787 promised that "the utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians, [and that] their lands and property shall never be taken away from them without their consent," the Northwest Ordinance itself took for granted that the destiny of the Northwest belonged to the white American settlers.

Although many whites admired the Indians for their freedom, the Anglo-American idea of liberty and independence was very different from that of the Indians. Where ordinary white Americans conceived of freedom in terms of owning their own plot of cultivated agricultural land, Indian males saw liberty in terms of their ability to roam and hunt at will. Like many American gentry, the Indian warriors did not believe that they should actually work tilling fields; they left manual labor to the women, to the shock of many whites. Indeed, so unnatural to European Americans was the idea of women farming that they had a hard time acknowledging that the Indians practiced any agriculture at all. Ultimately, this denial that the Indians actually cultivated the land became the white Americans' justification for taking it from them. They expected the Indians to become farmers, that is, to become civilized, or to get out of the way of the settlers.

The achievement of American independence from Great Britain in 1783 was a disaster for the Indians. Many of the tribes in the Northwest and Southwest had allied with the British, and with the peace treaty they discovered that Great Britain had conceded sovereignty over their land to the United States. As one speaker from the West complained to their British ally upon learning of the treaty, "In endeavoring to assist you, it seems we have wrought our own ruin." Because so many of the Indians had fought on the side of the British, Americans tended to regard as enemies even those Indians who had been their allies during the Revolution. By the 1780s many western Americans shared their expectations of the Indian fighter George Rogers Clark that all the Indians would



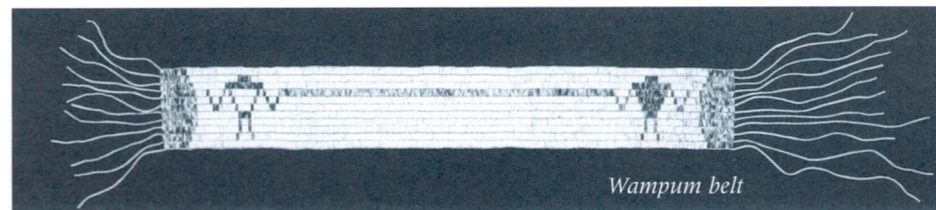
Elderly Chief, Tomo Chachi Mico, stands majestically beside his nephew Tooanahowi who holds the symbol of his clan, ca. 1734.

eventually be wiped out.

Based as it was on an unequal and hierarchical society, the British crown could easily treat the Indians as subjects. But the new Republic of the United States did not have subjects, only equal citizens. Since white Americans could scarcely conceive of the Indians as citizens equal to themselves, they had to regard the Indian peoples as foreign nations. In the 1780s the Confederation government sought to assume control of Indian affairs and to establish peaceful relations with the Indians. Although the Confederation Congress repeatedly spoke of its desire to be just and fair with the Indians, it considered them conquered nations. In several treaties between the confederation government and some of the various nations or tribes in the mid-1780s, the United States attempted to establish more or less fixed boundary lines between whites and Indians in return for Indian cessions of rights to land. Believing that America owned the lands by right of conquest, the United States offered the Indians no compensation for the ceded lands.

But the Confederation government was weak. Not only did the states ignore the Confederation's treaties and make their own agreements with the Indians, but white settlers and squatters acted without regard to any authority. The assumption of the congressional land ordinances of the 1780s that people would move west in a neat and orderly fashion was illusory. Instead, people shunned the high-priced land, violated Indian treaty rights, and moved irregularly, chaotically, and unevenly, jumping from place to place and leaving huge chunks of unsettled land and pockets of hemmed-in Indians behind them. By 1787 many of the Indians had repudiated the treaties some of their members had been compelled to sign and attempted to form loose confederations in order to resist the white advance. War and bloodshed inevitably followed.

[Gordon S. Wood, *The American Revolution: A History*, A Modern Library Chronicles Book, The Modern Library, New York, 2002, p. 117-119]



Wampum belt

Continued from page 1

by General "Mad" Anthony Wayne defeats the confederacy of Northwest tribes at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. The tribes sign the Treaty of Greenville, which relinquishes all Ohio lands and brings about a temporary but significant peace.

1805-1811: Tecumseh, a Shawnee, launches diplomatic efforts to unite all Indian tribes for a common defense. A defeat of Indian forces at Tippecanoe deals a heavy blow to the effort for multiracial resistance.

1813: Tecumseh and his pan-Indian forces are defeated at the Battle of the Thames by a force led by Virginian William Henry Harrison. Tecumseh is killed and the war effort abandoned. It represents for the Shawnee the end of a resistance that began in the 1750s.

[Compiled by Travis Henline]

BOOKS

The Deadly Politics of Giving
by Seth Mallios

University of Alabama Press, 2006

Reviewed by Kelly Govain

The Deadly Politics of Giving is a fascinating look at the exchange practices of the native Chesapeake and Carolina tribes and how the European colonists' failure to adhere to these practices led to unfavorable cultural relations. Author Seth Mallios takes a look at the settlements at Ajacan, Jamestown, and Roanoke to illustrate his claims.

Mallios begins by describing in detail the vast difference between a gift economy practiced by Chesapeake and Carolina natives and a commodity economy which would have been more familiar to the Europeans. In an economy based on gift exchange, relationships are formed and sustained through gift giving. Once a gift is given by one side, it is expected and understood that the other side will reciprocate. This system is based on creating debt to one another as gifts are exchanged. Quite the opposite is true in a commodity economy where exchange partners trade items in order to gain individual wealth.

It appears as though many of the colonists were aware of this exchange system, as several of John Smith's writings refer to an understanding of the need to give and receive gifts to create harmonious relations with the native peoples. However, because Europeans considered material gain to be of the utmost importance, when it appeared that the natives were profiting more from the exchange, they would often discontinue their gift giving with one tribe and move on to another. Due to the intertribal politics that already existed in the region, this action more than anything else would have been the catalyst for much of the conflict that was created.

Mallios goes on to point out the similarities between the conflicts with the Algonquian tribes at Ajacan and Jamestown where retaliation was almost immediate and punishment reflected the acts committed. Whereas at Roanoke, the Ossomocomuck tribes responded to the colonists' misgivings in a more well-planned and gradual political conspiracy of sorts where false alliances were formed to lead the colonists into a trap.

This book examines several primary sources such as colonists' accounts at each of the three settlements along with contemporaneous historical records of the Chesapeake and Carolinas. In addition, Mallios sites the work of several anthropologists to explain the economic elements of gift exchange systems, such as *The Gift* by Marcel Mauss and several others.

As we look toward a better understanding of the native culture of the Virginia Indians, this book provides a basis to somewhat make sense out of the hostilities that erupted in this region during early contact. The interaction of two vastly different cultures was undeniably a difficult and treacherous endeavor. As Mallios puts it, "beware the gift and revere the gift, for it is simultaneously the offer of alliance and the mandate of reciprocity." (This book is available at the Rockefeller Library)

About the Author: Seth Mallios holds a Ph.D in Anthropology from the University of Virginia. He is currently

Radical Hope: Ethics in the Face of Cultural Devastation by Jonathan Lear, Harvard University Press, 2007

Reviewed by Charles Taylor
for the *New York Times*

[Continued on Page 6]

WAR

NATIVE AMERICANS: WHO'S WHO IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION



The United States of America laid down from the best Authorities Agreeable to the Peace of 1783

BIOGRAPHIES

Joseph Brant (a.k.a. Thayendanege)

Date of Birth: 1742
Date of Death: November 24, 1807
Tribe: Mohawk
Position: Principle War Chief of the Six Nations
Alliance: British

- Participation:
- In 1776 Brant received a captain's commission in the British army in charge of the Indian forces loyal to the crown.
 - Soon after, he made his first voyage to England in order to observe for himself the power and resources of the king and British government and to protest the policy of Guy Carleton, commander of the British forces in Canada, who proposed very limited involvement of the Six Nations in the war against the Americans.
 - While in England, he received official assurances that the Indian loyalists would be well utilized in the American conflict beyond that indicated by Carleton. He also received the Masonic degree in either Falcon Lodge or Hiram's Cliftonian Lodge in London in April. He received his Masonic apron directly from King George III.
 - Fought in the Battle of Long Island in August 1776.
 - Fought in additional battles including, but not limited to, the siege of Fort Stanwix, Oriskany, the Wyoming Valley of the Upper Susquehanna, Mohawk Valley and German Flats, Cherry Valley, Minesink-Port Jervis, Chemung River-Elmira area, Johnstown, Fort Plain, Fort Clyde, Fort Plank, Mohawk Valley, and the western frontier, all of which occurred during the six-year period from 1775 to 1781.
 - After the war, Brant kept his commission in the British army and was awarded a tract of 675,000 acres on the Grand River in Ontario to which he led 1,843 Mohawk and other Indian loyalists in 1784 where they settled and established the Grand River Reservation for the Mohawk.
 - In 1785, Brant returned to England to obtain compensation for Mohawk losses in the American Revolution and receive funds for the first Episcopal Church in Upper Canada. He failed to obtain firm title to the reservation, whose legality still remains in question.
 - Brant died at his own house on Grand River, Ontario at the age of nearly sixty-five. He was buried by the side of the Episcopal church he had built there. In 1850 Freemasons restored his tomb. (Sources: <http://www.earlyamerica.com/review/1998/brant.html> and <http://www.geocities.com/Yosemite/Trails/7255/brants.html>)

Molly Brant (a.k.a. Koñwatsi-tsiàiēñni):

Date of Birth: c. 1736
Date of Death: April 16, 1796
Tribe: Mohawk (and Iroquois)
Position: Clan woman, sister of Joseph Brant
Alliance: British

- Participation:
- The American Revolution, or War of Independence, brought about fundamental changes in the lives of Molly Brant and her family members. During the initial stages of the war, most of the Six Nations of the Iroquois remained neutral; some, however, took sides immediately. Joseph Brant did his utmost to persuade the Six Nations to break their treaty of neutrality with the Americans, which they finally did in 1777.
 - Through the early part of the war, Molly sheltered and fed loyalists and sent arms and ammunition to those who were fighting for the king. She is also said to have conveyed intelligence to the British military which resulted in the successful route of American forces at Oriskany in 1777.
 - She left the Mohawk Valley with her family, two male slaves, and two female servants in 1777 and went to Fort Niagara.
 - Throughout the war Molly Brant made several trips back and forth between Niagara, Montreal, and Carleton Island. Now more than ever Molly was expected to use her influence over the Mohawk

warriors. She was an intelligent woman, and she used the colonial administration to increase her own political power and to promote the interests of her people. The government similarly used her as an instrument of political control. In describing a large Iroquois force that had gathered at Carleton Island, the commander of the fort indicated that "their uncommon good behaviour [was] in great measure to be ascribed to Miss Molly Brant's influence over them, which [was] far superior to that of all their Chiefs put together." Throughout the war, Molly continued to use her influence to steady the warriors, bolster their morale, and strengthen their loyalty to the king.

- Historical records and recent writings present Molly Brant as a strong individual who retained her native heritage throughout her life, often to the disdain of her European contemporaries. Molly is a controversial figure because she was both pro-British and pro-Iroquois. She insisted on speaking Mohawk, dressed in Mohawk style throughout her life, and encouraged her children to do the same. She argued on behalf of the Iroquois before, during, and after the American Revolution.
- Molly Brant was laid to rest in the burial ground of St. George's Church, where St. Paul's Church now stands. (Source: <http://www.carl.info/kingston-past/mollybrant.php#war>)

Cornplanter (a.k.a. John O'Neil or O'beel):

Date of Birth: c. 1732
Date of Death: February 18, 1836
Tribe: Seneca
Position: War Chief
Alliance: Initially British then American

- Participation:
- Cornplanter first fought with the British during the war as chief of the Seneca Nation, but when his people were deserted by their British allies he took part in Indian treaties with the American government.
 - In late 1778, General George Washington mounted a punitive expedition against the Seneca, Cayuga, and Onondaga, western Iroquois nations that had allied with the British and were supplied by Fort Niagara. General John Sullivan of New Hampshire was chosen to lead the expedition. Sullivan combined forces with General James Clinton and Pennsylvania Colonel Daniel Brodhead (totaling about 5,000 men). Sullivan, Clinton and Broadhead conducted a successful "scorched earth" operation through the heart of Iroquoia, burning more than forty Seneca, Cayuga, and Onondaga villages and seizing or destroying enormous quantities of food.
 - Battered, but their spirits unbroken, the Iroquois and loyalists continued their raiding along the New York and Pennsylvania frontiers until the Peace of Paris ended the war in 1783. On October 22, 1784, the Americans demanded that the Iroquois abandon all claims to territories in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and western New York in an agreement they called the Treaty of Fort Stanwix. Abandoned by their former British allies, the Iroquois found themselves with little means to resist the seizure of their homelands by New York in the years that followed.
 - Cornplanter was instrumental in main-

taining peace between the new American government and the League of the Iroquois between 1784 and 1812.

- In 1789 the recommendation was made that Chief Cornplanter be given a grant of 1,500 acres of land in western Pennsylvania for which the patents were issued March 16, 1796. The final gift, an area of about 700 acres, was the Cornplanter Grant, located in Warren County about three miles below the southern boundary of New York state. This land was a partial recognition to Cornplanter for his services to the state, and he settled on the grant with his family, remaining there until his death in 1836. (Source: <http://www.explorepahistory.com/hmarker.php>)

Chief Corn Stalk (a.k.a. Wynepuechsika):

Date of Birth: c. 1720
Date of Death: 1777
Tribe: Shawnee
Position: Chief
Alliance: American

- Participation:
- During the American Revolution the British tried to build a coalition of Indians to fight against the colonists. Chief Cornstalk alone refused to join, although many members of his tribe opposed him. Chief Cornstalk, however, had come to believe that his people's survival depended on their friendly relations with the Virginians. In the spring of 1777, he visited the garrison at Point Pleasant with a small contingent of Indians, and he informed the colonists of the coalition that was forming. While the Virginians waited for reinforcements, the Indians were held as hostages. Following the killing of a white man outside the fort by other Indians, Chief Cornstalk and his men (including his son, Elinipsico) were killed by the soldiers. (Source: <http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0900079.html>)

Dragging Canoe (a.k.a. Tsi'yu-gunsini)

Date of Birth: c. 1734
Date of Death: c. 1792
Tribe: Cherokee (Chickamauga)
Position: Warrior
Alliance: British

- Participation:
- In July 1776, Dragging Canoe headed a force of 700 Cherokee and attacked two U.S.-held forts in North Carolina: Eaton's Station and Fort Watauga.
 - Months after the American Revolution broke out, many Cherokee towns tried to stay neutral in the conflict but a war faction emerged. Dragging Canoe was a principal leader. Because the American settlements were steadily encroaching on Cherokee territory, the war faction seized the opportunity to launch military strikes against them. Many Cherokee towns were destroyed during the war—even the neutral ones. As a result Dragging Canoe moved his people to Chickamauga Creek, near present-day Chattanooga. These settlements became known as the Five Chickamauga Lower Towns.
 - Near Chattanooga settlers came under heavy fire as they passed the Chickamauga towns on the Tennessee. In the fall of 1780 the Chickamaugans began regular raids on the Cumberland stations. The "Battle of the Bluffs" (April 2, 1781) was

only one in a long series of assaults aimed at driving the settlers away.

- During the next few years, the Chickamauga towns grew stronger as more warriors joined the effort to hold on to their ancestral lands. They sent war parties to the eastern and middle Tennessee and Georgia to fight for Cherokee land, and also to help other Indian nations threatened by white settlements in the Ohio country, Kentucky, and Virginia. But the white settlements also grew stronger with booming populations migrating from back East, and they managed to withstand the Indian assault. Then, in 1792, shortly after launching efforts to form a confederacy of southern tribes, Dragging Canoe died. His followers fought on for two more years.
- Dragging Canoe is said to have died March 17, 1792 at Lookout Town (near Trenton, Georgia) the Battle of Buchanan's Station. Still other reports have him fighting at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend during the War of 1812 and fighting in 1814 in the Creek War.
- Dragging Canoe influenced Indian resistance for decades which included Tecumseh in the Ohio Territory and the resistance of the southern tribes up through the Creek War that Andrew Jackson put down in 1814. (Sources: <http://victorian.fortunecity.com/rothko/420/anyuntikwalaski/people/canoe.html> and <http://victorian.fortunecity.com/rothko/420/anyuntikwalaski/bluff.html>)

Alexander McGillvray

Date of Birth: c. 1750
Date of Death: February 17, 1793
Tribe: Creek (mixed blood)
Position: Trader (later made chief spokesman)
Alliance: British/Spanish/American

- Participation:
- 1778 Alexander McGillvray was made a colonel in the British army and rendered valuable aid to the loyalists.
 - Later McGillvray became the chief spokesman for the Creek council.
 - In June 1784, McGillvray took offense to the British, went to Mobile (Alabama), and signed an agreement placing the Creek Nation under the protection of Spain. McGillvray received a Spanish pension for his efforts.
 - An illegal treaty forced on the Creeks at Augusta in 1783, encroachment by its citizens into Creek lands, and the confiscation of eastern Chickasaw lands for service to the British during the war had driven McGillvray and the Creeks into the arms of the Spanish. Perhaps because George Washington and other important Virginians were heavily invested in land along the Ohio River, the attention of the American Congress was focused on fighting the Ohio tribes of the British-backed Western Alliance, and the last thing wanted was for Georgia to start another war in the Southeast. To prevent this, Congress appointed a commission to meet with the Cherokee, Choctaw, Creeks, and Chickasaw at Hopewell on South Carolina's Keowee River and establish tribal territories with a boundary for the southern frontier. With meeting set for October 1785, McGillvray convened a council of the southern tribes at Little Tallasee (Alabama) that July to organize a united front against the Americans. However, the Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Choctaw were suspicious of his intentions, and all McGillvray got was a general declaration denouncing American claims to tribal lands.
 - In 1787, McGillvray concludes a treaty with President George Washington defining the boundaries of Georgia and Alabama. He was retained in service to the United States under the rank of Brigadier General.
 - When McGillvray died on February 17, 1793, he was buried in Pensacola, Florida with full Masonic honors. (Sources: *The Magazine of American History with Full Notes and Queries*, by Martha Lamb, Pond, Nathan Gillett, John Austin Stevens, p. 388-389 and <http://www.tolatsga.org/chick.html>) [Submitted by Rose McAphee]

RUNAWAYS

Runaway Indian Slaves

1744/5 to 1789—Runaway Slave Advertisements

The following advertisements indicate that Indian slaves, like enslaved African Americans, ran away from their masters. Some slaves ran to see family members and other slaves headed to Williamsburg in the hope of gaining their freedom from the members of the General Court. Some runaways sought refuge in Indian settlements. There is evidence that some Indians and African Americans formed families.



ISAAC, an Indian slave, aged about 40 years, run away from my plantation on George's creek, in Buckingham, last Easter was twelve months. He was born and lived many years on the BROOK of CHICKAHOMINY, and has some connexions in Goochland, where he may probably be [at] present. He wore long curled hair before his elopement, but [his] countenance and disposition are altogether Indian. His height [is] about 5 feet 8 inches. He is outlawed. I will give FORTY SHILLINGS to Whoever will bring him to me.

ROBERT BOLLING, jun.
Source: *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie & Dixon, eds., 21 April 1768.

RUN away from the Subscriber, in Cumberland, about the 10th of October last, a Mulatto Man named JIM, who is a Slave, but pretends to have a Right to his Freedom. His Father was an Indian, of the Name of Cheshire, and very likely will call himself JAMES CHESHIRE, or CHINK. He is a short well set Fellow, about twenty seven Years of Age, with long black Hair resembling an Indian's; and had on, or took with him, a Virginia Cloth Jacket without Sleeves, lined with Osnaburghs, the Outside striped in the Warp with Copperas died Cotton and Yarn; his other Clothing was such as Negroes commonly wear. When he went away I expected that he was gone to the General Court to seek for his Freedom, and has been seen at Rocky Ridge, on his Way, as he said, to Williamsburg. Whoever brings him to me shall have FORTY SHILLINGS Reward if he is taken in the Colony, and FIVE POUNDS if out thereof, besides what the Law allows.

PAUL MICHAUX.

Source: *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie & Dixon, eds., November 26, 1772.

TEN POUNDS REWARD.

RUN away from the subscriber in Dunmore county, in May last, a negro fellow named SAM, 5 feet 5 or 6 inches high, has a broad face, and is a well looking fellow. As to his clothing, I cannot be certain, he having carried several things with him. He also took with him an old bay horse very gray about the head, an iron pot, a narrow axe, a handsaw, and an old smooth bore gun. About three years ago he purchased his freedom of his old master, Mr. Francis Slaughter, and continued in that state till this spring, when it was discovered he was attempting to inveigle away a number of negroes to the new or Indian country (where he had been most of last summer) upon which the neighbours insisted on his being reduced to slavery again, and I purchased him. I imagine he will endeavour to pass as a freeman, he having a discharge from his old master, as well as one from Lord Dunmore, having served in the expedition against the Indians last fall. Whoever delivers said slave to me shall have the reward that is offered.

GABRIEL JONES.

Source: *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie, ed., June 16, 1775.

WHAT JAMESTOWN CAN TELL US



Indian Pipe (1400-1600) America, Southeast, Tennessee

Many of the artifacts found at Jamestown such as copper and glass beads show evidence that trade was taking place between the colonists and the surrounding native tribes, but what else can these and other items tell us about the Virginia Indians? Through excavation and research, the Jamestown Rediscovery archaeologists have uncovered some interesting details about the lives of these native peoples.

For example, one fragment of an ear of corn has been excavated and the only reason it survived is due to the corrosion of metal products that were buried with the corncob. After finding the artifact and conducting research, archaeologists found some of Williams Strachey's writings that indicate how the natives used corn. "They would either boil this corn with beans for a rare dish, they call *Pausarowmena*, or they would make it into dried corn meal for use in cakes or soup."

Not only did colonists trade for corn, but they also relied on the Indians for venison and other wild game. The colonists' only skill was in hunting fowl, so they were very interested in the hunting practices of the native peoples. According to colonist Henry Spelman, the Indians had two methods for hunting deer: they would camouflage themselves in deer-skin and approached their prey to shoot at very close range; or would encircle a herd of deer and set fire to the grass to trap them inside.

In addition, the excavations have uncovered over 11,000 shards of Indian-made pottery from colonial contexts (I washed and labeled 222 pieces myself on one occasion). There are two distinct types that have been found: Roanoke ware that is tempered with shell to make it stronger and decorated with simple stamping patterns, or Potomac Creek ware that is tempered with quartz and tends to have rounded bottoms with cord-impressed rims. Because these shards were found within the fort amongst other European artifacts, it is believed that these would have been brought either as gifts or as part of a special feast. "A Jamestown colonist thought the Indian pots 'of our ordinary earth' exotic enough to send four back to England as gifts in 1608."

Other artifacts found include projectile points and clay tobacco pipes. Indian-made pipe bowls were much larger than the small pear-shaped bowls common in London in the 17th century. The na-

tive tobacco that the Virginia Indians were growing, *nicotiana rustica*, was much stronger than anything the colonists had tasted. Colonists speculated that the reason for the larger bowl was because the Indians had a higher tolerance for tobacco than they did. More likely, however, was that the Indians "may not have viewed pipes as personal possessions but as instruments to be shared during the social activity of smoking, thereby necessitating the need for a large enough bowl to allow a number of individuals to partake."

Jamestown Rediscovery archaeologists continue to uncover new and exciting information. The latest Virginia Indian artifacts found include a grinding stone, a bone needle, and finished and unfinished shell beads. As research continues, we can look forward to an even better understanding of the Virginia Indians and their relationship with the colonists at Jamestown.

For more information, please visit www.historicjamestowne.com or www.apva.org.

Source: Deetz, Kelso, Mallios, & Straube; *Jamestown Rediscovery VII*, APVA 2001

[Submitted by Kelly Govain]



Glass beads

INDIAN DIETS

"Indian diets apparently remained relatively consistent in the 17th and 18th centuries, although with more extensive archaeological study, this verdict may change. Most Indian groups consumed a starch diet of corn, squash, and beans grown in gardens (often but not exclusively tended by women) plus gathered nuts and berries. Men hunted and fished, but red meat and even fish made up relatively small portions of most Indian diets. For example, among the Iroquois soups cooked with corn and beans in large pots managed by both men and women typified the diet, supplemented by cornbreads. Meat and fish filled out the diet, but only occasionally. Catabaws in the Carolinas enjoyed a similar diet obtained through similar labor. Women managed much but not all agriculture throughout the spring, summer, and fall; men were responsible for hunting through the winter, and both cooperated throughout the year in collecting, processing, and cooking food."

[Source: Jon Butler, *Becoming America: The Revolution before 1776*, Harvard University Press, 2000]

Continued from page 2

blue pieces of Cotton Cloath, and Rolls made up for Arms, Thighs and Legs, bent to at the Knees, as is represented in the Figure of their Idol, which was taken by an exact Drawer in the Country. It wou'd be difficult to see one of these Images at this day, because the Indians are extreme shy of exposing them. We put the Cloaths upon the Hoops for the Body, and fasten'd on the Arms and Legs, to have a view of the representation: But the Head and rich Bracelets, which it is usually adorn'd with, were not there, or at least we did not find them. We had not leisure to make a very narrow search; for having spent about an hour in this enquiry, we fear'd the business of the Indians might be near over; and that if we staid longer, we might be caught offering an affront to their Superstition; for this reason we wrapt up these Holy materials in their several Mats again, and laid them on the Shelf, where we found them. This Image when drest up, might look very venerable in that dark place; where 'tis not possible to see it, but by the glimmering light, that is let in, by lifting up a piece of the Matting, which we observ'd to be conveniently hung for that purpose; for when the light of the Door and Chimney, glance in several directions, upon the Image thro that little passage, it must needs make a strange representation, which those poor people are taught to worship with a devout Ignorance.

Robert Beverley, *History and Present State of Virginia*, London, 1705.

Cartouche of Fry-Jefferson Map of Virginia, 1751



THE WEST



Nicholas Cresswell

Nicholas Cresswell's Journey

Nicholas Cresswell (1750–1804) travels in Virginia from 1774–1777, and keeps a journal of his travels. The 24-year-old seeks (primarily) land and is determined to make his fortune. He comes in contact with many Indian tribes, among them Delaware, Shawnee, and Mohawk, while journeying up the Kentucky River. He doesn't mention any Virginia Indian tribes by name.

In his observations, he reveals his European point of view—land and nature are seen as commodities to be assessed for their monetary values.

"The Land from the foot of the Laurel Mountain to Fort Pitt is rich beyond conception. Walnut and Cherry Trees grow to an amazing size. I have seen several three foot diameter and 40 foot before they come to a limb. Great plenty of Wild Plum Trees and a Species of the Pimento, these are small Bushes. The soil in general is Black of a Fat Loamy nature. Coal and Limestone in the same quarry. I have seen stratum of Coal 14 feet thick equal in quality to the English Coal."

As Cresswell travels west, he continues to record the land, but his observations become increasingly curious rather than mercantile. He writes with wonder about seeing the giant bones at Bone Lick, Kentucky (archaeologists suggest these are woolly mammoth and mastodon bones), and records the habits of wildlife, including buffalo.

But most importantly, he closely observes any Indians he meets:

"Their persons are tall and remarkably straight, of a copper colour, with long black hair, regular features and fine black eyes."

As he continues west, the nature of his observations begins to change. He never discards his commercial intent, but he notices unscrupulous land-grabbing:

"Kentucky River, Sunday, June 11, 1775.

... Found Capt. Hancock Lee camped at Elkhorn, surveying land. This is a new settlement by some Carolina Gentleman, who pretends to have purchased the Land from the Indians, but with what truth I cannot pretend to say as the Indians affirm they have never sold these lands ..."

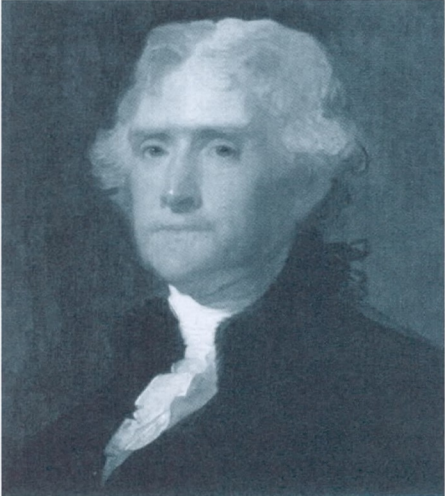
He begins to assess the actions of his fellow Europeans and (possibly) to consider his own values. . .

"In all their trades with the Europeans they are imposed on in the greatest manner . . . They are beings endowed with reason and common sense and I make not the least doubt but they are as valuable in the eyes of their Maker as we are, our fellow creatures, and in general above our level in many virtues that give real preeminence, however despicably we think of or injuriously we treat them."

While Cresswell travels, the world he knows—and the relationship of the colo-

[Continued on Page 6]

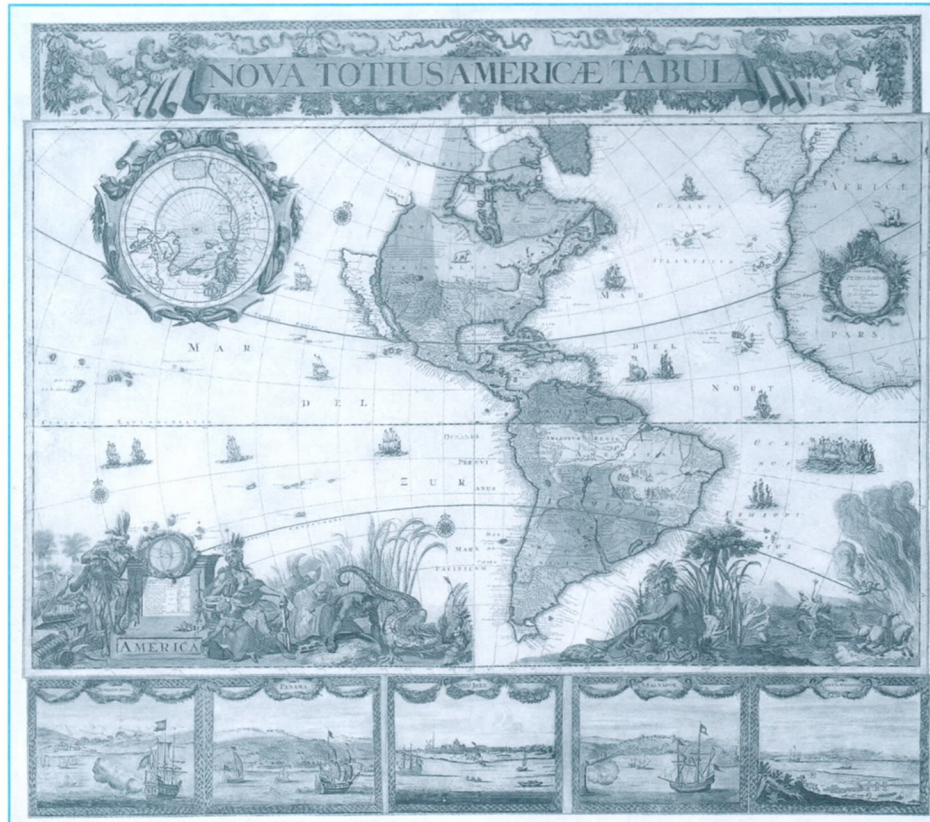
ABORIGENES



JEFFERSON'S NOTES ON THE STATE OF VIRGINIA Query XI—Aborigenes

When the first effectual settlement of our colony was made, which was in 1607, the country from the sea-coast to the mountains, and from Patowmac to the most southern waters of the James river, was occupied by upwards of forty different tribes of Indians. Of these the *Powhatans*, the *Mannahoacs*, and *Monacans*, were the most powerful. Those between the sea-coast and falls of the rivers, were in amity with one another, and attached to the *Powhatans* as their link of union. Those between the falls of the rivers and the mountains, were divided into two confederacies; the tribes inhabiting the head waters of Patowmac and Rappahanoc being attached to the *Mannahoacs*; and those on the upper parts of James river to the *Monacans*. But the *Monacans* and their friends were in amity with the *Mannahoacs* and their friends, and waged joint and perpetual war against the *Powhatans*. We are told that the *Powhatans*, *Mannahoacs*, and *Monacans*, spoke languages so radically different, that interpreters were necessary when they transacted business... Their only controuls are their manners, and that moral sense of right and wrong, which, like the sense of tasting and feeling, in every man makes a part of his nature. An offence against these is punished by contempt, by exclusion from society, or, where the case is serious, as that of murder by the individuals whom it concerns...crimes are very rare...

The territories of the *Powhatan* confederacy, south of the Patowmac, comprehended about 8000 square miles, 30 tribes, and 2400 warriors. Capt. Smith tells us, that within 60 miles of James town were 5000 people, of whom 1500



Nova Totius Americae Tabula, Petrus Schenk, cartographer; probably engraved by Petrus Schenk Amsterdam ca. 1680

were warriors. From this we find the proportion of their warriors to their whole inhabitants, was as 3 to 10. The *Powhatan* confederacy then would consist of about 8000 inhabitants...

What would be the melancholy sequel of their history, may however be augured from the census of 1669; by which we discover that the tribes therein enumerated were, in the space of 62 years, reduced to about one-third of their former numbers. Spirituous liquors, the small-pox, war, and an abridgement of territory, to a people who lived principally on the spontaneous productions of nature, had committed terrible havock among them. . . . That the lands of this country were taken from them by conquest, is not so general a truth as is supposed. I find in our historians and records, repeated proofs of purchase, which cover a considerable part of the lower country; and many more would doubtless be found on further search. The upper country we know has been acquired altogether by purchases made in the most unexceptionable form.

Very little can now be discovered of the subsequent history of these tribes severally. The *Chickahominies* removed, about the year 1661, to Mattapony river. Their chief, with one from each of the tribes of the *Pamunkies* and *Mattaponies*, attended the treaty of Albany in 1685. This seems to have been the last chapter in their history. They retained however their separate name so late as 1705, and were at length blended with the *Pamunkies* and *Mattaponies*, and exist at present only under their names. There remain of the *Mattaponies* three or four men only, and they have more negro than Indian blood in them. They have lost their language, have reduced themselves, by voluntary sales to about fifty acres of land, which lie on the river of their own name, and have, from time to time, been joining the *Pamunkies*, from whom they are distant but 10 miles. The *Pamunkies* are reduced to about 10 or 12 men, tolerably pure from mixture with other colours. The older ones

among them preserve their language in a small degree, which are the last vestiges on earth, as far as we know, of the *Powhatan* language. They have about 300 acres of very fertile land, on Pamunkey river, so encompassed by water that a gate shuts in the whole. Of the *Nottoways*, not a male is left. A few women constitute the remains of that tribe. They are seated on Nottoway river, in Southampton county, on very fertile lands. At a very early period, certain lands were marked out and appropriated to these tribes, and were kept from encroachment by the authority of the laws. They have usually had trustees appointed, whose duty was to watch over their interests, and guard them from insult and injury...

Great question has arisen from whence came those aboriginal inhabitants of America? Discoveries, long ago made, were sufficient to shew that a passage from Europe to America was always practicable, even to the imperfect navigation of ancient times. In going from Norway to Iceland, from Iceland to Groenland, from Groenland to Labrador, the first traject is the widest: and this having been practised from the earliest times of which we have any account of that part of the earth, it is not difficult to suppose that the subsequent trajects may have been sometimes passed. Again, the late discoveries of Captain Cook, coasting from Kamtschatka to California, have proved that, if the two continents of Asia and America be separated at all, it is only by a narrow streight. So that from this side also, inhabitants may have passed into America: and the resemblance between the Indians of America and the Eastern inhabitants of Asia, would induce us to conjecture that the former are the descendants of the latter, or the latter of the former: excepting indeed the Eskimaux, who, from the same circumstance of resemblance, and from identity of language, must be derived from the Groenlanders, and these probably from some of the northern parts of the old continent.

Cresswell's Journey

nies with England—explodes into war. As people in Williamsburg struggle to articulate the need for a new form of government, Cresswell observes an Indian council:

"There is established in each Nation a Species of Government which I cannot just now find a name for. It is neither despotic, Aristocratical, Democratical, but rather a compound of the two last. Their Kings have no more honour or respect paid them than another man, and is obliged to hunt for his living as well as the rest. Except in Council, he has a right to speak first, and if he be an old man in whose ability they can confide, his advice is generally observed. . . . Everything is conducted with the greatest regularity and decorum, silence and deliberation, only one speaks at once, and then the most profound silence and attention is observed."

Cresswell, upon hearing that his country is now at war with its colonies, is distraught:

"Everything is in confusion, all exports are stopped and hardly a possibility of getting home. I have nothing to support me and how to proceed I do not know."

A loyalist to the core, he decides to retrace his steps and attempt to return to England. Lack of capital is the main but by no means his only concern:

"Saturday, October 21st, 1775. I am now in a disagreeable situation, if I enter into any sort of business I must be obliged to enter into the service of these rascals and fight against my Friends and Country if called upon. On the other hand, I am not permitted to depart the Continent and have nothing if I am fortunate enough to

escape the jail . . ."

He returns to England after many tribulations in Virginia and, later, New York. He never again visits the colonies that later become the United States.

But is the young man who returns to England the same as when he left? Are his views and values altered by his contact with Native Americans and by life on the frontier? What would have happened if he had chosen to disappear into the west instead of returning to England? We will never know.

[Submitted by Andrea Squires]

Books

Radical Hope is first of all an analysis of what is involved when a culture dies. This has been the fate of many aboriginal peoples in the last couple of centuries. Jonathan Lear takes as the main subject of his study the Crow tribe of the western U.S., who were more or less pressured to give up their hunting way of life and enter a reservation near the end of the 19th century.

The issue was not genocide. Many of the Crow people survived. Their culture was gone. Lear takes as his basic text a

statement by the tribe's great chief Plenty Coups, describing the transition many years after in the late 1920s, near the end of his life: "When the buffalo went away the hearts of my people fell to the ground, and they could not lift them up again. After this nothing happened."

Lear concentrates on these last four words. What can they mean? Of course, they could be an expression of dejection, of depression. But he sets that aside for good reasons. He argues that if we interpret the statement psychologically, we are

RELIGION

Powhatan Religion *Continued from page 2*

needed or according to the season or the cycle of the moon. On such occasions as the first harvest or a military victory, the people of a chiefdom gathered for thanksgiving, dancing, feasting, and making offerings to the gods. Such rituals occurred before hunting and war as well.

Practices and beliefs related to death and the afterlife varied among Powhatan groups, and burial practices differed according to status. Generally, people were wrapped with their jewelry and skins in mats and buried in relatively shallow, stake-lined graves. Afterwards the mourners, usually women, set up a wailing. Those of higher status later received a secondary burial, being wrapped in a mat and placed on a scaffold with other corpses. When only bones remained, they were rewrapped and hung in the home of relatives for safekeeping until the next periodic mass burial of bones in a common resting place. Afterlife was thought to be reserved only for members of high society, while common people strove for success in this life. There were several versions of the path that privileged souls took after death, some toward the sunset and an earthlike paradise, and some toward the sunrise and an unspecified destination.

One of the most important and best-documented Powhatan rituals is that of the *huskanaw*, a rite of passage for young men of the village by means of which they forged a connection to the supernatural world. Teenaged boys who distinguished themselves in some exploit of adventure or hunting were ritualistically separated from the rest of the village, carried into the woods, and confined in isolation for several months. During this time they were given mind-altering potions to induce a type of delirium or madness, "in which raving condition they are kept eighteen or twenty days," as Robert Beverley wrote. They then "returned to their village as men, having forgotten all that they knew in their youth," and were seen to be equipped with understanding of how to employ supernatural forces for right action in life. From the ranks of those who had endured the *huskanaw* would come future priests and shamans.

Despite the built-in mechanism for replenishing the pool of potential holy men through the *huskanaw*, the number of priests and shamans declined steadily over time. The many losses to the English caused Indian people to question the effectiveness of their spiritual leaders and the powers of their deities. The last priest died after 1700, and the temples disintegrated. The old religion quickly lost meaning to the people, most of whom would not be ready to replace it with the foreign religion of the newcomers to their land.

Sources:

Frederic W. Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia* (University of Nebraska Press, 1997).

Helen C. Rountree, *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1988).

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[Submitted by Robert Doares]

Continued from page 3

being "guided by our own sense of what is true" and ignoring the question of "Plenty Coups' humanity" and the particular cultural circumstance which he found himself. We have to take this expression more literally, and try to understand the Crow culture when it was fully functioning, when hunting (mainly buffalo), and when at war to maintain sufficient territory for hunting were the crucial activities around which excellence and honor revolved.

INDIANS IN WILLIAMSBURG

1752-1771

Continued from Page 1

them that he himself had many Years ago given this Belt as a Token of Peace; that he now found it intire, not a Bead amiss, and from thence concluded that these Hearts were strait, and their Friendship preserv'd intire: Afterwards, by the unanimous Consent of all his People, he made a Present of a Pipe of Peace, assuring them of his Friendship. All differences being thus adjusted to the Satisfaction of both Parties, they met in the evening at the camp of the Cherokees; where making a large Fire, they dance together round it, and concluded the Evening with Harmony and Cheerfulness.

Virginia Gazette, November 17, 1752

[Williamsburg] Friday last, being the Anniversary of his Majesty's Birth-night, in the Evening, the whole City was illuminated. There was a Ball, and a very elegant entertainment, at the Palace, where were present, the Emperor and Emperess of the Cherokee Nation, with their Son the young Prince . . . several beautiful Fireworks were exhibited in Palace Street by Mr. Hallam, Manager of the Theatre in this City.

Virginia Gazette, December 14, 1752

The Emperor of the Cherokee Nation... attended by several of his Warriors... were received at the Palace by his Honour the Governor . . . on Thursday the 9th Instant . . . and were that Evening entertained . . . with the Play, (the Tragedy of Othello) . . . which gave them great Surprize, as did the fighting with naked Swords on the Stage, which occasioned the Emperess to order some about her to go and prevent their killing one another. . . . They were dismissed with a handsome Present of fine Cloaks, Arms, and Ammunition; and expressed great Satisfaction in the Governor's kind Reception, and from several others; and left this Place this Morning.

Maryland Gazette, May 6, 1756

[Williamsburg] Yesterday came to Town several of the Nottoways, to renew their ancient League with their Brothers the Cherokees, which was done in the Market Place, by smoking the Pipe, &c. after which the Cherokee Warrior made a long Speech, desiring the Nottoways to go immediately to the Assistance of their Brothers the English . . . The Nottoways have agreed to go, and will set off in a few Days, together with the Cherokees.

At a Council held at the Capitol, March 18, 1757

The Council being informed that the potent Warrior Hagler King of the Catawba Nation was arrived near Town with two of his great Men; Peter Randolph Esqr. by desire of the Board withdrew and proceeded in a Coach to meet them, and having accompanied them to the Capitol, they were introduced into the Council Chamber with six and twenty more of the Catawbas, who came here the Wednesday before, and Robert Vaughan Interpreter; King Hagler, after he and his Attendants had taken all the Council by the Hand, and their Seats, expressed himself to the following Purpose.

Tho I am grown old, my Heart is so affected by the Relation of the horrid Murders and Depredations committed upon my Brethren the English by their cruel Enemies that I have undertaken this Journey with a Resolution of doing every thing in my Power towards extirpating them from the face of the Earth . . . He then presented to the President a String of Wampum. The President answered, he heartily rejoiced to see him, was perfectly convinced of his Love for the English, intreated him to come to the Council Chamber tomorrow when he should return a more full and particular Answer to his affectionate Speech. After shaking Hands they departed well pleased.



The Three Cherokee came over from the Head of the River Savanna to London in 1762 escorted by Lt. Henry Timberlake

At the Council held April 23, 1762

The Governour gave the audience desired to Skiagusta ("the great Warrior among the over hill Cherokees") attended by the same Indians as Yesterday, and the Interpreter, his Honour signified he was ready to hear what they had to say. Skiagusta fill'd a Pipe with Tobacco which he lighted and presented to the Governour and Council, who all smoked, he afterwards smoked himself, laid down the Pipe on the Table, and then express'd himself to the following Effect—He said he came here to talk in behalf of the whole Nation, that he should speak from a straight Heart nothing but Truth; and what might be depended on—that Connagatuecho or the Standing Turkey, their King and Governour had sent that Pipe of Peace as an indisputable token of their having sincerely join'd in the Treaty . . . with a Belt of Wampum signifying their Joy upon the reestablishment of Friendship between us . . . that all Quarrels are now ceased so as never to revive, and the Hatchet buried, never to be raised again. . .

Virginia Gazette (Rind), October 26, 1769

[Williamsburg] On Saturday last came to town 31 Indians of the Cherokee and Catawba nation complaining of some encroachments made on their lands by the white people.

"Dayly Account of Expenses" at the Governor's Palace, March 3, 1769

To the Indians for Earthen pans. 0.0.6.

"Dayly Account of Expenses" at the Governor's Palace, November 9, 1769

To the Pamunkey Indians for Wild Fowl. 1.1.6

Brafferton School Students 1770. 5. [College of William and Mary Bursar Accounts]

"Dayly Account of Expenses" at the Governor's Palace 09/21/1770

To the Pumunkey Indian as Pr. Order. 1.0.0.

Brafferton School Students 1771. John Nettles plus 4 others. [College of William and Mary Bursar Accounts]

The Bodleian Plate—A copper plate engraving illustrating three Williamsburg's public buildings—Note: Indians coming to Williamsburg understood the significance of these buildings.



INDIANS IN WILLIAMSBURG

1774-1777

Virginia Gazette (Purdie and Dixon), December 22, 1774.

[Williamsburg] Last Saturday arrived in town, Colonel Macdonald of Frederick County with the four Shawanese Hostages and an interpreter. Three of these are Warriors, viz. Imcatewhaywa, or the Black Wolf; Wiffeespoway, or Capt. Morgan; Genusa, or the Judge; and the other is a young Man, called Meawah, who is the Snake's son, a principal Warrior with that Nation.

Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser

Williamsburg. Friday, November 17. [1775] Dr. Thomas Walker, one of the Gentlemen appointed by the Convention, to treat with the Indians, is returned to this city . . . Mr. Walker has brought with him a young Indian (son of the famous Bawbee) to educated at the college.

Brafferton School Students 1775. Mons Baabee, George Sampson, Reuben Sampson, plus 3 others. [College of William and Mary Bursar Accounts]

Brafferton School Students 1776. James Gunn, Edmund Sampson, plus 3 others. [College of William and Mary Bursar Accounts]

Virginia Gazette (Dixon and Hunter) July 20, 1776

[Williamsburg] We hear the Delaware Indians have killed and scalped one man on our frontiers. The Shawanese have sent in four hostages, agreeable to a treaty settled with them some time ago.

Virginia Gazette (Dixon and Hunter) May 30, 1777

Williamsburg. Upwards of forty gentlemen and ladies of the Cherokee nation are now here on negotiation of peace, which it is hoped will be lasting, and to request a boundary line may be drawn to prevent encroachments on their lands. They have had an audience, and it is expected a compact will be settled with them in a few days. Among them are Oconostoto, the Little Carpenter, the Pigeon, and other headmen and warriors. After the talk was concluded, they favoured the public with a dance on the green in front of the palace, where a considerable number of spectators, both male and female, were agreeably entertained.

Virginia Gazette, May 30, 1777 (Purdie)

Williamsburg. Last Saturday upwards of 40 Cherokee Indians arrived in this city, among them Oconostoto and the Little Carpenter, with other chiefs of that nation; and on Wednesday they had a talk at the Palace, with the Governor and Council, promising, in future, the most inviolable friendship to this and the other United States.

Ebenezer Hazard, *Journal of Journey to the South*

[May] 31st, 1777. Breakfasted at Williamsburgh . . . There are 40 Cherokee Indians in Town among which are Attakullakulla, Oucanestota [Anconestota?], or the Little Carpenter, & the Pidgeon. Went to see them, shook Hands & smoked Part of a Pipe with them. They are painted, & ornamented with Feathers, & their Ears are cut. It is said their Business here is to clear the Path between their Country & this, which they say has been obstructed by Weeds growing in it. —saw Col. Christian who subdued the Cherokees last Summer; he appears to be about 40 Years of Age. I cannot learn that the Hostages he was to receive from the Cherokees were ever delivered, but am informed that he withdrew his Army upon their promising Hostages, & when the Army was gone they refused or neglected to send them. Lodged at Anderson's. A good House.

[Submitted by Nancy Milton]

INTERPRETATION

Revolutionary Stories

AFTERNOONS
SUMMER 2007

Peyton Randolph House Backyard

Day 1: Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday,

Collapse of Royal Government

Scene 1, June 1776

Elizabeth Nicholas discusses her upcoming wedding to Edmund Randolph with Elizabeth Harrison Randolph, her fiancé's aunt. Through the course of the conversation, this young gentry woman comes to terms with her fears that this war for independence may have drastic effects on her future and the future of the man that she is about to marry. Can this marriage endure the trials of war, family loyalties, and differing opinions about faith? How can a future family member, "Aunt Betty," help?

Scene 2, June 1776

Eve, an enslaved maidservant, discusses her desperation to become free with other Randolph household servants. She reveals her thoughts about planning to run to the British who have offered freedom to slaves and servants of "rebels."

Day 2: Wednesday, Friday, Sunday,

Citizens at War

Scene 1, May 1782

Elizabeth Harrison Randolph converses with guests who are grateful to the French for their help in securing a victory at Yorktown. Her guests, however, are fearful of their French allies' antislavery sentiments. Many enslaved people have been running to the French. Elizabeth Randolph reveals that she has communicated with her brother, Gov. Benjamin Harrison, and has found that he has received a less than favorable response from Count Rochambeau regarding the situation. How will Virginians respond?

Scene 2

Eve, a maidservant who had run to the British for freedom, has been captured and returned to the Randolph house. She is confronted by her mistress, Elizabeth Randolph, who tells Eve she has decided to sell her to her nephew, Harrison Randolph. When Mrs. Randolph leaves, Jack, another Randolph servant, brings Eve some food and drink and attempts to comfort and console her. Eve then speaks about her experiences in Yorktown and responds to Betty Randolph's decision.

Governor's Palace Garden Stage

Day 1: Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday,

Collapse of Royal Government

Scene 1, July 1776

Patrick Henry's Vision for Virginia

As the first freely elected governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia moves into the Governor's Palace, Patrick Henry reveals his thoughts about the future of the new republic.

Scene 2, July 1776

The Challenge of Independence

Leaders of Virginia's "Independence Delegation" debate the meanings in Virginia's Declaration of Rights and the new state constitution. The future of the new republic is now their responsibility.

TO BE DEVELOPED

What Holds the Future?

June 1776. Lord Dunmore's abandoned servants recall the governor's abrupt departure and the uncertainty of their fates ever since. These enslaved people now ponder their own fate: the Committee of Safety has decided to sell them at auction, perhaps away from town and from each other.

A MOST "WONDER"FUL WEEKEND

After all the planning, after all the excitement, after all the anticipation, Anniversary Weekend has come and gone, leaving many of us still trying to catch up. It seems like everyone has been talking about this weekend forever and now it is over, just like that! For all those involved, I have one word for you: SUCCESS! I was one of many people who signed up

to volunteer for the weekend and I was amazed at the amount of others who donated their time for this commemoration. There really was something special about being in the middle of it all and seeing both sides. I was able to see some of the inner workings that held everything together, and also enjoy everything as a guest when my shift was complete.

As I got off the bus in the morning at a parking lot at Jamestown Settlement, I went through security, and once I was inside, it was overwhelming. The crowds were enormous, coming in from every direction, and there were just so many things to do. Where should I go first: Historic Jamestowne, Jamestown Settlement, or head right for Anniversary Park? Although I had certainly been to both Jamestown sites before, there were special programs, activities, and events scheduled for each day and I did not want to miss a thing! I could now relate to many of our Colonial Williamsburg guests as they start walking down Duke of Gloucester street with their *This Week* in hand, trying to figure out what to do. I finally decided to head over to Anniversary Park, since my volunteer shift would be over there.

Anniversary Park was divided up into four separate villages: Democracy Village, Heritage Village, Exploration Village, and Festival Village. Each village had a stage for various musical, cultural, and educational performances, along with different vendors or exhibits. The great thing about Anniversary Park was that it had the feel of a local community festival or fair, but with national and international guests in attendance. It's true, they came! And hopefully they will continue to come. I met both volunteers and guests from such places as Texas, California, Hawaii, England, Scotland, and France. It was also great to see lots of families coming out for the event and parents taking advantage of the opportunity to educate their children about our nation's history. You could really see some of those light bulbs going off! I'm sure these same families made a point to stop at Colonial

Day 2: Wednesday, Friday, Sunday,

Citizens at War

September 1781

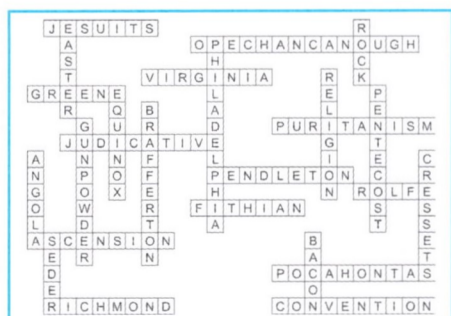
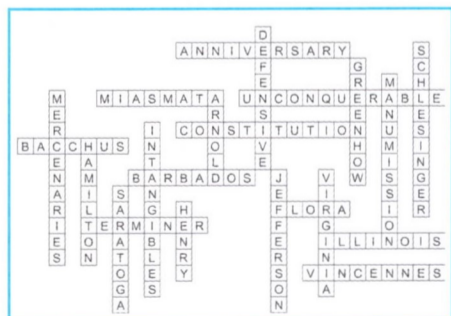
Prelude to Victory!

Commander in Chief George Washington holds a war council with some of his field commanders (Governor Thomas Nelson, The Marquis de Lafayette, and Anthony Wayne) to determine the best strategies for the march on Yorktown, and the siege that they hold will deal a death blow to the British army.

Nation Builder Monday

An Audience with a Founding Father
Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, or
George Washington

Crosswords Solutions—Spring 2007



Williamsburg's Historic Area during their visit, and if not this time, surely the next.

The variety of learning opportunities that were intermingled with entertainment was absolutely brilliant. There was truly something for everyone to enjoy. I couldn't help but smile at the idea that the thousands of people that attended (the ap-

proximate total is around 70,000) now have a much better understanding of the history at Jamestown and the implications it has for the present day and the future. Many of the guests were so wrapped up in the shows and exhibits that they were not even aware that learning was taking place. I had a motto that I often used when I was a high school teacher, and it certainly applies here: "You need to trick them into learning, without them even thinking about it."

I can think of three wonderful performances that exemplify this type of "disguised learning." First, in *Anniversary Voices*, original songs and dances were created that tell the stories behind the three different cultures that converged here. At Heritage Stage, they had a screen for captioning so that guests could follow along with the specific words of the song or story as they listened. A member of the Chickahominy tribe even performed a song from the native point of view called "Remember the Many," which made the message even more powerful. Another example was in *Ba-Baaah & The Windigo*, which is a children's play about Jamestown seen through the eyes of the animals. Ultimately, the message at the end was about accepting everyone's differences and living together as one community. The last and most unexpected example was during the concert with Bruce Hornsby, Ricky Skaggs, and Chaka Khan when they made several historical references about how the music they play comes from a combination and evolution of the music of all three cultures.

The success of Anniversary Weekend can attest to the sometimes controversial role that "edutainment" plays in modern society, particularly in regard to museums meeting and exceeding guest expectations. We have experimented with this concept in Revolutionary City™, but there are many more places and much more subtle ways where each and every interpreter can make history truly come alive. Anniversary Weekend has created some truly special memories and "wonder"ful moments for our guests. This summer, let us continue to maintain that same level of energy and excitement here in the Historic Area.

[Submitted by Kelly Govain]

ART

Portrait of a Native
American Man [See Page 1]

The visual credibility of this portrait makes unanswered questions about it all the more frustrating. Scholars suspect the subject of being Iroquois or a member of one of several bands that occupied the southern Great Lakes region, but the widespread adoption of many aspects of the man's attire, accoutrements, and adornment make it impossible to be specific.

Widely used features include the matchcoat (the blanket wrapped over this sitter's near arm), the trade ("English" style) shirt, the silver armband, and the pipe or pipe tomahawk. Many Native men also wore scalplocks like this man's, plucking the hair over most of the head but allowing a patch on top to grow long. The color and application of the paint on the subject's chin, cheek, temple, and ear might seem good clues. Yet face (and body) painting was a very personal aspect of self-presentation, often unique to the individual and based on visions or dreams, as yet, no consistent regional or tribal usage has been documented.

Other features are unusual and thus hold promise for future research. One is the subject's earring. Most Natives dressed in their finest attire for the occasion of a portrait sitting, generally including a variety of fancy ear bobs, cones, wheels, and (through slit ears) wire wrappings.

[The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Collections description]

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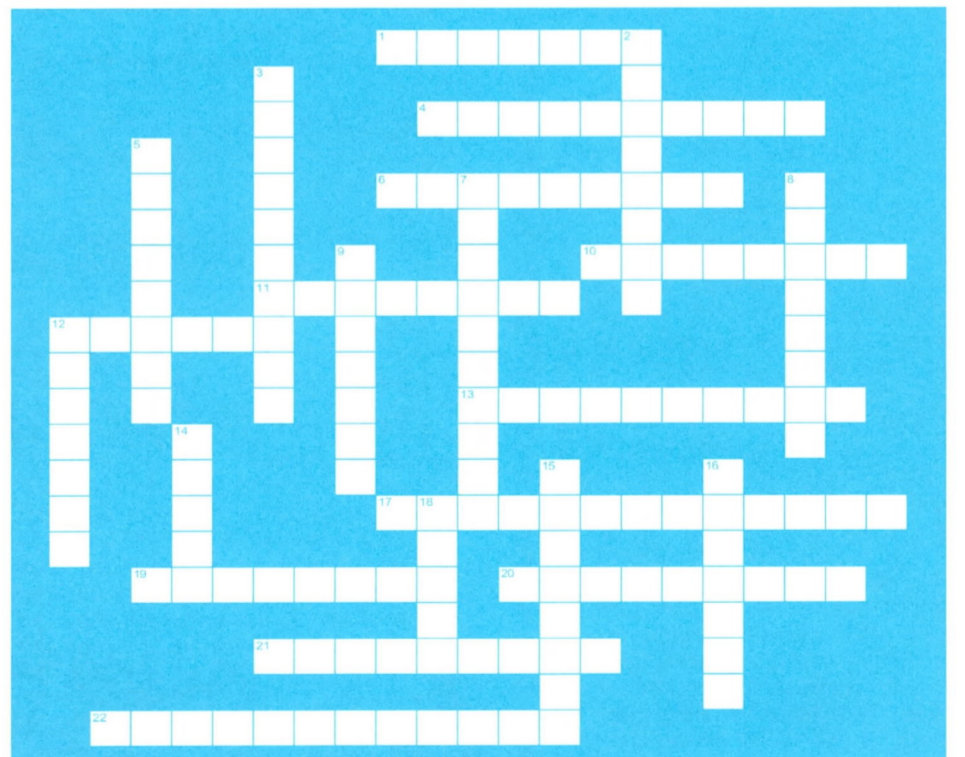
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ACROSS

- Far northern boundary of Powhatan territory
- Southern Indian power
- A French ally
- Victor at the Thames
- Language group of Virginia Indians
- Powhatan rite of passage
- Massachusetts Indians
- Spirits inhabiting the natural world
- Powhatan creator god
- Desecrated an Indian temple
- One Indian group in Williamsburg in 1769
- Vengeful Powhatan god

DOWN

- Far northern boundary of Powhatan territory
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