Places of Power: The Community and Regional Development of Native Tidewater Palisades Post A.D 1200

Christopher J. Shephard

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Places of Power: The Community and Regional Development of Native Tidewater Palisades Post A.D. 1200

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Springfield, Virginia

B.A., Virginia Tech, 2002

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

Department of Anthropology

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Although the colonists of the early 17th century provided descriptions of indigenous palisaded settlements throughout Virginia's Tidewater, they made little effort to understand the motivations and meanings associated with the creation of such rigidly defined Native spaces. Archaeology at the Buck Farm site (44CC37), a small palisaded compound constructed circa A.D. 1300, provides the basis for an interpretation of the settlement's spaces connected to a deep history of the Chickahominy community it served. Evidence suggests that use of the interior of the palisade was highly specialized, with access restricted to priests and/or select elites. On a regional scale, the Buck Farm palisade is one of several palisaded places that have undergone extensive archaeological investigation. Dating to roughly the same period, the creation of such built environments - effectively monumental architecture - across the region suggests their connection to long-term and region-wide transformations of social and political power structures. Although in the past, Native-built palisades have been considered as defensive structures used primarily for protection, archaeological evidence suggests that they functioned in different ways, dependent largely on the social, political, and historical particularities of the individual societies that constructed them.
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Chapter 1: Introduction

Forty Paspahegh warriors visited Jamestown on May 20th of 1607. The English having inhabited the island for only six days, built temporary fortifications and were suspicious of the visit from their Indian neighbors. The meeting was civil and opened with the Paspahegh offering the gift of a deer to the English newcomers, requesting in return that the colonists allow them to stay in their fort overnight. In colonist George Percy's words, "They [the Paspahegh warriors] fain would have lain in our fort all night, but we would not suffer them for fear of their treachery" (Haile 1998:95). The desire for an overnight stay denied, the warriors left the English, presumably returning to their villages to relay the details of their encounter with the "tassantasses" (strangers). Five days later roughly two-hundred Paspahegh warriors, led by their weroance launched an attack on the English fortifications killing one colonist and injuring eleven more, setting the stage for future Native American-English relations.

In his writings about the first violent encounter with the Indians living in the vicinity of the Jamestown settlement, Percy offers no explanation for their attack. Whether the perceived inferiority and supposed “savage” disposition of all Indians required no explanation or he simply never put his perception of the attack into writing will never be known. What is clear from the passage, however, is that the perception, demarcation, and access to space were points of contestation between Native and English colonial actors. The conceptions of space that informed and motivated
Paspahegh actions in 1607 was built upon the individual history of their community and shaped by the continual redefinition of regional social and political landscapes.

Although the early English colonists, explicit in their defensive and militarily motivated manipulations of the built environment (Kelso 2006:16), expressed themselves through diaries and memoirs, no such voice exists for the Indians with whom they continually interacted. How did early 17th century Tidewater Indians conceive of space? How did their social and political history shape these views and what effect did that have on early Native/English interactions? The following study will consider the creation and development of the Native built environment though an examination of the construction and function of palisaded spaces within the pre- and post-Contact coastal plain. I will call into question previous interpretations of Native fortifications as solely defensive features and, instead, emphasize the active role that these carefully-constructed spaces played within the social and political structuring of local and regional landscapes.

The societies that lived within the Virginia Tidewater during the five hundred or so years before the arrival of the English were bound by a matrix of interconnections. Communities were tied together through a complex array of social, economic, and political relationships that are best examined through an approach that considers their connections at multiple scales. The following study tacks back and forth between the local and regional in an attempt to transcend "any single scale to reach a broader understanding of the dynamics of past social formations" (Nassaney and Sassaman 1995:xxvi). Spatial scales are historically contingent. As such, the ways that individuals embodied traditions and enacted locally significant modes of
action actively shaped both local and regional processes of social change (Pauketat 2001:86). The utility of an analytical approach that draws on multiple scales of time and space is that it has the potential to illuminate unbounded societal change.

The study of interconnected people and places necessitates an interpretive framework with which to orient the complexities of small and large-scale social change. For instance, in his seminal work, *Europe and the People Without History* Eric Wolf chose to focus on the material connections spurred by the growth of capitalism (1982:23). In the current study, I choose to draw connections based on the power structures that were defined by local histories and shaped by their orientation within the broader regional framework. Giddens describes power as "generated in and through the reproduction of structures of domination" (1984:258). He further argues that in order to create and maintain the domination of social systems across space and time, two types of interconnected resources must be equally maintained. The first, which he terms *allocative* resources, includes raw materials, technology and means of material production, and the material created as a result. Several authors have underscored the importance of the control of raw and processed materials such as corn, copper, puccoon and antimony within the pre-Contact Tidewater (e.g., Barker 199; Rountree 1989). Without denying the importance of the manipulation of these and other material goods, the current study attempts to join a new and growing body of literature that demonstrates that native conceptions of space and cosmology played a large role in shaping the region's historical trajectory (e.g., Gallivan 2007; Hantman 1990; Mallios 2006; Williamson 2003). As such, I focus on Gidden's second structure of domination, which he terms *authoritative* resources (1984:258). These resources
include the organization of social time and space, the production and reproduction of
the body, and the organization of life chances. Without a consideration of
authoritative resources, societal transformation is relegated to the enlargement of
forces of production, neglecting the socially significant 'levers' of change that
individuals encountered on a daily basis (Giddens 1984:260).

Archaeological studies of the Late Woodland Chesapeake record a history
whereby larger, more permanent communities of horticulturalists coalesced after A.D.
1200 (e.g., Potter 1993; Dent 1995; Gallivan 2003). The dramatic changes that
occurred in the Tidewater during the 13th and 14th centuries hinged upon the
manipulation and control of authoritative resources. The proliferation of palisaded
places during this period was a means of transforming semi-sedentary populations to
sedentary through, what Giddens (1984:260) terms, "the pinning down of locales to
definite 'built environments.'" The creation of powerful places anchored groups to
increasingly defined locations, allowing them to build histories and create unique
identities within the ever-changing regional landscape. Leadership, having gained
limited authority over space, took increasing control over the activities of daily life.
Through time the authority to order communal hunts, wage war, and participate in
rites of passage ceremonies served to further demarcate social and political
boundaries.

To understand the expansive changes that took place in the Tidewater prior to
the arrival of the English, it is necessary to consider culture change across long periods
of time. Anthropological archaeology is essential in addressing long-term change in
that it has the ability to span the recent and deep past (Lightfoot 1995:200). The
following will probe Tidewater Virginia’s deep past by examining the Woodland period Buck Farm site at two scales. Locally, the Buck Farm site served as specialized sacred space for the Chickahominy community after A.D. 1300. Drawing on archaeology and ethnohistory, I argue that the site appears as one of three types of places that composed the Late Woodland Chickahominy built environment. Locations of residence, community aggregation, and sacred space were partially defined by their primary users. As the most exclusive demarcation of space, use of the palisaded quioccassan (temple) at the Buck Farm site was likely restricted to priests, thereby bolstering its position as a powerful place within the community that it served. An examination of the Tidewater region during the same period reveals that palisade construction by the Chickahominy was influenced by large-scale, and relatively abrupt regional social change. The increasing frequency of palisades and other powerful places within societies across the coastal plain was intrinsically linked to the reconfiguration of the social landscape through population movement, increased territoriality, agriculture production, and the growth of local and regional hierarchical power. I argue that palisades, like the one identified archaeologically at the Buck Farm site, functioned within the communities that they served in various ways. Collectively, however, their appearance during the 13th and 14th centuries represents "regionalization within (and across) societies in terms of which the time-space paths of daily life are constituted" (Giddens 1984:260). In other words, palisade construction was part of large-scale, cross-societal changes in the distribution and configuration of communities and individuals across the Tidewater.
Chapter 2: English Colonial Representations of the Chickahominy Indians

The Chickahominy are a Native community that lived, and continue to live along the Chickahominy River, a Coastal Plain tributary of the James. The fresh water river stretches approximately forty miles from its headwaters northwest of Richmond in Henrico County to where it empties into the James near Governor's Land in James City County. Only seven miles from Jamestown Island, the River and those who inhabited its banks were well documented during early English colonial forays into the lands surrounding their settlement. What the colonists found was a community that stood out politically and socially from other indigenous groups within the region. The Chickahominy were a large and powerful community, autonomous and distinguished by political structures that Stern describes as "survivals" from earlier Algonquian traditions prior to the development of full-scale chiefdoms (Stern 1952:163).

Population and Place

Comparatively, the Chickahominies were among the larger populated polities on the coastal plain in the 17th century. With John Smith's estimation of "fighting men" along the Chickahominy numbering 250 (1986b:103) and Hamor's estimate of 500 (1957), there is quite a range in English perceptions of population size. Strachey estimates 300 (1953:69), but his information is suspect, having been criticized for basing many of his observations on the writings of Smith and information provided by Native informants rather than from personal observation (Mook 1944:196). In considering total population based on the warrior counts of Smith and Hamor, Turner uses a ratio of one warrior to 4.25 total population to compute community population
at large (1982:50). The rationale behind the ratio is based on Chesapeake demographic reconstructions developed by Ubelaker and his examination of two Late Woodland ossuaries from the Juhle site (18CH89) on the Maryland side of the Potomac (1974:69). Using the estimation of 250 and 500 warriors by Smith and Hamor, respectively, the Chickahomones’ total population at English contact was likely between 1,063 and 2,125. Considering the colonial descriptions and estimations of the strength of the Chickahominy, and their ability to maintain autonomy from the Powhatan confederacy (Smith 1986b: 246), Turner asserts that 1,500 is an acceptable approximation of their total community population during the early 17th century. This estimation would indicate that in population strength, the Chickahominies were only rivaled by the Nansemonds living to their south (Stern 1952:162).

Although the accounts penned by John Smith only describe two Chickahominy settlements in detail, he mentions contacting a total of seventeen during trading expeditions and exploration along the Chickahominy River (1986a:39-41). Eleven of these settlements are marked on Smith's Map of Virginia drafted in 1607. These include Oppocant, Nechanicok, Richkahuak, Paspanegh, Mamanahunt, Moysonec, Askakep, Menoscosic, Werawahon, Ozenick, and Mattapanient (Figure 1), which are marked with the mapmaker's "ordinary howses" symbol. The settlements of Ordniock, Mansa, Apanaock, Morinogh, Attamuspinck, and Mattalunt are specifically mentioned in Smith's writings, but are not described in any great detail (Smith 1986a:139-141).

**Sociopolitical Structure**

Smith's limited descriptions of Chickahominy "villages" do not mention any particular settlement that was more densely populated or was the locus of political
Figure 1: Portion of Smith’s *Map of Virginia* (1612) Showing Chickahominy Settlements.
power within the polity. On his *Map of Virginia*, the "kings howse" symbol was used to indicate a particular settlement where the weroance, or political leader within each chiefdom resided. The lack of this symbol among the settlements associated with the Chickahominy was not an oversight, but a testament to their adherence to a unique political organization devoid of the individualized central leadership. In his *Generall Historie*, Smith lists the polities that he had encountered early in his exploration of the region and states that, "In all these places is a...commander, which they call Weroance, except the Chickahamanians, who are governed by the Priests and their Assistants, or their Elders called Caw-cawwassoughes" (Smith 1986:102).

An understanding of the political organization of the Chickahominy society requires an understanding of the roles and relationship among priests and elders. Strachey's statement regarding Chickahominy leadership is clearer than Smith's, stating that, "they [the Chickahominies] will not admitt of any Weroance from him [Powhatan] to governe over them, but suffer themselues to be regulated, and guyded by their Priests, with the Assistaunce of their Elders whome they call Cawcawwassoughs" (1953:69). Williamson reads Strachey's statement as indicating that priests were more powerful than the cawcawwassough in matters of government (2003:55). Confusing, however, is Strachey and Smith's use the term 'cockarouse,' an anglicized version of cawcawwassough (Smith 1986a:146), interchangeably with 'weroance,' throughout their writings (Williamson 2003:138). The specificity of the statements by both authors regarding the Chickahominy indicates that when used to specifically reference the Chickahominy community, 'cockarouse' means a leader who did not have the ability to wield absolute power.
The methods of political appointment of Chickahominy elders, who were a critical part of the community political structure, are unknown. Eight elders made up a committee called 'mangai,' which greatly influenced decision-making (Stern 1952:163) with positions being granted based on valor in war (Rountree 1989:101). Although the appointment of priests in Chickahominy society is not specifically mentioned in the English records, a general description of Tidewater Algonquian priests and their function within society is. The assumption that these general descriptions are applicable to the Chickahominies was made with the consideration that, other than the structure of their sociopolitical organization, colonial accounts indicate that, at European contact, the group was culturally similar to neighboring polities (Rountree 1989:9). The position of priest, as well as other leadership positions, was granted to men who had undergone the huskenaw ceremony between the ages of 10 and 15 years (Strachey 1953:98). The ceremony, consisting of dancing, beatings with reed bundles, and an extended separation from the society was a rite of passage necessary for upward social movement (Rountree 1989:82).

Even in the thirty-one polities controlled by Wahunsonacock (Powhatan), priests, also known as quiyoughcosough, were central to political decision-making. Smith writes that "In every Territory of a Werowance is a Temple and a Priest, two or three or more" (1986b:122). Quiyoughcosoughs were mediators between the polity they served and Okeus, the principal god worshipped by Tidewater Algonquians (Williamson 2003:186). Through this specialized relationship, priests "performed rituals for conjuring up gods, divining the future, quelling storms, and disabling enemies with confusion" (Rountree 1989:131). They lived a solitary life away from
populated settlements within specialized structures, which housed the remains of deceased leaders (Strachey 1953:95). Their positions were hierarchical, with 'Chief Priests' distinguishing themselves with ornate dress and piercing and lower priests being indistinguishable from the 'common' man (Strachey 1953:95).

In distinguishing the relationship between weroances, who had a connection with the spiritual realm and quiyoughcosoughs who were, at times, indistinguishable from it, Margaret Williamson describes a dual sovereignty that defined the hierarchical power structure within the region (2003:202-255). The complimentary relationship is framed by the priestly power of authority and the ability of the weroance to authorize action. Neither could act independently, although the political and spiritual structure as described by Williamson is overwhelmingly fueled by the quiyoughcosough (2003:14). Although this interpretation runs counter to the English colonial descriptions, Williamson is convincing in her assertion that the actions of the weroance were subject to the will of his/her spiritual advisors.

According to English accounts, the separation of sacred space was uniform across Tidewater societies. A "principall Temple or place of superstition" was said to have been located in most polities, a fact supported by Smith's *Map of Virginia* (Smith 1986b: 122). These sacred places were generally called temples in colonial accounts and were the domain of quiyoughcosoughs, and although weroances were allowed entrance, all others were banned. At Uttamussack, the sacred territory upon which the temple of the Pamunkey polity was built, seven priests resided (Smith 1986b:122). Although not specifically mentioned in the colonial records, it is very likely that the Chickahominy had a sacred place similar to Uttamussack along the Chickahominy
River. Archaeological evidence detailed below, suggests that after A.D. 1300 the Chickahominies may have demarcated and defined sacred space through the construction of a palisade, whose remains have been identified at the Buck Farm site.
Chapter 3: English Colonial Representations of Native-built Palisades

Early descriptions of Algonquian palisaded settlements were produced during and after the expeditions launched by Raleigh in the 1580s. Produced in 1585, White's watercolor of the village of Pomeiooc, located in the Outer Banks of North Carolina, represents the most well known image of a coastal Algonquian palisade (Figure 2). Though no scale was included in the watercolor, the eighteen structures shown within its walls indicate that it enclosed a sizeable settlement. Functionally, the number of structures might indicate that the palisade interior was primarily a living space, however, the inclusion of a 'king's lodging' and a 'mortuary temple' suggests that it may have also served a variety of uses (Quinn 1985:69). Theodor de Bry's engraving of Pomeiooc, inspired by White's watercolors (Figure 3), show settlement in greater detail, labeling the building with the pointed roof marked "A," as "their tempel separated from the other howses," and the large longhouse to its left, labeled "B," as the "kings lodginge" (Hariot 1871:59).

Further evidence of the types of activities that occurred within palisaded settlements comes from the English colonial descriptions of the 17th century. Speaking of the Indians living within the Tidewater, Robert Beverley states:

Their Fortifications consist only of a Palisado of about ten or twelve foot high; and when they would make themselves very safe, they treble the Pale. They often encompass their whole Town: But for the most part only their Kings Houses, and as many others as they judge sufficient to harbour all their People, when an Enemy comes against them. They never fail to secure within their Palisado, all their Religious Reliques, and the remains of their Princes. Within this Inclosure, they likewise take care to have a supply of Water, and to
Figure 2: White's Watercolor of the Village of Pomeiooc (1585).
make a place for a Fire, which they frequently dance round with great solemnity (1947:177).

Beverley's description clearly suggests that palisade structures served a variety of functions. In his view, the space demarcated by palisade walls separated elite and sacred space enclosing 'Kings Houses,' religious items, and elite mortuary remains. Secondarily, he asserts that palisades were used for the defense of the populations of 'whole Town[s].' If so, some buildings within the structures may have served as cover for community members when the surrounding settlement was under attack. Beverley's account suggests the dual functionality of palisades as symbolic and defensive but gives no indication as to whether the details of their form and construction was dependent on the primary use of the individual structure. Was there a difference between the construction of walls surrounding larger defensive settlements and those surrounding sacred or elite structures?

The images created by White and de Bry differ in the way they depict the size and defensive capabilities of the palisade at Pomeiooc. The vertical posts that make up the palisade walls in both works stand in stark contrast to one another in regard to their size and orientation. In White's painting, the palisade posts are thin and widely spaced (see Figure 2), appearing similar to the saplings used to construct the structures within the circular walls, but with branches still attached. De Bry depicts the posts as larger, more uniform, and more tightly spaced (see Figure 3). The bark appears to have been removed and the top of the posts sharpened. Both artists may have had individual motivations for taking artistic license with their depictions of the village of Pomeiooc. White, who saw the village first hand, was likely focusing on the activities and organization within the palisade. Smaller posts allowed the viewer a
Figure 3: Theodor de Bry's Engraving of Pomeiooc (1590).
less obstructed view of the palisade interior. De Bry's heavily fortified structure may have been an attempt to add drama and danger to Hariot's colonial memoir, for which the image was created to accompany. The fact that Pomeiooc was interpreted in two very different ways, therefore, has more to do with the motivations of White and de Bry than the realities of the shape and orientation of the settlement.

Smith, in his description of two palisaded settlements, gives no indication that the structures were anything but defensive. Details regarding their form, however, make it clear that the societies that these places served utilized different construction techniques, reflecting differences in community history, tradition, and the meaning of specialized space. Describing the 'Citte Skicoack' Smith writes, "at the North end was 9. houses, builded with Cedar, fortified round with sharpe trees" (Smithb 1986:66). The image he evokes is similar to de Bry's heavily fortified settlement, surrounded by thick, sharpened posts. His detailing of Tockwhogh, a settlement on Virginia's Eastern Shore, on the other hand, suggests a structure that may have served a symbolic rather than a defensive function. Smith writes, "they have a Fort very well pallisadoed and mantelled with barkes of trees" (Smithb 1986:107). For bark to be woven between palisade posts, the posts would have to be relatively thin and flexible, and spaced at a great enough distance that the bark could be bent around and between them without breaking. While creating a visual barrier, the bark would have done little to stop an arrow. According to Percy, he witnessed the arrow of a Paspahegh Bowman pierce a thick leather shield that proved impenetrable by an English pistol (Haile 1998:96).
Chapter 4: Palisaded Sacred Space: Archaeology at the Buck Farm Site

The Buck Farm site was identified in 1968 during the Chickahominy River Survey, an extensive archaeological assessment of lands adjacent to the Chickahominy River. Initiated by Professors Norman Barka and Benjamin McCary of The College of William and Mary and supported by the National Science Foundation, the principal aim of the project was to identify the remains of Native villages described by the early 17th century colonists (McCary and Barka 1977). The survey identified one hundred and five sites, stretching from the confluence of the Chickahominy and James Rivers, to where the Chickahominy narrows northeast of Richmond. Though earlier sites were identified, most were dated to the Middle and Late Woodland Periods (500 B.C. to A.D. 1607) and generally interpreted as seasonally-used procurement sites and the locations of small, dispersed villages. Few sites showed evidence of Native occupation into the Contact period.

The Buck Farm site (44CC37) proved unique among the sites identified during the survey. Measuring approximately 150 feet in diameter, the site is located on the western bank of the first bend in the Chickahominy River, just north of its confluence with the James. Situated on a coastal flat approximately ten feet above mean sea level, the site is bounded by Old Neck Creek and Sunken Marsh to the south and unnamed marshes and the Chickahominy River to the north (Figure 4). Extensive excavations at the site during the summer of 1969 revealed multiple occupations spanning the Woodland period (1200 B.C. to A.D. 1607). Over 6100 square feet of the site was exposed, revealing hundreds of features, including hearths, postmolds, pits, dog
Figure 4: Map Showing the Location of the Buck Farm Site (44CC37).
burials, and one human burial. The largest features identified during the excavations were two concentric, elliptical trenches, interpreted as the remains of a Native palisade dating to the Late Woodland period (A.D. 900 to A.D. 1607).

The palisade trenches dating to this period represent the site's most imposing features and are fundamental to understanding the history, development, and structuring of the Chickahominy landscape. The outer of the two concentric trenches measured approximately 80 feet by 50 feet in plan and varied in width between 2 and 2.5 feet (Figure 5 and Plate 1). Wedge shaped in profile, the trench width narrowed considerably at its base, measuring between .6 and .8 feet at its maximum depth of 1.8 to 2.1 feet below the base of the plowzone (Plate 2). In comparison, the inner palisade trench was relatively superficial, suggesting it may have served a different function than the outer stockade. Located 3.5 to 4.5 feet inside the outer trench, the inner trench reached a maximum width of one foot and extended between .2 and .5 feet into the surrounding subsoil.

Eleven dog and pig burials were identified at the site (Plate 3). Though the burial of dogs is not uncommon among Algonquian speakers of this period, with several being identified at the palisaded Great Neck (44VB7) and Potomac Creek (44ST2) sites, their frequency at the Buck Farm site is unusual. Four burials appeared to have been associated with hearth features suggesting a distinct tradition or ceremony associated with the act of burial. Though none of these features have been reliably dated, one burial was identified within the outer palisade trench suggesting that it may have occurred after the palisade was no longer standing. This could
Figure 5: Plan View of Buck Farm Palisade and Associated Features Excavated in 1969.
Plate 1: Overview of Excavated Interior and Exterior Palisade Trenches at the Buck Farm Site.
Plate 2: Outer Palisade Trench Profile.

Plate 3: Dog Burial 1C4 Recovered from the Buck Farm Site.
indicate that the site continued to be used for specialized purposes after its period of human occupation, with the burial of pigs suggesting use into the historic period.

A comparison of the typological assessment of the total ceramic assemblage and the range of radiocarbon dates produced at the site reveals a unique and specialized historical development. Though ceramics diagnostic of the Late Woodland period make up only fifteen percent of the total ceramic assemblage, all of the radiocarbon dates fall within this period of site occupation. Understanding these two seemingly conflicting lines of data requires a consideration of large-scale changes in community organization, subsistence economy, and settlement demographics within the Chickahominy and in communities throughout the region during the Middle Woodland period. Stephen Potter, in his settlement study of the Chicacoan Indians who resided near the mouth of the Potomac River on Virginia's Eastern Shore, suggests that the archaeological manifestation of Middle Woodland settlement consists of small and intermediate sized estuarine shell middens and small upland sites (1993:100). This pattern is consistent with the fusion-fission community organization pattern, under which groups from adjoining territories would regularly meet at specific resource rich locations (Blanton 1992:71). Although no features identified during the Buck Farm site excavations were specifically dated the Early or Middle Woodland periods, the diagnostic artifacts recovered from those periods suggest that the site was likely utilized as a "macro social unit" aggregation site. Artifact density from these periods might be a testament to the frequent reoccupation of the site rather than its duration of use (Blanton 1992:71).
Native settlements along Virginia's Coastal Plain during the Late Woodland period range from "nucleated and dispersed villages and hamlets to far smaller temporary camps" (Turner 1992:110). Gallivan suggests that the factors that set populations residing in the Late Woodland apart from those of preceding periods is an "intensification of production, population growth, sedentariness, and investment in floodplain settlement infrastructure" (2003:230). The construction of a palisade during this period of site occupation suggests a move toward sedentariness, requiring labor and increased investment in settlement infrastructure. The diversity of lithic materials at the Buck Farm site from the 14th through 16th centuries, however, does not support this assumption (Figure 6). Categorizing lithic artifacts from dated features reveals changes in the variety of activities that occurred within the site through time. Presumably, the greater the number of categories that are present, the wider the variety of activities that occurred, suggesting an increased sedentariness of the population utilizing the space. As is indicated in Figure 6, the mean lithic diversity index of dated contexts at the Buck Farm site gradually decreases from 14th to the 16th centuries. A decrease in diversity is contradictory to the permanence suggested by the construction of the palisade at the core of the site post A.D. 1300. This contradiction indicates that, instead of occupation permanence, the demarcation of space at the Buck Farm site parallels its transformation from a general use settlement, to an area with a specific and specialized function. The slight reduction in lithic diversity across centuries means that this change was gradual and occurred over several generations.
Figure 6: Boxplot Showing Lithic Diversity by Century.

Figure 7: Boxplot Showing Total Artifacts by Century.
The specialization of space at the Buck Farm site post A.D. 1300 is especially interesting considering that the palisade was constructed during the same period. An examination of total artifacts per dated feature context reveals a dramatic drop in total artifacts between the 14th and 15th centuries (Figure 7). This abrupt change indicates that, although the specialization of space was gradual across the Late Woodland II period, this same period ushered a rapid decrease in the population residing at the site. Transformation of the site from profane to sacred may have been initially and most dramatically imposed by restricted access to the palisade interior. In all likelihood, and discussed in greater detail below, spatial restrictions followed the hierarchical structuring of the community, bolstering and reaffirming the power of the priests who were at the pinnacle of the Chickahominy hierarchy at European contact. These community changes are represented at the Buck Farm site, where cross-community aggregation gave way to sacred specialization, a transformation that was inherently bound and reliant upon large-scale, Chesapeake-wide changes in power, politics, and hierarchy.
Chapter 5: The Chickahominy Built Environment

Archaeological and historical descriptions of Virginia's Tidewater suggest three distinct modes of settlement that structured the Chickahominy landscape. Understanding the way that different settlement types were constructed and relationally arranged will illuminate the role and meaning of the Buck Farm palisade within the community it served. The first and most numerous type functioned as domestic space used by the general population. This is what the colonial writers called 'villages,' the indigenous Algonquian speakers called a 'kaasun' (Strachey 1953:205), and modern archaeologists have termed 'hamlets' (Turner 1992:110). The second is the location of community and cross-community aggregation. This space was used to bolster inter and intra-community solidarity, while reaffirming the power wielded by community leaders through communal feasting and the performance of rites of passage. As is with the case of the archaeologically identified remains of Werowocomoco, the dwelling place of Powhatan during the early years of English contact, these first two designations should not be presumed mutually exclusive (Gallivan 2007:97). Sacred space, the third and final mode of settlement, was the domain of priests. These places affirmed the specialized role of priests within the community, while portraying their exclusive communication and connection with the spiritual realm and reiterating their ability to dictate community action.

Locations of Residence

The only detailed village descriptions of Chickahominy settlements come from Smith's account of trading and exploration expeditions of November 1607.
Manosquosick, located on the western bank of the Chickahominy River was visited by Smith, who describes trading with individual families for corn, which he loaded up onto a barge and brought back to the settlement at Jamestown. Smith describes Manosquosick as being located "a quarter of a mile from the river," and "containing thirtie or fortie houses, uppon an exceeding high land: at the foote of the hill towards the river, is a plaine wood, watered with many springes, which fall twentie yardes right downe into the river: right against the same is a great marsh, of 4. or 5. miles circuit, devided in 2 ilands, by the parting of the river..." (Smith 1986a:139-140). In an attempt to identify the villages described by the English colonists, McCary and Barka compared the sites identified during their Chickahominy River Survey with those on Smith's Map of Virginia and the Zuniga map. Though surveys of the locations identified as Manosquosick on both maps did not identify any corresponding archaeological sites, settlements representative of Smith's description of the hamlet were encountered during the survey.

Located on the east bank of the Chickahominy River in New Kent County, the Moysonec Field F site (44NK32) represents the remains of a typical Late Woodland settlement identified during the Chickahominy River Survey (Figure 8). Though the site was intensively used during the late Middle through early Late Woodland periods for seasonal oyster processing, its use as a continuously-occupied residential settlement occurred circa-A.D. 1400. Contemporaneous with the Buck Farm palisade, postmold patterns and artifact density throughout the site suggest that during the 15th century it was used by fewer people over a longer period of time than in previous occupations. An elliptical house pattern and a dog burial were also identified at the
Figure 8: Map Showing the Locations of the Moysonec Field F Site (44NK32), Clark's Old Neck Site (44CC43), and the Buck Farm Site Along the Chickahominy River.
site (Gallivan et al. 2008). Small dispersed settlements such as the one at Moysonec Field F have been interpreted as marking the introduction of cultivation into the region (Potter 1993:101-102). The size of these settlements allowed those tending crops to live in close vicinity to their fields. When it became necessary to let their fields lay fallow, these smaller settlements could relocate more easily than larger nucleated villages.

Locations of Community Aggregation

Several descriptions of community aggregation are present in the English historical records. Though Reverend Samuel Purchas never came to Virginia, he had a keen interest in Indian religion and interviewed many early colonists about their experiences (Rountree 1989:5). In his book Pilgrimage, he describes a huskenaw ceremony witnessed by colonist William White at Quiyoughcohanock, which was located on the south side of the James River across from the mouth of the Chickahominy. The opening sentence of his description reads, "Rapahannock werowance made a feast in the woods" (Haile 1998:138). The presence of the Rappahannocks and their participation in the ceremony is telling considering that their settlement was located along the northern shore of the Rappahannock River many miles away from the ceremony, near present day Tappahannock. They were just one community of many participating in the huskenaw ceremony, also known as the 'black boys' ceremony, a rite of passage in which boys between the ages of ten and fifteen were ceremonially killed and brought back to life in an elevated social and political standing. Dressed in ceremonial garb, the boys danced for two days "in a circle of a quarter of a mile in two companies, with antic tricks, four in rank, the werowance
leading the dance" (Haile 1998:138). Those completing the dancing portion of the ritual spent nine months in the wilderness, during which time they were not allowed to speak and upon returned to society were restricted from acknowledging their lives before their ceremonial rebirth (Haile 1998:140).

The sharing of ceremonies like the huskenaw among communities helped to solidify social relations across the region. The forming of priests, arguably the most powerful individuals within the Tidewater and certainly within the Chickahominy community, was performed in such a way that boys from different communities were bonded together through the suffering of a common plight. In this way, priestly networks were formed, connecting the individuals who would at some point come to control the actions of their weroance and in turn, the entirety of their polity. Evidence of aggregation within the Chickahominy community was found at the Clark's Old Neck site (44CC43), located south of the Buck Farm site (44CC37) on the western bank of the Chickahominy (see Figure 8). Excavated during the Chickahominy River Survey, the site yielded seven large roasting pits containing large concentrations of decorated pottery, charred faunal remains, and fire cracked rock (Gallivan et al. 2008).

Features at Clark's Old Neck site parallel the ethnohistory associated with places of ceremonial aggregation across the Coastal Plain. Feature 67A2, the largest of the 'roasting pits' measured approximately 18 feet in diameter and was filled with deep, charcoal rich deposits (Plate 4). At a depth of 4.1 feet, the feature held approximately two hundred cubic feet of soil and was large enough to hold the entire field crew during the excavations of 1969 (Gallivan et al. 2008). Feature 18E3, a linear ditch measuring approximately 6 feet in width and yielding only native artifacts
Plate 4: Excavation of a Roasting Pit at Clark's Old Neck Site (44CC43).
may have functioned as a track upon which participants of the huskenaw danced
during the first two days of the ceremony. Though only sixty feet of the feature was
exposed, similar features identified at pre-contact sites including Werowocomoco
(Gallivan 2007) and Kiskia (Blanton et al. 2005) suggest that ditches may have been
an important part of cross-community aggregation and ritual ceremony. Radiocarbon
and ceramic evidence suggest that the site was in use between A.D. 1100 and A.D.
1300.

Locations of Sacred Space

Sacred space appears to have been well defined across the Native landscape of
the early 17th century Tidewater. Several descriptions of quioccasans, often called
'temples' by English observers, suggest that these places were the exclusive domain of
priests and weroances. Located in wooded areas removed from the loci of settlement
within most polities, quioccasans were considered to be powerful and mysterious
places (Rountree 1989:133). Though each account is slightly different, Strachey
(1953:88-89), Smith (1986a:168-171), and Beverley (1947:195-201) give similar
reports of the layout and function of temple structures. Details regarding the interior
of temple structures, examined first-hand by Beverley and likely the product of
second-hand descriptions to Smith and Strachey, give unique insight into the uses of
specialized sacred space. The demarcation of powerful spaces allowed priests to build
power, while bolstering their niche within the polity that they served.

Native temples, as perceived by the English appear to have served two primary
functions. The first is that they created a formalized space where quiyoughcosoughs
could commune with the god Okeus. Smith states, "their chiefe God they worship is
the Divell. Him they call Oke [Okeus] and serve him more of feare then love. They [priests] say they have conference with him...In their Temples they have his image evill favouredly carved, and covered with a skin" (Smitha 1986:169). Strachey's quioccassan description mentions a wooden image of Okeus "ill-favouredly carved, all black, dressed with Chaynes of Pearle" (1953:88-89). The physical representation of Okeus within sacred space is further reinforced by Beverley's observation of a disassembled carved idol that, when assembled would resemble a small, but lifelike, crouching figurine. Beverley states that it "wou'd be difficult to see one of these Images at this day, because the Indians are extreme shy of exposing them" (1947:197).

Besides acting as a venue for priestly communion with Okeus, the quioccassan likely held the bodies of dead weroances. English observers describe a wooden framework upon which bodies were dried prior to being disassembled and relocated. Disassembled remains were wrapped in mats and placed under an arch within the temple structure, surrounded by baskets holding beads, copper, and other items of wealth (Smitha 1986:169;Strachey 1953:94-95;Beverley 1947:196). The activities performed by priests reinforce their specialized role in the spiritual well being of their polities. Underlining this point, Smith describes Uttamussack, the Pamunkey quioccasan was "so holy as that...the Savages dare not go up the river in boats by it, but that they solemnly cast some peece of copper, white beads or Pocones into the river, for feare their Oke should be offended and revenged of them" (1986a:169-170). As places of power, quioccasans were important in that they created a distinction between elite and common space. As important as exclusivity, however, was the perceived importance of the activities that occurred within these sacred places.
Evidence from the Buck Farm site (44CC37) suggests that from roughly A.D. 1300 through just before European contact, the site was a place of sacred importance for the Chickahominy as a community (see Figure 8). Though the historical documents regarding quioccassans make no mention of the sacred construction of palisades, evidence from the Buck Farm site suggests that such a fortification likely surrounded specialized structures built and occupied by Chickahominy priests. An examination of posthole patterns would have been the most useful and telling indicator of the types of structures built within the palisade walls, however, these features were not consistently recorded during the excavations of 1968 (Gallivan et al. 2008). Ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence of quioccassans and other special use structures across the Tidewater, therefore, offer the most valuable information available regarding the configuration of structures that formed the sacred landscape of the Chickahominies during the 14th through 16th centuries.

Physical descriptions of Native temple structures within the Tidewater vary among English sources. Smith suggests that the quioccassan at Uttamussack actually comprised three separate structures "built arbor wise after their building" (1986a:169). Though the statement is not entirely clear, Smith is likely suggesting that the quioccassan was built in the same manner as other local Native structures, with the term "arbor wise" describing the wooden framework that typified this architectural style. Reinforcing this point, Beverley states that Native built temples were constructed "after the manner of their other Cabbins, but larger, with a Hole in the middle of the Roof, to vent the Smoke" (Beverley 1947:196). Figure 9 shows quioccassan dimensions as related by English observers. The wide range of sizes
<table>
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<th>Author</th>
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<th>Min. Dimension (feet)</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
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<td>30</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1947:196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strachey</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1953:88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith</td>
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<td>1986a:169</td>
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Figure 9: Table Showing Quioccassan Size Estimates by Several English Observers.

Figure 10: Quioccassan Structure as Described by Beverley (1947:196) Projected within the Buck Farm Palisade.
could suggest variation in estimation ability in each observer or, in Smith and/or
Strachey's case, structural dimensions could have been based on inaccurate, second-
hand information. More likely, however, is that quioccassan structures varied in size
and composition throughout the region. Factors such as differences in architectural
traditions among polities, population densities, and the number of priests that
necessitated accommodation may have affected the construction and use of these
structures across chiefdoms.

The palisade trenches identified at the Buck Farm site were relatively small.
Measuring sixty-six by forty feet, the interior palisade demarcated a useable interior
space of approximately 2,030 square feet. Assuming that one or more structures were
located within the palisade during its use, the quioccassan measurements offered by
Smith and Strachey are too large to have fit within its walls (see Figure 9). When
projected within the interior of the palisade, a structure conforming to the dimensions
provided by Beverley would have fit, with additional room for a smaller structure or
open space. Figure 10 shows one possible orientation of the structure described by
Beverley centered on context 10E2, the largest and most prominent hearth feature
identified within the palisade. At other orientations, two structures of this size could
have existed within the palisade walls, however, with the minimal space left between
the structures and the palisade walls, it is unlikely that this orientation would have
been practical. Gallivan suggests that besides the elliptical and circular floor plans
prominent within the James River Valley during the Middle/Late Woodland and
protohistoric periods, a third less common floor plan has been identified
archaeologically, typically defined by a high length-to-width ratio (2003:116).
Interpreted as special use architecture, these 'longhouses' were shaped largely out of the constraints imposed by construction materials and techniques used within the region. As framing materials, saplings required that increases in the frame width, which alone greatly decreased overall structural integrity, be disproportionately offset by an increase in building length (Gallivan 2003:116). One such structure, identified during excavations of the palisaded Great Neck site in Virginia Beach and dating to A.D. 1450 measured approximately forty by twenty-one feet. Figure 11 shows the Great Neck structure superimposed onto the plan view of the Buck Farm palisade. The walls of a structure of this shape and size would have paralleled the palisade walls, allowing ample room for a large fire pit such as the one identified within the interior of the Buck Farm site. Considering the larger quioccassan size estimations posed by Smith and Strachey, the size and orientation of the Buck Farm palisade, and the specialized ceremonial and storage demands required in the processing of the bodies of dead elites, a 'longhouse' similar to the one identified at the Great Neck site would seem the most logical structure-type to have served as the Chickahominy quioccassan.

*Chickahominy Places Concluded*

For the Chickahominy, the sacred space created during the 14th through 16th centuries was built upon a place of historical import, whose meaning was created through manipulations of the built environment during continuous and intensive occupation. Community aggregation at the Buck Farm site during the Early Woodland, Middle Woodland, and Late Woodland I periods (500 B.C.-A.D. 1200) shaped its role as a meaningful place, committing it to a common memory that
Figure 11: Longhouse Structure Identified at the Great Neck Site (44VB7) Projected within the Buck Farm Palisade.
changed along with large-scale shifts in community sociopolitical organization, subsistence practices, and settlement structures. In this way, through continuous and frequent occupation, the Buck Farm site was transformed into a 'persistent place' (Schlanger 1992:92), allowing it to take on a role as a traditional and symbolic feature within the Chickahominy landscape.

Foreshadowing the wide scale changes in Chickahominy social and political structuring, cross-community aggregation activities occurring at the Buck Farm site (44CC37) moved to the Clark’s Old Neck site (44CC43) during the 12th century A.D. (see Figure 8). The scale of aggregation activities grew at this new location, reflecting an increase in population across the Tidewater, the development of hierarchical power, and the demarcation of increasingly well-defined political territories. Around A.D. 1300 the palisade at the Buck Farm site was constructed. The space, structures, and activities contained within the walls of the palisade increased in specialization throughout the following three centuries, with an abrupt drop in the number of people residing at the site occurring in the 15th century (Gallivan et al. 2008). By the 14th century, aggregation within the Chickahominies moved from the Clark’s Old Neck site to an unknown location. The quioccassan at the Buck Farm site continued to hold its specialized and sacred role, before being burned sometime during the 16th century.

The landscape of the pre-Contact, post A.D. 1200 Chickahominy appears to have been based around three types of places that were largely defined by the primary users and exclusivity of space. Places of community aggregation were used by the Chickahominies, in association with groups from throughout the region, as venues for staging rites of passage, effectively maintaining the regional hierarchical framework.
Feasting bolstered cross-community relationships, bringing groups together and reinforcing the power of the host polity and its leaders through command of labor and the control and redistribution of excess resources. Locations of aggregation, such as the Clark’s Old Neck site were, therefore, used by the widest range of individuals, accessible by the Chickahominy, as well as those living in various polities from across the Tidewater. In contrast, residential sites, such as Moysonee Field F, were generally used by those living within the Chickahominy drainage. Though other activities such as trade with outsiders and hosting short visits from individuals of neighboring polities certainly occurred, the majority of activities performed within these spaces concerned the general population of the Chickahominy. Sacred places served as the most exclusive demarcations of space. Only accessible by priests from within the Chickahominy drainage, the quioccassan at the Buck Farm site was probably considered the most important and mysterious place within the Chickahominy landscape. In sharp contrast to community aggregations sites, it served to project hierarchical power across the polity, instead of across the region.

The three sites examined during the current study represent snapshots in the creation and development of the Chickahominy community during the Late Woodland period. The descriptions of the community living along the Chickahominy River at contact affirms their uniqueness within the region with their lack of an individual weroance, being led instead by priests and a panel of elders. The unique Chickahominy political structure reinforces the importance of the Buck Farm site in the development of the Chickahominy and makes it an important site with which to compare the regional manifestations of power and specialized demarcations of space.
The period of great change apparent in the archaeology of the Chickahominy after roughly A.D. 1200 is paralleled in communities across the region. The creation of palisades is but one manifestation of the intermingling of local and regional power structures. The remainder of the current study will consider the Native use of palisades as a way to ground individual communities across the region.
Chapter 6: Manifestations of Change: An Archaeological Comparison of Native-built Palisades Within the Tidewater

Cross-cultural Palisade Construction

While Mississippian groups to the south and west were implementing monumental building projects involving the construction of complex mound centers, those living on the Chesapeake coastal plain were undertaking relatively few large-scale earth moving projects. The lack of mound building by cultures within the Tidewater underscores the monumentality of palisades across the regional landscape. With obvious differences of scale and history, parallels can be drawn between the regional structuring of Mississippian and Tidewater cultures around powerful places distinguished through modifications of the built environment. At Cahokia during the 11th century, for instance, settlements of kinship-based leadership were often raised on large earthen mounds overlooking the communities that they served (Smith 1992:17). The construction of palisades, though a less dramatic manipulation of the landscape, represents a similar separation of space, raising questions about the nature and development of regional power structures. Instead of building up, as was so prevalent in the development earlier Mississippian communities, powerful places within the Tidewater were walled off.

Although the architectural origin of the palisade is unknown, their construction was not restricted to the Tidewater. Similar structures, dating to the same general period have been identified ethnohistorically and archaeologically from Florida to Maine (Flannery 1939 and Swanton 1979). Fortified structures identified southwest of the region differed dramatically in form and function. Many were tied to natural and
man-made landscape features such as adjacent rivers and earthworks (Pauketat 2007:94 and Moore et al. 2006:105). The standalone palisades of Virginia's Tidewater, whether introduced through the physical migration of individuals, the dissemination of ideas, or the creativity of regional actors, were continually redefined, changing though historical processes based on the "unique genealogies" of local and regional processes (Pauketat 2001:86).

_Tidewater Palisade Construction_

The archaeological remains of six palisaded settlements have been identified within the Tidewater region (Figure 12). Sharing a relatively tight date range, all examples appear to have been constructed around A.D. 1300. I will focus on three of these sites that represent diverse locations within the region and that have been extensively excavated and well documented. The Potomac Creek site (44ST2) is the probable location of Patawomeke and is located along Potomac Creek, a tributary of the Potomac River (Blanton 1999). Interpretations of the site reveal a transformation of the site that corresponds to changes in palisade form and function. The southernmost site identified within the region, the Great Neck site (44VB7), corresponds to the settlement labeled Chesapeake on the Smith map (Hodges 1998). Located in Virginia Beach near the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, it has a unique history, recorded in part by several English colonists. The Buck Farm site (44CC37), I suggest, records the sacred demarcation of space and the creation and development of a persistent place. The history of the site offers an opportunity to examine the reciprocal relationship between local and regional social processes that spurred the creation of palisaded sites within communities across the Tidewater landscape.
Figure 12: Map Showing the Locations of Archaeologically Identified Palisaded Sites within the Tidewater.
The available data regarding the remaining palisaded sites that have been archaeologically identified within the region are less detailed, providing little more than locational information. The most northerly sites were identified along tributaries of the Potomac River. Site 44ST3, located adjacent to Aquia Creek is the possible location of Cuttawomen II on Smith's 1612 map (Turner 1992:109). The site was not extensively excavated and has since been destroyed. One palisaded site, 44KG19, has been identified to its south along the Rappahannock River. Interpreted as the site of Papiscone on Smith's map, few details regarding the archaeological investigation of the site exist. To the southwest along the south side of the James River, site 44PG65 was identified during excavations that primarily focused on the historic settlement of Flowerdew Hundred (Deetz 1993:27). The site likely corresponds to a Weanock settlement identified on Smith's 1612 map of the region (Turner 1992:109). No analysis or interpretation of the prehistoric artifacts from the site has been undertaken.

Additional palisaded sites such as the Winslow Site in Southern Maryland (Dent 2005), the Moyaone site interpreted as the sister settlement of the Patawomeke, the Hand Site along the Nottoway River in south central Virginia (Smith 1984), and the Amity Site on Pamlico Sound in North Carolina (Gardner 1990) were important to the large-scale development of the powerful places within the larger region. The detailing and interpretation of these sites, however, is beyond the scope of the current study.

The following offers a brief synopsis of the Potomac Creek and Great Neck sites, which, along with the Buck Farm site will be considered in relation to one
another in order to explore the regional processes that shaped their construction and development.

*The Potomac Creek Site (44ST2)*

Though various excavations were conducted at the Potomac Creek site over a sixty-year period, beginning in the 1930s, the most in depth study was forwarded through a collaboration of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources and the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research (WMCAR) in 1999 (Blanton 1999). The study produced a comprehensive synthesis of past work at the site, while creating a chronological assessment of site development and offering an interpretation of its existence with respect to the Potomac Creek culture that it served.

*Site Composition and Chronology*

Features identified at the Potomac Creek site indicate that it was palisaded and occupied from A.D. 1300 to just before European contact (Blanton 1999:89). Blanton's interpretation suggests that the Potomac Creek site went through three distinct phases of occupational use. Across these periods of settlement residents transformed the site and the arrangement of its architectural features, reflecting changes in site function and use. The first stage, which Blanton termed 'uncomfortable immigrants,' describes the region as wrapped in conflict. Spanning the 14th century, regional instability motivated the Potomac Creek people to establish a nucleated and fortified settlement accommodating the residence of the majority of the population (Blanton 1999:92). It was during this period that the palisade was constructed. Measuring approximately 275 feet in diameter, the fortification was constructed with interior and exterior lines of posts driven directly into the earth
(Figure 13). At least six bastions were attached to northern, eastern, and western walls of the palisade and are interpreted by Blanton as offering strategic positions for defense of the structure (1999:92). A ditch just inside the interior of the inner palisade wall was likely used as a borrow pit to bank dirt against the vertical posts of the interior palisade line for support (Blanton 1999:95).

Through a combination of internal and external factors, subsequent phases of site occupation suggest a change in size and overall function of the settlement (Blanton 1999:96). During the second phase, which spans the 15th and the first half of the 16th centuries, the Potomac Creek population became established within the region. The palisade decreased in size to approximately 240 feet in diameter and the bastions were no longer a part of the structure (see Figure 13). The majority of the Potomac Creek population during this phase of occupation were no longer living within the structure. A "post building" was likely constructed during this period. Measuring approximately 110 feet in diameter, the building enclosed two buried ossuaries that are contemporaneous with this period of use (Blanton 1999:97). The interior structure is interpreted by Blanton as "a possible mortuary building or chiefly residence" noting the identification of a similar structure within the palisaded Moyaone site in Maryland (Blanton 1999:97).

The final phase of the Potomac Creek site was marked by its abandonment (Blanton 1999:98). Between A.D. 1560 and A.D. 1650 the palisade fell into disrepair and was abandoned (see Figure 13). According to Blanton's hypothesis, the population moved to the southwest, continuing to use the site for ancestral burial into the historic period. Two Native ossuary burials containing European goods dating to
Figure 13: Transformation of the Palisade Identified at the Potomac Creek Site (44ST2) from Blanton 1999:96.
this period were identified within the area that had previously been enclosed by the palisade (Blanton 1999:98).

_The Great Neck Site (44VB7)_

The Great Neck site lies along the south shore of Broad Bay, near the confluence of the Lynnhaven River and the Chesapeake Bay (see Figure 12). The site encompasses almost twenty acres, with Middle Woodland and Late Woodland components extending approximately 400 feet south from the shoreline. Avocational and professional archaeologists conducted various levels of excavation at the site throughout the 1980s in an attempt to gather as much information as possible prior to private development. Reporting and interpretation of the site was funded by the Virginia Department of Historic Resources in the late 1990s (Hodges 1998).

_Site Composition and Chronology_

There is little indication that the Great Neck site was occupied prior to the Middle Woodland period (Hodges 1998:199). Groupings of clustered Middle Woodland features suggest that the site was used as a macro-band base camp. As a location of aggregation, the site would have been abandoned seasonally when the population split into sub-units to gather resources in areas "where the range of available resources was less diverse" (Hodges 1998:201 and Blanton 1992:71). After A.D. 400, however, the site was abandoned, remaining unoccupied until A.D. 1300.

Late Woodland occupation of the site spanned the 14th through 16th centuries, during which time a palisade was constructed (Figure 14). Postmolds identified at the site formed two concentric arcs that were dated based on their excavation and the recovery of diagnostic artifacts (Hodges 1998:33). Though the lines were not entirely
Figure 14: Plan View of Palisade and Associated Features from the Great Neck Site (44VB7) from Hodges 1998:34.
exposed, the exterior palisade line would have defined a circular enclosure measuring approximately 100 feet in diameter (Hodges 1998:36). Alternatively, Hodges suggests that the palisade may have been elliptical in shape, in which case it would have measured approximately 140 feet by 100 feet east/west. A marked difference was observed between the size and spacing of postmolds within the inner and outer palisade lines. On average the depth and diameter of postmolds from the exterior palisade line were greater than those located on the interior line. Additionally, the postmolds that made up the exterior line were closer together, suggesting to Hodges that it was stronger and more heavily fortified (1998:36).

Evidence of two structures were exposed within the interior of the Great Neck palisade (see Figure 14). Only Structure A, however, was exposed enough to get an idea of its overall size. Elliptical in shape, the structure measured approximately 40 by 21 feet (Hodges 1998:40). Martin Gallivan asserts that Native pre-Contact structures with high length to width ratios may have had a specialized function (2003:116). Rarely found archaeologically, the identification of a 'longhouse' such as Structure A could suggest that the Great Neck palisade held a unique and specialized function for the community that it served.

Physical and Historical Evidence Considered

The colonial descriptions and archaeological remains of palisaded settlements suggest that they would not have been a reliable means of defense. Ethnobotanical evidence at the Buck Farm site (44CC37) revealed that the palisade posts were constructed of pine (Gallivan et al. 2008). Being susceptible to termites and decomposition, the palisade walls must have required near constant care, a fact that
may be represented by the multiple overlapping palisade lines identified at the Patowomeke site (44ST2) (Blanton 1999:93). Their combustibility would have further weakened their use as defensive structures. Attackers could ignite the exterior posts with ease, causing those inside to either flee the burning enclosure and become easy targets or hope that the flames would not engulf the entire settlement. Evidence from the Buck Farm site indicates that the palisade was burned and never reconstructed. A quantitative analysis of the postsmolds that formed the exterior palisade line at the Great Neck site (44VB7) produced a mean post diameter of approximately 3.8 inches. When compared to the mean postmold diameter of Structure A, the only complete structure identified within the enclosure, the mean palisade postmold size proves smaller by roughly an inch (Hodges 1998:39). The exterior trench at the Buck Farm site may have accommodated larger posts with the bottom of the trench measuring approximately .7 inches in width, however, because no postmolds were identified within them, there is no way of knowing for sure (Gallivan et al. 2008).

The sizes and floor areas of palisaded sites within the Tidewater suggest that they were used to accommodate varying numbers of people, likely serving different functions within their particular communities (Figure 15). Blanton, drawing on a study of population estimates of Owasco/Iroquoian villages estimates that with a floor area of approximately 18,728 square feet, the palisade at Potomac Creek could accommodate between 250 and 300 individuals (1999:93 and Snow 1994:30). Using the same formula, the palisades at Great Neck and the Buck Farm site would have comfortably accommodated 51 and 10 individuals, respectively (Figure 16). An examination of total polity population shows no correlation between population size
Figure 15: Scale Comparison of Palisade Plan Views from the Buck Farm, the Great Neck, and the Potomac Creek sites.
and palisade size. By far the smallest in size, the Buck Farm palisade served the largest population. While Potomac Creek may have served to protect one settlement within the Patowomeke polity, its maximum capacity is only one-third of its entire population. The variation in size is striking and indicates that these spaces had various uses that likely changed through time.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Floor Area ft. sq.</th>
<th>Estimated Individual Capacity</th>
<th>Estimated Population of Polity</th>
<th>Total Pop. Citation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Potomac Creek (44ST2)</td>
<td>18,727</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>Turner 1992:54-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Neck (44VB7)</td>
<td>10,990</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>Turner 1992:52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buck Farm (44CC37)</td>
<td>2,072</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>Turner 1992:53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 16: Table Showing Floor Area, Estimated Capacity, and Total Polity Population Estimate by Palisaded Society and Site.
Chapter 7: Culture Change and the Regionality of Power

Palisaded sites within the Tidewater seem relatively well distributed across the four major rivers that empty into the Chesapeake Bay (see Figure 10). The absence of a site along the York River, however, is significant considering its centrality to the large and powerful district of thirty-one polities under the control of Powhatan during the early 17th century. Is this a product of inconsistent archaeological work along the York or might there be a reason that Powhatan and/or his predecessors never constructed such a structure? What patterns can we see in the regional creation of palisaded sites? Why has their construction been identified most often in the upper reaches of the river systems, rather than closer to the Chesapeake Bay? A detailed consideration of the origins of the cultures that created these powerful places, their social and political connections, and their roles within the increasingly well-organized regional power structure will attempt to answer some of these questions.

The Distribution of Native Ceramics

To understand why distinct ceramic traditions came to define particular cultures within the region, we must consider the historical and social process behind their production (Dietler and Herbich 1998). This framework allows for a consideration of ceramic style as a historical extension of multiple and often novel traditions of material culture manufacture representing “interrelated operational choices rather than...instantaneous acts of creation” (Dietler and Herbich 1998:238). As communities of practice, those crafting ceramics were social actors making purposeful choices under the constraints of a common structure. Thinking about
ceramics in this way validates their use in loosely defining groups in terms of broadly
shared ceramic traditions manifested in the similarities of construction materials and
techniques.

The production of ceramics across space and time has been relatively well
traced by archaeological research throughout the region. The first half of the Late
Woodland Period is marked by the relatively uniform and expansive use of Townsend
ware, a shell tempered ceramic that is often marked by a fabric-impressed surface
treatment. Like Mockley wares of the Middle Woodland, this ceramic has been
associated with Algonquian speakers and was produced from Delaware to southern
Virginia (Turner 1992:103). By the end of the Late Woodland period, the relatively
exclusive use of Townsend ware within the Coastal Plain remained only in the core
area of the Powhatan chiefdom at the confluence of the Mattaponi and Pamunkey

The change from the predominant use of Townsend fabric-impressed to
Roanoke simple-stamped and Potomac Creek wares marks a transformation in the
social structure, political orientation, and territoriality of groups within the region.
Roanoke simple-stamped ceramics appear to enter the region between the A.D. 1400
and A.D. 1500 (Gallivanb et al. 2008). The simple-stamped surface treatment has
been identified archaeologically from southeastern Virginia to Roanoke Island in
North Carolina. By the end of the Late Woodland period the simple-stamping
tradition spreads across communities in North Carolina and Virginia as is exemplified
in archaeologically identified Gaston and Cashie series ceramics. Potomac Creek
wares were produced within the region between A.D. 1300 and the 17th century
The pottery series was most often tempered with approximately 30% crushed quartz and/or medium to fine grain sand and exhibits either cord-marked or plain surface treatments (Blanton 1999:50-52). Potomac Creek pottery "occurs as a major component of the ceramic assemblage on sites around the falls of the Rappahannock River, northward along the fall line to Washington, D.C., and northeast to Baltimore, Maryland" (Potter 1993:125). Archaeological evidence suggests that the ceramic tradition was developed outside of the region and was likely introduced to groups living in the vicinity of the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers by newly migrated cultures from the north (Potter 1993:125). The rise of Potomac Creek and Roanoke simple-stamped ceramics after A.D. 1300 in the northern and southern portions of the Tidewater represents the mixing of traditions through intermarriage and trade between local Algonquians and proto-Iroquoian and Iroquian groups to the north and southwest, respectively (Gallivan et al 2008).

**Regional Politics and Palisade Creation**

A consideration of the origin and development of Tidewater cultures reveals that groups migrating into the region were not the only ones constructing palisades. The history and development of the Chickahominy underscores this point. Despite deep roots within the region and the continuous use of Townsend fabric-impressed ceramics throughout the Late Woodland period, they constructed a palisade roughly contemporaneous with those built by the Patawomekes (44ST2) and the Chesapeakes (44VB7). Though several competing explanations for the site’s cultural affiliation have been posited, those living at the Potomac Creek site (44ST2) likely migrated from the Owasco communities of the upper Susquehanna River in New York and
Pennsylvania (Blanton 1999:102). At the Great Neck site (44VB7), the archaeological record suggests the growing influence and connections to Iroquoian speaking groups to the southwest through the increased production of simple-stamped ceramics. These influences played a role in shaping the regional political landscape and in the defining and developing palisaded settlements during the centuries preceding European contact.

Sometime during the 16th century Wahunsonacock inherited authority over seven villages from an unknown predecessor. By the time the English arrived in 1607, he had expanded his dominion to encompass at least 32 political districts (Rountree and Turner 2002). In many cases Powhatan used military tactics to draw polities into his confederacy through violence, killings, and forcible removal of populations (Gallivanb et al. 2008). The question that is raised by the discussion of the expansion of centralized power within the region is, in the early 17th century, were communities that utilized palisades or had constructed them in the past, subsumed under Powhatan's paramount chiefdom? Powhatan himself reportedly came from a palisaded village up the James River near its falls. However, despite his power, there is no evidence that he constructed such a structure during his lifetime (Rountree 2005:42).

Understanding the relationship between Powhatan and the groups who built palisades should not be thought of as motivation for palisade construction. Instead, a consideration of their orientation to Powhatan's paramount chiefdom sheds light onto the different types of political relationships that were being formed at contact and had been developing during the preceding centuries. The relationship between those living at Patowomeke (44ST2) and the Powhatan confederacy is not very well documented.
Though there is ethnohistorical evidence suggesting that Powhatan visited the community peacefully, there are few details suggesting he had any control over the group (Haile 1998:XV-XVI). The people living at Patawomeke, interpreted as 'the trading place,' may have meant more to Powhatan as associates than subjects (Barbour 1971:296). His power over polities, even those squarely within his domain, was variable. Groups, like the Patawomeke's living a fair distance from the confluence of the Mattaponi and Pamunkey rivers, Powhatan's core area of influence, were less likely to follow an order which they disagreed with.

The Chesapeakes, who constructed the palisade at the Great Neck site (44VB7), had long aligned themselves with the Roanoke Islanders to the south causing conflict with Powhatan and his confederacy (Rountree 2005:45). Sometime just before or just after the settling of Jamestown, Powhatan received word from one of his priests that "a Nation should arise, which should dissolve and give end to his Empire" (Strachey 1952:104). Believing that the premonition described the Chesapeakes, Powhatan gave orders to destroy the village at Great Neck, to kill the weroance and all its inhabitants and replace them with people loyal to the Powhatan Confederacy (Strachey 1952:105). After the replacement of the Chesapeakes, those living at the village were said to be at peace with the Powhatan, but could be easily persuaded to take up arms against him. Some of those that repopulated the Chesapeake village were thought to be Nansemonds. Though their relationship to Powhatan and his chiefdom is unclear, their location along the edge of Powhatan's area of domination indicates that, like the Patowomeke's, the paramount chief may have influenced rather than dominated their actions.
The archaeological and ethnohistorical record suggests that the Chickahominy were a unique community, standing out against the Late Woodland and Contact period political landscape. Strachey describes the Chickahominy as a "warlick and free people, albeyt they pay certayne dutyes to Powhatan, and for Copper wilbe waged to serve and helpe him in his Warrs" (Strachey 1952:68-69). Located just south of the core of the Powhatan's stronghold, the Chickahominy were able to maintain their independence, while making some concessions to the paramount chief. Perhaps, with superior numbers and the strategic advantage of a diversified and unique political system, the Chickahominy were able to use their military strength to maintain their political autonomy. Regardless, the Chickahominy seemed to have acted in their own best interest, whether it was the early trading of corn with the English, playing a lead role in the capture and delivery of John Smith to Powhatan, or strategically striking peace with the English when it became apparent that they had made peace with Wahunsonacock (Smithb 1986:246).
Chapter 8: Conclusion

The creation of powerful places within the Tidewater was contingent on the reciprocal relationship between the local development of individual communities and the long-term processes of change that shaped the regional sociopolitical landscape. The proliferation of palisade construction throughout the region after A.D. 1300 defined localities through the manipulation of the built environment.

Tracing the historical development of the Buck Farm site palisade suggests that its construction paralleled the transformation of the site from a persistent place of seasonal aggregation in the Middle Woodland period to a place of sacred specialization and power after A.D. 1300. Defined locally as a quioccassan, its exclusive use by priests may have stemmed from the unique political system in place within the Chickahominy. The study of the settlement history of the Chickahominy revealed that several different types of places were created within their locality. These places, including locations of settlement, locations of cross-community aggregation, and locations of sacred space were likely created in polities throughout the Tidewater. Palisaded space within other regional localities likely took on one or more of these three functions during their use, which is manifested in the varieties of sizes and configurations among those identified archaeologically. Through a broad range of uses, their creation and function was based on the individual power structures inherent within each particular community. For instance, at the Potomac Creek site, its initial use was as a living space for the weroance and members of the community, later changing to a location of sacred import (Blanton 1999). Despite a change from
profane to sacred, its function was always associated with a particular segment of the Patawomeke political elite. The connection of these powerful places to the priests and weroances of the communities that they served ties together the local and regional processes that motivated palisade creation.

The power inherent in the construction of palisades across the region was tied to the control of authoritative resources across time and space (Giddens 1984:258). The rigid demarcation of space allowed localities to be defined; fixing particular communities to a specific place on the landscape that quickly became part of a common historical memory. Having gained limited authority over space, leadership slowly gained the ability to control some of the daily activities of those living within the surrounding community. Through time the authority to wage war, order communal hunts, and participate in ceremonial rites of passage served to further demarcate social and political boundaries. Involvement in rites of passage ceremonies across polities fulfills Gidden's second authoritative resource, which he termed, "the production and reproduction of the body" (1984:260). The huskenaw ceremony, performed at places of power, allowed individuals to be reborn into new social positions, thus affirming the regional hierarchical power structure. The ability for those from outside elite kinship systems to obtain powerful positions within society represents the authoritative resource Giddens terms, "organization of life chances" (1984:261). This resource allows individuals to be mobilized by the overlying structure, or to mobilize themselves in order to bring about its reshaping.

This examination of the development of power through the construction of powerful places has yet to answer the question, how were English and Native
conceptions of space different in the early 17th century? Easily understood and often referenced is the storage and distribution of material resources in order to increase and expand power. Early on, the English realized that their vulnerability required them to take on the Native gift-giving tradition. The Spanish Jesuit priests at Ajacan along the York River had made a mistake in not reciprocating the gifts of those they had converted, exchanging only with their unconverted neighbors. Their misunderstanding of Native social practices resulted in their deaths at the hands of their converts (Mallios 2006). The early colonial accounts are full of anecdotes recounting meetings with individuals from various polities, where each side brought gifts to one another and shared large amounts of food. For Natives of the Tidewater, feasting was important in maintaining cross-community relations, with increased prestige to the individuals who could provide the most extravagant meal.

Giddens argues that, like material resources, authoritative resources can be stored and strategically redistributed. The storage of authoritative resources is described as "the retention and control of information or knowledge whereby social relations are perpetuated across time-space" (Giddens 1984:260). To those restricted from entrance, the knowledge perpetuated behind the walls of a palisade or similar structure is unknown. Allowing entrance releases stored knowledge to the outsider, which is just as powerful a statement as presenting them with a material gift. Here, I would like to return to the anecdote about the English and Paspahegh posed at the opening of the study. The Paspaheghs, offering a deer as a gift to the colonists expected in return, an authoritative instead of material gift. They had requested that the English allow them to spend the night in the fort at Jamestown, requiring the
authoritative approval of time (spending the night) and space (the interior of the fortification). Unknowingly, the English had failed to realize the significance of their refusal. Similar to the Jesuit priests at Ajacan, the failure of the English to understand gift-giving and Native conceptions of space had caused insult and resulted in violence.

Powerful places dotted the landscape post A.D.1300 and it is important to note that palisades were only one manifestation of the widespread changes that were occurring across the Tidewater. Werowocomoco, for example, which functioned as Powhatan's chief residence, a location of community aggregation, and a common residence, was constructed during this period. Though no evidence of a palisade existed, archaeological remaina at the site identified distinct demarcations of space, confirming its power and importance within the regional landscape (Gallivan 2007). In reality, non-palisaded places of power may have been more numerous than palisaded places. The manipulation of the built environment did not need to be grandiose in order to be effective. Spatial manipulations simply had to recognizable and commonly understood.
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