HIDDEN PATHWAYS: A STUDY OF INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONG
NATIVE AND AFRICAN AMERICANS IN 18TH CENTURY VIRGINIA

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Preface

As I look into the mirror I do not see the broad lips and wide nose that should match my skin tone. I see what seem to be features of a different race. I see someone else. I think about my ancestors and who they were and how my lineage arose. I am a Native-African American descendent of the Cayuga and Seneca tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy. The “voice” of Native Americans and African Americans has not been heard in the history books. Moreover, the voices of people who claim allegiance to both groups have been silenced. It is my goal to ‘hear’ these voices from the past through the study of historical ethnic relations in Virginia, my home state.

There are other people like myself within the eastern North American society that share both Native and African American cultures. The problem is not that Native-Africans know nothing about their interwoven cultures. Rather, these histories have not been privileged. Our public school history books teach us only partial stories, telling us of the Natives and Pilgrims in the early Plymouth colony as well as the stories of slave rebellions and wars, but mention nothing about the interaction and relationships of black and Indian peoples.

Interrelationships between Native Americans and Europeans and between Europeans and Africans have been studied thoroughly, but Native and African American interrelationships have not. Our histories were exactly that, “his-
story”; the story of others who looked through the eyes of the slaveholder, Indian killer and colonialist, not necessarily the people who lived these experiences. Most people know very little about Native-African cultures and how they intersected to form a new culture and a new people……the “Black Indian”.
Chapter 1: Introduction

In 2006 the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma voted to remove Freedmen from the tribal rolls. The Freedmen are members of the Cherokee Nation who are also descendants of the African-American slaves once owned by wealthy Cherokee Indians. According to David Cornsilk a Cherokee lawyer, “former principle chief Ross Swimmer felt threatened by the Freedmen vote and was able to orchestrate new rules barring people without ‘Indian’ blood from voting” despite a long interwoven history (The Muskogee Daily Phoenix March 8, 2006).

“The question of ‘voice’ has become a key issue in the study of history, society, and literature. For too long the debate over the American South and the varied meanings of its culture have focused almost exclusively on the experiences of “white male elites, with the assumption that their perspective was the only one that mattered” (Gallay 1994:xxiii). Despite the extensive scholarship on Native and African relations in New England, Florida, and countries such as South America and the Caribbean, there is an under representation of scholarship which speaks of events from the ‘voices’ of women, people of color, and the poor middle-class within the first colonies of North America, particularly in Virginia. Included within these oversights are the cultural intersections of
indigenous American and African cultures, which have been overlooked until recently.

Though scholars have addressed ethnogenesis elsewhere within the disciplines of cultural anthropology (Deal 1993), history (Beverley 1947; Bruce 1968), and historic archaeology (Deagan 1983; Deetz 1993), they have yet to develop a deep understanding or documentation of the intertwined ethnic histories of African and Native peoples in the colony of Virginia (Berry 1984; Johnston 1929; Macleod 1928; Nash 1974). This study will locate and evaluate the historical relationship between Natives and Africans within colonial Virginia (Figure 1). In particular this study focuses on why and how Natives and Africans acculturated to form new bonds and cultures through community development, intermarriages, slavery, and war in 18th century Virginia. The information compiled will enable us to understand and acknowledge that these interrelationships existed and were prevalent in the Virginia colony, as was the case in other parts of the Americas.
Methods

In order to better understand the interrelationships among Natives and Africans in 18th century Virginia and how these relationships formed, this study will rely on primary and secondary research methods. Virginia was one of the first British colonies established in North America and comparatively little ethnohistorical information regarding Native and African relations has been identified.

Primary documents like the United States Census data (1790 census of Virginia), laws (Hening 1823), petitions (North Hampton County Manuscripts),
and property tax and other documents (Johnston 1924; Minges 2004) were found at the Library of Virginia and the West Virginia State Archives. Ethnohistorical research revealed a strong picture of the interrelationships among Native and Africans in colonial Virginia from the 17th century through the 18th century as these interrelationships became more evident. Data from the U.S. census, city and personal documents like property tax and petitions published in the Northampton County Manuscripts (1723-1808), provided insight into relationships that Natives and Africans established since the colony’s settlement. Unfortunately, the majority of Virginia’s records, census data in particular, were destroyed in a fire during the War of 1812 in Washington, D.C. Some deeds, petitions, and inventory records have survived and will assist in the information that is being sought yet the destruction of documents requires other methods to be used. Thus, research will have to heavily rely on personal accounts of both peoples as well as European documentation to how Natives and Africans interacted within the first years of the development of North America. With in the documents I will have to attempt to read between the lines and find evidence to support my thesis.

This research will further exemplify the key ideas associated with the Annales School, discussed in Chapter 2, which explicitly calls for the collaboration between disciplines concerned with human society, thus forming a “new human science” (Bintliff 1991:5). This study illuminates interrelationships
between Natives and Africans in 18th century Virginia through textual and statistical -qualitative and quantitative -analyses of data as well as ethnohistoric field work. Scholars like Kenneth Porter (1971), Kathleen Degan (1991), James Deetz (1993), and Chris Gosden (2004) have combined ethnohistory, ethnography, and archaeology in order to better understand cross cultural exchange among colonial peoples through material remains via slave plantations. This similar approach will be used as a template for the study of interrelationships among pre-colonial African and Indian peoples in Virginia.

When reviewing the archaeology of Annapolis, Gosden utilized material cultural resources in order to understand the interaction of race and class in the creation of the Atlantic world (Gosden 2004). The detailed information provided through archaeological remains of households and communities in turn suggests racial interaction and mixing through “cultural signatures” that are common to specific ethnic groups. The combination of material cultural studies and the analyses of historic records underscore how scholars in different disciplines can complement and support each other.

James Deetz’s work on the 18th century Virginian plantation, Flowerdew Hundred, combined archaeology and history to document a more thorough history of the plantation during the years of occupation. Archaeology of the plantation grounds uncovered a link established between Natives and Africans through art motifs on ceramics. The motifs had designs of considerable
complexity that paralleled the decorative arts of West Africa, and suggested a link to designs placed on Chesapeake pipes; which may have not been a coincidence because the design was not a part of the local native Algoquian design vocabulary (Deetz 1993:97). Thus, Deetz suggested that the Flowerdew Hundred motifs were directly linked through the designs found on the deposit of clay pipes at the Flowerdew Hundred site.

**Significance**

An ethnoarchaeological approach to the study of the interrelationships among Natives and Africans within the present-day limits of the Mid-Atlantic, specifically in Virginia, will illuminate the overlooked history of Native and African-Americans and the emergence of a new people – the Black-Indian. Likewise, this study will bring together two complementary fields of study – ethnohistory and historical archaeology.

The benefits and significance to historical archaeology and ethnohistory include disciplinary growth, the production of knowledge about an overlooked
region and era, as well as a more comprehensive understanding of ethnogenesis in colonial Virginia. This work will also aid in understanding the complex processes of ethnogenesis that gave birth to new peoples in North America. Ethnogenesis in Virginia has resulted in many new generations of multicultural people who claim allegiance to two or more ethnic groups and nations. Thus, it is important to the general public for the advancement of America’s past, and present knowledge of the nation’s history.

Though the birth the black-Indians in North America is only the tip of a historic ethnogenic iceberg; it can and will be an opening to many other cultures that have missed our current social radars that detect the socio-cultures of the world. This study is just the beginning to a new rejuvenation to indigenous studies of North America.
Chapter 2: Theoretical and Literature Review

This research project follows the insights formulated by the Annales School concentrating on the sub-methods and concepts of, problem history, historical and cultural ecology, and ethnogenesis. The Annales School was founded in 1929 by Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch with an aim to write “total history” that would recapture the great variety of human life and events. The school encouraged the replacement of dominant political history with social and economic history. These theories and methods were derived from French political issues and events and then were altered to become applicable to a general world history. At the center of the Annales School, scholars Lucien Febvre, Marc Bloch, Fernand Braudel, Georges Duby, Jaques Le Goff, and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie argued that history should be understood and documented in a cyclical sense to improve the discipline’s sense of what common people experienced (Burke 1990). Ethnogenesis, as described by many cultural anthropologists, is a term that describes the historical emergence of a people who define themselves in relation to sociocultural and linguistic heritage (Hill 1996:1). This in turn predicates the major focus of “problem history” and
the creative adaption to spatial and socioeconomic events which has birth the black-Indian.

Ideological theories utilized within this work are drawn from the Third Generation of the Annales School, particularly the ideas of LeRoy Ladurie. Ladurie focused on understanding different social groups in the past. The Third generation was established in 1968 and was marked by fragmentation within the movement, since history as a discipline was already fragmented; as well as the strides of Bloch and Braudel to reveal the deeper “currents below the surface” of history (Bintliff 1991:5), which can be referenced to minorities and their suppressed voices in history. During the 1930’s many did not view the school as being unified which was the turning point for the movement. It was scholars like Ladurie who turned their attention to solving the problem of the interplay of different time-scales in the past (Bintliff 1991:13). By applying the Annales School Third Generation theoretical ideals and approach, Native-African American history in colonial Virginia will be revealed because of the shifting focus on the writing problem-oriented analytical history and looking at the socio-culture of the Virginia region comprehensively.

To obtain more information about this topic, ethnohistoric studies pertaining to Native and African ethnogenesis are included. With the approach adopted by Ladurie and Paul Blois, the social phenomena of black-Indians and their underlying causes will be programmatically examined in depth with a
particular attention to immobile stretches of time in colonial Virginia. The
existence of these individuals is well attested and empirically evident, but their
lived experiences are lost in hidden historic pathways. Initial traumatic events
which may have acted as a “catalyst for the emergence of these biracial people”
will be examined (Bintliff 1991:14).

Archaeological field work conducted by other scholars in the Northeast
and Mid-Atlantic region will be utilized to identify spatial, temporal, and socio-
cultural interactions among Native and African Americans in colonial Virginia
with emphasis on historical and cultural ecology. Archaeological field work has
enriched the methods of the Annales School by giving a starting point and
missing links to the written documentation of “problem history”.

Historical ecology looks at the use and development of landscapes from
the past. This can be applied to some of the archaeology that has been conducted
that support theoretical findings of inter-relationships among people through the
excavation of material culture. From a cultural perspective, this ecological
interdependence takes many different forms which can be observed through the
interaction of two or more ethnic groups and their adaptations to each other.
Fredrik Barth (1969) capitalized on this in his compilation of essays on ethnic
groups and boundaries. Barth noted that these adaptations may entail the
following forms:

(1) They may occupy clearly distinct niches in the natural
   environment and be in minimal competition for
resources. Interdependence will be limited and despite co-residence in an area and articulation will be mainly through trade and possibly in a ceremonial-ritual sector. They may monopolize separate territories and be in constant competition for resources and their articulation will involve politics along the border. They provide important goods and services to each other. Monopolization of different means of production can entail a close political and economic articulation, with the possibilities for other forms of interdependence to be introduced and utilized.

These theories provide a theoretical framework for documenting of the relationships among Native and African Americans in the colonial era. These adaptation theories were observed in the research through the work of James Deetz and Chris Godsen on plantations in colonial Virginia and the cultural exchanges exhibited in archaeological research and artifacts, which were briefly mentioned in the previous chapter.

Several studies have been pertinent to understanding relationships between Native and African Americans during the colonial period and were utilized to serve as a template and key to understanding and illuminating the purpose and significance of this work. Authors Kathleen Deagan (1983), Kevin Mulroy (1993), James Deetz (1993), Kenneth Feder (1994), and Barbara Faggins (2001) provide examples of how, when and where relationships among Native and African Americans first took form. Deagan’s archaeological work on Spanish St. Augustine demonstrates the role of cultural heritage in shaping patterned adaptation to new conditions in both British and Spanish colonial
systems (1993:5). Deagan found that British and Spanish archaeological patterns were distinctly different within similar environments which can be an indication of differences spatially and socio-culturally; in-turn making archaeological findings that do not have cultural signatures of Spanish or British communities even more evident. Kevin Mulroy’s (1993) and Richard Price’s (1996) work on “maroon” societies in North America was of great help and significance to understanding racial mixed communities in 18th century North America. These societies were mixed communities founded by displaced Africans, their descendents, Native Americans, and others who sought freedom in the Atlantic from the oppression of slavery or other forms of bondage as well as socioeconomic hardship. Maroon communities in many cases were geographically separate but coexisted and exchanging cultural ways and identities thus, broadly defining when, where, and how blacks, Natives, and others interacted.

While Mulroy and Deagan focus on the Southeastern portion of colonial North America; Deetz (1993), Feder (1994), and Faggins (2001) studied and documented the more northern colonies in the Mid-Atlantic and New England regions. Deetz (1993) and Feder (1994) each combined ethnohistorical and archaeological approaches to understand interrelationships in the colonial era. Deetz examined the Flowerdew Hundred plantation in Virginia and how it reflected the interrelationships of people who resided there during the colonial
era. Deetz found a direct correlation of relationships through clay motifs. The motifs, found on the plantation grounds resembled both African and Native American characteristics throughout production. Deetz’s study demonstrates the importance and use of archaeology when trying to reconstruct colonial times in Virginia, which is a direct link to the area of study. Deetz’s study has been a stepping stone for ways of indicating relationships that may not have been documented and suppressed like many unheard voices in history.

In the study of the Light House village in the northwestern hills of Connecticut, Feder used a combination of ethnohistory, history, and archaeology to uncover its complex story. From the archaeological materials gathered, the Light House Village was characterized as a predominately European development. Yet, with the aid of historical documents such as census data and other primary records, the village was predominantly multiracial community, with Natives, Africans, and Europeans living together. The Lighthouse villagers’ unique multi-cultural society was evidenced by their more ephemeral social lives rather than by “hardware”, such as dishes and utensils (Feder 1993: 198). It is important to note that the recovered archaeological evidence alone could not determine the relationships among these peoples, but that by examining this community in both their historical and archaeological contexts, conclusions about the people and their community were able to be formulated.
Faggins (2001) examined interactions among Native and African Americans in southern Virginia. She adopted an Afrocentric approach to illuminate African-American history as a whole. She used sources from personal accounts, memoirs, and federal census data to form a historical context. The work that she has done is exemplary in illuminating the past and provides great historical depth for this region. However, information about the Natives in the region was omitted, though her work was instrumental in sight in these relations from an Afrocentric approach.

Sub-areas of interest were developed to ensure thoroughness of the research and were developed into thesis chapters. These sub-areas focus on temporal, spatial and socio-culture exchange as well as biological developments among Native and Africans in colonial Virginia. These sub-areas include a brief historical background of Native Americans and Africans within the pre-colonial and colonial era; the contact period between Natives and Africans (16th - 18th century); slavery, including contributions of slave holders and its affect on slavery; race and its origins including views, ideologies, and laws pertaining to the use and definition of race in colonial Virginia; and exploration of local archaeological research that provided tangible evidence of these relationships within Virginia.

The historical backgrounds of Native Americans and Africans are abundantly present in the literature researched. Information found was utilized
in the brief and general description of the historic life ways and social structure of Natives and Africans. The information documented has assisted in the construction and of the understanding of historic life ways of both peoples before and after their contact and interaction with each other along with their interaction with Europeans, as well. Literature that provided information pertaining to Native and Africans historical backgrounds consisted of Robert Venables (2004), Peter Wade (1993), Kevin Mulroy (1993), William Christie Macleod (1928), Allan Gallay (1994), Michael Conniff and Thomas Davis (1994), and Edward Reuter (1918). Each book was significant in the portrayal of known life ways of both Natives and Africans. Unfortunately, because of the lack of ethnic diversity among authors and editors on the topic if Natives and Africans unintentional bias may occur that could be detrimental to the information provided. Biased documentation is ever present throughout our country’s recorded history. Most historians and writers (even the best of these) have difficulty with this problem because “history must be as objective as possible and even knowing that such objectivity is never truly attainable” (Bedarida 1994:5).

Bias attitudes have been captured by many colonial authors in the documentation of accounts of past wars in North America in which they showed favor of North American hierarchy that usually and purposefully omitted the “less important” details of the battle. These “less important” details have come to include in-depth information of other minorities such as colonial Natives,
Blacks, and black Irishmen who were not a part of North American hierarchy. Because of this fatal error in the documenting North American history, the history books used to teach the country’s history may include them, but without detail and without cohesive organization. For example, in a collegiate North American history book the authors seem to omit the more detailed aspects of the persons who fought in American wars (in this case, The Revolutionary War) by writing, “thousands of African-Americans also served the Patriot cause. Free blacks from New England enrolled in Patriot units such as the First Rhode Island Company and the Massachusetts ‘Bucks’” (Henretta et al. 1999: 167-177). After this comment the text goes on to discuss how some blacks received freedom from their service in the Patriot cause, and for the Native American involvement in this war there is a brief mention of their collaboration with the French with more emphasis being placed on their French or English counterparts. Again, many histories are lost or interwoven and it is left to us to continually “read between the lines”. However, there are a small number of books that focus primarily on the history of Natives and Africans (John Russell 1969[1913], Kenneth Porter 1971, Benjamin Quarles 1987, and Leonard Dinnerstein et al. 1996).

Research information relevant to the contact period among Natives and Africans were applied in Chapter 3 that utilized books by Fredrik Barsh (2002), Barbara Faggins (2001), John Lofton (1949), Lerone Bennet (1983), Charles Wagley (1958), and Edward Reuter (1918); and two articles by James Johnston
These sources contain information pertaining to the reaction of European and Native contact as well as to European and African contact. Though the meeting of Natives and Africans was initiated by a third party, the Europeans, there was little focus on the initial reactions they had in each other’s presence. Barbara Faggins’ text was useful in its analysis of contacts between these peoples in the colonial south side of Virginia. Though Faggins’ took an Afrocentric perspective and approach in her work instead of a more balanced approach of both Native and African, she had an abundance of general information about the histories and cultural practices of African-Americans within the 18th century that will be utilized throughout this work.

The occurrence of racial and socio-cultural exchange during and after the Native and African contact period is also essential to this research and was applied to interpret when, how, and why Natives and Africans initially encountered each other. In Claudio Saunt’s book (2005), he documented a Creek family lineage by the name of Grayson and found several incidents of enslavement, intermarriage, and intermixing among Native/African and Native/European. On more than one occasion in the Grayson family’s lineage, Native-European descendents intermarried or had children with freed and enslaved African Americans. Though this family’s lineage is documented in the early half of the 19th century, it does however show how this “illusive” act transpired throughout Native American communities. It also indicated
relationships between groups were forming into and prior to the turn of the 18th century.

Although there is scholarship on Native-African relations in some areas of North America, most of the information found did not focus on the Mid-Atlantic region but rather on the far south east and New England (Deagan 1983, Porter 1971, Hall 1992, Forbes 1993, Dinnerstein et al. 1996, Brooks 2002, and Gosden 2004). In other books a combination of information about the Eastern seaboard regions was found (Bastide 1971, Reiss 1977, Mandell 1998, and McDonald 1998). The information recovered was very general and gave little information regarding colonial Virginia, or the Mid-Atlantic region; however they were still utilized for their broader and general approaches. Two articles by Johnston (1929 and 1970), a black contemporary scholar; provided documentary evidence to the relations that Natives and Africans had in colonial Virginia from an African American perspective.

The sub-area study of slavery occupies an essential place in this thesis research, in part because slavery is a potential key event to discovering how and why Natives and Africans initially came into contact with each other. Slavery also explains why Natives and Africans began to interact. The development of slavery caused both Natives and Africans to live in close quarters to each other, to work the same jobs, and to be treated in the same manner. This institution may be what gave them a commonality which could have furthered the bond
that would make both peoples feel as a single culture and people; aiding in the goal of documenting how African-Native Americans transpired.

During further research of other general aspects of slavery, a compilation of narratives was found, which also documented indications of the occurrence of relationships and cohabitation among Native and Africans in colonial Virginia through the bond of slavery (Patrick Minges 2004) among those are WPA narratives produced in the Federal Writer’s Project (Lauana Creel). Early interviews and the documentation of narratives of people who survived from that time period were very helpful in showing that Natives and Africans mixed more frequently than was initially believed during slavery (Gallay 1994). Other books reviewed contained general information with evidence of cultural exchange that was prompted by slavery within the geographic area of colonial Virginia. The information provided in these books did not focus primarily on colonial Virginia, but rather on the eastern shore regions of North American and other large slave trading hubs throughout Europe, South Africa and Western Africa (Ballagh 1968[1902], Turnage 1937, Lauber 1969[1913], Slaughter 1969[1869], Katz (1986), Conniff and Davis 1994,

Figure 2 William Katz’s book *Black Indians: a hidden Heritage.*
Morris 1996, and Landers 1999). These books also gave insight to the historical context and timeline of how slavery was implemented and used in colonial America as well as provided some indication to how cultural exchange and relationships were developed.

By looking at other aspects of racial and cultural exchange between Natives and Africans, it can be concluded that the common servitude of slavery cannot be studied as the only possible means by which Natives and Africans intermixed. Thus, additional research concerning minority slaveholders (both Native and African) and minority slaves will aid in the understanding of social and economic conditions. In Annie Abel’s 1915 text, she devoted the majority of her book to the documentation of the Native American slaveholder and how their idea of slavery differed from that of Europeans. This book provided insight on the issue of the enslavement and documentation of Natives by other Natives. Classic texts by Phillip Schwarz (1987), Carter G. Woodson (1968[1924] and 1925), and J. Douglas Deal (1993) also discussed the African, or African American, as a slaveholder of slaves taken from their own caste.

Cultural views and ideologies of race must also be researched to give an understanding of status and the possibilities of how status can affect inter-relations publicly and privately. The idea of race as a concept will be explored by examining the general thoughts and ideologies of race in colonial North America from the beginning of European exploration to the end of the 18th
century, situating them within spatial, temporal, and cultural categories. Louis Ruchames (1967) and Alden Vaughn (1995), focus on the general issue of race in the 18th century. Jack Forbes indicated that before one can introduce or explain how Natives and Africans interacted, the use of racial connotations must first be explored, “all of the mistakes must be cleared away from the discourse of a racist-colonial setting as well as from current meanings assigned to racial terms” (1993:2). Much of the research reviewed was general but provided information that could be used within the thesis research (Berry 1978; Smedley 1993; Morris 1996). Information of the origin and ideology of race at a global level will also be utilized for a more in-depth look as to how this concept of race was transferred and used in colonial Virginia.

While doing research on race it was noted that many laws were founded regarding separatism between the races. Such laws attempted to define and control sexual interaction among different races and even the congregation of people of color in various settings. Cultural and biological “boundaries” were especially enforced among Africans and Natives (William Henning 1823, William Macleod 1928, and William Willis 1963). During colonial times these laws were one of the ways that the government tried to oppress and separate people of color from the European majority. Information regarding race and the American legal system, and will help to show that if races mixed they did so discretely (or not at all), and why data about race mixing are difficult to recover.
The history of Virginia is one of the last, yet important, topics that I will include in my thesis. Since the colony of Virginia is the geographical focus here, it is important to research the life ways, laws, and customs of the colony before its founding in the 18th century and beyond. Doing so will build a better understanding of Virginia in the colonial era. Robert Beverley’s published research (1947, 1971) provided general and specific information that have aided in the understanding of why people may have lived and interacted the way they did in that region and era. Precise details about social life and customs among whites, slaves, and Native Americans were also found in works by Mary Standard (1917) and Phillip Bruce (1968).

How we as scholars, students, and the general public view the black-Indian is still left to the individual and what they prefer to believe how, why, and when black-Indian became a culture and an identity in itself. One thing is sure……the emergence of these new peoples became more prevalent as written history reached the far Eastern part of the globe.
Creating Colonies: the Making of Colonial North America

In the late 15th century Englishmen – mainly private individuals acting sometimes with state support from the British Crown – increasingly involved themselves in American exploration (Sarson 2005:12). There was a race in the West to find a route to the East. John Cabot was one of the first to make contact with the North American continent in 1497 with support from the British Crown.

Figure 3 John Cabot Sighting North America
W. R. Wilson “Historical Narratives of Early Canada”.

Cabot and a small crew of 18
boarded the *Matthew* and landed in what they called ‘new found land’ (Sarson 2005:12). A second voyage was arranged in 1498 with license from King Henry VII to conquer any people and colonize any lands not already claimed by Christians. In this expedition Cabot hoped to bring back riches. Unfortunately, he and his crew never returned. From 1501 – 1505, King Henry VII chartered several failed joint expeditions with Portuguese merchants to the Americas. In 1508 Sebastian Cabot, son of John Cabot, set out to also find a passage to the New World (North America) with no state support. He was successful and brought back American fauna as well as native inhabitants. Sebastian Cabot had explored what is now known as Hudson Bay traveling south on the eastern seaboard. Cabot failed to locate precious metals but succeeded in identifying rich fishing grounds. In 1509 King Henry VII was mysteriously poisoned and died leaving his 18 year old son Henry the VIII to reside the throne of England. During his reign it seemed that the interest in exploration was overshadowed by the Protestant reformation of the church (Sarson 2005:12-13).

By the late 1550’s economic hardship revitalized English interest in exploring and settling North America under the new rule of Queen Elizabeth I, Henry the VIII’s daughter. Merchants were pushed to find new commercial outlets at all costs. It wasn’t until 1584 when Sir Walter Raleigh financed the voyage and was deeded rights to any new-found land by Queen Elizabeth. Raleigh then dispatched two small vessels with Captains Philip Amadas and
Arthur Barlowe to explore and claim the region and islands from Chesapeake Bay to the Carolinas. When the captains arrived they dropped anchor at the inlet by Roanoke, in present day North Carolina (Sarson 2005:12).

As the first light broke across the eastern horizon the small vessels beat cautiously westward. The small fleet of ships had veered off its course by sudden storms at sea, but they kept sailing in what they thought to be the right direction. The trip was long and tiring, but the ships with their crew finally embarked on landfall, the headlands that marked Roanoke (Billings et al. 1986:3). When Barlowe and his crew arrived to the new land they, like many of their predecessors, had high hopes of finding material wealth through trade with the Powhatan Confederacy of the region. Barlowe wrote to Sir Walter Raleigh describing the land as a perfect site for an English settlement, “the air smelt so sweet and strong was if we were in a fragrant garden” (Lepore 2000:107). The expedition returned to London with tales of a rich and splendid land with lush Roanoke plants, and populated with generous and welcoming people; Algonquin Indians, Manteo and Wanchese (Lepore 2000:107). Captain Barlowe gave great reports of the land and its people claiming it a most desirable place to live, trade, and to ultimately dominate. The natives of the land, referred to as “Indians” had been described by Barlowe to Sir Raleigh as:

being entertained by the Indians with kindness and friendship and given everything that they [Indians] could provide. We found these people gentle, loving, and faithful, lacking all guile and trickery (Lepore 2000:107).
This description of the Natives seemed to make it an easy task to convert these people to the English way of life and beliefs and then develop agricultural and commercial enterprises, thus making England a competitive economic power toward Spain and could ultimately lead to world supremacy.

When Queen Elizabeth was given the report of this “New World”, she was pleased and excited about the new findings and she named the land Virginia. Sir Richard Grenville and a fleet of ships equipped with men and food were then sent out to trade, take notes of further discoveries, and to anticipate starting a new settlement. For 12 years many ships loaded with goods were sent to Virginia. These ships also contained people who longed to inhabit and obtain wealth in this new land (Dinnerstein et al. 1996). In 1603 Queen Elizabeth died, and the Elizabethan Virginia faded into lore, before effort to launch the colony could be made (Wallenstein 2007:13).

The initial colonization, 20 years prior to King James I’s approved charter to Virginia, had resulted in the lack of establishing a permanent New World colony, and the colony of Roanoke Island eventually fell outside Virginia’s boundary and became apart of North Carolina (Wallenstein 2007:13). On April 10, 1606, King James I granted a patent forming the Virginia company (having two divisions; the Plymouth Company and the London Company) to establish two separate colonies. The purpose of these colonies was to strengthen England in its international competition with other European powers (Dinnerstein et al.
1996:4). The first colony was formed by Captain John Smith on the south of the Chesapeake Bay. He named the settlement Jamestown in honor of King James I (Beverley 1971:12). The other colony was formed in the Caribbean. In 1607 Jamestown had become the first permanent English colony in the New World and began importing more settlers including women and children (Beverley 1947:31).

By 1609 the Jamestown settlement grew to nearly 500 people and the settlement sent approximately 120 men to develop two other settlements. One settlement was named Nansamond, after the Nansamond Indians, and was located on the James River; the other settlement was named Powhatan, after the Powhatan Indians, and was located 30 miles below the James River. Soon a third settlement was developed at the mouth of the James River and was named Kiquotan (Beverley 1947:31-32). Since the people were not finding any riches or gold, King James I sent a council of governors to Virginia to help rule the colonies with hopes to gain control of the land. By the time the council arrived the colony was in terrible condition and the focus of King James I shifted toward the survival of the colony (Beverley 1947).

With the adventures to the New World many Europeans began to write of their voyages and give illustrations to what they saw and encountered while in the Americas. Many were “boggled by what they saw” and depicted the new world as a lush and abundant natural world though much out of step with the
17th century. On the Virginia coast Europeans were “flabbergasted by the incredible aboundance [sic] of wildlife on islands most beautiful and pleasant to behold, replenished with deer, conies, hares, and divers beasts, and about them the goodliest and best fish in the world, and in great abundance” (Krech 1999:73).

The colony had many water ways surrounding its peninsula such as salt and fresh water marshes, swamps, low woods, thickets, and pen woods where many indigenous people settled, and where eventually many British colonists would also build settlements. Catching and hunting small game like fish, fowl, and squirrels were the main subsistence of the land. The English needed to learn more about the resources the local environments provided. So they turned to the native population of the land for foods such as nuts, berries, and other agricultural vegetables that could be cultivated and gathered within the colony (Beverley 1947).

With the first council in place, the Jamestown colony and other surrounding settlements began to take the form of typical English governed settlements. The colonies steadily grew with the influx of supplies and people. In 1619 to promote settlement and in an to attempt to insure an economic future the first indentured servants were imported to Jamestown as a source of labor to help with developing agricultural plantations that were drawing large profits in European trade (Wallenstein 2007:19-20). These first servants were mostly comprised of peasants of Scotch-Irish and German heritage. In addition to these
were skilled and unskilled workers from other European countries (Dinnerstein et al. 1996). Among these newcomers there were many young women, as historian David Ransome has found, and many of these were in their teens and early twenties some; as young as 16 years old. These women, like the young men, sailed to Virginia seeking a better life. They also came with the intent of marrying. In late August 1619, a few weeks after the General Assembly’s first meeting, the first black Virginians, women as well as men, arrived in the colony as an alternative to Native labor (Wallenstein 2007:22).

In the years following, the development of the settlements as a representative democracy would be challenged and would shift through legislation and systems of land distribution that led to the possibility of widespread economic dependence (Wallenstein 2007:23). Yet these freedoms could cause many unwanted results in Virginia’s economy and most importantly their hierarchy of the wealthy.

Yet the shift to the headright system granted, in granting fifty acres for each passenger to Virginia a person paid for, also brought new a new age of unfreedom, as some men would systematically acquire other men – would simultaneously obtain both the land and labor work. Indentured servitude characterized the labor force of the seventeenth-century Virginia. It provided a method of recruiting a labor force for new plantations. It also provided people of limited means and few prospects a way to get themselves to the New World, and it raised enormous problems of how to satisfy them once they had paid their debt and could seek land they yearned to fulfill their dreams of working for themselves. Before the 1640’s many former servants became landowners; but as time went on, that became more difficult (Wallenstein 2007:23).
The colonies rapidly grew in population in the following decades with an estimated 80,000 newcomers who ventured to Virginia from across the Atlantic, with the majority of these being servants and indentured servants (Wallenstein 2007:32). Most of the people that were now flooding the shores of America were settling along the Atlantic seaboard, east of the Appalachian Mountains (Dinnerstein et al. 1996:25). The growing of crops had become the main mode of production and most colonists survived from the resources of the land. Contrary to popular belief that the first colonies like Jamestown were bustling small cities, approximately 10 percent of the population lived in towns and cities while the rest of the population resided in the rural countryside (Dinnerstein et al. 1996:25).

The decades passed with the constant growth in servants which now included slaves who would never gain their freedom, and who would only know and live a life of bondage. The demand for labor continued to grow and the constant supply of servants could never suffice. At the same time there were also changes in England’s society and economy which further affected and diminished the supply of servants coming from there (Wallenstein 2007:34). By 1675 indentured white labor had been replaced completely by African slave labor because of the capability to acquire large numbers of slaves and thus insuring future labor because all subsequent generations would be enslaved. This new concept of labor, unfortunately, introduced another racial divide in colonial North America both socially and economically (Takaki 1993:61).
Facing East from their Land: Indigenous Peoples of North America

“The Colonial histories told by English-speaking victors shout across centuries, but stories told in Native voices are far more difficult to hear” (Richter 2001:110). The only knowledge we possess to recreate North American histories are oral traditions of Africans and Indians of the Southeastern region, written accounts by European explorers who misunderstood much of what happened in brief face-to-face meetings with Native people, and mute archaeological artifacts that raise more questions than they do answers (Richter 2001:11).

Typical records that were composed by and for Europeans provide some of the only primary sources of how Native people may have seen the world and understood relationships between their communities and the colonizers. Though, for the most part, these records reveal more about the authors than about the Indians whose lives they profess to describe.

According to the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (2001), indigenous peoples lived in Virginia for about 17,000 years before European contact; which can be periodized in three different cultural periods in North America: Archaic (15,000 – 8,000 B.C.), Paleoindian (8,000 – 1,200 B.C.), Woodland (1,200 B.C. – 1600 A.D.), and the years after European arrival are referred to as “European Contact” (1600 – present). These cultural periods ultimately shifted and shaped indigenous life ways (Perdue and Green 2001:22). When the European exploration began, they found that most of the coastal
region was heavily populated by Native Americans. With little knowledge about the region’s diversity, early explorers lumped together a wide variety of cultures under a single rubric term “Indian” (Nash 1974).

The population of Natives who were present during the European arrival in colonial America has been a controversial issue and numbers found within literary sources can be both inaccurate and confusing during the 17th and 18th centuries. This makes difficult to identify Native groups and their populations after the 1600’s (Butler 2000:11). Early scholars had estimated that there were approximately 244,000 Indians in the United States prior to the arrival of the Europeans and their economic expansion that was achieved by conquering the land in the New World (Ogden 1928). However, scholars now accept the Indian population to be approximately three to five million people prior to colonization (Dinnerstein et al. 1996:5).

Of the distinct tribes, bands, and groups that occupied North America, it was estimated that only 1,900 Natives lived in Virginia, east of the Allegheny mountains in the 1700’s with a steady decline toward the end of the century, approximately a 72 percent decline (Wood 2006:38). These decreases in the Native population were due to the victories of the conquistadors and other European frontiersmen as well as disease. With slavery, conflict and epidemic diseases, the general Indian population was constantly decreasing. Diseases such a smallpox, bubonic plague, measles, mumps, scarlet fever, diphtheria,
typhus, typhoid fever, and influenza as well as tropical disease (malaria and yellow fever) (Krech 1999:80) were contracted by the Indians. Many Natives perished when they came in contact with these foreign diseases because of their lack of immunity, and because they couldn’t completely recover from one disease before being stricken by another (Perdue and Green 2001:41). The inconsistency of the Native American population, as documented, is just one of many issues that have surfaced when researching pre-colonial and colonial history of Native Americans as a whole.

In 1584 the English, led by Sir Walter Raleigh, pushed into territories held by the indigenous peoples of the North Carolina-Virginia shoreline and the development of colonies like the Roanoke Islands, Plymouth, and Jamestown began to slowly developed (Sarson 2005:12). The local Natives, particularly the Algonquians, tried to stop the settlement of Jamestown but they were unsuccessful. They then entered into a period of trade which, from the Algonquian’s perspective, was a conscious effort to incorporate the English into the native system of exchange and tribute (Potter 2006:155).

Colonization by the English of the Mid-Atlantic rim in 1607, brought economic relations with English settlers and their African slaves, this changed and shaped Indian life on the frontier. During the territorial years these interactions generally widened the separation between the groups; laws and patrols were enforced with the aim being the restriction of economic relations
and activities among Natives and other people throughout the colonies (Usner 1985:298).

With more knowledge of the land and its inhabitants it was later documented and recognized that there were three main tribes currently living within colony of Virginia during its colonization period - the Algonquian, Siouan (or Sioux), and Iroquoian nations (Figure 3.1). Algonquian speakers inhabited most of the eastern seaboard of Virginia. At the time of English arrival in 1607 it was estimated that there were 13,000 to 22,000 Algonquian Indians in the tidewater area (Sarson 2005:52). As with other Indian Nations, Algonquian speakers were comprised of several different tribes that have been divided into

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**Figure 3.1** 17th century Native American populations in colonial Virginia (Council of Virginia Archaeologists ©2007).
regional areas according to their dialects – Plains, Central, and Eastern (Hoxie 1996:21). The most notable tribes within the Southeastern seaboard were the Powhatan, Nansemond, Mattaponi, Pamunkey, and the Chickahominy.

The Powhatan Confederacy was the largest and most feared of all of the tribes within the Algonquian speaking groups, as well as on the Eastern seaboard. The Powhatan Confederacy consisted of approximately 30 tribes and stretched from the Potomac River to the Great Dismal Swamp of present-day Southern Virginia (Sarson 2005:52). English settlers at Jamestown were initially welcomed with food from the Powhatan. The Powhatans assumed the English were temporary guests and engaged in aiding the settlers. Like the English, the Powhatan were interested in having access to supplies of metal tools and weapons that would enable them to become power brokers in trade and land within the tidewater region (Faragher 2007:65). After several years had passed, the Indians saw that the English were not temporary; they were now permanent residents and were encroaching on indigenous territory. Massive immigration to produce tobacco would prove the Powhatan right. For tobacco cultivation a great deal of land would be needed and there was little need for Indians as workers or marriage partners, the English began to push them into the periphery. The Powhatan supported by strong political leaders and religious figures attacked the English in 1622, killing 347 colonist which initiated murderous missions among both peoples. The war continued and the colonists
managed to persevere through a ten-year war of attrition (Faragher 2007:66-67).

The Siouan nations inhabited the most interior parts of Virginia and North Carolina in the early 17th century and eventually were pushed further out onto the central plains of the Midwest. The Sioux Nation, traditionally known as Oceti Sakowin (the Seven Council Fires) was comprised of seven tribes that currently live in the North American Midwest (Mdewa-kantune, Wahpetun, Wahpekute, Sistun, Ihanktunwan, Ihankuntwani, and Titunwan) with three distinct dialects; Dakota, Lakota, and Nakota (Hoxie 1996:590). However, in the 17th century there was an estimated 24,000 Siouan living on the Eastern seaboard, including in the colony of Virginia (Sarson 2005:52).

The last thriving tribes of Indians in Virginia were the Iroquois. ‘Iroquois’ is a term designating a confederacy of Indian nations, known to the Europeans as the League of the Iroquois or the Iroquois Confederacy (Berger 1992:57). The Iroquois Confederacy was the largest and most powerful confederation within the inner interior of Virginia in the 1600s’. Their population was 30,200 people strong (Swanton 1979:12) and they inhabited land from New York to Virginia (Nash 1974). The Iroquois confederacy included at this time the Mohawks (‘People of the Flint’), Oneidas (‘People of the Stone’), Onodagas (‘People of the Mountian’), Cayugas (‘People of the Landing’), and Senecas (‘Great Hill People’) (Nash 1974:17). Their formation into a confederacy has been documented by historians as being formed in the late 15th century to solve the
problem of blood feuds and small-scale violence with neighboring tribes; as well as being formed as a response to the European presence (Nash 1974:18). The Confederacy had its own constitution known as the Gayanashagowa (“The Great Law of Peace”) (see Appendix 3.1). With a constitution in place the goals of the nations were to decrease, if not diminish, all unnecessary conflict that began to appear in response to the heightened need for hunting, to restrain the extensive development of agriculture and, to increase in the Native American population. The end result would produce more strengthened and unified villages and make them “invulnerable to attack from without and to division within” (Nash 1974:19). This confederation was proven to be useful in the development of the English colony of Jamestown.

At the time of contact with the English, Native Americans of this region lived in both traditional seasonal or temporal camps and in permanent villages throughout the year. Algonquian homes were typically a dome- or cone-shaped wigwam as well as rectangular multifamily houses. The wigwams were made of bark strips, woven mats or reeds attached to the frame of bent saplings tied together with spruce roots. Woven mats also covered the interior walls and floors. Sleep platforms covered with skins and furs were located around the perimeter of the hut (Pritzker :400) (Figure 3.2).
Tribes would sometimes have more than one village, which expanded their tribal territory outside the parameters of one small area (Macleod 1928:15-27). With this enlarged territory combined with their emphasis on communal ownership of property the tribes gained power and leverage in commercial trade and in the hunt for goods (Berger 1992:57).

These values were practiced among virtually all the Indian peoples and were documented by a French Jesuit in 1657 stating:
No hospitals [poorhouses] are needed among them because there are neither mendicants nor paupers as long as there are any rich people among them. Their kindness, humanity, and courtesy not only make them liberal with what they have, but causes them to possess hardly anything except in common. A whole village must be without corn, before any individual can be obliged to endure privation (Berger 1992:57).

In the early development of the Virginia colony Natives were agriculturalists and hunters. The Natives practiced seasonal subsistence economy-exploiting resources of the area’s micro-environments to obtain sufficient food, clothing, and shelter (Deal 1993:9). They worked and used the land for everything and anything they needed (Macleod 1928). With their abundance of resources Natives would commonly trade among themselves as well as with European merchants. Goods that were traded consisted of deer skins, food, weaponry, and land. When trading with the Europeans, Natives would commonly receive guns, alcohol, woven cotton and wool clothing, and blankets, axes, knives, kettles and other items that were of practical use in the Indian environment in exchange for their food and animal hides (leather and furs) (Cornell 1990:16).

Their foods were basic small crops native to the Eastern climate such as, squash, corn, beans, peas, pumpkins, ochre, sunflowers, and small game such as deer, rabbit, squirrel, and fish. Many crops were cultivated and tilled in small tilled fields, with stone tools, close to the Native living quarters. Wild plants and shrubs like blackberries, blue palmetto, cane, cherries, chestnuts, and crabapples
were also utilized in their daily diets (Swanton 1979:244).

Social organization among each tribe in the geographical area of Virginia was vastly different from one another. Some were close structured like the Natchez and Iroquois (Eastern tribes) and others were smaller and less firmly structured groups, as seen with the smaller sporadic tribes on the Eastern seaboard (Dinnertstein 1996). Most Native groups were governed by chiefdoms and reached many of their decisions through consensus of politically involved clans and their leaders (Perdue and Green 2001:173).

Since the English arrival there had been many bloody battles between Europeans and Natives in Virginia due to the English greed, harvesting of dry goods, and the encroachment of Native land. To counteract this aggression a treaty was signed between the colonists and the Powhatan Confederacy, and initiated a reservation system for Indian lands later in the 17th century (Singler 1987:397).

The European’s ultimate push to settle and industrialize America forced many Natives on the east coast westward out of their homelands losing some of their agricultural ways with the change of environment and forced acculturation. The English felt that their job was to acculturate the Natives and transform them from “savages” to “proper men”. The acculturation process backfired and the English felt that the Natives were a lost cause and needed to be removed, by any means necessary. Years of struggle by the English to control the “untamed New
World” resulted in the Natives being pushed further west from their homes. The Indian was losing the fight for his land in North America to Europeans through war and disease. Wars and uprisings with the Europeans became more common in some parts of North America and in Virginia in particular. Many Indian groups fought on their own, as well as in alliance with some European groups to obtain and secure land. What Indians that survived the battles with the Europeans during the early years of colonization, were plagued with a variety of European and African diseases (Wagley 1958). Those who survived this were used as slaves or as “debt peonage” and in 1676 and 1682 colonial laws legalized Native slavery, which replaced most forms of indentured servitude (Ballagh 1968:10). Natives were then temporarily utilized for hard labor until African labor replaced them (Ballagh 1969).

Between 1680 and 1760 some American Indian cultures in Virginia began to disappear or merge with other cultures. This was usually involuntarily and was compelled by the English (Butler 2000:11). Indians remained on the outskirts of the Virginia colony, but lived on government protected land at the end of the 18th century. This was implemented by Congress in 1793 and prohibited non-Indians settling on Indian lands. Unfortunately, laws that may have discouraged settlers from moving west-ward were constantly overlooked and the forcible and illegal taking of Indian land continued (Pevar 1992:5). With the Europeans extensive inhabitation of the New World many Natives were
losing their way of life, not because they wanted to but because they were forced to.

**Crossing Waters, Crossing Worlds: Africans in North America**

“Contrary to what many people assume, history exists in two time frames: the past and the present” (Painter 2006:ix). In reference to the history of Africans in America, there is no “real” or little “real” history that was documented, by means of writing, by the people and for the people of African descent during the time of their arrival and during the colonization of North America. Many authors like Nell Irvin Painter (2006) feel that no one outside of African culture really knows where Africa ends, or America begins. Little information on Africans prior to their enslavement is known by historians; the systematic effort to study their cultures has not been necessarily “overlooked” by many scholars in the 19th and 20th centuries, but has been inevitably truncated and marginalized. Until now when the historical narrative has been called upon again to new questions that have surfaced with the past yielding new answers (Painter 2006:ix).

What is known is that like the Natives Americans, Africans did not, for the most part, write about their lives and how they lived in the early colonial era in North America (there are, however, some memoirs that have survived from a handful of slaves during this time). Instead they told and retold their histories
through oral histories and folklore. The stories of their past were handed down from elders to the new generations of the family. Thus, some histories that are written may, or may not, hold any truth or accuracy because in most cases the work was not produced by a representative of that specific culture group (“race” or socio-economic status) as see as an issue discussed in *The Oral History Reader* (Perks and Thomson eds. 2004). However, the limited perspectives of Non-African American scholars can be coupled with the oral histories which are essential in creating full accounts of history. This is a dishonor to these people (all minorities), who helped in the establishment of this country, to have little or no history documented by them or from their perspective.

What is mentioned of their past is interwoven in American history through the facets of slavery and rebellion. Within most scholarship the African American (slaves and other oppressed blacks) is empathetically portrayed, finding evidence in their lives of their material accomplishments, vibrant (and “autonomous”) cultural traditions, and moral victories (Deal 1993:xiii). Subsequently, the first Africans were mostly recorded in-depth through the depiction of bondage in Virginia (the first colony in America) and later in the context of total enslavement and social upheaval throughout North American colonies. The Africans came to America as slaves who had been captured, as Frederick Douglass wrote, by “a band of successful robbers who had left their homes, and gone to Africa, and stolen us from our homes and in a strange land
reduced us to slavery” (Katz 1968:3).

Prior to and after the slave trade, Africa was one of Europe’s economic partners with substantial manufacturing and goods which included: textiles, steel, fish, ceramics, and salt (Conniff and Davis 1994). The social structures of Africans were very similar to those of indigenous North America; living in small and large chiefdoms, tribes, and bands. The villages consisted of straw and mud huts with communal spaces for agriculture and food production.

Researching the lives of African peoples prior to their presence in America is often times a tedious task resulting in small, yet, valuable amounts of information. There has been documentation by several African born slaves (Olaudah Equiano and Gustavus Vasa) of their lives in Africa and their lives of enslavement in America. Olaudah Equiano, Ibo-born native who was later enslaved in America, kept several good descriptions of the day-to-day life of the Ibo people and of...
American slavery. As described by Equiano:

As our manners are simple, our luxuries are few. The dress of both sexes are nearly the same. It generally consists of a long piece of [cotton cloth] wrapped loosely round the body...this is usually died blue, which is our favourite colour [sic]. It is extracted from a berry [indigo], and is brighter and richer than any I have seen in Europe. Besides this, our women of distinction wear golden ornaments...on their arms and legs. When our women are not employed with the men in tillage their usual occupation is spinning and weaving cotton, which they afterwards dye, and make garments. They also manufacture earthen vessels [and tobacco pipes] of man kinds (Andrews and Gates eds. 2000)

However, African societies differed greatly before the period of slave importation to America. The continent of Africa is of immense geographical and human diversity today as it had been six centuries ago. Africa was homeland to thousands of separate peoples with distinct ethnicity and autonomous ways of life (Piersen 1996:3). The majority of slaves in North America were from Western and west-central Africa and spoke several hundred mutually unintelligible languages (or dialects) and practiced social customs that were at times as different from one another as they were from Europeans (Wright 1990:12). Though slaves were imported from different tribes on the Western coasts of Africa they still exhibited some elements of cultural homogeneity, usually seen in food ways (preparation and cultivation). A vast majority of Africans relied on one of two basic modes of subsistence: pastoralism or agriculture (Wright 1990:12). Herdsmen kept cattle, sheep, or goats and usually inhabited the northern and southern extremes of the Atlantic’s slave gathering area where
rainfall was not sufficient for growing crops. Those who lived in a more heavily wooded area cultivated and harvested crops like yams, bananas, plantains, or palm products (Wright 1990:13).

Among many of these pastoral and agrarian societies of western and west-central Africa, slavery was practiced through “domestic mode of production”. Slaves were commonly obtained through wars, raids, banditry, and kidnapping. A person’s household in Africa was generally considered a work unit and the more the unit produced the wealthier the household would become, thus to produce more goods or products more workers were needed (Wright 1990:14). This type of kinship slavery was never a social or global problem until the Europeans commercialized the slave trade as a main labor supply. Incidentally, the slave trade begun by Europeans would later be criticized and ultimately, outlawed in Europe, in 1772 after the successful suing of a former Boston customs official by James Somerset to prevent his master from taking him to Virginia (Piersen 1996:xvi).

The indigenous peoples of every explored land were introduced to Africans by way of European traders beginning in 1444. North America, South America, Brazil, Mexico, Canada, Trinidad, Tobago, Jamaica, and Martinique, where among several countries that were conquered by the Europeans and
transitioned into slave trading hubs. The Africans arriving in Virginia came from diverse cultures. There were many slave ports within the continent of Africa with the majority of slaves coming from west and west-central Africa. Approximately 85 percent were imported from the present-day country of Angola (Wright 1990:12) (Figure 3.4). It is hard, however to say whether if not all of the enslaved passengers were ethnically rooted in Angola because the slave trade in Africa was one that was internal and many slaves were shifted around and away from their homelands.

During the importation (1450 to 1900) of slaves from Africa, the continent lost an estimated 40 million people, in what is known as the African Diaspora or the Middle Passage. The Middle Passage consisted of slave trade routes (Figure 3.5) that connected Africa, the Americas, England, and Atlantic islands after 1500 (Conniff and Davis 1994). The voyage the slave ships to the Americas was longer

Figure 3.5 Colonial slave routes to Americas (Conniff and Davis 1994).
than most other sea voyages to there and lasted anywhere from five weeks to several months at sea. Conditions were horrible, the ships were usually overcrowded, food was poor and sparse, and there was little in the way of sanitation thus leading the way to a crossroads market of diseases. The long expeditions only heightened sickness and death, and increased mortality rates to approximately 15 percent (Henretta et al. 1999:67). The slaves were kept as cargo and placed in the bottom of the ship with other cargo. The space was cramped and slaves usually would lie side by side and were stacked on make shift bunks constructed of hay and wooden planks. Gustavus Vasa, who was captured in Benin, Africa and enslaved at the age eleven, described his trip to America as being full of terror and confusion. Vasa recalled the events that unfolded after being kidnapped from his village and taken to sea:

I was not long suffered to indulge my grief; I was soon put down under decks, and there I received such a salutation in my nostrils as I had never experienced in my life; so that, with the loathsomeness of the stench, and crying together, I became so sick and low that I was not able to eat, nor had I the least desire to taste anything...but soon, to my grief, two of the white men offered me eatables; and, on my refusing to eat, one of them held me fast by the hands, and laid me across, I think, the windlass, and ties my feet while the other flogged me severely...

The stench of the hold while we were on the coast was so intolerably loathsome, that it was dangerous to remain there for any times, and some of us had been permitted to stay on the deck for the fresh air; but now that the whole ship’s cargo were confined together, it became absolutely pestilential. The closeness of the place, and the heat of the climate, added to the number in the ship, which was so that each had scarcely room to turn himself, almost suffocated us...
The shrieks of the women, and the groans of the dying, rendered the whole scene of horror almost inconceivable. Happily perhaps for myself I was soon reduced so low here that it was thought necessary to keep me almost always on deck; and from my extreme youth I was not put in fetters. In this situation I expected every hour to share the fate of my companions, some of whom were almost daily brought upon deck at the point of death which I began to hope would soon put an end to my miseries…. (Katz 1969:32-33).

As referenced by Vasa slaves on his journey were allowed on deck when weather permitted it. The women and children could roam the deck while the men were attached by leg irons to chains that ran along the bulwarks of the ship and were inhumanly muzzled like animals. Space and the scarcity of food were probably the chief contributing factors to the disease and the high mortality rates witnessed on the slave ships. In spite of such grim mortality rates, roughly 15 million African men, women and children came to the Americas through the Middle Passage between 1550 and 1870 (Henretta et al. 1999:68). The vast majority of these slaves, approximately 95 percent, were distributed to the societies of present day Latin America and the Caribbean with only five percent ending up in the British colonies of North America (Palmer...
2000:16). Once the slaves arrived in the colonies they were auctioned off as goods and cargo. During the colonial period there were more Africans than Europeans residing in the southern colonies of North America despite the millions of Africans that parish during their travel of the Middle Passage and who continued to parish afterward on plantations because of disease and malnourishment (Bennett 1984).

The desire for economic gain and power was so great that all peoples were sought and utilized for labor.

Approximately 20 Africans and a number of others from Europe were the first indentured servants and labors who arrived in Jamestown, Virginia in 1619. The institution of slavery was not yet established in the colonies and many Africans that came in the first five years were indentured servants would to eventually earn their freedom (Wagley 1958). These 20 indentured servants were the beginning of the enslavement of African peoples (Ballagh 1968). The increasing
demand for slaves, coupled with the expectation that huge profits could be made, led several other European nations to participate in the slave trade. By 1650, the Dutch in the English, and the French, among others, had joined the Portuguese in this human commerce (Palmer 2000:10). From 1650 into the late 18th century, the enslavement of Africans and colonial born African-Americans were mainly on plantations and on smaller farms in Virginia, Maryland, and throughout the coastal low country of South Carolina and Georgia (Wright 1990:1).

It was not until near the end of the 17th century that the cheap labor force provided by second and third generation African servants was recognized socially and publicly as slaves and not as servants or labor (Reuter 1918:167). Interestingly, not all Africans were labeled as slaves because most of them had been baptized on the African coast or in the Spanish colonies for spiritual reasons, thus in accordance with the beliefs of the Europeans; thus, they were given immunity from “enslavement”. Many Africans escaped slavery by way of baptism because it was believed to be a sin and illegal for an Englishmen to enslave Christians (Reiss 1925).

Africans, by far, were different from Europeans mainly because of the different physical attributes they bore. From their skin tone to hair texture Africans were uniquely different. After their survival of the Middle Passage many Africans were stripped of their physical identities (clothing and personal
possessions), and were forced to acclimate to the European life ways, or to forge their own new ways and customs. Despite their separation from their homelands, families, and physical belongings; intellectually they did not forget who they were or where they came from (Piersen 1996:4). Once the colony of Virginia had become a functioning entity many second and third generation Africans formed their own life ways, which were influenced from European and Native American cultures while still keeping their own. The way that many blacks in Virginia, and undoubtedly throughout the South, preserved their culture was through “religion”. African ethics often paralleled Christian mores:

Figure 3.8 “The Old Plantation” ca. late 18th century, by an unknown artist. © The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation 2008
and many African concepts could be reconciled with similar Yankee beliefs (Piersen 1988:65). By living in heavily populated bi-racial and tri-racial areas known as Maroon or urban slave community’s traditional African customs could be practiced freely and in many ways unchanged. When African gathered in their communities they played music, danced, exhibited traditional dress and clothing which they were able to pass down to the generations to come (Figure 3.8) (Piersen 1988).

This emergence of independent social organizations under their own control manifested a more creolized culture. Africans arriving in North America quickly learned the language of the colony so that they could communicate with the Europeans, Native Americans, and Africans from other nations (Conniff and Davis 1994). Over time the speaking of African languages dropped from everyday use and was replaced by the more Creole expressions that were formed from combining other languages and accented African grammar and structure (Conniff and Davis 1994).

With the institution of slavery well in place in the colony of Virginia, many blacks were enslaved on plantations and smaller estates that grew tobacco, coffee, cotton, and rice. In addition to agricultural work slaves worked on cattle ranches and in sugar mills. The plantations were equipped with a main estate, where the slave master lived; the slave quarters, which were far removed from the sight of the main estate; and hundreds of acres of land where livestock and
crops were tended (Sobel 1987).

The slave quarters or communities were usually arranged in rows and were built of wooden planks and mud daubed walls, a familiar technique in Africa and Native America (Figure 3.9). The houses or cabins were usually equipped with a wooden chimney which leaned away from the house to prevent house fires that would be a devastating loss. In the case of a fire the post that secured the leaning chimney would be swept away so the chimney would collapse and burn away from the house out of the way of other houses. The slave houses usually had dirt floors and were large enough to fit one or two people comfortably – at times more were forced to live together in these small

Figure 3.9 A typical slave quarter in a 18th century plantation in Virginia. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation 2008©.
quarters. The majority of slaves lived in cabins that were less than 320 square feet (Sobel 1987:104). Once in America African slaves usually ate what they could grow or catch. The diet consisted of possum, raccoon, fish, home grown vegetables, rabbit, and other food that may have been given to them by their slave masters (Sobel 1987).

Along with slavery a vicious cycle of wealth was now created; more slaves equaled more money, so wealthy plantation owners embraced the opportunity to create more wealth than they ever imagined. Women became mistresses, concubines, nurses, cooks, chambermaids, and playmates to many of the aristocratic European families in America (Wagley 1958). The black males on the other hand were used exclusively for physical labor, usually laboring on tobacco plantations (Conniff and Davis 1994). Urban slavery was another type of labor and it thrived in the construction trades, domestic service in large households, transportation, manufacturing, and retailing. Urban employment typically allowed slaves more freedom of movement than on rural estates (Conniff and Davis 1994). This freedom of movement in some ways could have also acted as a catalyst in the interaction of blacks with Native Americans.

The life of blacks, in North America, prior to emancipation, was very arduous with much instability. Not many African-Americans prospered in their conditions. Those who did prosper lived as freedmen, which only gave them freedom, but no political or social rights that the white European male had.
Freedmen, by law, were able to own some sort of chattel or estate, which could be in the form of slaves and plantations. The Middle-Atlantic Colonies thrived with freedmen communities and other urban centers that attracted many blacks and other minorities of that era to this area before the Emancipation Proclamation was set into place (Reiss 1925).

In 1758-1788 Quakers in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia freed their slaves (Conniff and Davis 1994). This was the first of many steps taken for the full emancipation of all slaves in North America. As African Americans marched on to their freedom, obstacles of race and cultural misunderstandings stood in their way.
Chapter 4: Race & Racism....Red, White, and Blacks

To talk about “blacks”, “Indians”, and “race” is in itself problematic (Wade 1993:3). Race has been generally observed as socially constructed, categorical identifications that are based on discourse about physical appearance or folk knowledge and categories concerning ancestry and inheritance. But what is relevant, “physical appearance,” “ancestry” or cultural heritage?

“When the English colonists first landed in North America, they immediately encountered one race ‘problem’ in the Indians. From that moment forward, race consciousness spread all over the world…” (Gossett 1963:3). The concepts of race have many different implications and meanings through the spectacles and mirrors of people in different temporal and geographical locales. Historically, there is not a true understanding when the term race was implemented and used to describe difference among people; this creates a slippery slope to climb. This chapter will discuss the historical meanings of race and racism in colonial times. The acknowledgement of race and its role in the interactions among Indians and blacks in colonial Virginia is vital in the ultimate understanding of possible catalysts for Indian and black interactions. The reasons and ways colonial
Virginia Indians and blacks interacted and exchanged knowledge is closely intertwined with social, economic and political oppression. 

Race is defined by Webster’s Dictionary (1997) as any group or groups of humans into which the world’s population can be divided on the basis of physical characteristics such as skin or hair color. “To a biologist the concept of race is an attempt to describes the manner in which individual variation within and between populations is related to heredity, development, and environment” (King 1981: ix). However, the problem with this concept is that when it is applied, theories and beliefs about race are not likely to stay within the category of objective science and carry instead emotional overtones and sociopolitical implications. This division of race has ultimately led to racism, which is prejudice or animosity against people who belong to other races, or the belief that people of different races have different qualities and abilities, and that some races are inherently superior or inferior.

Research reveals the same ideas and definition appeared historically, and seemed to take on the form of racism and the need for superiority. Race, as seen by many contemporary scholars like Fatimah Jackson and Leonard Lieberman, is a continuum; it has no end, no beginning, and facilitates a host of ethnicities and cultures. Jackson and Lieberman feel that the notion of a pure (biological) race is inherently incorrect and a product of merely selective perception (Lieberman and Jackson 1995:233). The concept of race would later support political structures
and social justices in colonial North America, particularly Virginia. The American Anthropological Association, in 1998, issued a Statement on Race that confirmed race is a socially constructed idea. This idea then came to full fruition in 18th century America as a strategy for dividing, ranking, and controlling colonized people used by colonial powers everywhere. Yet it has not been limited to the colonial situation (AAA 2010).

Before the 18th century, physical differences among peoples were rarely referred to as a matter of great importance, making race a more modern phenomenon (Gossett 1963:3). Though differences among people were initially determined by color it did not necessarily mean that there was an acknowledgement of race as we know it today as a sole identifier. Since ancient Egypt, color prejudice and differences have been documented throughout Egyptian history because many people of this era seized upon physical differences like size, form, and color as proof of innate mental and temperamental differences. For most of
early civilizations difference was not only skin color but also social
characteristics and mannerisms that would identify people as “civilized” or
“barbarian” (Snowden 1983:87).

In Spain, prior to the English invasion of North America, the debate
continued throughout the 16th century on the question of whether the Indians in
the New World were really men, beasts, or an intermediate between beasts and
men (Gossett 1963:12). During the age of exploration more explicit divisions and
even “racism” developed as a result of the contacts of Europeans with native
peoples all over the world. Race emerged as a folk idea and a general classifying
term for people internationally becoming more prevalent to distinguish
inhabitants of North American toward the end of the 17th century. The term was
similar to and usually interchangeable with terms such as type, kind, sort, breed,
and species (Smedley and Smedley 2005). The physical appearance of individuals
was, now, also being acknowledged and had become a biological phenomenon
during the Elizabethan era and consequently gave rise to the sociological
problem of racism (Reuter 1918: 7). Undoubtedly, the era of exploration led
many Englishmen and other Europeans to speculate on racial differences, and
cultural diversities. By the end of the 16th century race theories had still not
secured a wide acceptance or a sophisticated formulation about the conceptions
of the nature of primitive peoples (Smedley and Smedley 2005).

A century later, through biology and anthropology, Europe was at the
center of developing a system of traits that could determine human difference and the nature of primitive peoples. This had a great influence on the concept learned and practiced in North America in the early years of its establishment. Because race theories had not yet fully developed any scientific or theological rationale the English led efforts to form institutions and relationships that were later justified by appeals to race theories (Gossett 1963:17).

In a useful illustration of common conditioning factors which constituted the race ‘European’ in hierarchical distinction from ‘others’; Edmund Morgan described the institutional relationships of people in the 17th century via the plantation systems of Colonial Virginia (Segal 1991:89). The plantation systems that were in operation in the New World colonies produced a “caste society”, identifying people as being “civilized” or “barbarians” in the matters of their culture, language, and religion. The division based on race helped to delineate the border between savagery and civilization (Takaki 1993:59). To be “civilized”, as defined by Europeans, was generally meant living near a city, engaging in settled agriculture. While “barbarism” referenced to nomadic peoples who preyed on the wealth of the more settled rival in English settlements. In other words they were the common thieves with no manners or upbringing. Throughout the Middle Ages and up until the 17th century, religion and language had been the most significant indicator to ones identity (Smedley and Smedley 2005).
The prejudices Europeans held against Africans at this time were nothing like modern racial prejudices because of the religious beliefs that were practiced in Europe which had direct correlation to the view of salvation and social acceptance (Segal 1991:98). The Christianity and Islam dynamic is a great example of divergent religious symbolism and how prejudicial attitudes preceded the social construct of race was based on solely whether you were a Jew, a Muslim, or a Christian (McCaskell 1994).

In the 17th century the social development of difference drew ideas from the “Great Chain of Being,” a medieval theorem that placed all living and non-living things, including humans, in a divinely inspired universal hierarchy (Lovejoy 2009:xvi). The Great Chain of Being ranked all forms of higher and lower life (Figure 4).

Figure 4 Rhetorica Christiana, the Great Chain of Being by Didacus Valades 1579.
academic philosophy, the Great Chain of Being characterizes a cosmology that in its essence traces back to the Egyptian and Greek civilizations in the West and is continuous through Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and ancient Chinese thought (NWE 2008). As time went on, it became a model for ranking different varieties of humans as well so that Europeans were the highest ranks and Africans the lowest. The idea of a racial hierarchy became a powerful explanatory framework for understanding human diversity.

Race or Variability: Scientific Race in the 18th Century

The first uses of "race" in scientific literature, demonstrated an increasing willingness to subject the human species to the same kind of biological analysis and classification previously used only for plants and animals (Hudson 1996:251). How the differences of human variability occurred was questioned by many naturalists in Europe. The answer was drawn from two schools of thought, monogenism and polygenism. Both believed in the fixity of species, thus making it impossible for species to evolve or actively adapt to their environment, insinuating that they were created for a specific environment. Carl Linnaeus, Georges Buffon, and Johann Blumenbach were monogenists, and believed there was, according to Maurice L. Wade, the author of From Eighteenth-to Nineteenth-Century Racial Science: Continuity and Change, “one human species and that therefore human variation should be understood as variation within
that species” (Lang 2000:30). As Blumenbach remarked in 1790, human species had been generally omitted from the study of "natural history". It was not until the late eighteenth century when some scientists considered the possibility of dividing humans into "varieties," or "tribes," or "races", though the terminology was still uncertain (Hudson 1996:251). The classification of human diversity was determined by using sub-species categories which Linnaeus called human varieties, listed in Table 4-1, which include some of the classifications offered by other 18th century naturalists as well (Molnar 1998:5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 4-1 Early Racial Classifications</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LINNAEUS (1735)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American (Reddish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European (White)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asiatic (Yellow)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Negro (Black)</td>
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The monogenic view further believed that the environment and climate affected human variation and was the dominant view in the 18th century. This view originated with the ancient Greeks and their belief of geographical determinism, which insinuated that the environment and natural features formed the disposition and bodies of different people:

Those who live in a cold climate and in Europe are full of spirit but wanting in intelligence and skill, and therefore they keep their freedom but have no political organization, and are incapable of ruling over others. Whereas the natives of Asia are intelligent and
inventive, but they are wanting in spirit and therefore they are always in a state of subjection and slavery. But the Hellenic race which is situated between them is likewise intermediate in character, being high-spirited and intelligent (Bartlett 2001).

Because of the theory of environmental effects, geographical determinism produced efficient traits for particular climates which coincided with Bartlett’s own theory. This theory continued to be drawn upon and continually added the thought that the original white population had been dispersed around the globe. When they entered a new environment, over time, they would deviate from the Caucasian form (Lang 2000:31).

Polygenic thinkers believed that human variation was everlasting, irreversible, and that features were specific to environments, but were not products of the environment. They further believed that the human population was separated into categories that included the physical but also the ‘inner’ characteristics that with time lead to a ranking system, and giving each race a status. They argued that all humans were not descendents of Adam and Eve and only Caucasians were the true descendents of Adam. According to polygenists other races had their own unique creations, which the Bible did not cover. This reliance by both, the monogenists and polygenists, on the Holy Bible was seen as a challenge (Lang 2000: 31).

These ideologies propelled the fabrication of a new categorization for humanity at the turn of the 18th century. The leaders of colonial Virginia, by then, had set an endogamous color line in place that prevented alliances with
African slaves and adopted a divide-and-rule policy (Sweet 2005). The colonists then deliberately selected Africans to be a permanent underclass of slaves preceding the first colonial Virginia law by the Virginia Assembly that declared that “baptism doth not alter the condition of a person as to his bondage or freedom” (McCaskell 1994). This law utilized the concept of race which demoted Africans to a nonhuman status that would keep them as slaves on the plantations and out of the free society. Popular sentiments were also expressed by the legislature and judiciary that discrimination was in favor of Natives and against those of African descent (Ballagh 1968:51). This discrimination observed would later filtrate to become a form of political racism.

“Difference” from Tribal Voices: African and Native American Perspective of Difference and Race

People in either groups, Native or African, did not document their way of life from their perspective in writing until the late 18th century. So, information about how human diversity was portrayed by non-European peoples were mainly collected and observed by aristocratic European males whose unfortunate editorial bias were inherent in most of the textbooks which have been employed in the past and present day school systems of North America (Dundes 1990: xiii). This meant that, information about ideas about difference and race among these people can only be found interwoven in memoirs, folklore, and oral histories. Uncovering the hidden voices of pride, prejudice, and fear is a
part of a floating segment of both cultures, Native and black, that needs to be heard.

Because of the lack of written history generated by 17th and 18th century Africans and Native Americans in North America, their perspective on human difference and race, has been embedded in stories from the past. Storytelling is enormously important and serves many complex and subtle, yet always practical, functions within indigenous societies (Kroeber 2004:1). There is little primary source documentation that is free of European ethnocentrism and bias and Europeans seldom knew what went on within Native American communities, let alone their emotions, feelings, and concerns about the outside world (Day 1972:99).

Only a few written memoirs or “slave narratives” that represent first generation Africans from the 18th century have survived time or have been published. It is to be noted that there is an exceptional amount of “ex-slave narratives” that not only come in the form of memoirs, and interviews as well which date from the early 19th century to the late 20th century. Slaves such as James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw and Olaudah Equiano have shared their stories of life before and after enslavement by the Europeans through personal memoirs, these memoirs describe events that have shaped their lives and provide a unique view and observation of difference through race. Again, it is important to remember that “race” was not an established term until later in the 18th
century and Africans like other ancient peoples saw only difference in skin color not particularly “race” (Craven 1971:39). Olaudah Equiano was not only a slave narrator from the 18th century but he was also a sailor who had witnessed hatred in every form and not only to African slaves; from the time he was “enslaved in Western Africa, he was hardly aboard the slave ship before he saw a white sailor flogged to death.” (Linebaugh 2000:243).

Both African men, Gronniosaw and Equiano, were from families of importance in their countries. They were educated by masters during their indentured services previous to their enslavement in North America where they learned to read and write. James Albert was a prince who recalled in his memoir that when he was young he had left home to stay with a merchant from the Gold Coast (the third city in Guinea). In his description of the merchant he only mentioned the region in which he was traveling from – the Gold Coast. Even in speaking of himself and other people of different regions, like the merchant, there was no mention of race as employed by the Europeans in describing a person. The merchant, whom he was to leave with, did imply the difference in people through color. As Albert recollected the merchant had told him when he came with him he would see “houses with wings that walk upon the water, white folks…” (Andrews 2000:8). Through this passage it is understood that race or difference was not only seen by region or language but by color as well. It is however, hard to decipher whether or not the concept of race existed long before
African interaction with Europeans. It can be assumed from the research collected that Africans just like Europeans did see and understand difference but did not distinguish it in terms of *race* as we know it today.

In Olaudah Equiano’s narrative of his life he continually refers to other people in Africa by nations and not color. It can be noted and assumed that difference by way of *color* or *race* may not have been used because the majority of interaction with Europeans took place on the coast and not the inland of Africa thus making everyone that Equiano was in contact with were of African descent. Equiano spoke of other nations in Africa as being similar except for one nation that he came across. “I was very much struck with this difference, especially when I cam among a people who did not circumcise, and ate without washing their hands. They cooked with iron pots, and had European cutlasses and cross bows...” (Andrews 2000:72). It was not until later in his memoir that Equiano mentions *race* in the sense of color when he was captured and taken by the Europeans:

I was now persuaded that I had gotten into a world of bad spirits, and that they were going to kill me. Their complexions too differing so much from ours, their long hair, and language they spoke, united to confirm me in this belief...When I looked around the ship too and saw a large furnace or copper boiling, and a multitude of *black* people of every description chained together....” (Andrews 2000:74).

It is, however, unclear if Equiano’s thoughts along with other Africans in the 18th
century were their own observation or reflected the Europeans influence on the construct of race when referring to people as *white* or *black*. Within these memoirs the perspectives of the Native American have not been stated clearly. Yet, because of the European influence, the perspectives of both African and Native towards each other were somewhat negative. The Europeans, Spanish and English, both utilized the divide-and-rule policy to deter Africans and Natives from interracial cooperation and alliance. White Europeans would recruit blacks to fend off Indian attacks and employed Indians to catch runaway slaves and to deter maroons (Morgan 1998:477). Allegedly, Virginia Indians hated and despised “the very sight of a Negroe [*sic*]”…blacks seemed to reciprocate these sentiments with a “natural dislike and antipathy” towards Indians (Morgan 1998:448).

The other side of this cultural mirror provides perspectives of difference not so much race of Native Americans. “Race”, as most Westerners view it, was not a concept that seemed to be embraced by Natives but the difference in physical appearance can be noted throughout Native documentation. The Powhatan perspectives on difference, is inadequately seen within Powhatan prophesy. Openchancanough, the brother of the Powhatan leader and chief Powhatan, spoke often about his experiences and observations with the “white” Europeans as he traveled to other countries. Openchancanough’s stories disturbed and frightened Powhatan because the Europeans were so mystifying
and seemed beyond his mental grasp. “Such talks serve to explain in part the myths periodically taught by their ‘priests’ that Opechancanough had come from the Southwest or the West Indies and the ‘prophecies’ that sooner or later the Powhatan tribes would be defeated, perhaps destroyed, by invading strangers” (Bridenbaugh 1980:17). The prophecy of the invading strangers were then exclusively associated with the presence of “white” Europeans.

Folklore about creation gives more insight to the Native perspective and acknowledgement of difference people. Numerous myths documenting the origin of races have varied from tribe to tribe and region to region. For instance, the Seminole tribe of the Southeast has one of many various versions of the myth of the origin of races. It is “reported in more or less detail, of a story in which the ancestors of the Whites, Negroes, and Indians are created by baking, with the skin colors the result of varying periods of heating leading to two failures (Whites, Negroes) followed by a success (Indians)” (Sturtevant 1963:80).

Folklore has been helpful in documenting the concept of race among minorities. When researching folklore dating from the 18th century, difference and race among colonists was not seen and went unnoticed among minorities because of their circumstances. To them they were all oppressed by the same oppressor and facing the same fate of slavery and servitude. In the chapter “The Outcasts of the Nations of the Earth” from Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker’s book The Many Headed Hydra; people of every color – black, white,
and Indian – came together with minimal conflict with the government, and the other public officials of the colony of New York. At the heart of this story about the New York Conspiracy of 1741 there was a love story that showed no boundaries among people. The love story involved an African slave named John Gwin and a “black-Irish” woman named Peg and indicated that there was continual and intense interaction among these “outcast” – sailors, pirates, slaves, and commoners. The colony of New York has several safe havens for these outcasts throughout its coast. John Hughson’s waterfront tavern on the west side of Manhattan was one of these havens where relationships and alliances among different peoples could flourish. Outcasts met regularly at Hughson’s tavern where they exercised “the hopes and promises of paradise”. Here the dispossessed of all colors feasted, danced, sang, took oaths, and planned their resistance. (Linebaugh 2000:176). Folklores like this one give so much postulation that this did not only happened between blacks and whites but anyone who did not see race.

**The People of Colonial Virginia**

As the development of the Virginia colony continually unfolded many people, including the British, documented and published information about the indigenous peoples in America pre and post British rule. The majority of the documentation was for the British royals as well as the literate public. Early scholars have continually found that the British considered people outside of
European origin (Natives, Africans, and other minorities) as a different “race”. The concept of race varied from country to country and from colony to colony; none were exactly alike in its terminology and use. So, many of their labels and words were used loosely and not utilized or understood as a definite racial identifier among people (Singler 1987:396). Yet race can be defined as a social construct with categorical identifications based on a discourse of appearance or ancestry (Wade 1993). In Virginia, as elsewhere in the Americas, racial distinctions served the immediate purpose of dividing the underclass and co-opting a segment of it (Segal 1991:7). Words like Mongoloid, Mulatto, Negro, Negroid, coulured [sic], Melungeon, Griffe, Sacatra, Mustifee, Marabon, and Sambo; which originated from the English, French, Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish cultures and languages, were used throughout the American colonies (Reuter 1918:12-13).

Thomas Jefferson, in Notes on the State of Virginia (1784), drew heavily on what he saw in the physical appearance via skin color, “white”, “red”, and “black”; making him one of many to write publicly about the character of the “Negro” and “Indian”, whom he only knew respectively in the role of slaves on his plantations and savages (Smedley and Smedley 2005). Jefferson was the first of many to suggest natural inferiority of Africans slave as a new rationalization for slavery. When writing Jefferson commonly used the application of the tricolor metaphor (red, white, and black) in reference to the inhabitants of North
America. The tricolor metaphor carried more connotation than identification; it encompassed ideologies associated with particular colors and possible reasons to why certain peoples were certain colors. Color to the English was more than a matter of aesthetic preference; pigmentation symbolized a cluster of behavioral and biological characteristics (Vaughn 1995). For the colonists in the 17th and early 18th centuries the heathenism of the Negros and Indians, rather than their race, was emphasized as a basis for their enslavement (Gossett 1963:31).

When referencing “blacks”, Jefferson and other scholars of that time had seen Africans as “immutably black, a color fraught with pejorative implications, and that made Africans seem to be fundamentally inassimilable even if they were to adopt English ways and beliefs” (Vaughn 1995). Jefferson felt that the coexistence of blacks and whites was basically impossible because of the “real distinctions” which “nature have made between the two races” and because of, as he saw it, the inferior intelligence of blacks (Takaki 1993:71).

In the English mind, the color black was frightened with an array of negative images: “deeply stained in dirt,” “foul,” “dark or deadly” in purpose, “malignant,” “sinister,” and “wicked” (Takaki 1993:51-52). It also did not help that the Africans that the English associated their dark skin color with the original “Black man” as Satan-Black. The color black represented evil, intellectual inferiority and uncleanness, which did not help in the infiltration of the African in society (Takaki 1993: 72-73). These representations by the English
justified for them why the African should and could be the victim to severance and racism. Yet, racial definition was still a relatively new phenomenon in colonial law. During the entire first half of European-American history, there was little or no incentive to legally define the precise racial origin of a person who was otherwise culturally indistinguishable from the European-American community. The fear of peoples, black, white and Indian; combining to rebel was a nightmare that was realized in 1676 in Bacon’s Rebellion. In this rebellion white frontiersman along with slaves and servants burned the Virginia capital of Jamestown and put the governor to flight (Zinn 1980:39).

Before the American Revolution, only Virginia and North Carolina legally defined race in terms of ancestry (Heite 2007). The Virginia law of 1705 legally defined Native American descendants, who had no known African ancestry as mulattoes (Forbes 1993:2). For Indian-white unions, the “taint” of mulatto status would disappear when the issue of such a union married a white person. For Negro and white unions, the taint was effectively permanent. As long as the progeny of Indian and white unions mated among themselves, Virginia law would identify the offspring as mulatto, unless they lived on a reservation (Heite 2007).

Ambiguous terms like ‘Indian’ and ‘Negro’ have been applied to multiple groups of people. For example, the term ‘Indian’ has been used to describe Indians of South Asia, America, and the East Indies (Filipinos, Chinese, and
The word ‘Negro’ is derived from the Spanish word *negro*, meaning the color black. This term was used loosely in scholarship and it can be assumed that the meaning was a constant in the colonial era among people to describe Black Africans, African Americans, Indians of India, Native Americans, Japanese, and slaves or people of diverse ancestries (Forbes 1993:2). Other people described as being “Black Irish”, were given in conjunction with the word “black” to denote people of mixed heritage. It has been documented and studied by scholars that the Spanish, Portuguese, and English used race terminologies differently and were not translated or understood by other cultures, specifically the English, and their evolving meanings of the term. For example when the Irish would refer to a person who is Black Irish they were simply describing their features of dark skin, dark hair or dark eyes (Green N.d).

Another term that was widely used for many people of color is ‘mulatto’. This term has not, in the past, developed its own fixed or single meaning (Forbes 1993:131). In the 17th century the term ‘mulato’ described racially mixed individuals and was applicable to many kinds of peoples whether they be mixed with white and black, white and native, native and black or all three. The term ‘Mulato’ is derived from the Arabic and Castillian word mulo, which was used to refer to a young mule. As it is known, a mule is a hybrid animal with the parents being of two different species. So like the mule, a hybrid animal, people were often given this name by the dominant social class that underscored their
oppression of other peoples (Forbes 1993). In 1727-1742 ‘mulato’ was defined by Chamber’s *Cyclopedia* as a “given name, in the Indies, to those who are begotten by a Negro man on an Indian woman; or an Indian man on a negro woman” (Forbes 1993:192). The problem is that the term has been continually used for all racial intermixing and is not specific to only certain groups of people.

Race is a historical process and a ‘real’ fact, a social construct with values, practices, and beliefs, which have influenced the formation of this nation and its history from the early colonial period. Yet it is a socially constructed idea rooted in cultural beliefs, bias and folklore rather than biological ‘difference.’

**A Process, Not an Event: Race in the 18\(^{th}\) Century**

Carolus Linnaeus’s 1740 edition of *Systema Naturae* represented the red Native American, the white or pale Western European, and the black African or African American (Shoemaker 2004). Race in the 18\(^{th}\) century triggered new issues that would affect everyone white, black, Native, and foreign. Ideas about race fed a social status monster that would only grow over the years of this country’s companion belief about racism. Racism can be defined as “a belief that races exist and that members of one or more races are innately inferior in certain characteristics, usually in intelligence” (Vaughn 1995:ix). Europeans initially had prejudice against anyone who was not of their social class, but as blacks began to numerically dominate in the Virginia colony, whites felt uneasy about their
fewer numbers, which reinforced their racism and prejudices even more. The acceptance of ‘race’ supported many institutions, such as slavery and their treatment, which propelled discrimination against blacks and other minorities who may have been enslaved. After the widespread acceptance of ‘race’ as an identifier many Europeans transferred its meaning to social and political rights as well as laws that would rule the colony (discussed in Chapter 5). With racial stigmas affixed to all people that Europeans encountered in the newly acquired lands, beliefs that minorities were inferior and unintelligent spread.
Chapter 5: “There was Neither Law nor Custom”: African and Native American Relations in 18th Virginia

As colonial Virginia developed through trade and new technology, it also became a place that was very diverse with different cultures, peoples, customs and beliefs that lead to social interaction and intermarriage. As stressed in preceding chapters, little emphasis has concentrated on relationships between Natives and Africans pertaining to colonial Virginia. All of these scholars provide information about the interaction among Natives, Africans, and Europeans, with European and Afrocentric approaches yet they lack the inclusion or focus of relations among Indian and blacks in colonial Virginia.

To better understand how relationships developed between Natives and Africans, slavery, war, marriage, social, and political organizations will be discussed to develop a framework for analyzing how these cultures intersected and merged. Catalysts for economic, social or political change are linked so that a change to one often influences the others. Because of this it is imperative that the major catalyst of slavery is discussed; without slavery there would have never been in-depth cultural exchange and relations between blacks and Indians in North America. Case studies and documentations of these catalysts will also
be discussed to give a holistic understanding of Native and African interrelationships that are fluid with class and race.

“Not by Choice”: African Presence in 18th Century Virginia

As discussed in previous chapters, West and Central Africans in the 18th century were thrown into intensive contact with Native peoples in the Caribbean and South America as the result of the Atlantic slave trade (McDonald 1998). Yet, it took over a century for Africans and Natives to supposedly meet in North America. One of the first documented meetings between Native North Americans and Africans was in August 1619 when a ship docked at a harbor in Jamestown, Virginia. Twenty Africans, bound originally for the West Indies, were traded instead for victuals at Jamestown. It was unclear why this ship dropped anchor at Jamestown or why the people on the ship traded the Africans instead of other goods. It was then that the history of relations between Africans, Europeans and Natives began. When those twenty Africans, in 1619, stepped foot on Virginia soil “there was neither law nor custom then establishing the institution of slavery in Virginia nor the other colonies” (Wagley 1958:120).
Before the Atlantic slave trade reached North America Native servitude preceded the practice of African slavery in colonial Virginia (Ballagh 1968[1902]:32). In the late 17th century as the need for cheap and reliable servants increased, slavery, African slavery in particular, became legal in Virginia. With the consistent growth of slavery Africans comprised less than five percent of England’s North American colonies. In 1650 and 1671, the colony of Virginia had counted and documented 2,000 slaves were present and resided, which was approximately five percent of the total population of 40,000 people (Dinnerstein et al. 1996:16). The African population, as claimed by Thomas Wheaton in Thomas Davidson’s 1994 article, was consistently increasing and Africans constituted 3.3 percent of the non-Indians throughout the colonies, which in turn increased European sensitivity to differences and ultimately fear of Africans. The African to Indian ratio in 1730 in
the colony of Virginia was an overwhelming fifty-five to one (Morgan 1998:478) and by 1775, there were roughly about a half a million African Americans living and laboring in North America (Wood 2000).

It needs to be understood that relations between blacks and Indians on the early frontier were fluid with class being as important as race. Thus, the equality of status and residential proximity encouraged intimate associations (Morgan 1998:479). The status of the Africans and their rising population has made them causable candidates for intermixing and cohabitation among both Natives and the English throughout the colonies. Some scholars have argued that Africans may have established relationships with Native Americans before the founding of the first English colony in 1609. However, there is little scholarship to support these claims (Forbes 1993: 265).

**The Terrible Transformation: Indigenous to Institutional Slavery**

Slavery can be viewed as one of the major catalysts for the emergence of relationships among Natives and African American people in North America. Nonetheless, slavery existed long before the concept and the practice of race had reached the colonies dividing many Natives and Africans. Slavery reaches back into antiquity more than four thousand years ago and slavery by no means in any time period was ever genuinely accepted (Drescher 1998:322).
The use of slaves prior to European contact in America in the early 15th century could be observed in both Native American and African cultures. The method of servitude was simply revitalized by the Europeans to supply new markets in the Americas (Conniff and Davis 1994). Africans like some Native Americans in Eastern North America practiced “kinship slavery”, where they would take their own people into bondage with some degree of kinship to the tribe or family that owned them. Their slaves would cook, clean, farm, aid in battles and raids, provide sexual services, but they generally did not pass down their status to their children (who were racially mixed children of their masters) and would often times become full family members (Saunt 2005:16). This form of “kinship” slavery has been scholastically synonymous with American and British

Figure 5.1 "Journey of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile" by John Hanning Speke, New York 1869.
“chattel slavery” for various reasons but it is also seen as being very different. “Chattel slavery” commonly defined by the captivity of people whom were described as property and exploited for their surplus labor (figure 5.1) (Saunt 2005:16). African slaves owed their situation to birth, unpaid debts, war, personal misfortune, or the profit needs of traders (Conniff and Davis 1994).

Slavery, as practiced by Native Americans and Africans, utilized slaves that were of Native American or African background as well as others from various ethnic backgrounds in the “New World”. This ultimately supports slavery as a catalyst in the initiation of interracial mixing among both Native Indians and blacks. Within the slave population there were a few American Indian slaves in the colony and in some cases; co-enslavement gave way to racial mixing (Craven 1971). According to Phillip Morgan the black and Indian ratio was three to one in Virginia in 1700 and by 1730 it was an overwhelming ratio of fifty-five to one (1998:476). Demographics in the Virginia area at this time was primarily a result of epidemic and sickness of Native Americans as well as a shift from Native to African slavery, as discussed in Chapter 3. Numbers and estimates were reported of how many slaves inhabited the colony of Virginia but there was no division of slaves according to color documented (Lauber 1969[1913]).

How did slaveholding among Natives and blacks work? Well, ultimately many blacks enslaved other blacks in an attempted to keep families together. In
the case study of slaveholding among free blacks in Virginia, Carter G. Woodson and other 20th century historians were careful to point out that most free black slaveholding was fraternal and protective and that ownership for profit of Afro-Americans by other Afro-Americans was not widespread, as seen in the study of Archibald Batte, Pharoah Sheppard, and Anthony Johnson who were all successful Afro-American slave-owners in the late 18th and mid 19th centuries (Schwarz 1987:319). Slave holding among blacks was rare but had been practiced since the late 1600’s. By 1782 the number of free “Negro” slaveholders would start to rise after legislation allowed emancipation by deed or will rather than by action of the state assembly. Free blacks owning other African American slaves have been interpreted by some historians as a way of Afro-American advancement to their equality in a white slave society, which has seen to be untrue as played out in later histories of free black slave ownership (Latimer 1994:xxviii). Not only did many blacks own slaves for family kinship reasons but also to avoid the ramifications of the Act of 1806, which forced all freed slaves to leave the commonwealth within 12 months after emancipation. Thus, between 1782 and 1806 most slave ownership among blacks was only temporary (Schwarz 1987). A logic thought to owning slaves would in many ways protect them and they would have a substantial living under their slave holder which in most cases had some form of sympathy for his fellow slaves and not just profit. However, in some cases some blacks became free property holders through the
gifts and wills of their former owners. Unlikely to reject these gifts of land and property was essential possessions that secured the freedom of many slaves (Schwarz 1987:326).

Native American slave holders’ motives historically seem too different than that of the African Americans in colonial America. Indians usually enslaved other Indians from different tribes within the tidewater and mid-Atlantic area as a result of possible raids and debt from other tribes, as defined previously within this chapter as kinship slavery. Natives had the reputation for employing their slaves as domestic servants, mistresses, agricultural laborers, miners, hunters, fishermen, and objects of barter and trade. Because of the lack of documentation found through this research it is not clear whether Indians enslaved to keep the nuclear family together.

“Myne Owne Ground”: a Path to Freedom

Because Natives were trading, capturing, and selling slaves with whites in return for guns, clothing, and other commodities, stronger relations with African Americans were established through the new bonds formed from their intense interactions. Many Native slaveholders would also adopt non-natives into their tribes; this included many black runaway slaves. Supporting documentary materials like memoirs, narratives, and letters have given insight on interrelationships among blacks and Indians.
As documented by other historians and scholars, many runaway slaves retreated to favorable locations like the swampy, marshy, and mountainous areas along the Virginia-North Carolina border where they could build houses, plant crops, and raise pigs and fowl (Genovese 1979:68). These runaway slaves that escaped to these desolate and isolated places were sometimes accepted over time as members of local tribes. With this kind of acceptance, they could freely intermarry and intermix with the Native tribesmen. These mixed villages or communities are where commonly known as “maroon” communities, from the Spanish word *Cimarron*, meaning “wild and untamed” (Faragher 2007:111). Culturally speaking, maroonage was simply the addition of African Americans into the Indian or European communities which became neoteric and cenogenic, that is to say they were new and rootless societies without having a culturally specific ancestry because of the constant additions of people and their own specific life ways and traditions (Chambers 2005:16). Maroon communities were an ever-present feature of the antebellum South, especially among the Pamunkey, Nansemond, Mattaponys, Eastern Shore
Contact

Gingaskins, Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole tribes who owned and had relations with black slaves. Most of these tribes served as an asylum for free or runaway blacks however over time they grew into intermixed maroon societies (Chambers 2005).

Because maroon settlements were not well-documented within the Virginia colony, many scholars turn to the work of Claudio Saunt and to the narratives of the Grayson family, who lived with the Creek Nation in north-central Alabama. This documentation supports the classic interrelationships that were formed in maroon communities and societies in the Southeast which can be used as a pilot case study that can be linked to other maroon societies within the region. In his study Saunt uncovers a family’s roots that stemmed from an 18th century maroon community named Hilabi. “Hilabi once sat in the upper reaches of the Muscogee Nation on a small waterway called Town Creek, … … some fifty miles upriver from present-day Montgomery, Alabama” (2005:11). In the late 1700’s Hilabi’s population was about five or six hundred…they grew their own food. Hunted their own game, manufactured their own pots from local clay, and tailored their own clothes from deer hides” (Saunt 2005:13). It was also documented that immigrants that lived in Hilabi were fully African or European American but had lived so long in the Creek Nation that they all but became native Muscogees (Saunt 2005: 13). The Muscogees are a classic case of how different cultures and people have grown to become maroon societies capturing
the essences of intermixing among Africans and Europeans alike.

This essence went on to be woven into the documentation of descriptions of runaway slaves. A great number of Southern bi-racial descendants in the 18th century were described as being people “mixed of Negro and Indian” origin (Degan 1999:16). Though there were only a handful of these advertisements that have survived through time, it is evident from the advertisements that an alliance and interaction between blacks and Indians scared Europeans and encouraged the making of laws to keep the two peoples separate.

Newspapers would commonly describe most mixed individuals by saying that they were “not very black” as seen in Figure 5.3 (Forbes 1993). A newspaper in Virginia in 1773 also advertised a runaway from Amelia County as “a Negro man of the name Tom... of yellowish complexion, much the appearance of an Indian...His hair is of a different kind from that of a Negro’s, rather more of the Indian’s, but partaking both, which though short, he frequently ties behind” (Forbes 1993:207). Again, intermixing was made public through physical descriptions of runaway slaves, who were often described as
“black”. Terminology of these mixed people is very unclear and inconsistent, thus terms like “mulatto” or “black” are generic terms and could be used as a descriptive noun for any non-European person. This is a common problem encountered in the primary sources about the interrelationships of people of color in the colonial period.

Census data has provided another dimension to the holistic view of the probability of interrelationships among the Natives and Africans in colonial Virginia. Census data prior to 1790 was documented for each colony/state listing head of households and slaves not mentioning any Indians or even documenting them because the census only reported white males tithable over 21 years old (Appendix 5). Other white males between the ages of 16 and 21 were listed but again there were no division among slaves that indicated whether they were black or Indian (Yantis and Love 1987). In 1790 the government enforced a nationwide enumeration including all states. 1790, 1800, and 1890 census data for Virginia were destroyed and personal property and Tax lists were used as a substitute for the missing census data and included all persons on the grounds as well as their property which included slaves (Appendix 5.1) (Genealogy Inc. 2010). It was not until 1810 when Indians were counted separately from free persons (Appendix 5.2). Later the census data provided a category that included a person’s race, which when documented can support the onset of interrelationships among Natives and blacks, particularly Afro-Virginians
(Genealogy Inc. 2010). Yet, unfortunately during the early stages of census recording census data failed to decipher who was Indian within the “slave”, “freed negro”, or “free person of color” category.

The census data ultimately resulted in the development of demographics and community settlement patterns that can be used to determine a synchronic and diachronic view of individuals, families, and communities. A census was taken in 1625 and also in 1634–5, when the number of the inhabitants of Virginia had not expanded beyond a few thousand people (Bruce 1968[1907]:13). As time passed, it became more difficult to track people as they moved to remote rural areas to raise their families and build their plantations. The census of 1634 – 1635 was the last census to have been taken in the 17\textsuperscript{th} century that was similarly styled after the modern census which included detailed facts with in-depth detail (Bruce 1968[1907]:13). It was because of census data that colonial cities and communities in Virginia could be studied more closely. According to census data and other records it is evident that the wealthier the community the higher number of slaves, Native and African, would be present. The wealthiest communities in 18\textsuperscript{th} century Virginia was found on the colonies Eastern Shore in North Hampton and Accomack counties. Thus, being another driving force of the interaction between Natives and African Americans that had lead to maroon communities within this vicinity (North Carolina and Virginia boarders). Some of these communities were dubbed the name tri-isolate communities, which
inhabited Europeans, Natives, and Africans. Though documentation of these communities are scarce and interwoven in other histories, there are still aspects of these interrelationships that can be studied through other methods of research like archaeology, discussed in the latter part of this chapter.

Published narratives of ex-slaves of Native and African descent were also reviewed to identify the descendents of Black-Native relationships in the region. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) narratives are widely published that were compiled in the 1930’s by the WPA. The published narratives were entitled “Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writer’s Project 1936-1938”. Such narratives clarified the presence of interracial and cross-cultural relationships. Though all eyewitness accounts are postcolonial experiences; there are still hidden links to Native and black interrelationships through the ex-slaves immediate family. Mentioned in the edited notes by Elmer Turnage, a man by the name of Sim [sic] Greely, an ex-slave, openly spoke of his father’s ethnic background stating that his father was a full blooded Indian from Virginia and was a refugee who was sold into slavery. He went on to mention that his mother was mixed blood, black and Indian (Turnage 1937). Within the WPA files there are many accounts told by ex-slaves across the nation, implying their mixed descent.

Cora Gilliam, in a narrative, spoke of her Uncle Tom who was half-Indian. Gilliam said that “the negro part of him did not show hardly any”
(Minges 2004:20). As stated in the comment buy Gilliam she said that the black part of him was barely noticeable because of his skin color. A phenotypical trait, such as skin color and hair texture makes it hard to define a person’s ethnic background and was at times misidentified by many Europeans during the 18th century. However, phenotypical traits were the only thing that could link a person to their heritage that was culturally classified by the majority of society in Virginia. Thus many could and have gone unnoticed unless they, themselves, informed people of their background. Within narratives, Patrick Minges (2004) found that not only did Natives and black slaves interact and have children, but that the Natives also owned black slaves. This correlates with the thoughts of how Indians and blacks began to intermarry and coexist within both cultures.

Personal letters have been another reliable source that confirms Native and African American marriage and intermixing in colonial Virginia. J.H. Johnston, a post-colonial African American scholar, has provided many excerpts from personal letters that pertain to the relationships among blacks and Indians. In a letter dated 1843 to the Virginia State legislature, the inhabitants of King William County argued that the Pamunkey, a local Indian tribe within the colony of Virginia, land should be seized for their use. The problem they reasoned was that the Pamunkey tribe was no longer “full blood”, as seen in the excerpt.

There are two parcels or tract of land situated within the said county on which a number of persons are now living, all of whom by the laws of Virginia would be deemed and taken to be free mulattoes, in any Court of Justice; as it is believed they have all one fourth or more of Negro blood;
and as proof of this they rely on the generally admitted fact that not one individual can be found among them whose grandfathers or grandmothers one or more is not of Negro blood which proportion of Negro blood constitutes a free mulatto. . . . A greater grievance of such character can not be well conceived, when it is known that a large number of free Negroes and mulattoes now enjoy under a law enacted for a praiseworthy purpose peculiar and exclusive privileges such as an entire exemption from taxation, holding land without liability for debt, and the land so held properly speaking public land belonging to the Commonwealth....The claim of the Indians no longer exists ...His blood has so largely mingled with that of the Negro race as to have obliterated all striking features of Indian extraction. . . . They could be easily converted into an instrument of deadly annoyance to the white inhabitants by northern fanaticism. This is a more than possible event and must be considered in the light in which its nature and importance suggest... (Johnston 1924:29-30).

Though this particular letter was written in the 19th century, it indicates that people within the colony of Virginia did notice that the Pamunkey tribe, one of the largest tribes within the Powhatawn confederacy, had become noticeably racially mixed with both white European and black blood. In documentation of the Pamunkey tribe it was noted that “no member of the Pamunkey tribes is full blooded-Indian” (Pollard 1894:10). In a census taken by the writer in 1893 there were approximately 110 Pamunkey Indians living in the Virginia area. 90 of which were living on the Pamunkey reservation grounds and about 20 were seasonal inhabitants that worked in the city and steam boats (Pollard 1894:10).

Review of the Northampton County Manuscripts, located in the Library of Virginia in Richmond, VA, revealed a petition written in a collection of state wide 18th century petitions that referenced interracial persons. In this petition it was stated; “William Carter, mulatto, was bound to John Willson: Carter was
delivered to him at 2 years of age and was raised by Willson until the age of 16 and was not yet indentured to him with the consent of his mother. Willson is petitioning to have the child kept as an indentured servant to him” (North Hampton County Manuscripts). Within this particular petition it is stated that William Carter is *mulatto* meaning that he was of mixed ancestry. It is however unclear if the mixture was of black and white, white and Indian, or black and Indian. The important fact here is that his ethnicity was mentioned, but unclear whether he was black or Indian. It will never be clear; we can only read between the lines and against the grain.

Another petition concerns an Indian slave boy whose freedom was petitioned on behalf of a church: “There was a petition on behalf of a church for the freedom an Indian boy (Tom) how was pretendedly (*sic*) set free” (Church Wardens Records 1728, PK 12 Feb. ct.). This petition supports the presence of the Indian slaves during the time that African slaves comprised the majority of the slave population in colonial Virginia.

These manuscripts, once again, shed light on the reoccurring theme of slavery and relationships that formed within colonial Virginia as well as the colonial south as a whole. Obviously, some information has been lost, making this endeavor more elusive and difficult. Small documentations like petitions and letters are just a minute fraction of evidence in identifying and confirming interrelationships among Native and African Americans within 18th century
From Miscegenation to Marriage

Despite the conflicts present during the colonial period, in fact Indians and Africans fell in love, married, or cohabitated without the approval of the church or state (Palmer 2000:38). Europeans were unsure of Native, African, and European attraction to one another, but one European chronicler, Saint-Hilaire stated, “that Indian woman gave themselves to other Indians out of matrimonial duty, to Europeans for money, and to Negroes for pleasure”, which caused a problem among the masses with the idea that Indian women assumingly would indulge in sexual relations with black men which could ultimately result in mixed children (Bastide 1971). Of course, this comment reveals more about the author’s own racist assumptions than it reflects any documented truth. However, during the colonial era, it was not uncommon for field hands and other enslaved people to relate to each other more so than with their white counterparts, thus creating the environment for relationships such as marriage and partnerships to form. It has been documented that “slave marriage tended to be unstable and frequently were of short duration” (Reiss 1997:53). Yet this does not take away from the factual evidence that marital bonds had been created. Also, the instability could likely be for reasons not of the couple’s choosing, like when partners were sold away from each other.

Marriages and unions among slaves were rarely legally recognized, yet
they still married socially and culturally, by “jumping the broom” with the promise that “you would cling to him only, so long as God, in his Providence, shall continue his and your abode in such place (or places) as that you can come together” (Reiss 1997:53). In most cases there was hardly ever a priest or a certified clergymen present for the ceremony. Plantations and masters varied with their rules and views of slave marriage. For instance, the Puritans who did not even have settlements within the colony of Virginia; were the only ones who took slave marriages seriously while others simply did not recognize the institution or they regulated marriage among slaves through locally imposed stipulations. The stipulations generally limited people within the plantation from marriage. It is also important to note that most slave masters did encourage marriage because the creation of families meant reproduction and more slaves (Reiss 1997:53). This is why most plantation and slave owners had stipulations of marrying only within the plantation. With this stipulation, slave owners could “breed” slaves and use them or sell them on the market. Slaves still had the opportunity, however, to intermix with Indians and lower class Europeans. The slaves that did marry or arrange some form of marital status were not all documented as being of African, Native American, or European decent. Once again leaving scholars to hypothesize who engaged in these slave marriages and where these types of marriages occurred outside of the plantation parameter.

Relationships between blacks and Indians were not commonly refuted
during the first years of the development of colonial Virginia (Reuter 1918).

Blacks that intermarried or had offspring with Indian woman seemed to be very hopeful of the possible benefits that their children could gain from these interrelationships. The occurrence of black women marrying or having sexual relations with Indian men are not thoroughly documented and are over shadowed by the relationships of black men and Indian women because of sex ratios among blacks in the early years of the development of the Virginia and Tidewater area.

Interplay between patterns of importation and natural increase explain the shifting of sex ratios. The more balanced ratios of the early years were an unintentional growth of purchase patterns for imported slaves. Upriver slave purchasers receive the leftovers from importation. Since adult males were the most desirable, and also available in greater numbers, the Tidewater planters purchased nearly all males in the early part of the 18th century (Gundersen 1986:356).

The children would be allowed to come and go freely as Native Americans did within in colonial Virginia. During colonial times it can be concluded that there was a sense of a pride in having an interracial child because the child had a chance of living, what enslaved blacks concluded to be a “free” life. Intermarriage was common among the Chesapeake Indian “tributaries” although many Chesapeake Indians would later in the 18th century claim to have practiced endogamy assumingly to preserve their ethnicity (Morgan 1998:480). Thus, two Nansemonds who in 1742 and 1797 got certificates to authenticate
their “purity” were conveniently ignoring an earlier Nansemond man who married a manumitted mulatto (Morgan 1998:480).

The thought of an impure lineage was heightened and several laws were enacted to keep racial intermixing and collaboration down to a minimum if not abolishing any kind of interrelationship all together. The laws that proceeded ranged from intermarriage of Natives and Africans to the prohibition of Africans walking the streets after dark and congregating or spending time with Indians. The laws in Virginia pertaining to and “against miscegenation were passed in 1662, 1691, 1696, 1705, 1705, 1753, and 1765” (Reiss 1997:98). By the end of the 18th century intermarriage was strictly illegal. In Act XII of the Virginia Laws enacted in 1662 stated that there would be a fine for interracial sex twice that for fornication (Hening 1823b:170); as well as in Act XVI of the Virginia Laws enacted in 1691 state that interracial marriage will be punished by banishment from Virginia within three months (Hening 1823c:86-87).

The Past is under our Feet: Interrelationships via Material Culture

As discussed previously, the bond of common servitude in colonial North America was usually a means to Indian-black relations which lead to relationships that formed maroon communities, which included both native and blacks living among each other, within the Tidewater and Virginia area. Ethnohistorical documentation of interracial relationships among blacks and Indian has been used in conjunction with archaeology. This method of
archaeology has been utilized to accumulate evidence of these types of relationships and communities through material remains left behind from its historic occupants. These interracial sites, Maroon and tri-isolate communities, tend to have very distinctive cultural signatures which can be identified through cultural material found in archaeological sites as found within the confinements of the Jamestown Rediscovery excavation in Jamestown, Virginia which exhibited remnants of cultural exchange among its inhabitants (Figure 5.4).

These sites possess both Indian and black occupants with sufficient indicators of social interaction, amalgamations (among blacks and Indians) as well as slave resistance.

Many archaeologists believe that within historic sites, there are material
remains or cultural signatures that have been left behind by runaway polities, maroon societies, and plantation communities. These unique signatures were the result of the exchange of cultural elements of both the Black’s and the Indian’s past and present experiences via material debris from historical households and communities. With these kinds of remains from mixed households and communities, information can be collected about the Indian-black relationships in the North America. Studies have been completed on several bi-racial and tri-racial communities in studies of The Flowerdew Hundred plantations in Virginia (Deetz 1993), a homestead in Annapolis, Maryland (Gosden 2004), the Light House Village in Connecticut (Feder 1994), and Fort Mose in Spanish Florida (Landers 1999). Some of studies are not within the immediate proximity of the Virginia area, but they do, however, hold great significance for future scholarship pertaining to multicultural sites in other regions.

Further indications of intermixing are supported through excavations of slave plantations. Plantation sites like Flowerdew Hundred have been very successful in uncovering cultural links and ties among Indians and blacks in colonial Virginia. Within this site archeologists have found ceramics to be useful in illuminating Indian-black relationships. At this 1662 Virginia plantation site ceramics (clay pipes) were recovered at the plantation owner’s and the slave’s personal living quarters shows a cultural link among Indians and blacks (Deetz 1993).
Abraham Peirsey was the original owner of the Flowerdew Hundred property. Later, his daughter Elizabeth Stephens inherited the estate. Upon occupying the land Stephens had the property surveyed to determine when, and how many, different inhabitants lived at this location. Property information had been collected between 1619 up to the present documenting its cameo appearances by great and not so great figures including 15 of the first 20 black Africans to come to the English colonies resided here (Deetz 1993:3).

At the site archaeologists found that the land was used for subdivision and plantation or farm land. The land was plowed for over three centuries, which may have disturbed potential archaeological remains. The archaeologists were left to analyze soil stains, which can indicate wood remains, food middens and privies for information about the area and its inhabitants. Pieces of Pottery shards and clay pipes were also analyzed, being identified as Colono wares.

Colono wares, as identified by archaeologist Leland Ferguson, are hand built unglazed pots attributed to Native Americans and because of the era and its makers these materials were dubbed the name “Colono-Indian Ware”. It was not until later that the term Colono ware was used for all hand built and unglazed materials produce in the colonial period (Ferguson 1992:6). Colono wares appear to be from ca. 1680 through the last quarter of the 18th century becoming more abundant with the disappearance of Indians in the Chesapeake region (Deetz 1993:82). A great deal of Colono ware had been recovered in the archaeological
survey of the land within the farmstead and seemed to be from both Indian and African origin (Deetz 1993).

In the category of decorated or Colono ceramics, clay pipes were found that were intensively studied to determine indications of any differences among pipe manufacturing by the Indians and Africans (Figure 5.5). A list of characteristics of motif production, techniques, and decoration was used by archaeologists to help identify who manufactured which pipes (Figure 5.6). There had been several pipes discovered that had a mixture of motif and technique production characteristics from both peoples, via symbols and decorations. The first person to suggest the possibility of production of pipes by other people was Matthew Emerson. Emerson had found that most African and Indian pipes had a very distinctive decoration and shape leading him to suggest that there were definite parallels in the decoration of West Africa and these same designs were found on Chesapeake pipes (Deetz 1993:97). “As convincing as these resemblances might appear, alone they are not sufficient evidence to permit the attribution of Chesapeake pipe decoration to African artists” (Deetz 1993:99). Yet, it can be used in the identification of interrelationships until further archaeological or historical information is located and analyzed that could support or refute the findings.
Figure 5.5 Chesapeake clay pipes found at Flowerdew Hundred Plantation, Deetz ©1993.
Figure 5.6 Motif designs and decorations used to analyze Flowerdew clay pipes, Deetz ©1993.
Though many archaeologists and scholars challenge the idea of non-association of pipe motifs and decoration; there are many that favor the possible cultural parallels between West Africa and the Chesapeake region. The decoration on these motifs include triangles hanging apex down from a line (a distinctly African feature) (Deetz 1993), connecting bands of diamonds with parallel punctuate lines as a background, double arcs flanking a horizontal line, as seen in the belle motif. These distinct decorative markings are seen in both Chesapeake and African pipes as illustrated in Figure 5.5 and 5.6 (Deetz 1993). Though this cannot provide sufficient evidence, it does provide another arena to explore possible relationships between Indians and blacks.

Another archaeological site, Annapolis, Maryland was also investigated for evidence of material cultural remains as a means of observing and studying the interaction of race and class in the creation of the Atlantic world (Gosden 2004:137). The Maryland excavation uncovered part of the home of Leonard Calvert, who was the governor of Maryland between 1727 and 1732, and his younger brother, who was the fifth Lord of Baltimore in 1715-51. The information provided through archaeological remains gave a detailed sketch of the Calvert household (Gosden 2004).

During the 17th and 18th century this area was abundant in tobacco farming, landscaped in a plantation style. Thus, giving way to the possibility of mixed households on the surrounding grounds of the homestead. The
household appeared to have roughly 30 slaves on the grounds and again the Colono wares recovered show that some commonality was quickly created between the African slaves and Indians (Gosden 2004:141). As observed throughout history, peoples’ identities would often change when encountered with the whites and their ideologies. In this specific case though, with Colono wares, there were no signs of influences from the Europeans. Besides Colono wares, food ways provided another important link to household identity. Food ways include the types of food eaten and food preparation patterns that can reveal clues about identity. Many Africans and Natives are documented as eating with only one dish and serving all of their meals in one dish. Europeans on the other hand had several different types of dish wares and eating utensils that were not commonly found among African or Native cultures. With these kinds of remains it can be determined that certain people (Natives and Afro-Virginians in this study) occupied the site and the date of occupation (Gosden 2004).

The Lighthouse community, a tri-racial community in present day Connecticut, was described in early accounts as a pioneer village made up of people of different backgrounds, black, white, and Indian. The tale of the Lighthouse village is a story of rebellion, race, and love (Feder 1994:25). Primary sources such as personal interviews and stories from descendants of the village’s founders and archaeological materials demonstrate the validity of stories passed
down through the generations. There was a village called the Lighthouse whose inhabitants were of different ethnic groups. The documents that supported the existence of the Lighthouse village site were in the form of poems and stories that had been passed down from generation to generation. Such oral and written traditions told of the people that inhabited the village and their cultural upbringings. The village was described as “a ragged group of cabins, dwelt in by a people, partly white and partly Indian, partly from the early settlers and the vagabonds of travel….on his feet his shoes of deer skin, on his head the plumes of eagles” (Feder 1994:27-29). Feder also mentions that census data from the community indicate various residents were enumerated as “white,” “creole,” “mixed”, “Negro” and even “nearly white” (Feder 1994:5).

Archaeologically, the site yielded evidence for a strong presence of English influence through ceramics, architecture, burial practices. Most of the material evidence recovered made it apparent that the inhabitants of the Lighthouse village were of a lower socioeconomic status with different cultural characters. Ceramics was the first indication of what kind of people inhabited the village. The majority of the ceramics were cheaply made with glaze which was further indication that the once again its inhabitants were of Native, African, or lower class because unglazed ware is usually found in town and wealthy plantation and not among the poorest colonists (Noel-Hume 1962:5).

Ethnic and socioeconomic signatures from this site coincide with other
known maroon society sites (as seen in Florida and Louisiana maroon communities). It is intriguing however, that the village still obtained the peoples unconscious resistance to conform practicing many of their indigenous practices found in food preparation and burial, allowing the historians and archaeologists to understand and illuminate issues of identity, and culture through the material culture left behind.

An additional cultural characteristic that was analyzed were the foundations of structures in the Lighthouse village; archaeologists determined that the foundations of the structures were smaller than most Euro-American structures (Feder 1994). The structural sizes of the foundations analyzed were similar to those found in the community of Parting Ways in Plymouth, M.A., where four freed African-American slave families resided. These findings can give us another detail to the cultural characteristics of the Lighthouse village, while strategically incorporating a possible African American presence at the site via architectural structures and building methods.

Many interesting sites dating to Florida’s second colonial period (1763-1784) during the presence of Great Britain within the colony, suggest Indian-Black relations (Landers 1999:1). At this time on the coasts of Florida mixed communities were becoming more prevalent. The communities in this region usually consisted of Spaniards, black freedmen and Indians, and were usually dubbed “maroon” societies. Some of the communities had exceptional
relationships with other mixed communities through trading that increased the possibilities of intermixing and cultural exchange.

Florida, unlike other colonies kept considerably good records through the second Spanish period (1784-1821). *The East Florida Papers* were a key primary source for this period and has aided historians in the reconstruction of past events. *The East Florida Papers*, which have survived virtually intact, were government documentation of communities and their communal business. In this documentation there was mention of an important free black community at Garcia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose (Landers 1999:5).

Garcia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose is located approximately two miles north of St. Augustine and was established by the Mandinga captain Francisco Menéndez. Menéndez was a freedman who led the black militia and governed the new settlement (Landers 1999:29). Under the leadership of Menéndez the skilled black homesteaders used their talent of carpentry, metallurgy and stone cutting to build walled forts and shelters that were described by the Spanish as resembling wattle and daub houses a cultural practice by both Africans and Native Americans (Landers 1999).

Archaeological research has provided evidence for possible cultural adaptations at Mose that ultimately demonstrate relationships and interactions among Indians and blacks these relationships were further proven by written documents that fugitives married escapees as well as Indian women and slaves
(Florida Museum of Natural History 2009). Kathleen Degan led a two-season field excavation in 1987 and 1988 at Mose, when she and her team located a fort around the community. Due to significant changes found in the water table, a possible structure was located. They were also able to excavate portions of the moat, an earthen wall, as well as foundations of some of the interior structures of the community (Landers 1999:53). Researchers used this site in efforts to determine what mixture of customs and material culture residents adopted and what traditions influenced different cultures that were present. For instance, the Spanish reluctantly used some of the Indian and African resources and life ways while in turn, some of the Indian and blacks embraced the religion of Christianity which was documented by the baptisms of many adults living within Fort Mose (Landers 1999:32). As noted in Landers study the sharing of ideas and life ways were also evident in the architecture and in the rosary beads found within the community. This supports the theory that people sharing ideas, religion, and culture, which ultimately focuses on the idea of intermixing can be brought to our attention as an end result of this cultural sharing and adaptation. Though not thoroughly documented, it is very possible that Africans and Natives followed suite in the cultural exchange among each other.

The Battle Cry for Freedom: War in Colonial Virginia

Since the beginning of their contact, Native Americans and Africans
collaborated to offer armed resistance against Spanish invaders in their conquest of the Eastern Colonies (McDonald 1998:25). Katz argues that European, and later, Euro-American power structures feared alliances between these two groups of oppressed people. Thus, attacks on Indians may have as much to do with keeping Blacks and Natives apart as with hunger and greed for land (Katz 1993:7). It was implied by Katz that, “to prevent Africans and Natives from uniting, Europeans played skillfully on racial differences and ethnic rivalries...keeping the pot of animosity boiling” (1993:13). Their interaction through war may have also been a key event that invoked the intermixing of the Black and Indian peoples. War also caused villages to be sexually imbalanced with the loss of Indian men thus; Indian women could have found motivation in intermarriage with African men (McDonald 1998:25).

Blacks and Indians have fought in a great number of the colonial wars, with many fighting against their will (Reiss 1997). Yet, there were still slaves who were willing to fight on the side of the British for the possibility of freedom. They had the same burning desire for “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” which fueled other British colonists during this time of war (Littlefield 2000). As an incentive to fight alongside the British, Lord Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia, wrote a proclamation that offered freedom to slaves and indentured servants who joined the British army (Littlefield 2000). This freedom that was granted could allow slaves to freely roam and live where they want and could
lead to intermarriage and sexual relations with local Natives and building mixed communities. Many slave owners in the South became very upset at the thought of a revolutionary war which would grant blacks freedom and equality. In response to Dunmore’s proclamation, Virginia’s General Convention issued a statement threatening death to any slave caught trying to join the British army and offered pardons to slaves who surrendered to the Continental army (Figure 5.7). Again the law diminished more opportunities for blacks and Indians to come together and form communities and bonds.

The battles of Lexington and Concord were battles that were heard all around the world and were the first military engagements of the American
Revolutionary War. These two battles have been theorized by some historians to have encouraged “the relations of the Negro slave with his Indian companion in bondage; we have even seen the co-operation [sic] upon occasion in acts of violence against their white masters” (Porter 1932:298).

During the Revolutionary War, Africans and Natives were utilized by all three European groups (figure 5.8). Natives and Africans were tricked and bribed and used in wars as front linesmen to fight a war that had little to do with them and their well being. Natives like Africans fought with the hope of freedom hanging over their head. Both peoples were told and repeatedly taught that the other was dangerous and corrupt fuel to fuel their rage and willingness to fight. Thus, making combat more appealing. Neither party fully understood how the other was until they themselves had direct contact. In the Revolutionary
War, over 5,000 Negros (slave and free) fought. The war also produced runaway slaves, it is estimated the more than 30,000 Virginian slaves gained freedom through running away (Latimer 1994:xviii). Again this is a critical moment for intense interactions among blacks and Indians making their bonds stronger and as stated earlier making a shift in sex ratios in both Indian and black populations thus pushing them to marry and intermix elsewhere yet never becoming equal to the English.

“Am I not a Man and a Brother?”: Way of Life After Contact

Life after contact was a major turning point for many Native Americans and African Americans. Racism, poverty, and war were now the cornerstones of the amalgamation of Native and African cultures as well as other racially mixed communities on the north and south seaboard of North America. By the late 1790’s slavery was still steadily increasing and Natives were being pushed further into the mainland off the east coast, while African American’s were slowly being emancipated with restrictions and were residing in every colony within the surrounding area of Virginia. Since slavery was only outlawed in certain colonies, the ways of living would vary among Native American and blacks from region to region. The Indians had three types of relations among the English: 1) English expansion and Indian retreat up the Eastern Shore, the appropriation of Indian land would lead to some co-residency on the peninsula. 2) Violence and war. Conflict among the Natives and the English was
documented throughout this century. 3) Personal ties with the English and on occasion with free and enslaved blacks (Deal 1993:10).

Natives were being pressured off their land by advancing pioneers thus their way of life and work was slowly being diminished (Dinnerstein et al. 1996). As Indians moved to the interior of the land many Europeans clung to the coast and developed more settlements within in the Tidewater region that were close on the outskirts of the Indian villages. As mentioned before they interacted with the whites on a daily basis, exchanging foodstuffs for trade goods, working as scouts or slave catchers, occasionally intermarrying, and filling a variety of police and military functions (Gallay 1994:27).

With constant disputes over land Natives often wrote to the Assembly of Virginia for resolution. Land was reserved for the Gingaskins tribe who in 1705 began to intermarry with some local free black families. After the Revolution, the interracial camaraderie and decline of tribesmen left them vulnerable to more white harassment (Deal 1993:21). Their intensive association and marriage resulted in the disappearance of the Gingaskins as “full-blooded” Indians, and tri-racial communities emerged in southern Delaware and New Jersey. Free Indians however, apparently seemed to have little contact with the enslaved Africans, although there is some evidence of both attraction and hostility between them. There were a small number of non-local Indians who worked alongside of African slaves. Some intermarriage occurred among them but
association of this sort was more common between the remaining local Indians and free blacks and mulattoes from the last decades of the 17th century onward. The tendency to associate seems to have increased as both groups were pushed into similar positions of social and economic marginality (Deal 993:45).

While Natives were dealing with removal and war, Afro-Virginians were dealing with constant racism from the people in the colonies and settlements as well as from the political system. Laws and political restrictions hindered both blacks and Indians in Virginia more than anything. Though Blacks could be “freedmen” they were still not viewed as equal in society. In the case of the colony of Virginia emancipation of slaves was usually documented through the form of a will or deed, but the slave would have to leave the state within six to 12 months of their emancipation. While existing prejudices hindered Afro-Virginians many were still able to become skilled workers and some achieved success as teachers, ministers, and businessmen (Dinnerstein et al. 1996). By 1790 there were already 697,625 black slaves in North American colonies which rapidly increased until 1860 when Abolition of slavery was established in more colonies (Wagley 1958). This increased black-Indian relationships in the perspective of spatial convergence.

Expectations: Political Restrictions and Laws

The interaction between Natives and Africans put fear into the hearts of many Europeans. Throughout history, the mixing of as well as the separation of
these peoples played a large role in the concept of “race.” In turn, race would play an even greater role in the decisions made about which groups of people would live where during the period of the Indian Removal period in the Southeast. The Removal Act was a political, congressional, and judicial effort to impose borders between Natives and non-Natives. In this Act Africans could stay in the area that they lived in, with a chance of re-enslavement; while Natives were forced to leave their homeland and move west. It was a “catch 22” for both cultures. This pulled both cultures in opposite directions and away from the whites. Manumission was made impossible in Virginia by law from 1723 to 1782 by declaring that no slave be freed “except for some meritorious service and that will be judged by the councilors and the governor” (Morris 1996: 393). This was another way that the law kept slaves “slaves” and kept the Indians as far away as possible.

Despite empirical efforts of the European empires to keep blacks and Indians apart, social and economic disempowerment sometimes led those at the bottom of the racial hierarchy to join forces such as they did against the Spanish (McDonald 1998). Many other laws were established in hopes to keep all of the races separate and in perspective to the “chain of being” - the hierarchical ladder of races that directly linked to the English common law, equity, and status. As time and feelings increased regulations increase.

In 1778 a regulation decree obliged whites less than 25 years of age to seek
parental permission for marriage (Wade 1993). This decree was again aimed to limit mixed marriages. Virginia was one of many colonies at the time that derived their “race laws” from slave laws. The American democracy wanted to achieve two things:

(1) to convince the Negro slave that he was inferior in every way and had “no rights which a white man need respect,” and to ensure this inferiority in fact by physical force and legislative proscription; and (2) to convince a decisive number of the American people that the Negro was in his natural state as a slave, that the inalienable rights set forth in the Declaration of Independence in the Federal and state constitutions necessarily did no apply to the negro, and that universal freedom would be catastrophic both for the Negro and for the American people (Murray 1953:8).

Again the government laws barred any chance of intermixing becoming “ok” among all races; black, Natives, and whites. Though these governmental actions and powers were utilized it still did not stop all intermixing and thus the Black-Indian survived and still lives and dwells within most of the United States today despite all of the measures to keep them apart.
Chapter 6: Conclusion: Filling in the Gaps

There are many gaps within American history that have overlooked histories of other cultures that are embedded and interwoven into “main stream” histories. Within recent years the topic of the Black-Indian has come into question from court hearings of tribal recognition to fictional and non-fictional stories of these two peoples who became one. The voices of Native and Africans Americans have been drowned out by the dominating Eurocentric views and because of the loss of their own oral histories that were rarely written.

The question of the Black-Indian has lingered in North American history for centuries with no answers and no starting point. The Black-Indian culture, itself, still has no definite or precise date to when Blacks and Indians began their long journey of interrelationships. Yet, it has been hypothesized to have been the result of the importation of 20 African slaves, and then indentured servants, arriving on the shores of Jamestown from a Dutch merchant ship. The time of the first known interracial child, Black and Indian, in the Jamestown Colony is still a mystery. Documentation of indentured servants were
scarce, thus the documentation of child rearing would have been lost or not mentioned within surviving written documents.

Afro-Virginians and Native Americans alike were forced into a lifestyle that was not comfortable to both people’s cultures and life ways. They resisted the European’s emotional, physical, socio-political lashings. Thus, their perseverence and this shared adversity caused them to bond and flourish in their own mixed culture. Their resistance was recorded by innovative signatures that enhanced their life ways for the things that were needed to physically survive. Particular cultural signatures such as decorative art, agricultural techniques and food ways, have provided evidence of some relationship between Afro-Virginians and Native Americans. Through the combined discipline of ethnohistory and archaeological research these signatures can be observed in the scattered 18th century plantations, and in the maroon and tri-isolate villages throughout the Virginia, Chesapeake, and Tide Water regions of North America. However, these findings have resulted in many theories that do not include the Afro-Virginian and Native American exclusively; leaving behind unanswered questions about the culture specific history of the Black-Indian.

In the preceding chapters several catalysts have been discussed as to how, when, where, and why Indians and Blacks chose to intermix with one another. It has been unveiled that much interracial mixing in colonial Virginia, as well as other surrounding colonies, was prompted by slavery and its intensive
importation of Africans in the early to mid 17th century. So to say the least, their interaction may not have been solely by choice.

Through this thesis work it can be generally accepted that Natives and blacks bonded for more reasons than just survival they also bonded for a common emotional and physical reasons that could be embraced and understood through their common fight to freedom. Not just their freedom from slavery, but their freedom to live how and where they wished to live. Both people’s freedoms were redefined with the birth and recognition of the concept of race.

It has been determined through this research, and by works of scholars and historians, that race was a turning point in defining human kind when it was socially constructed in 17th century North America to identify difference. Did race hinder the interrelationships that were formed among blacks and Indians? It is not clear, however it is understood that these concepts may have discourage intermarriage and relationships among the two peoples. The concept of Race brought with it social division and political division as well. From that time on the idea of race would grow in a negative direction. People soon feared the difference instead of embracing it. As interracial relations grew taboo within the North American society relationship were built in secret via tri-isolate, maroon, and freedmen villages. As interracial bonds became more apparent many revolts and uprisings headed by both Blacks and Indians became more frequent, putting fear into the mass European population who retaliated with violence as well.
Because the idea of intermarriage was considered a social smear, the history of North America did not always progress in a mature manner where interrelationships were not only formed for revolts, but possibly for love just like any normal human being.

The questions concerning the interrelationships between Blacks and Indians as to when and how their bonds or relationships occurred have been answered to an extent. But, what else can be studied when there is so many gaps in history?

**Recommendations**

It is recommended that this research be further explored within the Native American community in conjunction with an Afrocentric approach; being that an Afrocentric approach has already been taken by Barbra Faggins (2001). Though the incorporation of various documentations of European, African, and Native American was provided within this study, gathering information and documenting the Native American voice should still be respected as a tedious task. Because of the lack of intense Native American documentation an ethnocentric approach through a Native lens is hard to obtain. Yet, with the collaboration of Native American scholars, and others who specialize in the study of each of these cultures much progress could be made in addressing the questions about African and Native American relations within the Virginia
It is also recommended that more time should be focused on reviewing the personal letters of Blacks and Native Americans within the Virginia region, this effort may succeed in garnering more information about their relationships. This ethnographic work then could possibly be prepared as an addendum to the current research that has been completed.
Constitution of the Iroquois Nations:

THE GREAT BINDING LAW, GAYANASHAGOWA

1. I am Dekanawidah and with the Five Nations' Confederate Lords I plant the Tree of Great Peace. I plant it in your territory, Adodarhoh, and the Onondaga Nation, in the territory of you who are Firekeepers.

I name the tree the Tree of the Great Long Leaves. Under the shade of this Tree of the Great Peace we spread the soft white feathery down of the globe thistle as seats for you, Adodarhoh, and your cousin Lords.

We place you upon those seats, spread soft with the feathery down of the globe thistle, there beneath the shade of the spreading branches of the Tree of Peace. There shall you sit and watch the Council Fire of the Confederacy of the Five Nations, and all the affairs of the Five Nations shall be transacted at this place before you, Adodarhoh, and your cousin Lords, by the Confederate Lords of the Five Nations.

2. Roots have spread out from the Tree of the Great Long Leaves, one to the north, one to the east, one to the south and one to the west. The name of these roots is The Great White Roots and their nature is Peace and Strength.

If any man or any nation outside the Five Nations shall obey the laws of the Great Peace and make known their disposition to the Lords of the Confederacy, they may trace the Roots to the Tree and if their minds are clean and they are obedient and promise to obey the wishes of the Confederate Council, they shall be welcomed to take shelter beneath the Tree of the Long Leaves.

We place at the top of the Tree of the Long Leaves an Eagle who is able to see afar. If he sees in the distance any evil approaching or any danger threatening he will at once warn the people of the Confederacy.
3. To you Adodarhoh, the Onondaga cousin Lords, I and the other Confederate Lords have entrusted the caretaking and the watching of the Five Nations Council Fire.

When there is any business to be transacted and the Confederate Council is not in session, a messenger shall be dispatched either to Adodarhoh, Hononwirehtohn or Skanawatih, Fire Keepers, or to their War Chiefs with a full statement of the case desired to be considered. Then shall Adodarhoh call his cousin (associate) Lords together and consider whether or not the case is of sufficient importance to demand the attention of the Confederate Council. If so, Adodarhoh shall dispatch messengers to summon all the Confederate Lords to assemble beneath the Tree of the Long Leaves.

When the Lords are assembled the Council Fire shall be kindled, but not with chestnut wood, and Adodarhoh shall formally open the Council.

Then shall Adodarhoh and his cousin Lords, the Fire Keepers, announce the subject for discussion.

The Smoke of the Confederate Council Fire shall ever ascend and pierce the sky so that other nations who may be allies may see the Council Fire of the Great Peace.

Adodarhoh and his cousin Lords are entrusted with the Keeping of the Council Fire.

4. You, Adodarhoh, and your thirteen cousin Lords, shall faithfully keep the space about the Council Fire clean and you shall allow neither dust nor dirt to accumulate. I lay a Long Wing before you as a broom. As a weapon against a crawling creature I lay a staff with you so that you may thrust it away from the Council Fire. If you fail to cast it out then call the rest of the United Lords to your aid.

5. The Council of the Mohawk shall be divided into three parties as follows: Tekarihoken, Ayonhwathah and Shadekariwade are the first party; Sharenhowaneh, Deyoenhegwenh and Oghrenghrehgowah are the second party, and Dehennakrineh, Aghstawenserenthah and Shoskoharowaneh are the third party. The third party is to listen only to the discussion of the first and second parties and if an error is made or the proceeding is irregular they are to call
attention to it, and when the case is right and properly decided by the two parties they shall confirm the decision of the two parties and refer the case to the Seneca Lords for their decision. When the Seneca Lords have decided in accord with the Mohawk Lords, the case or question shall be referred to the Cayuga and Oneida Lords on the opposite side of the house.

6. I, Dekanawidah, appoint the Mohawk Lords the heads and the leaders of the Five Nations Confederacy. The Mohawk Lords are the foundation of the Great Peace and it shall, therefore, be against the Great Binding Law to pass measures in the Confederate Council after the Mohawk Lords have protested against them.

No council of the Confederate Lords shall be legal unless all the Mohawk Lords are present.

7. Whenever the Confederate Lords shall assemble for the purpose of holding a council, the Onondaga Lords shall open it by expressing their gratitude to their cousin Lords and greeting them, and they shall make an address and offer thanks to the earth where men dwell, to the streams of water, the pools, the springs and the lakes, to the maize and the fruits, to the medicinal herbs and trees, to the forest trees for their usefulness, to the animals that serve as food and give their pelts for clothing, to the great winds and the lesser winds, to the Thunderers, to the Sun, the mighty warrior, to the moon, to the messengers of the Creator who reveal his wishes and to the Great Creator who dwells in the heavens above, who gives all the things useful to men, and who is the source and the ruler of health and life.

Then shall the Onondaga Lords declare the council open.

The council shall not sit after darkness has set in.

8. The Firekeepers shall formally open and close all councils of the Confederate Lords, and they shall pass upon all matters deliberated upon by the two sides and render their decision.

Every Onondaga Lord (or his deputy) must be present at every Confederate Council and must agree with the majority without unwarrantable dissent, so that a unanimous decision may be rendered.
If Adodarhoh or any of his cousin Lords are absent from a Confederate Council, any other Firekeeper may open and close the Council, but the Firekeepers present may not give any decisions, unless the matter is of small importance.

9. All the business of the Five Nations Confederate Council shall be conducted by the two combined bodies of Confederate Lords. First the question shall be passed upon by the Mohawk and Seneca Lords, then it shall be discussed and passed by the Oneida and Cayuga Lords. Their decisions shall then be referred to the Onondaga Lords, (Fire Keepers) for final judgment.

The same process shall obtain when a question is brought before the council by an individual or a War Chief.

10. In all cases the procedure must be as follows: when the Mohawk and Seneca Lords have unanimously agreed upon a question, they shall report their decision to the Cayuga and Oneida Lords who shall deliberate upon the question and report a unanimous decision to the Mohawk Lords. The Mohawk Lords will then report the standing of the case to the Firekeepers, who shall render a decision as they see fit in case of a disagreement by the two bodies, or confirm the decisions of the two bodies if they are identical. The Fire Keepers shall then report their decision to the Mohawk Lords who shall announce it to the open council.

11. If through any misunderstanding or obstinacy on the part of the Fire Keepers, they render a decision at variance with that of the Two Sides, the Two Sides shall reconsider the matter and if their decisions are jointly the same as before they shall report to the Fire Keepers who are then compelled to confirm their joint decision.

12. When a case comes before the Onondaga Lords (Fire Keepers) for discussion and decision, Adodarho shall introduce the matter to his comrade Lords who shall then discuss it in their two bodies. Every Onondaga Lord except Hononwiretonh shall deliberate and he shall listen only. When a unanimous decision shall have been reached by the two bodies of Fire Keepers, Adodarho shall notify Hononwiretonh of the fact when he shall confirm it. He shall refuse to confirm a decision if it is not unanimously agreed upon by both sides of the Fire Keepers.
13. No Lord shall ask a question of the body of Confederate Lords when they are discussing a case, question or proposition. He may only deliberate in a low tone with the separate body of which he is a member.

14. When the Council of the Five Nation Lords shall convene they shall appoint a speaker for the day. He shall be a Lord of either the Mohawk, Onondaga or Seneca Nation.

The next day the Council shall appoint another speaker, but the first speaker may be reappointed if there is no objection, but a speaker's term shall not be regarded more than for the day.

15. No individual or foreign nation interested in a case, question or proposition shall have any voice in the Confederate Council except to answer a question put to him or them by the speaker for the Lords.

16. If the conditions which shall arise at any future time call for an addition to or change of this law, the case shall be carefully considered and if a new beam seems necessary or beneficial, the proposed change shall be voted upon and if adopted it shall be called, "Added to the Rafters".

**Rights, Duties and Qualifications of Lords**

17. A bunch of a certain number of shell (wampum) strings each two spans in length shall be given to each of the female families in which the Lordship titles are vested. The right of bestowing the title shall be hereditary in the family of the females legally possessing the bunch of shell strings and the strings shall be the token that the females of the family have the proprietary right to the Lordship title for all time to come, subject to certain restrictions hereinafter mentioned.

18. If any Confederate Lord neglects or refuses to attend the Confederate Council, the other Lords of the Nation of which he is a member shall require their War Chief to request the female sponsors of the Lord so guilty of defection to demand his attendance of the Council. If he refuses, the women holding the title shall immediately select another candidate for the title.

No Lord shall be asked more than once to attend the Confederate Council.
19. If at any time it shall be manifest that a Confederate Lord has not in mind the welfare of the people or disobeys the rules of this Great Law, the men or women of the Confederacy, or both jointly, shall come to the Council and upbraid the erring Lord through his War Chief. If the complaint of the people through the War Chief is not heeded the first time it shall be uttered again and then if no attention is given a third complaint and warning shall be given. If the Lord is contumacious the matter shall go to the council of War Chiefs. The War Chiefs shall then divest the erring Lord of his title by order of the women in whom the titleship is vested. When the Lord is deposed the women shall notify the Confederate Lords through their War Chief, and the Confederate Lords shall sanction the act. The women will then select another of their sons as a candidate and the Lords shall elect him. Then shall the chosen one be installed by the Installation Ceremony.

When a Lord is to be deposed, his War Chief shall address him as follows:

"So you, __________, disregard and set at naught the warnings of your women relatives. So you fling the warnings over your shoulder to cast them behind you.

"Behold the brightness of the Sun and in the brightness of the Sun's light I depose you of your title and remove the sacred emblem of your Lordship title. I remove from your brow the deer's antlers, which was the emblem of your position and token of your nobility. I now depose you and return the antlers to the women whose heritage they are."

The War Chief shall now address the women of the deposed Lord and say:

"Mothers, as I have now deposed your Lord, I now return to you the emblem and the title of Lordship, therefore repossess them."

Again addressing himself to the deposed Lord he shall say:

"As I have now deposed and discharged you so you are now no longer Lord. You shall now go your way alone, the rest of the people of the Confederacy will not go with you, for we know not the kind of mind that possesses you. As the Creator has nothing to do with wrong so he will not come to rescue you from the precipice of destruction in which you have cast yourself. You shall never be restored to the position which you once occupied."
Then shall the War Chief address himself to the Lords of the Nation to which the deposed Lord belongs and say:

"Know you, my Lords, that I have taken the deer's antlers from the brow of ___________, the emblem of his position and token of his greatness."

The Lords of the Confederacy shall then have no other alternative than to sanction the discharge of the offending Lord.

20. If a Lord of the Confederacy of the Five Nations should commit murder the other Lords of the Nation shall assemble at the place where the corpse lies and prepare to depose the criminal Lord. If it is impossible to meet at the scene of the crime the Lords shall discuss the matter at the next Council of their Nation and request their War Chief to depose the Lord guilty of crime, to "bury" his women relatives and to transfer the Lordship title to a sister family.

The War Chief shall address the Lord guilty of murder and say:

"So you, ___________ (giving his name) did kill ___________ (naming the slain man), with your own hands! You have committed a grave sin in the eyes of the Creator. Behold the bright light of the Sun, and in the brightness of the Sun's light I depose you of your title and remove the horns, the sacred emblems of your Lordship title. I remove from your brow the deer's antlers, which was the emblem of your position and token of your nobility. I now depose you and expel you and you shall depart at once from the territory of the Five Nations Confederacy and nevermore return again. We, the Five Nations Confederacy, moreover, bury your women relatives because the ancient Lordship title was never intended to have any union with bloodshed. Henceforth it shall not be their heritage. By the evil deed that you have done they have forfeited it forever."

The War Chief shall then hand the title to a sister family and he shall address it and say:

"Our mothers, ___________, listen attentively while I address you on a solemn and important subject. I hereby transfer to you an ancient Lordship title for a great calamity has befallen it in the hands of the family of a former Lord. We trust that you, our mothers, will always guard it, and that you will warn your
Lord always to be dutiful and to advise his people to ever live in love, peace and harmony that a great calamity may never happen again."

21. Certain physical defects in a Confederate Lord make him ineligible to sit in the Confederate Council. Such defects are infancy, idiocy, blindness, deafness, dumbness and impotency. When a Confederate Lord is restricted by any of these conditions, a deputy shall be appointed by his sponsors to act for him, but in case of extreme necessity the restricted Lord may exercise his rights.

22. If a Confederate Lord desires to resign his title he shall notify the Lords of the Nation of which he is a member of his intention. If his coactive Lords refuse to accept his resignation he may not resign his title.

A Lord in proposing to resign may recommend any proper candidate which recommendation shall be received by the Lords, but unless confirmed and nominated by the women who hold the title the candidate so named shall not be considered.

23. Any Lord of the Five Nations Confederacy may construct shell strings (or wampum belts) of any size or length as pledges or records of matters of national or international importance.

When it is necessary to dispatch a shell string by a War Chief or other messenger as the token of a summons, the messenger shall recite the contents of the string to the party to whom it is sent. That party shall repeat the message and return the shell string and if there has been a summons he shall make ready for the journey.

Any of the people of the Five Nations may use shells (or wampum) as the record of a pledge, contract or an agreement entered into and the same shall be binding as soon as shell strings shall have been exchanged by both parties.

24. The Lords of the Confederacy of the Five Nations shall be mentors of the people for all time. The thickness of their skin shall be seven spans -- which is to say that they shall be proof against anger, offensive actions and criticism. Their hearts shall be full of peace and good will and their minds filled with a yearning for the welfare of the people of the Confederacy. With endless patience they shall carry out their duty and their firmness shall be tempered with a tenderness for their people. Neither anger nor fury shall find lodgement in their minds and all their words and actions shall be marked by calm deliberation.
25. If a Lord of the Confederacy should seek to establish any authority independent of the jurisdiction of the Confederacy of the Great Peace, which is the Five Nations, he shall be warned three times in open council, first by the women relatives, second by the men relatives and finally by the Lords of the Confederacy of the Nation to which he belongs. If the offending Lord is still obdurate he shall be dismissed by the War Chief of his nation for refusing to conform to the laws of the Great Peace. His nation shall then install the candidate nominated by the female name holders of his family.

26. It shall be the duty of all of the Five Nations Confederate Lords, from time to time as occasion demands, to act as mentors and spiritual guides of their people and remind them of their Creator's will and words. They shall say:

"Hearken, that peace may continue unto future days!"  
"Always listen to the words of the Great Creator, for he has spoken.  
"United people, let not evil find lodging in your minds.  
"For the Great Creator has spoken and the cause of Peace shall not become old.  
"The cause of peace shall not die if you remember the Great Creator."

Every Confederate Lord shall speak words such as these to promote peace.

27. All Lords of the Five Nations Confederacy must be honest in all things. They must not idle or gossip, but be men possessing those honorable qualities that make true royaneh. It shall be a serious wrong for anyone to lead a Lord into trivial affairs, for the people must ever hold their Lords high in estimation out of respect to their honorable positions.

28. When a candidate Lord is to be installed he shall furnish four strings of shells (or wampum) one span in length bound together at one end. Such will constitute the evidence of his pledge to the Confederate Lords that he will live according to the constitution of the Great Peace and exercise justice in all affairs.

When the pledge is furnished the Speaker of the Council must hold the shell strings in his hand and address the opposite side of the Council Fire and he shall commence his address saying: "Now behold him. He has now become a Confederate Lord. See how splendid he looks." An address may then follow. At the end of it he shall send the bunch of shell strings to the opposite side and they shall be received as evidence of the pledge. Then shall the opposite side say:
"We now do crown you with the sacred emblem of the deer's antlers, the emblem of your Lordship. You shall now become a mentor of the people of the Five Nations. The thickness of your skin shall be seven spans -- which is to say that you shall be proof against anger, offensive actions and criticism. Your heart shall be filled with peace and good will and your mind filled with a yearning for the welfare of the people of the Confederacy. With endless patience you shall carry out your duty and your firmness shall be tempered with tenderness for your people. Neither anger nor fury shall find lodgment in your mind and all your words and actions shall be marked with calm deliberation. In all of your deliberations in the Confederate Council, in your efforts at law making, in all your official acts, self interest shall be cast into oblivion. Cast not over your shoulder behind you the warnings of the nephews and nieces should they chide you for any error or wrong you may do, but return to the way of the Great Law which is just and right. Look and listen for the welfare of the whole people and have always in view not only the present but also the coming generations, even those whose faces are yet beneath the surface of the ground -- the unborn of the future Nation."

29. When a Lordship title is to be conferred, the candidate Lord shall furnish the cooked venison, the corn bread and the corn soup, together with other necessary things and the labor for the Conferring of Titles Festival.

30. The Lords of the Confederacy may confer the Lordship title upon a candidate whenever the Great Law is recited, if there be a candidate, for the Great Law speaks all the rules.

31. If a Lord of the Confederacy should become seriously ill and be thought near death, the women who are heirs of his title shall go to his house and lift his crown of deer antlers, the emblem of his Lordship, and place them at one side. If the Creator spares him and he rises from his bed of sickness he may rise with the antlers on his brow.

The following words shall be used to temporarily remove the antlers:

"Now our comrade Lord (or our relative Lord) the time has come when we must approach you in your illness. We remove for a time the deer's antlers from your brow, we remove the emblem of your Lordship title. The Great Law has decreed that no Lord should end his life with the antlers on his brow. We therefore lay them aside in the room. If the Creator spares you and you recover from your
illness you shall rise from your bed with the antlers on your brow as before and you shall resume your duties as Lord of the Confederacy and you may labor again for the Confederate people."

32. If a Lord of the Confederacy should die while the Council of the Five Nations is in session the Council shall adjourn for ten days. No Confederate Council shall sit within ten days of the death of a Lord of the Confederacy.

If the Three Brothers (the Mohawk, the Onondaga and the Seneca) should lose one of their Lords by death, the Younger Brothers (the Oneida and the Cayuga) shall come to the surviving Lords of the Three Brothers on the tenth day and console them. If the Younger Brothers lose one of their Lords then the Three Brothers shall come to them and console them. And the consolation shall be the reading of the contents of the thirteen shell (wampum) strings of Ayonhwhathah. At the termination of this rite a successor shall be appointed, to be appointed by the women heirs of the Lordship title. If the women are not yet ready to place their nominee before the Lords the Speaker shall say, "Come let us go out." All shall leave the Council or the place of gathering. The installation shall then wait until such a time as the women are ready. The Speaker shall lead the way from the house by saying, "Let us depart to the edge of the woods and lie in waiting on our bellies."

When the women title holders shall have chosen one of their sons the Confederate Lords will assemble in two places, the Younger Brothers in one place and the Three Older Brothers in another. The Lords who are to console the mourning Lords shall choose one of their number to sing the Pacification Hymn as they journey to the sorrowing Lords. The singer shall lead the way and the Lords and the people shall follow. When they reach the sorrowing Lords they shall hail the candidate Lord and perform the rite of Conferring the Lordship Title.

33. When a Confederate Lord dies, the surviving relatives shall immediately dispatch a messenger, a member of another clan, to the Lords in another locality. When the runner comes within hailing distance of the locality he shall utter a sad wail, thus: "Kwa-ah, Kwa-ah, Kwa-ah!" The sound shall be repeated three times and then again and again at intervals as many times as the distance may require. When the runner arrives at the settlement the people shall assemble and one must ask him the nature of his sad message. He shall then say, "Let us consider." Then he shall tell them of the death of the Lord. He shall deliver to them a string
of shells (wampum) and say "Here is the testimony, you have heard the message." He may then return home.

It now becomes the duty of the Lords of the locality to send runners to other localities and each locality shall send other messengers until all Lords are notified. Runners shall travel day and night.

34. If a Lord dies and there is no candidate qualified for the office in the family of the women title holders, the Lords of the Nation shall give the title into the hands of a sister family in the clan until such a time as the original family produces a candidate, when the title shall be restored to the rightful owners.

No Lordship title may be carried into the grave. The Lords of the Confederacy may dispossess a dead Lord of his title even at the grave.

**Election of Pine Tree Chiefs**

35. Should any man of the Nation assist with special ability or show great interest in the affairs of the Nation, if he proves himself wise, honest and worthy of confidence, the Confederate Lords may elect him to a seat with them and he may sit in the Confederate Council. He shall be proclaimed a 'Pine Tree sprung up for the Nation' and shall be installed as such at the next assembly for the installation of Lords. Should he ever do anything contrary to the rules of the Great Peace, he may not be deposed from office -- no one shall cut him down -- but thereafter everyone shall be deaf to his voice and his advice. Should he resign his seat and title no one shall prevent him. A Pine Tree chief has no authority to name a successor nor is his title hereditary.

**Names, Duties and Rights of War Chiefs**

36. The title names of the Chief Confederate Lords' War Chiefs shall be:

Ayonwaehs, War Chief under Lord Takarihoken (Mohawk)
Kahonwahdironh, War Chief under Lord Odatshedeh (Oneida)
Ayendes, War Chief under Lord Adodarhoh (Onondaga)
Wenenhs, War Chief under Lord Dekaenyonh (Cayuga)
Shoneradowaneh, War Chief under Lord Skanyadariyo (Seneca)
The women heirs of each head Lord's title shall be the heirs of the War Chief's title of their respective Lord.

The War Chiefs shall be selected from the eligible sons of the female families holding the head Lordship titles.

37. There shall be one War Chief for each Nation and their duties shall be to carry messages for their Lords and to take up the arms of war in case of emergency. They shall not participate in the proceedings of the Confederate Council but shall watch its progress and in case of an erroneous action by a Lord they shall receive the complaints of the people and convey the warnings of the women to him. The people who wish to convey messages to the Lords in the Confederate Council shall do so through the War Chief of their Nation. It shall ever be his duty to lay the cases, questions and propositions of the people before the Confederate Council.

38. When a War Chief dies another shall be installed by the same rite as that by which a Lord is installed.

39. If a War Chief acts contrary to instructions or against the provisions of the Laws of the Great Peace, doing so in the capacity of his office, he shall be deposed by his women relatives and by his men relatives. Either the women or the men alone or jointly may act in such a case. The women title holders shall then choose another candidate.

40. When the Lords of the Confederacy take occasion to dispatch a messenger in behalf of the Confederate Council, they shall wrap up any matter they may send and instruct the messenger to remember his errand, to turn not aside but to proceed faithfully to his destination and deliver his message according to every instruction.

41. If a message borne by a runner is the warning of an invasion he shall whoop, "Kwa-ah, Kwa-ah," twice and repeat at short intervals; then again at a longer interval.

If a human being is found dead, the finder shall not touch the body but return home immediately shouting at short intervals, "Koo-weh!"

**Clans and Consanguinity**
42. Among the Five Nations and their posterity there shall be the following original clans: Great Name Bearer, Ancient Name Bearer, Great Bear, Ancient Bear, Turtle, Painted Turtle, Standing Rock, Large Plover, Deer, Pigeon Hawk, Eel, Ball, Opposite-Side-of-the-Hand, and Wild Potatoes. These clans distributed through their respective Nations, shall be the sole owners and holders of the soil of the country and in them is it vested as a birthright.

43. People of the Five Nations members of a certain clan shall recognize every other member of that clan, irrespective of the Nation, as relatives. Men and women, therefore, members of the same clan are forbidden to marry.

44. The lineal descent of the people of the Five Nations shall run in the female line. Women shall be considered the progenitors of the Nation. They shall own the land and the soil. Men and women shall follow the status of the mother.

45. The women heirs of the Confederated Lordship titles shall be called Royaneh (Noble) for all time to come.

46. The women of the Forty Eight (now fifty) Royaneh families shall be the heirs of the Authorized Names for all time to come.

When an infant of the Five Nations is given an Authorized Name at the Midwinter Festival or at the Ripe Corn Festival, one in the cousinhood of which the infant is a member shall be appointed a speaker. He shall then announce to the opposite cousinhood the names of the father and the mother of the child together with the clan of the mother. Then the speaker shall announce the child’s name twice. The uncle of the child shall then take the child in his arms and walking up and down the room shall sing: "My head is firm, I am of the Confederacy." As he sings the opposite cousinhood shall respond by chanting, "Hyenh, Hyenh, Hyenh, Hyenh," until the song is ended.

47. If the female heirs of a Confederate Lord’s title become extinct, the title right shall be given by the Lords of the Confederacy to the sister family whom they shall elect and that family shall hold the name and transmit it to their (female) heirs, but they shall not appoint any of their sons as a candidate for a title until all the eligible men of the former family shall have died or otherwise have become ineligible.
48. If all the heirs of a Lordship title become extinct, and all the families in the clan, then the title shall be given by the Lords of the Confederacy to the family in a sister clan whom they shall elect.

49. If any of the Royaneh women, heirs of a titleship, shall willfully withhold a Lordship or other title and refuse to bestow it, or if such heirs abandon, forsake or despise their heritage, then shall such women be deemed buried and their family extinct. The titleship shall then revert to a sister family or clan upon application and complaint. The Lords of the Confederacy shall elect the family or clan which shall in future hold the title.

50. The Royaneh women of the Confederacy heirs of the Lordship titles shall elect two women of their family as cooks for the Lord when the people shall assemble at his house for business or other purposes.

It is not good nor honorable for a Confederate Lord to allow his people whom he has called to go hungry.

51. When a Lord holds a conference in his home, his wife, if she wishes, may prepare the food for the Union Lords who assemble with him. This is an honorable right which she may exercise and an expression of her esteem.

52. The Royaneh women, heirs of the Lordship titles, shall, should it be necessary, correct and admonish the holders of their titles. Those only who attend the Council may do this and those who do not shall not object to what has been said nor strive to undo the action.

53. When the Royaneh women, holders of a Lordship title, select one of their sons as a candidate, they shall select one who is trustworthy, of good character, of honest disposition, one who manages his own affairs, supports his own family, if any, and who has proven a faithful man to his Nation.

54. When a Lordship title becomes vacant through death or other cause, the Royaneh women of the clan in which the title is hereditary shall hold a council and shall choose one from among their sons to fill the office made vacant. Such a candidate shall not be the father of any Confederate Lord. If the choice is unanimous the name is referred to the men relatives of the clan. If they should disapprove it shall be their duty to select a candidate from among their own number. If then the men and women are unable to decide which of the two
candidates shall be named, then the matter shall be referred to the Confederate Lords in the Clan. They shall decide which candidate shall be named. If the men and the women agree to a candidate his name shall be referred to the sister clans for confirmation. If the sister clans confirm the choice, they shall refer their action to their Confederate Lords who shall ratify the choice and present it to their cousin Lords, and if the cousin Lords confirm the name then the candidate shall be installed by the proper ceremony for the conferring of Lordship titles.

**Official Symbolism**

55. A large bunch of shell strings, in the making of which the Five Nations Confederate Lords have equally contributed, shall symbolize the completeness of the union and certify the pledge of the nations represented by the Confederate Lords of the Mohawk, the Oneida, the Onondaga, the Cayuga and the Seneca, that all are united and formed into one body or union called the Union of the Great Law, which they have established.

A bunch of shell strings is to be the symbol of the council fire of the Five Nations Confederacy. And the Lord whom the council of Fire Keepers shall appoint to speak for them in opening the council shall hold the strands of shells in his hands when speaking. When he finishes speaking he shall deposit the strings on an elevated place (or pole) so that all the assembled Lords and the people may see it and know that the council is open and in progress.

When the council adjourns the Lord who has been appointed by his comrade Lords to close it shall take the strands of shells in his hands and address the assembled Lords. Thus will the council adjourn until such time and place as appointed by the council. Then shall the shell strings be placed in a place for safekeeping.

Every five years the Five Nations Confederate Lords and the people shall assemble together and shall ask one another if their minds are still in the same spirit of unity for the Great Binding Law and if any of the Five Nations shall not pledge continuance and steadfastness to the pledge of unity then the Great Binding Law shall dissolve.

56. Five strings of shell tied together as one shall represent the Five Nations. Each string shall represent one territory and the whole a completely united territory known as the Five Nations Confederate territory.
57. Five arrows shall be bound together very strong and each arrow shall represent one nation. As the five arrows are strongly bound this shall symbolize the complete union of the nations. Thus are the Five Nations united completely and enfolded together, united into one head, one body and one mind. Therefore they shall labor, legislate and council together for the interest of future generations.

The Lords of the Confederacy shall eat together from one bowl the feast of cooked beaver's tail. While they are eating they are to use no sharp utensils for if they should they might accidentally cut one another and bloodshed would follow. All measures must be taken to prevent the spilling of blood in any way.

58. There are now the Five Nations Confederate Lords standing with joined hands in a circle. This signifies and provides that should any one of the Confederate Lords leave the council and this Confederacy his crown of deer's horns, the emblem of his Lordship title, together with his birthright, shall lodge on the arms of the Union Lords whose hands are so joined. He forfeits his title and the crown falls from his brow but it shall remain in the Confederacy.

A further meaning of this is that if any time any one of the Confederate Lords choose to submit to the law of a foreign people he is no longer in but out of the Confederacy, and persons of this class shall be called "They have alienated themselves." Likewise such persons who submit to laws of foreign nations shall forfeit all birthrights and claims on the Five Nations Confederacy and territory.

You, the Five Nations Confederate Lords, be firm so that if a tree falls on your joined arms it shall not separate or weaken your hold. So shall the strength of the union be preserved.

59. A bunch of wampum shells on strings, three spans of the hand in length, the upper half of the bunch being white and the lower half black, and formed from equal contributions of the men of the Five Nations, shall be a token that the men have combined themselves into one head, one body and one thought, and it shall also symbolize their ratification of the peace pact of the Confederacy, whereby the Lords of the Five Nations have established the Great Peace.

The white portion of the shell strings represent the women and the black portion the men. The black portion, furthermore, is a token of power and authority vested in the men of the Five Nations.
This string of wampum vests the people with the right to correct their erring Lords. In case a part or all the Lords pursue a course not vouched for by the people and heed not the third warning of their women relatives, then the matter shall be taken to the General Council of the women of the Five Nations. If the Lords notified and warned three times fail to heed, then the case falls into the hands of the men of the Five Nations. The War Chiefs shall then, by right of such power and authority, enter the open council to warn the Lord or Lords to return from the wrong course. If the Lords heed the warning they shall say, "we will reply tomorrow." If then an answer is returned in favor of justice and in accord with this Great Law, then the Lords shall individually pledge themselves again by again furnishing the necessary shells for the pledge. Then shall the War Chief or Chiefs exhort the Lords urging them to be just and true.

Should it happen that the Lords refuse to heed the third warning, then two courses are open: either the men may decide in their council to depose the Lord or Lords or to club them to death with war clubs. Should they in their council decide to take the first course the War Chief shall address the Lord or Lords, saying: "Since you the Lords of the Five Nations have refused to return to the procedure of the Constitution, we now declare your seats vacant, we take off your horns, the token of your Lordship, and others shall be chosen and installed in your seats, therefore vacate your seats."

Should the men in their council adopt the second course, the War Chief shall order his men to enter the council, to take positions beside the Lords, sitting between them wherever possible. When this is accomplished the War Chief holding in his outstretched hand a bunch of black wampum strings shall say to the erring Lords: "So now, Lords of the Five United Nations, hearken to these last words from your men. You have not heeded the warnings of the women relatives, you have not heeded the warnings of the General Council of women and you have not heeded the warnings of the men of the nations, all urging you to return to the right course of action. Since you are determined to resist and to withhold justice from your people there is only one course for us to adopt." At this point the War Chief shall let drop the bunch of black wampum and the men shall spring to their feet and club the erring Lords to death. Any erring Lord may submit before the War Chief lets fall the black wampum. Then his execution is withheld.

The black wampum here used symbolizes that the power to execute is buried but that it may be raised up again by the men. It is buried but when occasion arises
they may pull it up and derive their power and authority to act as here described.

60. A broad dark belt of wampum of thirty-eight rows, having a white heart in the center, on either side of which are two white squares all connected with the heart by white rows of beads shall be the emblem of the unity of the Five Nations.

The first of the squares on the left represents the Mohawk nation and its territory; the second square on the left and the one near the heart, represents the Oneida nation and its territory; the white heart in the middle represents the Onondaga nation and its territory, and it also means that the heart of the Five Nations is single in its loyalty to the Great Peace, that the Great Peace is lodged in the heart (meaning the Onondaga Lords), and that the Council Fire is to burn there for the Five Nations, and further, it means that the authority is given to advance the cause of peace whereby hostile nations out of the Confederacy shall cease warfare; the white square to the right of the heart represents the Cayuga nation and its territory and the fourth and last white square represents the Seneca nation and its territory.

White shall here symbolize that no evil or jealous thoughts shall creep into the minds of the Lords while in Council under the Great Peace. White, the emblem of peace, love, charity and equity surrounds and guards the Five Nations.

61. Should a great calamity threaten the generations rising and living of the Five United Nations, then he who is able to climb to the top of the Tree of the Great Long Leaves may do so. When, then, he reaches the top of the tree he shall look about in all directions, and, should he see that evil things indeed are approaching, then he shall call to the people of the Five United Nations assembled beneath the Tree of the Great Long Leaves and say: "A calamity threatens your happiness."

Then shall the Lords convene in council and discuss the impending evil.

When all the truths relating to the trouble shall be fully known and found to be truths, then shall the people seek out a Tree of Ka-hon-ka-ah-go-nah, and when they shall find it they shall assemble their heads together and lodge for a time between its roots. Then, their labors being finished, they may hope for happiness for many days after.
62. When the Confederate Council of the Five Nations declares for a reading of the belts of shell calling to mind these laws, they shall provide for the reader a specially made mat woven of the fibers of wild hemp. The mat shall not be used again, for such formality is called the honoring of the importance of the law.

63. Should two sons of opposite sides of the council fire agree in a desire to hear the reciting of the laws of the Great Peace and so refresh their memories in the way ordained by the founder of the Confederacy, they shall notify Adodarho. He then shall consult with five of his coactive Lords and they in turn shall consult with their eight brethren. Then should they decide to accede to the request of the two sons from opposite sides of the Council Fire, Adodarho shall send messengers to notify the Chief Lords of each of the Five Nations. Then they shall despatch their War Chiefs to notify their brother and cousin Lords of the meeting and its time and place.

When all have come and have assembled, Adodarhoh, in conjunction with his cousin Lords, shall appoint one Lord who shall repeat the laws of the Great Peace. Then shall they announce who they have chosen to repeat the laws of the Great Peace to the two sons. Then shall the chosen one repeat the laws of the Great Peace.

64. At the ceremony of the installation of Lords if there is only one expert speaker and singer of the law and the Pacification Hymn to stand at the council fire, then when this speaker and singer has finished addressing one side of the fire he shall go to the oposite side and reply to his own speech and song. He shall thus act for both sides of the fire until the entire ceremony has been completed. Such a speaker and singer shall be termed the "Two Faced" because he speaks and sings for both sides of the fire.

65. I, Dekanawida, and the Union Lords, now uproot the tallest pine tree and into the cavity thereby made we cast all weapons of war. Into the depths of the earth, down into the deep underworld currents of water flowing to unknown regions we cast all the weapons of strife. We bury them from sight and we plant again the tree. Thus shall the Great Peace be established and hostilities shall no longer be known between the Five Nations but peace to the United People.

**Laws of Adoption**
66. The father of a child of great comeliness, learning, ability or specially loved because of some circumstance may, at the will of the child's clan, select a name from his own (the father's) clan and bestow it by ceremony, such as is provided. This naming shall be only temporary and shall be called, "A name hung about the neck."

67. Should any person, a member of the Five Nations' Confederacy, specially esteem a man or woman of another clan or of a foreign nation, he may choose a name and bestow it upon that person so esteemed. The naming shall be in accord with the ceremony of bestowing names. Such a name is only a temporary one and shall be called "A name hung about the neck." A short string of shells shall be delivered with the name as a record and a pledge.

68. Should any member of the Five Nations, a family or person belonging to a foreign nation submit a proposal for adoption into a clan of one of the Five Nations, he or they shall furnish a string of shells, a span in length, as a pledge to the clan into which he or they wish to be adopted. The Lords of the nation shall then consider the proposal and submit a decision.

69. Any member of the Five Nations who through esteem or other feeling wishes to adopt an individual, a family or number of families may offer adoption to him or them and if accepted the matter shall be brought to the attention of the Lords for confirmation and the Lords must confirm adoption.

70. When the adoption of anyone shall have been confirmed by the Lords of the Nation, the Lords shall address the people of their nation and say: "Now you of our nation, be informed that such a person, such a family or such families have ceased forever to bear their birth nation's name and have buried it in the depths of the earth. Henceforth let no one of our nation ever mention the original name or nation of their birth. To do so will be to hasten the end of our peace.

Laws of Emigration

71. When any person or family belonging to the Five Nations desires to abandon their birth nation and the territory of the Five Nations, they shall inform the Lords of their nation and the Confederate Council of the Five Nations shall take cognizance of it.
72. When any person or any of the people of the Five Nations emigrate and reside in a region distant from the territory of the Five Nations Confederacy, the Lords of the Five Nations at will may send a messenger carrying a broad belt of black shells and when the messenger arrives he shall call the people together or address them personally displaying the belt of shells and they shall know that this is an order for them to return to their original homes and to their council fires.

Rights of Foreign Nations

73. The soil of the earth from one end of the land to the other is the property of the people who inhabit it. By birthright the Ongwehonweh (Original beings) are the owners of the soil which they own and occupy and none other may hold it. The same law has been held from the oldest times.

The Great Creator has made us of the one blood and of the same soil he made us and as only different tongues constitute different nations he established different hunting grounds and territories and made boundary lines between them.

74. When any alien nation or individual is admitted into the Five Nations the admission shall be understood only to be a temporary one. Should the person or nation create loss, do wrong or cause suffering of any kind to endanger the peace of the Confederacy, the Confederate Lords shall order one of their war chiefs to reprimand him or them and if a similar offence is again committed the offending party or parties shall be expelled from the territory of the Five United Nations.

75. When a member of an alien nation comes to the territory of the Five Nations and seeks refuge and permanent residence, the Lords of the Nation to which he comes shall extend hospitality and make him a member of the nation. Then shall he be accorded equal rights and privileges in all matters except as after mentioned.

76. No body of alien people who have been adopted temporarily shall have a vote in the council of the Lords of the Confederacy, for only they who have been invested with Lordship titles may vote in the Council. Aliens have nothing by blood to make claim to a vote and should they have it, not knowing all the traditions of the Confederacy, might go against its Great Peace. In this manner the Great Peace would be endangered and perhaps be destroyed.
77. When the Lords of the Confederacy decide to admit a foreign nation and an adoption is made, the Lords shall inform the adopted nation that its admission is only temporary. They shall also say to the nation that it must never try to control, to interfere with or to injure the Five Nations nor disregard the Great Peace or any of its rules or customs. That in no way should they cause disturbance or injury. Then should the adopted nation disregard these injunctions, their adoption shall be annulled and they shall be expelled.

The expulsion shall be in the following manner: The council shall appoint one of their War Chiefs to convey the message of annulment and he shall say, "You (naming the nation) listen to me while I speak. I am here to inform you again of the will of the Five Nations' Council. It was clearly made known to you at a former time. Now the Lords of the Five Nations have decided to expel you and cast you out. We disown you now and annul your adoption. Therefore you must look for a path in which to go and lead away all your people. It was you, not we, who committed wrong and caused this sentence of annulment. So then go your way and depart from the territory of the Five Nations and from the Confederacy."

78. Whenever a foreign nation enters the Confederacy or accepts the Great Peace, the Five Nations and the foreign nation shall enter into an agreement and compact by which the foreign nation shall endeavor to persuade other nations to accept the Great Peace.

Rights and Powers of War

79. Skanawatih shall be vested with a double office, duty and with double authority. One-half of his being shall hold the Lordship title and the other half shall hold the title of War Chief. In the event of war he shall notify the five War Chiefs of the Confederacy and command them to prepare for war and have their men ready at the appointed time and place for engagement with the enemy of the Great Peace.

80. When the Confederate Council of the Five Nations has for its object the establishment of the Great Peace among the people of an outside nation and that
nation refuses to accept the Great Peace, then by such refusal they bring a declaration of war upon themselves from the Five Nations. Then shall the Five Nations seek to establish the Great Peace by a conquest of the rebellious nation.

81. When the men of the Five Nations, now called forth to become warriors, are ready for battle with an obstinate opposing nation that has refused to accept the Great Peace, then one of the five War Chiefs shall be chosen by the warriors of the Five Nations to lead the army into battle. It shall be the duty of the War Chief so chosen to come before his warriors and address them. His aim shall be to impress upon them the necessity of good behavior and strict obedience to all the commands of the War Chiefs. He shall deliver an oration exhorting them with great zeal to be brave and courageous and never to be guilty of cowardice. At the conclusion of his oration he shall march forward and commence the War Song and he shall sing:

Now I am greatly surprised
And, therefore I shall use it --
The power of my War Song.
I am of the Five Nations
And I shall make supplication
To the Almighty Creator.
He has furnished this army.
My warriors shall be mighty
In the strength of the Creator.
Between him and my song they are
For it was he who gave the song
This war song that I sing!

82. When the warriors of the Five Nations are on an expedition against an enemy, the War Chief shall sing the War Song as he approaches the country of the enemy and not cease until his scouts have reported that the army is near the enemies' lines when the War Chief shall approach with great caution and prepare for the attack.

83. When peace shall have been established by the termination of the war against a foreign nation, then the War Chief shall cause all the weapons of war to be taken from the nation. Then shall the Great Peace be established and that nation shall observe all the rules of the Great Peace for all time to come.
84. Whenever a foreign nation is conquered or has by their own will accepted the Great Peace their own system of internal government may continue, but they must cease all warfare against other nations.

85. Whenever a war against a foreign nation is pushed until that nation is about exterminated because of its refusal to accept the Great Peace and if that nation shall by its obstinacy become exterminated, all their rights, property and territory shall become the property of the Five Nations.

86. Whenever a foreign nation is conquered and the survivors are brought into the territory of the Five Nations' Confederacy and placed under the Great Peace the two shall be known as the Conqueror and the Conquered. A symbolic relationship shall be devised and be placed in some symbolic position. The conquered nation shall have no voice in the councils of the Confederacy in the body of the Lords.

87. When the War of the Five Nations on a foreign rebellious nation is ended, peace shall be restored to that nation by a withdrawal of all their weapons of war by the War Chief of the Five Nations. When all the terms of peace shall have been agreed upon a state of friendship shall be established.

88. When the proposition to establish the Great Peace is made to a foreign nation it shall be done in mutual council. The foreign nation is to be persuaded by reason and urged to come into the Great Peace. If the Five Nations fail to obtain the consent of the nation at the first council a second council shall be held and upon a second failure a third council shall be held and this third council shall end the peaceful methods of persuasion. At the third council the War Chief of the Five nations shall address the Chief of the foreign nation and request him three times to accept the Great Peace. If refusal steadfastly follows the War Chief shall let the bunch of white lake shells drop from his outstretched hand to the ground and shall bound quickly forward and club the offending chief to death. War shall thereby be declared and the War Chief shall have his warriors at his back to meet any emergency. War must continue until the contest is won by the Five Nations.

89. When the Lords of the Five Nations propose to meet in conference with a foreign nation with proposals for an acceptance of the Great Peace, a large band of warriors shall conceal themselves in a secure place safe from the espionage of the foreign nation but as near at hand as possible. Two warriors shall accompany the Union Lord who carries the proposals and these warriors shall be especially
cunning. Should the Lord be attacked, these warriors shall hasten back to the army of warriors with the news of the calamity which fell through the treachery of the foreign nation.

90. When the Five Nations' Council declares war any Lord of the Confederacy may enlist with the warriors by temporarily renouncing his sacred Lordship title which he holds through the election of his women relatives. The title then reverts to them and they may bestow it upon another temporarily until the war is over when the Lord, if living, may resume his title and seat in the Council.

91. A certain wampum belt of black beads shall be the emblem of the authority of the Five War Chiefs to take up the weapons of war and with their men to resist invasion. This shall be called a war in defense of the territory.

**Treason or Secession of a Nation**

92. If a nation, part of a nation, or more than one nation within the Five Nations should in any way endeavor to destroy the Great Peace by neglect or violating its laws and resolve to dissolve the Confederacy, such a nation or such nations shall be deemed guilty of treason and called enemies of the Confederacy and the Great Peace.

It shall then be the duty of the Lords of the Confederacy who remain faithful to resolve to warn the offending people. They shall be warned once and if a second warning is necessary they shall be driven from the territory of the Confederacy by the War Chiefs and his men.

**Rights of the People of the Five Nations**

93. Whenever a specially important matter or a great emergency is presented before the Confederate Council and the nature of the matter affects the entire body of the Five Nations, threatening their utter ruin, then the Lords of the Confederacy must submit the matter to the decision of their people and the decision of the people shall affect the decision of the Confederate Council. This decision shall be a confirmation of the voice of the people.
94. The men of every clan of the Five Nations shall have a Council Fire ever burning in readiness for a council of the clan. When it seems necessary for a council to be held to discuss the welfare of the clans, then the men may gather about the fire. This council shall have the same rights as the council of the women.

95. The women of every clan of the Five Nations shall have a Council Fire ever burning in readiness for a council of the clan. When in their opinion it seems necessary for the interest of the people they shall hold a council and their decisions and recommendations shall be introduced before the Council of the Lords by the War Chief for its consideration.

96. All the Clan council fires of a nation or of the Five Nations may unite into one general council fire, or delegates from all the council fires may be appointed to unite in a general council for discussing the interests of the people. The people shall have the right to make appointments and to delegate their power to others of their number. When their council shall have come to a conclusion on any matter, their decision shall be reported to the Council of the Nation or to the Confederate Council (as the case may require) by the War Chief or the War Chiefs.

97. Before the real people united their nations, each nation had its council fires. Before the Great Peace their councils were held. The five Council Fires shall continue to burn as before and they are not quenched. The Lords of each nation in future shall settle their nation's affairs at this council fire governed always by the laws and rules of the council of the Confederacy and by the Great Peace.

98. If either a nephew or a niece see an irregularity in the performance of the functions of the Great Peace and its laws, in the Confederate Council or in the conferring of Lordship titles in an improper way, through their War Chief they may demand that such actions become subject to correction and that the matter conform to the ways prescribed by the laws of the Great Peace.

**Religious Ceremonies Protected**

99. The rites and festivals of each nation shall remain undisturbed and shall continue as before because they were given by the people of old times as useful and necessary for the good of men.
100. It shall be the duty of the Lords of each brotherhood to confer at the approach of the time of the Midwinter Thanksgiving and to notify their people of the approaching festival. They shall hold a council over the matter and arrange its details and begin the Thanksgiving five days after the moon of Dis-ko-nah is new. The people shall assemble at the appointed place and the nephews shall notify the people of the time and place. From the beginning to the end the Lords shall preside over the Thanksgiving and address the people from time to time.

101. It shall be the duty of the appointed managers of the Thanksgiving festivals to do all that is needed for carrying out the duties of the occasions.

The recognized festivals of Thanksgiving shall be the Midwinter Thanksgiving, the Maple or Sugar-making Thanksgiving, the Raspberry Thanksgiving, the Strawberry Thanksgiving, the Cornplanting Thanksgiving, the Corn Hoeing Thanksgiving, the Little Festival of Green Corn, the Great Festival of Ripe Corn and the complete Thanksgiving for the Harvest.

Each nation's festivals shall be held in their Long Houses.

102. When the Thanksgiving for the Green Corn comes the special managers, both the men and women, shall give it careful attention and do their duties properly.

103. When the Ripe Corn Thanksgiving is celebrated the Lords of the Nation must give it the same attention as they give to the Midwinter Thanksgiving.

104. Whenever any man proves himself by his good life and his knowledge of good things, naturally fitted as a teacher of good things, he shall be recognized by the Lords as a teacher of peace and religion and the people shall hear him.

**The Installation Song**

105. The song used in installing the new Lord of the Confederacy shall be sung by Adodarhoh and it shall be:

"Haii, haii Agwah wi-yoh
"    " A-kon-he-watha
"    " Ska-we-ye-se-go-wah"
106. Whenever a person properly entitled desires to learn the Pacification Song he is privileged to do so but he must prepare a feast at which his teachers may sit with him and sing. The feast is provided that no misfortune may befall them for singing the song on an occasion when no chief is installed.

**Protection of the House**

107. A certain sign shall be known to all the people of the Five Nations which shall denote that the owner or occupant of a house is absent. A stick or pole in a slanting or leaning position shall indicate this and be the sign. Every person not entitled to enter the house by right of living within it upon seeing such a sign shall not approach the house either by day or by night but shall keep as far away as his business will permit.

**Funeral Addresses**

108. At the funeral of a Lord of the Confederacy, say: Now we become reconciled as you start away. You were once a Lord of the Five Nations' Confederacy and the United People trusted you. Now we release you for it is true that it is no longer possible for us to walk about together on the earth. Now, therefore, we lay it (the body) here. Here we lay it away. Now then we say to you, 'Persevere onward to the place where the Creator dwells in peace. Let not the things of the earth hinder you. Let nothing that transpired while yet you lived hinder you. In hunting you once took delight; in the game of Lacrosse you once took delight and in the feasts and pleasant occasions your mind was amused, but now do not allow thoughts of these things to give you trouble. Let not your relatives hinder you and also let not your friends and associates trouble your mind. Regard none of these things.'

"Now then, in turn, you here present who were related to this man and you who were his friends and associates, behold the path that is yours also! Soon we ourselves will be left in that place. For this reason hold yourselves in restraint as
you go from place to place. In your actions and in your conversation do no idle thing. Speak not idle talk neither gossip. Be careful of this and speak not and do not give way to evil behavior. One year is the time that you must abstain from unseemly levity but if you can not do this for ceremony, ten days is the time to regard these things for respect."

109. At the funeral of a War Chief, say:

"Now we become reconciled as you start away. You were once a War Chief of the Five Nations' Confederacy and the United People trusted you as their guard from the enemy." (The remainder is the same as the address at the funeral of a Lord).

110. At the funeral of a Warrior, say:

"Now we become reconciled as you start away. Once you were a devoted provider and protector of your family and you were ever ready to take part in battles for the Five Nations' Confederacy. The United People trusted you." (The remainder is the same as the address at the funeral of a Lord).

111. At the funeral of a young man, say:

"Now we become reconciled as you start away. In the beginning of your career you are taken away and the flower of your life is withered away." (The remainder is the same as the address at the funeral of a Lord).

112. At the funeral of a chief woman, say:

"Now we become reconciled as you start away. You were once a chief woman in the Five Nations' Confederacy. You once were a mother of the nations. Now we release you for it is true that it is no longer possible for us to walk about together on the earth. Now, therefore, we lay it (the body) here. Here we lay it away. Now then we say to you, 'Persevere onward to the place where the Creator dwells in peace. Let not the things of the earth hinder you. Let nothing that transpired while you lived hinder you. Looking after your family was a sacred duty and you were faithful. You were one of the many joint heirs of the Lordship titles. Feastings were yours and you had pleasant occasions. . ." (The remainder is the same as the address at the funeral of a Lord).
113. At the funeral of a woman of the people, say:

"Now we become reconciled as you start away. You were once a woman in the flower of life and the bloom is now withered away. You once held a sacred position as a mother of the nation. (Etc.) Looking after your family was a sacred duty and you were faithful. Feastings . . . (etc.)" (The remainder is the same as the address at the funeral of a Lord).

114. At the funeral of an infant or young woman, say:

"Now we become reconciled as you start away. You were a tender bud and gladdened our hearts for only a few days. Now the bloom has withered away . . . (etc.) Let none of the things that transpired on earth hinder you. Let nothing that happened while you lived hinder you." (The remainder is the same as the address at the funeral of a Lord).

115. When an infant dies within three days, mourning shall continue only five days. Then shall you gather the little boys and girls at the house of mourning and at the funeral feast a speaker shall address the children and bid them be happy once more, though by a death, gloom has been cast over them. Then shall the black clouds roll away and the sky shall show blue once more. Then shall the children be again in sunshine.

116. When a dead person is brought to the burial place, the speaker on the opposite side of the Council Fire shall bid the bereaved family cheer their minds once again and rekindle their hearth fires in peace; to put their house in order and once again be in brightness for darkness has covered them. He shall say that the black clouds shall roll away and that the bright blue sky is visible once more. Therefore shall they be in peace in the sunshine again.

117. Three strings of shell one span in length shall be employed in addressing the assemblage at the burial of the dead. The speaker shall say:

"Hearken you who are here, this body is to be covered. Assemble in this place again ten days hence for it is the decree of the Creator that mourning shall cease when ten days have expired. Then shall a feast be made."

Then at the expiration of ten days the speaker shall say:
"Continue to listen you who are here. The ten days of mourning have expired and your minds must now be freed of sorrow as before the loss of a relative. The relatives have decided to make a little compensation to those who have assisted at the funeral. It is a mere expression of thanks. This is to the one who did the cooking while the body was lying in the house. Let her come forward and receive this gift and be dismissed from the task."

In substance this shall be repeated for every one who assisted in any way until all have been remembered.
### Form of return of taxable property to be made by the commissioners

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<tr>
<td>Horses</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bills</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinaries</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carriage Wheels</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above form was included as part of the law passed in October 1786 which mandated the 1787 personal property assessments used in this work.
<table>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Heads of Families</th>
<th>Number of Free White Families</th>
<th>Number of Slaves</th>
<th>Number of Other Free Persons</th>
<th>Number of Free White Males Under 16 Years of Age</th>
<th>Number of Free White Males 16 Years of Age and Over</th>
<th>Number of Free White Females 16 Years of Age and Over</th>
<th>Number of Indians</th>
<th>Number of All Heads of Families</th>
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</thead>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 5.2

Appendix F: Form #8 1800/1810 Census, pg. 171 Croom ©1983
GLOSSARY

Inter-relationship – the intermixing between specific peoples of different ethnic background in a specific geographical area.

Cayuga – a Native American tribe known in the north eastern coast of the U.S and southern regions of Canada as a part of the Iroquois Nation, a Native American confederacy comprised of five tribes; whose name means “People of the Great Swamp”.

Seneca – a Native American tribe Known to the north eastern coast of the U.S. and southern regions of Canada as a part of the Iroquois Nation, a Native American confederacy comprised of five tribes; whose name means “People of the Great Hill”.

17th century – Colonial time period, 1600 to 1700.

Primary source – a source of information that is in its original form the time period under study.

Secondary source – a source of information that is may have been regenerated or a variant of an original work.

Archaeology – the study of how people lived, prehistorically and historically. It is accented with excavations form the ground that can uncover buried materials that can support or discredit history and ethnology.

Ethnology – the study of ethnic groups; the comparison of different cultures, or the study of how and why cultures differ.

Ethnohistory – the history of different cultures.

Ethnogenesis – emergence of an ethnic groups; the creation of a new ethnic group identity.

Miscegenation – The marriage or cohabitation of persons of different races.

Black Indian – A people who have dual ancestry or black people who have lived for some time with Native Americans (Katz 1986).
Maroons - The African presence in remote communities, a Spanish term (see “cimarrón”)

Cimarrón - Spanish term with a derogatory implication of something gone “wild” in that the “cimarrón” was originally an escaped slave. They built independent, free communities and often interacted with Native Americans and pirates.
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