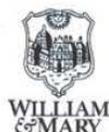


The Millie Woodson-Turner Nottoway Reservation Allotment and Farmstead



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

The oral history of the Nottoway community and the documentary record of Southampton County identify the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site as an historically important farmstead of the old Nottoway Indian reservation. Through the National Park Service's *Underrepresented Communities* grant, and in collaboration with the now state-recognized Nottoway Indian Tribe of Virginia, the Virginia Department of Historic Resources [VDHR] seeks to identify, research, and nominate minority populations' historically significant locales to the state and national registry of historic places. The VDHR project *Continuity Within Change: Virginia Indians National Register Project* moves that effort forward, through an archaeological, archival, and oral history investigation of the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site. The home no longer exists, but the location of the reservation allotment and associated family farm remains in the memory of Nottoway descendant community members, and chronicled in the archives of Southampton County, Virginia.

This study, conducted by the Department of Anthropology's American Indian Resource Center at the College of William & Mary, provides the supporting materials necessary for the nomination of the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site to the National Register of Historic Places. The activity that is the subject of this report has been financed in part with federal funds from the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. However, the contents and opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of the Interior, nor does the mention of trade names or commercial products constitute endorsement or recommendation by the Department of the Interior.

Special thanks and recognition are in order for the Nottoway Indian Tribe of Virginia, who completed a 2016 Memorandum of Understanding with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources in advance of the conducted research. Nottoway Chief Lynette Allston, Assistant Chief Archie Elliot, Councilman Leroy Hardy, Jr., and tribal citizens Joyce Flythe and Rick Kelly were signatories and offered their review. Community and family members Gloria Faye Hardy, Felicia Thornton-Manuel, and Alfred O. Whittaker provided invaluable comments to the draft materials.

The Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead [REDACTED] in Southampton County is a primary ancestral residence of the historical Nottoway community. Along this section of the Nottoway River, the Iroquoian-speaking tribe was settled during the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries; the community had a dispersed "Indian Town" along the river's middle reaches of the six miles between modern Courtland, VA and Carey's Bridge, including the area of the Millie Woodson-Turner Nottoway reservation farmstead [hereafter referred to as the Millie Woodson-Turner "Allotment," "Homestead," "Home Site," "Farm," or "Farmstead"]. Extended Indian families maintained farmsteads along this riverine stretch during the nineteenth century, organized on the "Indian Town Road," which ran through the center of the Nottoway community. Occupied through the first half of the twentieth century, the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site was one of the last remaining farms of the Nottoway's Indian Town. Today, the farmstead is an archaeological site, but with connection to the living mem-

ory of Nottoway descendants of the residence, and prior to c.1950, an uninterrupted indigenous tenancy stretching back hundreds of years. The Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site is a significant heritage resource, the cultural patrimony of Nottoway descendants, and represents aspects of the Nottoway historical experience within the Commonwealth of Virginia.

The Nottoway are indigenous to the interior coastal plain of Virginia and North Carolina, and closely related to the region's other Iroquoian-speakers, the Meherrin and Tuscarora. After intermittent contact with Europeans c.1560-1650, a brisk trade emerged c.1650-1675 between the Nottoway and the English who settled in the eastern tidewater. Colonial expansion and increased conflict led to several wars and subsequent treaties between the Nottoway and Virginia. The Nottoway, along with the Pamunkey, were signatories of the 1677-1680 Articles of Peace negotiated at the Camp of Middle Plantation, later established as the colonial capital of Williamsburg. Through the articles in the agreement, the Nottoway became "tributary" to the English king – a quasi-alliance – that forced the Nottoway and other tribes to acknowledge the dominion of the Crown, but confirmed Indian governments and territories as dependent sovereigns. The Nottoway tributary status was again confirmed by treaty in 1714 at the conclusion of the Tuscarora War. As stipulated in these treaties, the Nottoway lands were surveyed and two reservations were established around their Indian Towns, in the landscape of what is today Southampton County, Virginia. The southern reserve was called the "Square Tract," and formed a six-square mile territory south of the Nottoway River. The reservation was surveyed off of the Nottoway town of Ronotough, a site that is now a plantation manor called Rose Hill on Indian Town Road. Later, the reservation was divided among the resident Nottoway c.1830-1880, and "allotment" farms of extended Indian families were developed as private property homesteads. The Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site [44SN0341] was established c.1850 on Nottoway Indian allotment land, and occupied by the family and descendants until c.1950.

The *Underrepresented Communities* grant *Continuity Within Change: Virginia Indians National Register Project*, aims to research and include Iroquoian Nottoway sites within the recognized places of cultural and historical significance to the Commonwealth of Virginia. The Millie Woodson-Turner Homestead is the first Virginia Iroquoian site to be researched and nominated for the National Register of Historic Places [NRHP], and the only state-sponsored Iroquoian reservation research conducted to date. As there have been limited anthropological or historical investigations of Virginia Indian reservations, the Continuity Within Change project adds significant knowledge to our understanding of an overlooked and underrepresented period of Virginia Indian culture and history.

METHODOLOGY

Today, the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead is an archaeological resource [44SN0341], but with living memories of its previous occupancy by the descendant community. As well, Southampton County has extensive courthouse records dating back to the county's formation in 1749, and a large body of Nottoway documents is extant within the Library of Virginia's archival collection. Thus the research approach employed multiple methodologies to establish cultural linkages to the Nottoway community and establish clear historical documentation to the property:

- Phase I archaeological survey of the property
- Ethnographic interviews and oral history collection from the descendant community
- In-depth archival research at multiple repositories
- Extensive review of the existing literature on the historical Nottoway tribe

Archaeology

The Square Tract Nottoway reservation has never received a complete archaeological survey of its American Indian cultural resources, however some sites within the tract were previously identified, and recorded with the Virginia Department

of Historic Resources [VDHR]. The majority of these sites date to the deeper prehistoric past, and are generally unrelated to the historical Nottoway community. Several exceptions include avocational research conducted at Rose Hill by various parties during the mid-twentieth century, which primarily explored the Weyanock settlement of Warekeck, with some overlay of Nottoway materials from Ronotough. The sites of Warekeck, Ronotough, and Rose Hill are situated in the same locale, roughly in chronological order of occupation. The excavation of the Rose Hill sites remain unpublished, and the associated collections are mostly in private hands or mislaid. A few individuals from the Archaeological Society of Virginia can be attributed with incidental investigations of the Square Tract environs, periodically published during the mid-century in the organization's *Quarterly Bulletin*. The preeminent archaeologist Lewis Binford conducted field surveys of Indian Town Road sites in the 1930-40s. In the limited publication of those explorations, primary attention was given to evidence of Late Woodland and seventeenth-century occupations, rather than the Nottoway's later reservation settlements. Of significance to the current investigation of the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site, most of the Indian Town Road colonial-era and nineteenth-century archaeological resources were misidentified as Euro-American deposits, instead of reservation-era homesteads and farms. Therefore, a goal of the Phase I archaeological survey of the Woodson-Turner site was to establish the continuity of cultural materials from the colonial-era reservation through the nineteenth-century allotment period and twentieth-century occupation. Another task for the NRHP and VDHR site listing was to accurately identify the site's overall boundaries and research potential. Appendices II and III more fully overviews the archaeological survey methodology, artifact recovery, and cultural resource findings.

There are multiple contemporary stakeholders associated with the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site. Today, the property is privately owned and several changes in title have occurred since the Woodson-Turner occupation of the farm. The current owner, identified here as "Landowner," allowed

for access to the site and the archaeological survey during the spring of 2016. The Landowner and VDHR entered into a Memorandum of Agreement in order to proceed with the physical investigation of 44SN0341. Prior to the submission of the present document to VDHR, a preliminary archaeological research report was provided to the Landowner in the fall of 2016.

Civic-Engagement and Ethnography

Southampton County is home to two state-recognized tribes, the Cheroenhaka Nottoway Tribe and the Nottoway Indian Tribe of Virginia [NITOV]. Members of the latter tribe are genealogically and historically associated with the Woodson-Turner farmstead and allotment. Multiple descendants of Millie Woodson-Turner retain direct memories of visiting the property, and the community's historical relationship to the farm is well documented. NITOV and VDHR entered into a Memorandum of Understanding prior to the archaeological investigation, and members of the NITOV are commentators and reviewers of the research report.

However, there are descendants of Millie Woodson-Turner who are not enrolled members of either state-recognized tribe, but are "descendants" and members of the farmstead's "descendant community." Descendants of Millie Woodson-Turner, both enrolled Nottoway and non-enrolled, stressed this distinction during the ethnographic interviews and archaeological research. Extended family members from the wider descendant community, and family members from NITOV, participated in the collection of oral history, contributed to the historical documentation, and assisted with the Phase I archaeological survey. At the conclusion of the artifact processing and analysis in August of 2016, select descendants convened at the College of William & Mary's Department of Anthropology for a preliminary review of the findings and discussion of the archaeological materials.

The civic engagement with the Landowner and the descendant community has informed the

project's methodologies, which have been conducted to the highest ethical standards of anthropological research. As such, all principal investigators and graduate student researchers completed extensive training and updated state-certified credentials [2016-2018] for working with human subjects through the Collaborate Institutional Training Initiative [CITI]. Within the report, two bodies of ethnographic data contain the memories of descendants of Millie Woodson-Tuner and her daughter Susanna Turner Claud: the Patricia Phillips manuscript [cited as Patricia Phillips MS 1977] and the field notes of Dr. Buck Woodard [cited as Woodard Field Notes]. The Phillips manuscript dates to the 1970s oral history interviews in Portsmouth and Southampton County with the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Millie Woodson-Turner; the Woodard field notes date to interviews conducted 2006-2017 in Baltimore, Franklin, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Southampton County through previous and present research with Nottoway descendants. In both citations for the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site report, the names of the quoted descendants have been withheld for privacy. In cases where the historical data is older than seventy years, and in public record such as census schedules and court documents, direct names have been used where appropriate. Due to the Iroquoian kinship structure, irregularity in Nottoway surname use, and the tracking of Nottoway descendants through time, the individuals with the surnames of Turner and Woodson are underlined in the document narrative. Hyphenated names are used as signposts for descent reckoning, but also because surnames appear differently in the records depending on context: Millie Woodson, Millie Turner, or Millie Woodson-Turner; Susanna Turner, Susanna

Claud, Susanna Turner Claud. For a further analysis of Nottoway kinship relations, Iroquoian descent, and reservation allottee descendants, consult Woodard (2013).

Archival and Historical Research

Research of historical records and more recent public documents was conducted at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Rockefeller Library, the Library of Virginia, the National Anthropological Archives, the Newberry Library, the Southampton County Courthouse, Swem Library at the College of William & Mary, and the Virginia Historical Society. Additional archival materials were checked and reviewed from digital sources at www.Ancestry.com, www.Fold3.com, and www.FamilySearch.org. Of the secondary sources, previous work consulted include Binford (1964) and Smith (1971, 1984) on the contact-era Nottoway social organization and culture history; Binford (1967) and Dawdy (1994) on the colonial-era ethnohistory and cultural milieu; Briggs and Pittman (1995, 1997) and Rountree (n.d., 1987, 1989, 1990) on historical Nottoway documents from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and Crofts (1992, 1997) and Parramore (1992 [1978]) on the historiography of Southampton County. A summary of Nottoway culture and brief history can be found in Boyce (1978); a review of the Square Tract's land sales and allotment can be found in Rountree (1987) and Woodard (2016). Woodard (2013) is the most in-depth source on antebellum-era Nottoway reservation kinship, marriage, and political economy. A review of Nottoway-Tuscarora Iroquoian linguistics can be found in Rudes (1981, 2002).

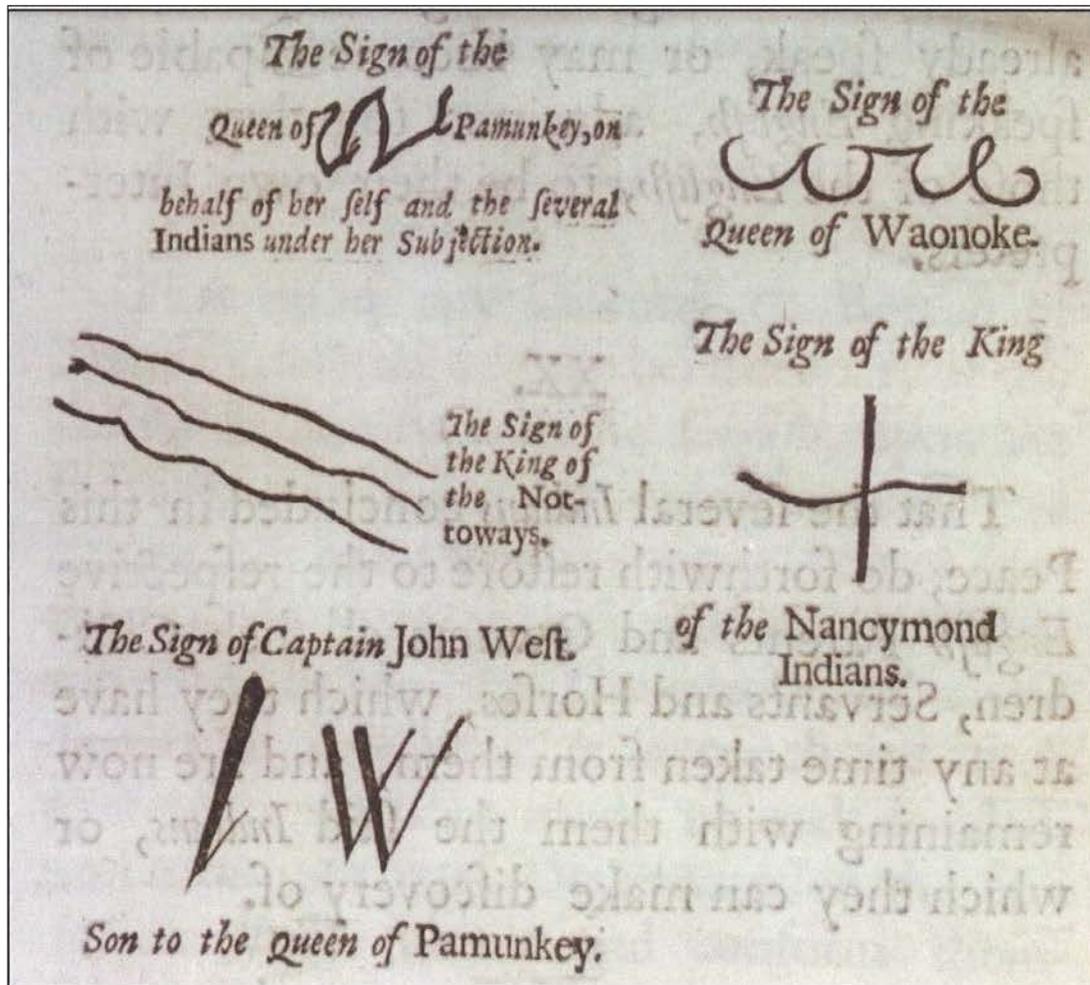
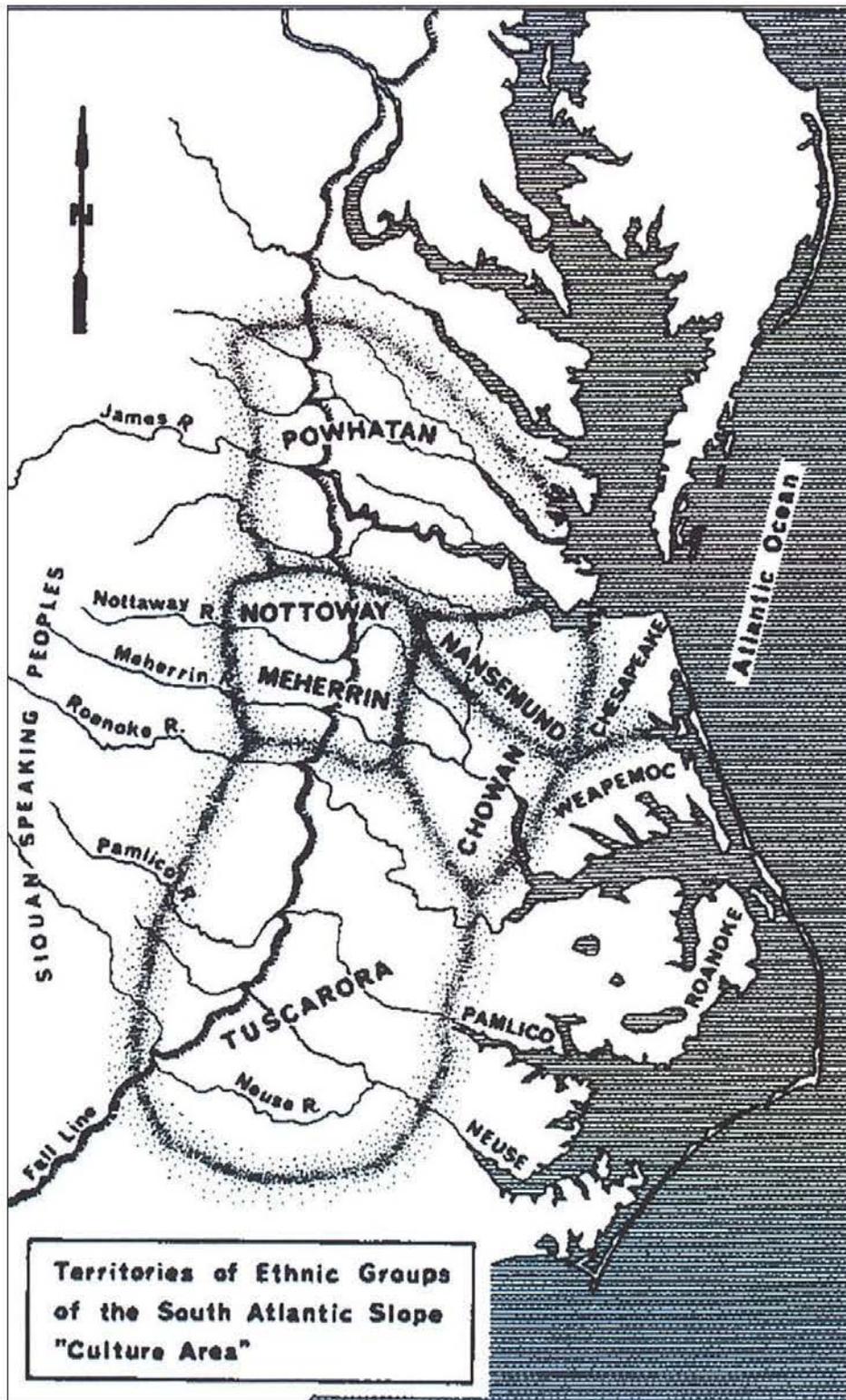


Figure 1. The signature page of the 1677 Articles of Peace, or Treaty of Middle Plantation, signed by the Nottoway in Williamsburg. Aside from the Pamunkey signatories, the Nansmond, Nottoway, and Weyanock tribes all lived on the south side of the James River, and eventually coalesced as one community on the Nottoway's Southampton County reservation.



Map 1. The Iroquoian territory of the Nottoway, Meherrin, and Tuscarora (Binford 1967).

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

HISTORICAL NOTTOWAY SETTLEMENTS AND TERRITORY, 1650-1735

During the third quarter of the seventeenth century, the Nottoway habitations and hunting areas were situated along branches of the Chowan River drainage, concentrated on the upper Nottoway River. English records from the period identify four Nottoway towns near the mouths of present-day Rowanty Creek in Dinwiddie County [Rowantee and Cohannehahanka] and Stoney Creek in Sussex County [Cottoshowrock and Tonnatorah]. To the south, the closely related Meherrin Indians were settled in several villages, one east of Emporia, Virginia on the Meherrin River [Cowinchahawkon] and another [Unote] near Adams Grove in Southampton County. South along the interior coastal plain, other Iroquois-speaking towns of the Tuscarora were dispersed along the Roanoke, Tar, and Neuse rivers (Map 1).

Between 1650 and 1675, the Meherrin, Nottoway, and Tuscarora became staunch trading partners of the English and allies of the colonial government of Virginia. Competition for English goods among neighboring tribes, and the continual push of Virginia traders deeper into the southwest, eventually produced conflict and upheaval; by the end of the seventeenth century, war, disease, slave raiding, and displacement had reduced most of Southside Virginia-Carolina's indigenous people to several thousand individuals scattered among a half-dozen settlements. Some Algonquian-speakers, such as the Weyanock and Nansemond, relocated from the proximity of English plantations on the James River toward the Iroquoian territory. Brittle

alliances among these groups were crosscut by intermittent hostilities. At the end of Bacon's Rebellion, treaties between Virginia and nearby Indian groups were signed in 1677 and 1680, including the Meherrin, Nansemond, Nottoway, and Weyanock. Along with the other Indian signatories, the Nottoway became tributaries of the English Crown. An alliance with unequal power relations and semi-sovereignty, the Articles of Peace [commonly known as the "Treaty Middle Plantation;" see the signatory page, (Figure 1)] outlined mutual rights and responsibilities, including military cooperation and territorial boundaries (Binford 1967; Boyce 1978; McCartney 2006).

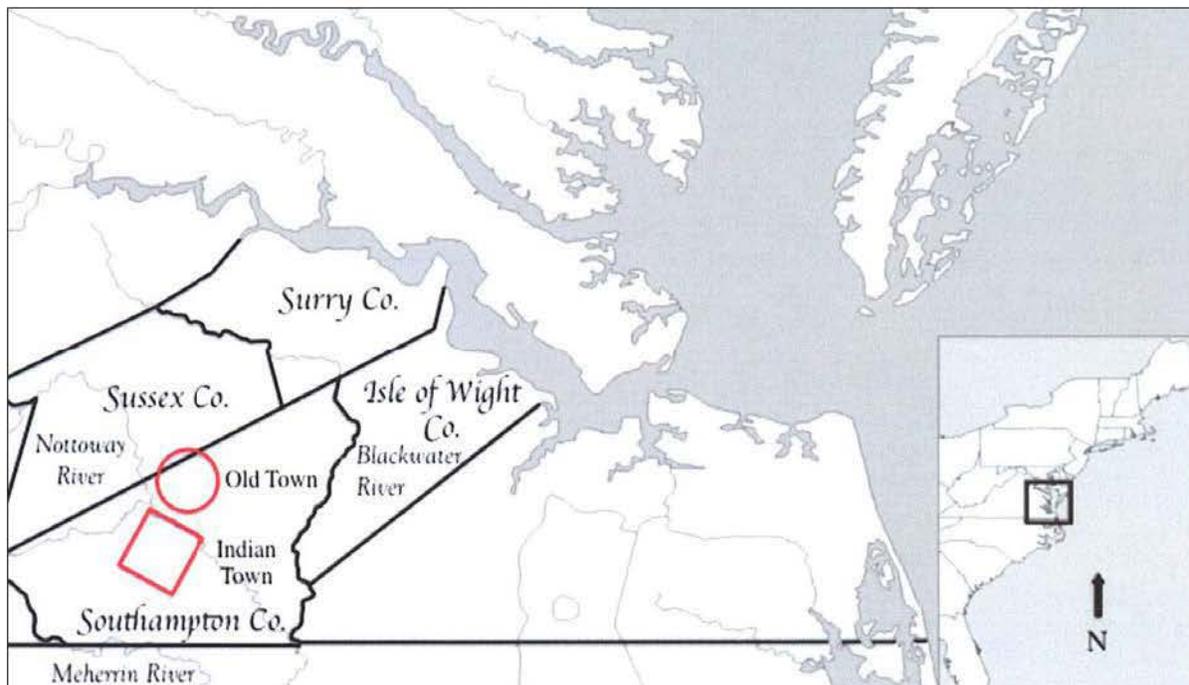
By the early 1680s, some Meherrin removed downriver and established a town [Taurara] at the mouth of Tawarra Creek near Boykins, Virginia. Others established a large settlement at the confluence of the Meherrin and Chowan Rivers in present day North Carolina. Between about 1685 and 1691 the Meherrin towns of Cowinchahawkon, Taurara, and Unote were all abandoned in favor of this new chief habitation. Near the same time, the Nottoway left their upriver towns [Cohannehahanka, Cottoshowrock, Rowantee, and Tonnatorah] and relocated to the Assamoosick Swamp environs, where by 1695 they built a fortified "Great Town." Farther south, several Nottoway families reoccupied an old Weyanock village [Warekeck], today near where the Assamoosick empties into the Nottoway River in Southampton County. During this era, the Weyanock abandoned their last village along the Blackwater River near Coppahaunk Swamp and integrated their community with the Nottoway and Nansemond (Binford 1967).

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the colony of Virginia opened the Indian lands beyond the Blackwater River for English settlement. Per the 1677-1680 Articles of Peace, the Nottoway and other signatories were to have a three-mile perimeter established around their towns. The goal of the buffer was to limit Euro-Indian conflict over hunting and grazing areas, and establish a surveyed boundary against land encroachment. An act of the House of Burgesses in 1705 ordered, “the Bounds for the Nottoway Lands be Laid out for Them... a Circle Three Miles Round... and another parcel of Land on the South Side Nottoway River Six Miles Square” (McIlwaine III:98).

The Iroquoian treaty lands surrounding the Nottoway “Indian Towns,” totaled sixty-four square miles or 41,000 acres (Briggs and Pittman 1997:134). The land north of the Nottoway River along the Assamoosick Swamp was a twenty-eight square mile polygon often called the “Circle Tract,” which surrounded the Great Town. The Nottoway lands south of the river, known as the “Square Tract,” contained approximately thirty-six square miles (Map 2). Today, the formerly reserved land is mostly in Southampton County, with a small portion extending into Sussex County. However, the

earliest colonial surveys of these reservation tracts do not survive and were unaccounted for by the Commonwealth as early as 1809 (Palmer 1893 X:66; Rountree 1987:196).

Following the c.1705 surveys and the opening of the Southside to English settlement, the colonial government again recognized the Nottoway’s land rights by treaty in 1713, at the conclusion of the costly Tuscarora War (Spotswood 1885 II:196-200). The Nottoway remained mostly allied with Virginia during the conflict, which significantly divided the Iroquoians in the region. As an outcome of the 1711-1713 war, large segments of the Tuscarora, Nottoway, and Meherrin populations emigrated to New York under the protection of the northern Iroquois League. The Tuscarora became the sixth nation of the Iroquois Confederacy in 1722. Those Nottoway that continued to reside in the southern coastal plain remained tributaries to Virginia’s colonial government; Native communities bordering the piedmont were considered militarized buffers against foreign encroachment into English settlements (Boyce 1978:286). Per the 1677 and 1713 treaty agreements reached in Williamsburg, the Nottoway began sending students to the Brafferton Indian School at the College of William & Mary.



Map 2. The Circle and Square Tract Nottoway Reservations.

Maintaining two students at the College confirmed the Nottoway's tributary status, and provided some measure of continued engagement with colonial officials (Stuart 1984).

Most Nottoway settlements described by Englishmen were not nucleated but rather, were dispersed along the waterways with horticultural fields between familial compounds (Salley 1911:9-11). John Barnwell's 1712 description of Iroquoian towns indicate "it is only a plantation here and there scattered about the Country, no where 5 houses together, and then $\frac{1}{4}$ a mile such another and so on for several miles" (1908:32). The legislative order of the 1705 land survey described the Assamoosick town as "Their Fort," so at least by that date a central portion of the village was fortified with a palisade (McIlwaine III:98). Palisades in Virginia-Carolina Iroquoian communities were constructed during times of strife, although the fortifications did not necessarily encompass the whole settlement (Boyce 1978:283; Byrd 1941:424-425). Descriptions of the Nottoway Great Town 1695-1734 indicate that the community was scattered along the Assamoosick drainage towards the Nottoway River where an additional settlement was seated (Binford 1967:177-179; Byrd 1941:424).

About 300 Nottoway occupied these several settlements until c.1735, when the main residence was moved from their fortified "Old Town" on the lower Assamoosick to the south side of the Nottoway River. This latter settlement, known as Ronotough, was at a sharp bend in the Nottoway River near the Assamoosick's terminal Concorie Branch. This tract was the same that the Weyanock called Warekeck, leased to them by the Nottoway decades earlier. From the mid-1730s onward, Ronotough was the main Nottoway habitation, and the only remaining Iroquoian-speaking town within the colony of Virginia. About 1737, the Nansemond moved from their settlement on the lower Nottoway River, then straddling the border of Isle of Wight and Nansemond counties, to combine with the Nottoway at Ronotough (Binford 1967:189; Briggs and Pittman 1995; Byrd 1929:112-114; Woodard 2013:143-146; 2016:162).

According to the records of the Virginia House of Burgesses, the Nottoway began making inquiries toward the selling of their abandoned "Circle Tract" treaty lands in the 1730s. John Simmons petitioned the Virginia Council as early as 1728 to allow him to "patent a certain tract of land...formerly assigned to the Nottoway Indians" (Stanard 1925:21). Simmons had developed some rapport with the Iroquoians and, like their colonial interpreter Henry Briggs, occasionally interceded on their behalf. With apparent consent of the Nottoway, in 1710 Simmons arranged to build a gristmill on Indian land at Buckhorn Swamp and surveyed several tracts along the Nottoway River prior to becoming one of the first "trustees" of the tribe in 1734 (Alexander 1972:156; Hennings IV:461). Thus, the formal survey of Nottoway towns corresponded with the English occupation of the region. By the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, hundreds of European farmsteads surrounded the reservation lands and the Nottoway frontier began to quickly close (Binford 1967:168; Parramore 1978:6; Woodard 2016:162).

NOTTOWAY SUBSISTENCE, 1650-1735

The pattern of Nottoway subsistence was more or less only slightly modified until the end of the first century of English occupation. Binford (1967), Boyce (1978), and Smith (1984) describe the indigenous cultural milieu of the Virginia-Carolina Iroquoians, so that only a summary of their provisioning will suffice here. Nottoway subsistence consisted of a combination of hunting / gathering and horticultural pursuits. Seasonal migration between upland and lowland riverine territories provided the communities with hardwood nut mast and animal meat in the fall, followed by fish, shellfish, and tubers in the spring. Corn, beans, sunflowers, tobacco, and members of the *Curcubita* genus [gourds, pumpkins, squash, etc.] were grown through the summer. Wild fruits, such as blackberries, grapes, maypops, mulberry, persimmons, and strawberries were gathered as they ripened in the seasonal round. Cordage and house coverings [bark, cattails, rushes,

etc.] were collected in the warmer seasons; houses conformed to the oval, bent sapling variety of the Mid-Atlantic. Mats and other textiles were woven from vegetable fibers and animal hair, the majority of clothing produced from animal skins. Food and clothing provisioning practices would shift during the years leading up to the eighteenth century, as European trade and settlement encouraged the Nottoway into further participation in the colonial economy (Binford 1967:188-189).

Indigenous trade networks positioned the Nottoway as middlemen between resource areas of the interior and coastal regions. Raw and modified shell, dried fish, and similar oceanic products streamed into Nottoway lands from the east, as lithics, animal products, and copper flowed in from the west. Comments by early European settlers suggest that the Natives of the Nottoway region traded freshwater pearls, salt, and botanical products in multiple directions. Native trade continued into the eighteenth century, but the Nottoway's role as trade brokers with the English increased in importance and prominence with the rise of the Virginia fur trade. New relationships and labor practices developed, and new materials and technologies flowed into Nottoway communities. The Nottoway role as middlemen was soon, however, eclipsed as the colonial frontier pushed farther into the interior and James River traders engaged more distant groups.

Descriptions of the Nottoway from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries indicate that animal husbandry was introduced into the region during the first seventy-five years of the colonial encounter. Hogs, cattle, and horses were noted in multiple Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Siouan communities (Brickell 1737; Henning III:109; Lawson 1967; Rountree 1990:150), although the degree to which Native people relied on them during this period is speculative. By the 1690s, Nottoway and Weyanock hogs were given a special "Indian Town Mark" to distinguish the roving swine from English stock and to clarify the origin of pigs that were sold (Stanard 1903:55). The incorporation of domesticated animals into Nottoway settlements was a significant shift in the indigenous economy and subsistence practices.

Peaches and apples were introduced into Nottoway-Tuscarora communities at a relatively early date. Orchards were noted in Southside Algonquian towns during the latter half of the seventeenth century (Rountree 1990:108), as well as in Iroquoian contexts at the turn of the eighteenth (Barnwell 1908:34). Lawson suggested that some orchards were cultivated prior to colonization (1967:115), possible evidence of Spanish diffusion from the Juan Pardo or DeSoto expeditions (Rudes 2002; Woodard 2006). William Byrd's c.1730 visit to the upper Roanoke River region noted the presence of abandoned Indian peach orchards (1901:286), most likely of Siouan origin (DeMallie 2004:292). Tuscarora migration into New York after the Carolina war left a series of "irregularly planted" apple orchards along their path, including one site that was organized c.1714 (Boyce 1973:32).

NOTTOWAY SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, 1650-1735

Based on colonial accounts, the Nottoway and other Iroquoians were politically organized in autonomous independent villages (Salley 1911:8-19; Stanard 1911:273; Lawson 1967). Status distinctions within communities were determined by individual accomplishment, with some leadership positions being hereditary. A council of "great men" governed the affairs of local groups, possibly based on clan positions or some similar crosscutting social mechanism (Woodard 2013:120). Evidence suggests that Meherrin, Nottoway, and Tuscarora towns possessed a significant degree of territorial and political autonomy, with alliances struck through kinship and individual social responsibilities (Binford 1967:236; Boyce 1978:283). Thus, Nottoway politics were driven by individual and community agendas as much as by "tribal" obligations. Such crosscutting webs of social and kinship interaction can be gleaned from a Meherrin headman's 1727 deposition: "Captain Rogers who is their Chief man says that he has no doubt of the Nottoway's friendship, having his Mothers Sister and Several of her Children grown up, now living with these people" (Palmer 1875:212). This passage suggests that mar-

riages extended beyond the local group, linking linguistically and culturally similar communities across territorial boundaries.

Nottoway descent was matrilineal and possibly organized into clan structures (Dawdy 1994:51; Landy 1978:523; Swanton 1946:654; Woodard 2013:120). Prior to their removal, Tuscarora clans may have included the Deer, Wolf, Beaver, Turtle, Bear, and possibly several others (Beauchamp 1905:145; Landy 1978:519; Morgan 1877:93; Wallace and Reyburn 1951:44-43). Ritual and political positions were probably drawn from these segments at the community level. A dual division of clans formed moieties, whose function was primarily ceremonial. Smith (1971) and Dawdy (1994) support a moiety dual division for the Nottoway, a pattern widespread in Northern Iroquoia (Fenton 1978:310-311; Trigger 1990:68). Von Graffenried's illustration of his 1711 captivity among the Tuscarora depicts what appears to be a totemic moiety division of the Deer and the Wolf. In a ritual context, these groupings had reciprocal rights and responsibilities – particularly in the community's ceremonial cycle and mortuary activities (Woodard 2013:109-110, 112).

Nottoway political organization changed little during the first centuries of European colonization. Multiple seventeenth- and eighteenth-century documents depict the Nottoway as being governed by a “king” or Teerheer and a body of “great men” (i.e. McIlwaine III:407). Each family or kinship division had a political position that contributed to the formation of a community council at the local level. Senior women of the matrilineages may have controlled hereditary titles to leadership positions. The Teerheer could have been drawn from a particular lineage that held title to the senior headmanship.

It is probable that the Teerheer and other great men that appear so frequently in the Virginia Council records and on county land deeds and indentures represent the kin-based governing body of the Nottoway. It was a segmentary structure linked to family units and matrilineages, their civil actions made through consensus at the local level. Senior matrilineages, sometimes disguised as “wise

women” (ibid:5), a “grave Matron” (Byrd 1967:116), or “queens” (Morse 1822:31) controlled the candidacy of distinguished men to offices of leadership, whereby the “great men” ruled more through persuasion and generosity than by domination or monarchy. Consensus building was a major component of Iroquoian governance, and a frustration of eighteenth-century colonial officials; Nottoway and other Iroquoian headmen could not always act on behalf of their towns without further council:

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

Documents pertaining to Nottoway land sales from the first half of the eighteenth century indicate that seven to fifteen individuals represented the community's interests in formal dealings with the colonial government (Rountree n.d.). Drawn from a population of 200-300 inhabitants of one or two Nottoway towns (Beverly 1947:232; Lawson 1967:242; Byrd 1967:116), the averages conform to a pattern consistent with other regional communities' segmentary or dual structures based on familial, clan, or territorial divisions (Woodard and Moretti-Langholtz 2009).

The incorporation of Weyanock and Nansmond kin-groups into the Nottoway community c.1695 and c.1737 mirrored other Iroquoian demographic strategies and adoption practices. Thus, Algonquian matrilineages could be preserved as new community segments. Many times, these additions were considered as “little” or “younger brothers” when formally incorporated politically (Tooker 1978:428-429). Coalescence was also a response to community needs for defense, including the removal and consolidation of some Nottoway-Meherrin with the Tuscarora as the sixth nation of the Iroquois Confederacy (Gatshet 1883:4, 36; Rudes 1981:32-34; Wallace and Reyburn 1951; Woodard 2013:121-122, 126-128).

THE NOTTOWAY IN THE COLONIAL ECONOMY

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Nottoway were firmly engaged in the Virginia fur trade. Acting both as hunters and interpreters for James River English traders, Nottoway men ranged far from the river homeland that bore their name. Regular hunting forays extended across the Virginia-Carolina fall line into the upland piedmont. Nottoway hunters were regularly noted along the upper Roanoke River (Stanard 1907:114) and seasonally “being gone” from their towns, “not being at home” or “gone abroad” (Stanard 1897:35-39). Lt. Governor Spotswood reported to the Board of Trade in London that the Nottoway were engaged in “Trafficking with the inhabitants their Skins and Furs for Cloathing, powder, Shott and other European manufactures” (I:167).

Deerskins were the main staple of the Nottoway trade, but beaver, mink, otter, and muskrat were also trapped (Crane 2004:328; Traunter 1698:10). Each hunting season, the Nottoway received credit with licensed traders – usually the employees of factors. Men like William Byrd of Westover and Nathaniel Harrison of Brandon funded the operations of dozens of Indian traders. Factors’ credit purchased European goods with merchants that, in turn, would be weighed against tobacco and skins trucked to warehouses along the James River. Skins and furs marked to be exported were first taxed by the Colony, the income used to supplement the funding for the Brafferton Indian School and the College of William & Mary. Spring and autumn exports of Nottoway skins from Virginia were received across the Atlantic in ports such as Glasgow and Liverpool. These imports would then be credited to accounts in England in order to balance the debts of factors, merchants, and shipmasters. The fur was felted mostly for hats while the deerskins were turned into leather for breeches, gloves, book covers, saddles, etc.

The credit the Nottoway received was extended to purchase “trade goods.” Guns replaced bows, linen and wool replaced buckskin, iron tools replaced stone, and kettles replaced Native ceram-

ics. The entrance of the Nottoway into a market system eroded the earlier subsistence-based economy, whereby like many Native groups in the colonial encounter, the community no longer was able to produce the items they needed or control the dynamics of exchange (see White 1983; Wolf 1998). Increased competition for diminishing resources lead to other Nottoway strategies for provisioning their towns’ needs. The establishment of Isle of Wight markets allowed the Nottoway to sell Indian-made wooden bowls and utensils, which assisted the Iroquoian towns with acquiring additional avenues for income (Henning II:410, 480; Binford 1967:167). Finely woven mats made of cattails or tule reed were also sold to planters, as were “Baskets of their own making” “of a very fine sort of Bullrushes, and sometimes of Silk-grass, which they work with the figures of Beasts, Birds, Fishes” or dyed in “several sorts of Figures, in imitation of Gorges, Crosses, Stars, or any other odd kind of Figure that their imagination suggests” (Byrd 1967:122; Brickell 1737:338, 349). A modified Euro-Indian ceramic tradition also emerged during this period. Nottoway women produced earthenware plates, shallow bowls, and mugs in European styles for sale to Southside farmsteads (Binford 1964:303; 1990; Egloff and Potter 1982:114).

Land sales coincided with the Nottoway and associated groups’ participation in the fur trade and the expanding colonial frontier. Loss of territorial hunting grounds through European settlement, marked with an increase in demand for manufactured goods, resulted in a “viscous cycle” of dependency and debt with James River traders (Binford 1967:163-168; Rountree 1987:198; Woodward 2013:45-48). Equally, competition for land use and trade resources created factionalism among Iroquoians:

“...the Tuskaruroe Indians (being incouraged thereto) do often come in the upper partes of the Countrey, about Appamattox, amongst the English, who furnish them with Gunns and Powder & shott, which enables them to hunt upon and burn up all the their [Nottoway] grounds, whereby their game is

Destroyed and their hunting spoiled. That the English trust the Tuskaruroes in trade with Rum & other goods which they bring out amongst the Nottowayes, and sometimes set into Play [gambling], and lose all or great parte of those goods, and not being able to make satisfaction to the English, they tell the tell them the Nottways take their goods from them, which occasions Differences and dissatisfaccons between the English and the Nottoways” (Palmer 1875:65).

The sale of uninhabited lands allowed for the settling of trade deficits and reopening of exchange with local merchants and traders who kept those debts. The Nottoway complained that they were often engaged by “ill disposed and dishonest people” who plied them with alcohol and took “great advantages of them, by first getting them in debt, and then taking their skins, money, cloaths, and ammunition; by which means they defeat the just trader from getting paid, for furnishing them with the necessaries of life” (Hennings V:273). At other times the Nottoway feigned that they were decrepit and unable to maintain themselves without the land sales,

“...reduced by warrs sickness and other casualties, to a small number and among those that remain many are old and unable to labour or hunt...whereas they have petitioned this general assembly to be enabled to sell the first mentioned tract in small parcels, for the payment of their debts, and the better support and maintenance of them and their posterity” (Hennings IV:459).

Thus, the sale of Nottoway lands enabled the community to alleviate their debts and resupply their households with manufactured goods, livestock, and other services. The long-term impact, however, of Nottoway increased participation in the colonial economy was the loss of control of their provisioning resources.

THE NOTTOWAY COLONIAL RESERVATION, CIRCA 1730-1750

Towns and Houses

At the time of the Nottoway’s settlement at Ronotough, the community’s cultural patterns remained indigenous in character, however changed in their materiality and provisioning practices. Colonial descriptions c.1730, such as from William Byrd II and physician John Brickell, indicate Iroquoian houses were still “made of Saplings, arched at the top, and cover’d so well with Bark as to be proof against all Weather” and were “made oval, or round like an Oven.” These cabins were multigenerational, where three or four matrilineal “Families commonly live together, all related to one another...In one of these Houses.” The kindred shared several central interior fires, “made in the Middle...the Smoak whereof finds no other Vent but at the Door, and so keeps the whole family Warm” (Brickell 1737:290-291; Byrd 1967:114).

Byrd also wrote of “Appartments” with regard to Nottoway housing, possibly relating to the multiple sections of the longhouse divided among family segments. These bedding and storage areas formed the interior structure of the houses, “The Indians have no standing Furniture in their Cabanes but Hurdles to repose their Persons upon, which they cover with Mats or Deer-skins.” Brickell’s portrayal agrees, “These Dwelling-Houses have Benches all round, except where the Door stands, whereon they lay Beasts Skins and Mats made of Rushes, on which they sleep and loll, having no other Beds but these.” When Byrd’s troupe visited the Nottoway, they were given “the best Appartments... which just before had been made ready for our Reception, and adorn’d with new Mats, that were sweet and clean.” These scant details provide the character of mid eighteenth-century Nottoway lodgings – with wooden benches and bark coverings, tanned deer-skins and woven mats – organized around central hearths. The Nottoway matrilineage, the ohwachira, translates as “a fireside,” the metaphor for closely related families that live next to one another and share a lodge fire.

John Brickell's account of the interior coastal plain described other village structures, such as ramadas and storehouses, the latter being a modification related to increased participation in the Virginia fur trade,

"They have other sorts of Cabins made without Windows or Holes at the top, which are their...Store-Houses for their Deer or Bever Skins, and all other kind of Merchandize that they deal in. They have Cabbins of another kind made like a Shead, being only covered over head, the rest left open to the Air; these have Reed Hurdles like Tables to lie and sit on in Summer, and serve for pleasant Banqueting Houses in the extremity of the hot Weather?" (1737:291).

As early as 1609 and 1621, Native leaders had European-style houses constructed in Indian towns, including the Weyanock coalesced with the Nottoway. In their old settlement at Warekeck, the Weyanoke had an "English-built house... and an apple orchard;" the former long gone by the time the Nottoway resettled Ronotough on the "Waricake old fields." However, the Nottoway had adapted their Great Town palisade fortifications, conforming to the square pattern of the English; possibly some other aspects of Virginia architecture made its first appearance amongst the Nottoway during this era. For the English housing style, Lewis Binford notes that frame construction, rather than hewn log, was the prevalent form at this time. Among the neighboring Iroquoians and Algonquians, Brickell indicated he was most familiar [1729-1731] with the remaining Tuscarora and nearby Chowan, stating that oval bark cabins were the normative structures in Indian Towns, "except the civilized Kings, who of late have Houses fashioned and built after the manner that the Christians build theirs." Over the next fifty years, houses at Nottoway Town would become transformed, both in their interior material goods and in their construction. They would however, remain organized in an indigenous pattern based on uxorilocality [living with the mother's family] and matrilineal kinship [descent through the mother]

(Binford 1967:157-161; Brickell 1737:291; Stanard 1900 8:3-4; Woodard 2013:136-137)

During the mid-eighteenth century the Nottoway maintained horticultural plots, as well as a limited animal husbandry, and the men were constantly hunting. Corn was the major crop staple of the community, as mentioned in passing by William Byrd II c.1730 and by the House of Burgesses in 1759, "by reason of their Absence from Home made little corn to subsist on, and praying that some allowance may be made them to purchase Corn for support of themselves and their Families" (Byrd 1967:116; McIlwaine 1915 [1908:86]). The women worked these horticultural fields through the traditional sexual division of labor, "The little Work that is done among the Indians is done by the poor Women, while the men are quite idle, or at most employ'd only in the Gentlemanly Diversions of Hunting and Fishing. In this, as well as in their Wars, they now use nothing but Fire-Arms, which they purchase of the English for Skins" (Byrd 1967:116). Pigs, dogs, and a few horses were among the Nottoway's animals, howsoever not entirely used for subsistence. Nottoway attachment to swine came during this and an earlier era, first as semi-wild stocks in their swamps, and second as a reoccurring staple of domesticity. Byrd indicated that he offered "bacon & Rum" as negotiable commodities in village exchange, "which they accepted very kindly, the Ladys as well as the Men" (115). Nottoway engagement with animal husbandry increased over the next half century, becoming more a part of daily life and seasonal commerce.

Early Land Sales

The Nottoway petitioned to sell their Circle Tract reservation in 1734, after they retired to the south shore of the Nottoway River at Ronotough. The sales of the northern Nottoway lands provided relief from existing trade debts and an infusion of currency into the Nottoway community. To manage the land sales and the resulting income distribution, the Virginia House of Burgesses appointed four to six "Trustees" to manage the Indians' affairs. These men facilitated the commodification

King William Edmonds	Jack Will	Alexander Scholar
Colonel Hill	Jamey [James]	Robin [Robert] Scholar
Cockerouse Tom	John	[Capt.] Charles Skipper
Cockerouse Will	John, Jr.	George Skipper
Old / Captain Sam	John Turner	Watt [Walter] Bailey
Cherino	Indian Dick [Richard]	William Hines
Doctor Tom	Ned [Edward]	Wineoak Arthur
Frank	Peter	Wainoak Robin [Robert]
Harrison	Old/Indian Roger Cheavins [Chavis]	Robin Wainoak Jr.

TABLE 1. HEADMEN LISTED ON NOTTOWAY DOCUMENTS BETWEEN 1715 AND 1749

of Nottoway land through surveys, estimating market values, overseeing transactions and disbursing monetary funds, or equivalent in trade goods, to the headmen of Indian Town. Nottoway Trustees were White men, Southampton County landowners, and usually of considerable political and economic standing in the Southside; they were not Nottoway Indians. The House approved the Nottoway request to sell their Circle Tract lands, and in 1735 Trustees Thomas Cocke, Benjamin Edwards, and John Simmons held an auction for about one quarter of the northern reservation. Twenty-eight parcels were sold for the “support and maintenance” of Indian Town residents, raising about £500. The land transactions were made in tripartite contract, or indentures, among the chief men of the Nottoway, the Trustees, and the purchasers. After these first sales, as the Nottoway needed monetary resources or material goods, they sold land to generate income. By 1754 the majority of the Circle Tract was surveyed and sold, with only a few small parcels remaining (Briggs and Pittman 1997:139-140; Woodard 2013:143-146).

The sale price of individual Circle Tract plots ranged widely, from fourteen shillings to forty-five pounds, depending on the size of the parcels and relationship of the buyers to the Nottoway headmen. The monies derived from land sales were used to supplement the growing mercantile needs of the community: merchant and traders’ goods such as blankets, brass kettles, new guns, iron tools, linens, powder, shot, rum, and woolens. Nottoway reliance on merchant capital intensified as they further consumed finished goods, adopted

animal husbandry, and acquired farming implements (Rountree 1987:196-201; Woodard 2016; and see Biolsi 1992:1-33; Meyer 1994:9-67; O’Brien 1997).

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

ed whole cloth as honorifics, others as hybridized descriptors, and some by descent. The headmen in Table 1 are listed on Nottoway documents between 1715 and 1749:

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR AND REVOLUTIONARY WAR ERA, CIRCA 1750-1790

With the transformation of the landscape surrounding Indian Town, the Nottoway's maneuverability was significantly reduced, and the impact of territory loss became more acute. Hunting parties and trap lines ranged farther beyond the Roanoke frontier, and the Indian Trade shifted decidedly west of the Nottoway settlement. Trade deficits and the lack of Nottoway resources again required the Nottoway to pursue alternative avenues for subsistence. Through the lobbying of their Trustees, a 1752 act of the House of Burgesses was passed for the protection of the Nottoway:

“Many evil disposed persons under pretence of the said Indians being indebted to them do frequently disposes them of their guns, blankets, and other apparel, to their great impoverishment...persons so offending, shall forfeit and pay to the Indian or Indians so injured, the sum of twenty shillings current money, for every such offence... [and] shall be paid to the trustees aforesaid, and by them laid out in common necessaries of life, for the Indian to whose use the same shall be recovered” (Hening VI:286).

The tribe also requested to sell more of their reservation lands in 1748 and 1756, totaling 20,000 acres out of the Square Tract parcel. With their settlement situated along the river, the Nottoway elected to sell the lower portion of their Southampton lands. While the Acts to sell these tracts provided monetary income and relief from existing and future debts, the reduction of Nottoway territory also further impacted the men's ability to hunt and trap as extensively as before.

The French and Indian War

As the French and Indian War began in the mid-1750s, Virginia called upon the colony's trading partners, the Cherokee and Catawba, to take up the fight against the French and their Native allies from the Ohio country. Garrisons and forts were established along the Virginia frontier, and war parties began arriving in Williamsburg several times a year to be supplied before heading to the frontlines. In the spring of 1756 a band of Cherokee “were received by the Militia of this City under Arms, attended by a great Concourse of People” and soon “agreed to proceed immediately to Winchester to join our Forces.” The conflict also afforded small tributary nations the opportunity to resituate themselves within the colonial dynamic, and reassert their roles as allies of the Crown.

“Yesterday came to Town several of the Nottoways, to renew their ancient League with their Brothers the Cherokees, which was done in the Market Place, by smoking the Pipe, &c. after which the Cherokee Warrior made a long Speech, desiring the Nottoways to go immediately to the Assistance of their Brothers the English, to fight strong, and drive away the French and Indians, who have seized the Lands of their Father King George. The Nottoways have agreed to go, and will set off in a few Days, together with the Cherokees” (*Maryland Gazette*, May 6, 1756).

That season, fourteen Nottoway joined sixty Cherokee warriors in action around Ft. Cumberland, Maryland and Winchester, Virginia. Led by Lt. James Baker of Isle of Wight County, the Nottoway received buckskins for new moccasins and a coat a piece upon arrival. The Nottoway fought in several engagements against the French and Shawnee through the midsummer, alongside Thomas Cresap, Nathaniel Gist, and Adam Stephen, all under the command of the young Lt. Colonel George Washington. However, unable to pay the Iroquoians the agreed upon “bit per day,” by July Washington purchased various “sundries for the Nottoways”

and allowed them to retire from the battlefield with their newly acquired side arms. In August as the Nottoway planned to head for Southampton, Washington called upon "Capt. Tom" Step of the Nottoway to deliver a written speech and wampum strands to the Tuscarora chief men in North Carolina. Step had proven himself a worthy ally during the summer, and as a probable Brafferton alumnus, his literacy allowed Washington to address the Tuscarora through Step as a proxy; Washington's goal was to raise more warriors for the next season of fighting against the French. As Virginia enlistments dwindled in September 1756, Washington encouraged Lt. Governor Robert Dinwiddie to monetarily pay the Nottoway and Tuscarora to fight alongside the colonials. When Lt. Baker returned to Isle of Wight in December, Washington again asked for the Nottoway and Tuscarora to come to his assistance (Robert Dinwiddie to George Washington, 4/23/56; William Fairfax to George Washington, 4/26/56; George Washington to Adam Stephen, 5/18/56; Adam Stephen to George Washington, 5/29/56; George Washington to Robert Dinwiddie 8/4/56; 9/8/56; 12/19/56; George Washington to the Tuscarora, 8/1/56 [GWP]; Quarles 1974: 36-37).

Thomas Step was successful in his overture to the Tuscarora, and in March of 1757 Lt. Baker, King James Blunt, "39 Tuscaroras, 13 Nottoways, 7 Meherrins, and two Sapponyns" arrived in Williamsburg to join Virginia's fight against the French. They were supplied armaments from the Magazine, as well as "Ammunition, Cloathing... Paint," "Blankets, &c." to encourage and sustain them. Too old to fight, Blunt's emissary to Virginia was the first in some time. He produced Washington's Tuscarora speech to the Governor, and designated "Captain Jack" to lead the war party, join Lt. Baker's column to Fredericksburg, and take the band on to Winchester. By midmonth, over 300 Indians had followed, including the Catawba under Hagler and the Cherokee under Second Yellow Bird. A large display of presents were organized for the Indians' enlistment, but the British struggled to have enough materials in continual supply, and were challenged by the task of managing the Indian parties (*Maryland Gazette* 4/21/57; McIl-

waine VI:39; George Washington to Dinwiddie 5/29/57 [GWP]).

During the 1757 action, several warriors distinguished themselves and Washington recommended Gov. Dinwiddie recognize their specific efforts. Among them was "Captain Tom, the Chief of the Nottoways: He has received less, and deserves more than any of them; as he used great pains to bring the Tusk[arora]s, and has met with no reward for it, although he was promised one." Thomas Step and the other tributaries fought through the summer, providing war parties from Ft. Cumberland and Ft. Loudon against the French and Shawnee around Ft. Du Quesne and Logstown. By the fall, most all of the Indians had retired (George Washington to Dinwiddie 6/10/57; Gov. Arthur Dobbs to William Lyttelton 4/10/57 [GWP]; Quarles 1974:37).

About half of the Nottoway-Tuscarora band rejoined the fight in summer and fall of 1758, meeting Washington's escort above Williamsburg at the King William County Courthouse. They served at Winchester's Ft. Loudon, Ft. Cumberland in Maryland, and Ft. Bedford [Raystown], Pennsylvania, providing raiding parties and armed guards for colonial supply trains. Provisioned by General Forbes with new armaments, the Nottoway-Tuscarora stayed on with the fight when many Cherokee abandoned the effort. Arriving as a part of Washington's Virginia Regiment, they scouted Forbes' road toward Ft. Du Quesne, and according to Lt. Col. Henry Bouquet and others, fought "very well" "all last Summer and Fall in Conjunction with his Majesty's Forces, against the French, faithfully and honestly, until the Reduction of Fort Du Quesne." Later, the House of Burgesses noted,

"Tom Step, Billy John, School Robin [Robert Scholar], and Aleck Scholar, Nottoway Indians...were in the Service of this Colony, and did behave themselves with great Bravery during the last Campaign, particularly...Tom Step, who distinguished himself very remarkably in the Action before Fort Du Quesne, under the Command of Major Grant."

In recognition of their service, the House agreed to further compensate the Nottoway, “Tom Step ought to be allowed £10 and the other three Indians £5 each, as a Reward for their Service.” Recommended to the Governor by George Washington and Adam Stephen, Step was further decorated with the “purchase [of] a Silver Gorget and a Suit of Cloths, to be presented to Captain Thomas Step, one of the Nottoway Indians, as a Mark of Distinction, and as a Reward for his brave and gallant Behaviour during the last Campaign” (Henry Bouquet to George Washington 7/8/58; Francis Faquier to George Washington 6/25/58 [GWP]; McIlwaine IX:94).

Removal to New York

At the conclusion of the French and Indian War, 160 Carolina Tuscarora elected to remove from their southern reservation and rejoin their kinsmen in New York. While others, including some Meherrin and Nottoway, immigrated to the Susquehanna River before 1752, the 1760s migration was the largest since the 1722 adoption of the Tuscarora into the Northern Iroquois League. Growing pressure from encroaching Whites, increased isolation in Virginia-Carolina, and recent tribal reconnections made while on the Pennsylvania frontier, likely influenced the decision to relocate to the Susquehanna towns. The elders of the Tuscarora told Carolina Governor Tryon in 1766 that, “we are mostly old men” “and children” “our young men [have]... gone to the Northward with the Northern Chief Tragaweha [or Diagawekee / Tiagawehe].” Of the 200-300 Nottoway enumerated by William Byrd II c.1730, just thirty-five adults remained in Southampton County by 1773, only three of which can be identified as the prominent men of the records from the 1750s. Thomas Jefferson offered a more dire description in 1781, “Of the Nottoways not a male is left. A few women constitute the remains of that tribe. They are seated on the Nottoway river in Southampton county, on very fertile lands.” Thus, the evidence suggests that waves of northern migration dwindled the populations of the Virginia-Carolina Iroquoian Indian Towns. By the time of the American Revolution about fifty Nottoway

remained in Southampton, 100 Tuscarora on their Bertie County reservation, and just a few families among the Meherrin and the Algonquian Chowan (Ayers MS 3212; Clark 1890 VII:218-220; Jefferson 1787:155-156; Wood 1992:34).

The Tuscarora departing Carolina funded their southern exodus through the 1766 leasing of 8000 acres of their reservation, leaving the remaining 3-4000 acres under the management of the Indians that chose to stay. In a plausibly parallel strategy, the Nottoway sold about 5200 acres of their Southampton Square Tract in the late 1750s, and another 1600 acres in the early 1760s. The Tuscarora raised nearly £1000 from their rentals – used to buy provisions, wagons, and horses – while the Nottoway raised more than £919 from their land sales. No doubt some of this income went to address existing debts and community needs, but much of it supported the removal effort. As they were moving through Paxton, Pennsylvania en route to New York, the convoy suffered some losses at the hands of antagonistic colonials. However the Virginia-Carolina groups eventually settled on the Susquehanna River, south of the existing Tuscarora villages. Those that emigrated established the villages of Shawiangto and Ingaren near present day Windsor, New York (Boyce 1973:50-51, 98-101; DB2:124-144, 59-60, 163-164; DB3:84-87, 103-105, 228-230; Henning VIII:588-591; Johnson 1968 II:89-90; Wood 1992:33-34).

The reduction of the Nottoway population to approximately fifty individuals impacted the community in substantive ways, with an unanticipated long-term outcome. With the continued emigration of many adults to New York, the remaining Virginia Nottoway adults, and soon-to-be adults, had a decreased pool of potential Iroquoian marriage partners. The result of this imbalance was contracts with non-Nottoway spouses, and a further shrinking of the matrilineal members of the community. Children of Nottoway men by non-Nottoway mothers can be referred to as “agnatic” Nottoway, and did not carry the same rights to tribal leadership positions and hereditary roles of matrilineal descent. With the removal of Indians from the re-

gion, further complications emerged with children of White and Black marriages; a biological diversity came to be present at the Southampton Nottoway settlement. Born c.1831, Millie Woodson-Turner's Nottoway parents were of African, Native American, and European descent.

It is unclear the exact processes by which these southern refugees removed and settled in the north, but the population loss on both reservations was documented in the local records of the 1770s. The Tuscarora consolidated their Carolina settlement in one village Resootskeh, and the Meherrin, dwindled to less than sixty individuals, either abandoned or were driven from their reservation, and apparently established a series of conjoined private farms along Potecasi Creek in Hertford County, marked as the "Meherrin Indians Town" on the 1770 Collet Map. The remaining Nottoway huddled along the stretches of the river near their fishing shores at the juncture of the Assamoosick's Concorie Branch, somewhat east of Warekeck / Ronotough (Boyce 1973:76-78; Dawdy 1994:113-120; Henning VIII:590; Saunders VI:616).

The easterly movement of the Nottoway settlements can be traced in the documentary and archaeological record of the Millie Woodson-Turner Site. Discussed below, by the early 1770s the Nottoway leased the former town center of Ronotough, among a number of tracts west of the settlements associated with the Woodson-Turner Home environs (DB4:535-547; DB5:1-3, 22-23, 516). The artifact record from the 2016 investigations of 44SN0341 show a correlating increase in eighteenth-century artifacts, indicating that domestic activity on the property occurred during this era, and may be associated with the residential shift. There were few diagnostic artifacts that indicated an earlier historical occupation before the mid to late eighteenth century. Two colonoware fragments – from Nottoway-made ceramic vessels – were recovered during the field surveys, and can be typically dated to pre 1800 on Nottoway sites; a single Westerwald fragment was recovered, a sixteenth- through eighteenth-century Rhineland-produced ceramic which, "confirms that there was at least some form of occu-

pation at the site in the 18th century." In support of this analysis, one Buckley-type Redware vessel sherd was found, a manufacture that predates the 1770s, and several Pearlware sherds were recovered, which begin manufacture in 1780. A kaolin pipe bowl fragment was also recovered, which are "ubiquitous on archaeological sites from the 17th through the 19th centuries." These artifacts speak to the emergence of a domestic space at the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead sometime during the era of the 1760s Nottoway removals to New York, and the correlating easterly shift [pre 1772] of Nottoway settlement away from Ronotough along the river terrace. The colonial-era artifacts were mostly recovered from the northeast end of the field survey, and possibly represent an Indian cabin from the last quarter of the eighteenth-century (see Appendix I).

Further Nottoway Land Sales and Leases

In 1772, the Southampton Nottoway approached the House of Burgesses to again approve the sale of the remaining lands from the old Circle Tract, which were a few small parcels, and to also allow them to rent half of their Square Tract reservation to local planters. The Nottoway specified that the land they currently occupied should not be leased, and that they wished to protect their fishing place. The leases were intended to be long term [twenty one years], and not more than 300 acres within any one lease. The Trustees of the tribe were to collect and enforce the rentals agreements, which included not cutting more than half of the standing timber on each tract, and reporting to the Southampton Court each January an account of their annual rents. Within five years of each lease, the planters were to develop the property; the act of the Assembly stated that the lessees were to,

"build and compleatly finish a dwelling house twelve by sixteen feet, the frame to be sawed, covered with featheredge plank and shingled with good pine or cypress shingles, and shall moreover plant, inclose with good fences, and cultivate fifty apple trees on the lands so respectively leased to them"

The Trustees were instructed to use the money raised from the rentals to settle existing Nottoway debts, and once relieved, keep the remaining balance of the income in order to furnish “the said Indians with the common necessities of life,” as long as no accounts were directed toward “spirituous liquor.” For their troubles, the Trustees were granted a five percent fee on the “whole money arising from the sale and leasing.” The Assembly anticipated the arrangements would also allow the Nottoway to pay their annual tribute, which may have been arrears since the removal of many Nottoway northward (Henning VIII: 588-591).

The Trustees announced the 1772 rentals and land sale options by placing an advertisement on the courthouse door, at every church and chapel in Nottoway parish, and through a notice in the *Virginia Gazette*, all to be concluded through public auction. Twelve separate leases were arranged for approximately 2650 acres, raising an annuity for the Nottoway of £96.16.0. The leased lands were in the northwest corner of the reservation, west of the Millie Woodson-Turner Site on Indian Town Road, running from “Buckhorn Bridge” and “Buckhorn Road” or modern Cary’s Bridge and the environs around Buckhorn Quarter Road, Cary’s Bridge Road, Medicine Springs Road, and Pope’s Station Road. The leased land also included the old village site of Warekeck / Ronotough, further evidencing the easterly movement of the community along the riverine terrace in the northeastern section of the reserve (Henning VIII: 590-591; DB4:535-547; DB5:1-3, 22-23, 516).

From the 1750-1760s land sales and the 1770s rentals, a pattern begins to emerge with regard to the Nottoway and their financial relationship with their Trustee wardens. The Southampton Trustees, “whose duty was to watch over their interests, and guard them from insult and injury” managed a tribal trust fund and the disbursement of Nottoway annuities. Annually, or as occasion dictated [such as death or crop failure], the Trustees would allocate monies to supplement individual Nottoway subsistence or additional earned income. However, they also controlled the land surveys, pricing, and lease

agreements for the tribe. As prominent men of finance and politics in the county, the oversight of such large amounts of land, timber, and monetary resources created a situation whereby the Trustees found their position to be a lucrative one. As an outcome, a small circle of related and politically aligned men remained in control of the Nottoway Trusteeship for over a hundred years (Jefferson 1787:155; Woodard 2016).

By controlling the financial and material resources of the tribe, the Trustee system also undermined traditional Nottoway leadership roles, and restricted the economic maneuverability of the remaining Southampton Nottoway community. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, Nottoway headmen had to navigate two layers of colonial management: legislative permission to relinquish title to Native lands, and Trustee advocacy on the Nottoway’s behalf to seek fair market value and sale. Moreover, the capital accrued from land sales and rentals remained in the control of the Trustees and under Trustee management. The bureaucracy created by the colonial apparatus weakened the Nottoway headmen’s ability to affect desired outcomes, as Trustee oversight competed with indigenous leaders’ traditional roles as community negotiators and representatives. The Nottoway were thus, at the mercy of Trustee discretion for doling out resources: capital outlay for finished goods, resolution to trading debts, and continued access to a market the Nottoway did not control. Trustee mismanagement of Nottoway funds ensued, to the advantage of the Trustees and to the inequity of the Nottoway people (Woodard 2013:152).

The American Revolution

On the eve of the American Revolution, thirty-five adult Nottoway remained on the Southampton reservation. Relations with the Carolina Tuscarora appear to have been maintained during this period, even with the depressed numbers of community members at both locales; the surnames Rogers, Turner, Scholar, Seneca, and Wineoak appear on extant documents from both reservations and military records during the fourth quarter of

the eighteenth century. From a careful reading of those documents, a new phenomenon begins to emerge following the 1760s migrations: named Nottoway and Tuscarora women start appearing in official exchanges with the courts, state legislature, and tribal trustees. Of the thirty-five adult Nottoway listed in the 1773 annuity distributions, eighteen were women. Within ten years, Nottoway and Tuscarora women also began signing legal documents as consensual parties to tribal actions. Previously, only “great men,” “head men,” or “chief men” negotiated with outside parties. While matrilineal descent and residence characterized the internal organization of the Iroquoian communities, this shift in external representation was a significant departure from normative cultural practices, and likely signals the deterioration of some aspects of traditional Iroquoian socio-political organization (Woodard 2013:103-125).

The shift in demography also impacted the Nottoway’s ability to act as a corporate body in military affairs. Whereas during the French and Indian War the Nottoway and their relations fought as “tributary” “nations” for the Crown, during the American Revolution Southampton Indian recruits fought as individuals embedded within Virginia Regiments. From a limited amount of data, the same situation appears to be true of the remaining Meherrin and Tuscarora in North Carolina. In contrast, the Iroquoians that removed to New York were identified during the war by their tribal town names, or as belonging to the “Oneida and Tuscarora.” However, in those landscapes, there was political division between British and American alliances (Boyce 1973:85-106; Dawdy 1994:116-119; Thomas 2013: Appendix 1).

The Nottoway soldiers fought from beginning of the war, alongside Whites, Blacks, and other Indians in the service of the Commonwealth, integrated within revolutionary Virginia’s Regiments of Foot. One 1775 company within Col. David Mason’s 15th Virginia Regiment, was composed of men from multiple eastern Virginia counties, including Southampton and King William. Of the fifty-three privates counted at muster by May of

1777, nearly half of them may be associated with the Nottoway, Mattaponi, and Pamunkey; of the Nottoway, James Woodson, James Gabriel, William Seneca, Joseph Turner, and Peter Marriot may be counted among these men. The unit was deployed to New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and saw action at the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. Service records of Nottoway during the war indicate:

- Peter Meritt/Mariot and Joseph Turner were among the casualties of 1777.
- “Charles Winoke,” “Isaac Scollar” [5th Regiment], and “Robert Wainek” [6th Regiment] mustered in near the Tuscarora reservation at Edenton, North Carolina.
- Isaac Scholar was killed at the Battle of Germantown, Pennsylvania on October 4, 1777.
- John Woodson served his two-year enlistment and was discharged in February of 1778.
- Alexander Scholar mustered into the 4th Virginia Regiment and died in a hospital at New Windsor, New Jersey on December 24, 1778.
- Alexander Quaker joined the 4th Virginia Regiment and was among the 5,000 American prisoners of war following the 1780 siege of Charleston, South Carolina (Revolutionary War Rolls).

Thus out of the families represented in the 1770s documents from the Nottoway Indian Town, half sent young men into the service of the American Revolution, and at least three of them lost family members during the conflict. Nearly fifty years later, the Nottoway reminded the Virginia General Assembly that they had served the Commonwealth during the War for Independence, losing one of their “chiefs” to the cause (LP William G. Bozeman 1824). Again during another theatre of war the Nottoway and Tuscarora fought alongside each other, in service of the colonial and state govern-

ments to which they were tributary. As in the 1750s and 1760s, northern Iroquoian reconstructions may also have been made with the previously removed Tuscarora in New York, as one Virginia journalist indicated, “many [Nottoway] joined the Tuscaroras, to whom they were related by language, and in 1776 emigrated north with them” (Mead 1832:127).

THE NOTTOWAY DURING THE ERA OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC, CIRCA 1790-1830

Following the American Revolution only 25 Nottoway adults remained at Indian Town. Based on the language of the 1780s documents, the community was in difficult circumstances. Through war and removal, many had left; through intermarriage with Whites and Blacks, others were struggling to be recognized as Nottoway Indians. Nansemond land sales appear to have been a temporary solution for income, as was a meager profit from the sale of small tracts within the former Circle reserve. However, by 1790s the debt-to-income ratio was overwhelming for a small community accustomed to an infusion of young men’s actions by war, hunt, and prowess – now depleted to a few adult males. As the 1772 leases came due on twenty-one year contracts, the remaining Nottoway men elected to sell the properties for a bulk sum, which could be invested in stock, and hypothetically, retrieve annual annuities from the sale. Thus in 1792 the Nottoway divested themselves of another 2700 acres. Deeds were signed by the remaining chief men: William Gabriel, Littleton Scholar, James Woodson, Henry Woodson, Robert Wyoak, James Wyoak, and Thomas Turner. Possibly these men, or their nearly adult children, were destined for New York, or at least were contemplating voluntary removal. The Tuscarora chiefs returned at the beginning of the nineteenth century to retrieve their “people” from the south, and both of the Virginia and North Carolina reservations were engaged in discussions with state governments and the New York Tuscarora (Palmer 1890:332-333; LP 1791, 1792, 1803).

The Last Nottoway-Tuscarora Removals, c.1802-1803

A Tuscarora chief visited the Virginia Governor and future U.S. President James Monroe in the fall of 1802 with the intent of “undertaking to collect the scattered remains of my people” and with the “hope it will be convenient for you [Monroe] to have my business laid before your Legislature...” The chief bore the formal title of “Saguaresa,” or properly Sekwariθre, meaning the Turtle clan chief Spear Carrier. Visits to Richmond, Virginia and Windsor, North Carolina were undertaken to discuss Virginia-Carolina Iroquoian land claims and the migration of tribal remnants northward. The result of the diplomatic envoy was the 113-year lease of Tuscarora lands to North Carolina [which corresponded to the amount of time left on a 150-year lease from 1766] and a new North Carolina state treaty, as well as the emigration of “10-20 old families” from the south to New York. One Nottoway, Melbury Turner, immigrated to New York from North Carolina in 1802, indicating either a Meherrin or Tuscarora residence (Kappler 1913:701-704; Gatschet 1883-1884 MS 372-b; Palmer 1890:332-333; Parish Family Papers).

The Tuscarora political activity may have spawned an 1803 Virginia Nottoway Legislative Petition, in an effort to resolve the latter tribe’s land claims from their old Circle Tract survey and sales. The question of indigenous title clearly motivated an 1809 Virginia Attorney General’s opinion that “the [Nottoway] Indians’ claim under title paramount to every other – the aboriginal right to their soil before the rights of either the King or colony...or of the Commonwealth.” Judging by the response from Virginia’s Attorney General, Virginia’s Nottoway Indian lands were part of the Tuscarora discussion, but Virginia Nottoway tribal affiliation and autonomy were upheld as superseding any northern Nottoway claims presented. Despite these acknowledgements, some Nottoway removed without resolving land claims, leaving the future of the tribal preserve to their Virginia kinsmen who remained (LP Dec. 1803; Palmer 1892:69).

<i>NOTTOWAY</i> <i>SURNAMES 1773</i>	<i>NOTTOWAY</i> <i>SURNAMES 1808</i>
—	<i>Bartlett</i>
<i>Cookrouse</i>	—
<i>Gabriel</i>	—
<i>John</i>	—
<i>Merriot</i>	—
<i>Pearch</i>	—
<i>Quaker</i>	—
<i>Rogers</i>	<i>Rogers</i>
<i>Scholar</i>	<i>Scholar</i>
<i>Step</i>	<i>Step</i>
<i>Swan</i>	—
<i>TURNER</i>	<i>TURNER</i>
<i>Wineoak</i>	<i>Wineoak</i>
<i>WOODSON</i>	<i>WOODSON</i>

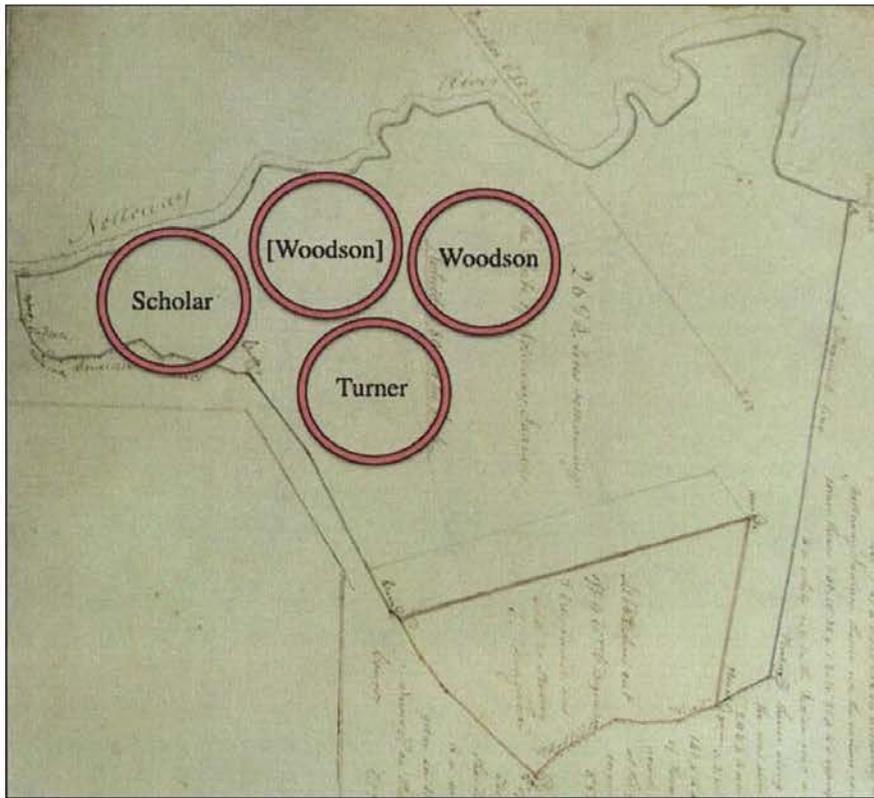
Table 2. Nottoway Town surname shift, 1773-1808. Through death, exogamy, and removal, the Turner and Woodson families became the dominant and most numerous matrilineages during the nineteenth century.

The number of Nottoway who left Virginia-Carolina during the 1802-1803 Tuscarora removal and land leases cannot be determined. It was the last Iroquoian exodus from Virginia-Carolina to New York, completing an effort started nearly ninety years earlier at the conclusion of the Tuscarora War. The migration reconnected related Iroquoians and through some formal process, socio-politically integrated Virginia-Carolina refugees with New York Tuscarora communities. Nottoway that removed during the waves of northern immigration c.1720-1800 relocated along familial lines, so that entire clusters of relatives migrated out of the region and disappeared from Southampton's documentary record. Nottoway population decline from 200-300 individuals c.1730 to approximately fifty in the 1770s reflects more than natural attrition; it infers the removal of lineages from the Nottoway community. A comparison of official tribal documents from 1770-1790s and 1808 confirms a shift in Nottoway surnames during the interim [Table 2], whereby through death, exogamy, or removal the community lost family segments (Ayer MS 3212; Byrd 1967:116; 1808 Cabell Papers; LP 1792).

Nottoway Leadership and Trustees

Less than a decade after the last eighteenth-century land sales, a strong leader named Edith Turner arose from the matrilineal women of the tribe, and the remaining few males acquiesced to her authority at the Nottoway reserve in Southampton. Whereas in previous decades Nottoway headmen were identified in formal dealings with the state, no specific leadership figures appear in turn-of-the-nineteenth century documents. Rather, during this period of increased population loss, adults of both sexes signed documents on behalf of the community. This may have been due to the political restructuring required when half of Indian Town's families removed to New York. Along with the contemporary report indicating some Nottoway removed at the time of the American Revolution, several other individuals were described as "absent" during 1790s transactions, suggesting several waves of migration, 1775-1803 (DB8:97-99, 102-103, 153-154, 248-251; Mead 1832:127). Nottoway civil leaders emerged during this transitional era, but it is unclear the exact means by which authority was wielded at the community level.

Thus at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the remaining Nottoway were the only Iroquoian community in the region to maintain continuous control over a portion of their indigenous territory – 4,235 acres in Southampton County (Map 3] (Briggs and Pittman 1995:11; Woodard 2013:125-126, 167). Few matrilineal Nottoway remained, and of those that did, each had either a "free negro," "mulatto," or "white" spouse, and their children were described variously as "Free Negro," "Indian," "Mulatto," or "White." After the c.1803 removal, the Trustees distributed annual provisions for all seventeen remaining matrilineal Nottoway, regardless of age. The practice may have started in the 1790s (Rountree 1987:200). An 1808 document fixed the annuity due each Nottoway at £9 annually, for a total of £153. With the 1790s land sales earning thousands of pounds for the tribal remnants, and thousands more existing in the tribal trust and rents owed, continuing Nottoway complaints about Trustee accounting and resource allocation signaled



Map 3. The remaining Nottoway lands, c. 1830. Circle areas are settlements of the matrilineages.

a level of on-going impropriety. Led by the “female chief” Edith “Edy” Turner, the Nottoway wrote the Governor and General Assembly and accused their Trustees of conflicts of interest, embezzlement, and mismanagement / misappropriation of Indian funds. Further, the Nottoway argued, the Trustees’ dysfunctional practices had been ongoing for years, but now with so few matrilineal Nottoway heirs remaining, Virginia should protect the tributary’s interests and call for an accounting of the tribe’s financial affairs (Cabell Papers July 18, 1808; Woodard 2013:160-162).

The General Assembly for the first time removed all of the Nottoway Trustees from office and ordered an audit of the tribal accounts. The language of the act suggests the Nottoway complained of abuse and requested “a settlement of their accounts, and...demand [to] recover from them [the former Trustees], or the executors or administrators of them, or any of them, whatever sum or sums of money or tobacco may be justly due from them” (Shepard 1836 III: 346-347). A similar Trustee turnover again occurred in the

1810s, when Nottoway complaints again required the Commonwealth to regulate Trustee oversight of tribal affairs. The Trustees were found to be syphoning off Nottoway money and mismanaging lands, loans, and rentals to the advantage of White landowners. The documentary record of the specific outcomes of these Nottoway complaints remains unclear. By the late 1810s, yet another new set of Trustees was “recently appointed to manage their affairs” (LP Dec. 16, 1818). Further investigation into the finances revealed, “that upon a settlement with their former Trustee, a balance of five hundred & two dollars 28/100 was all that remained of the proceeds” (LP Dec. 16, 1818). Judging from the amounts of money being handled by the Trustees for land sales, land leases, and personal loans ten and twenty years earlier, some mismanagement was indeed at work. Nottoway dissatisfaction with their Trustees continued through the first half of the nineteenth century, as demonstrated by the tribe’s multiple court cases and legislative petitions (e.g. CC Indian Trustees vs. Cobb et al., 1849-1852; LP Dec. 11, 1821; Dec. 13, 1823).

The coveting of Nottoway land appears as a reoccurring theme in the extant Trustee discourse. By the 1820s, the Trustees recommended to the General Assembly that they, along with the Southampton Court, should be given the local authority to manage Nottoway affairs of finance and land. This arrangement would “prevent the necessary recurrence to your honorable body whenever any new state of things presents itself” and allow the Trustees and Court “to be vested with the authority to direct & superintend the management of the whole matter” (LP Dec. 10, 1821).

The close relationship of the county court officials [Clerks, Judges], the Nottoway Trustees, the lawyers, and the land-owning elite of Southampton reflected the conjoined interests of the upper socio-economic class. Freeing the Nottoway managers from legislative oversight lessened the burdensome bureaucracy of liquidating tribal assets. When reading the Nottoway documentary record it becomes clear that the Trustees, county administrators, and local men of finance were in regular communication with one another. They consistently engaged the Nottoway on economic terms, with their primary attention focused on land and its unrealized potential for productivity.

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

The Final Reservation Land Sales and First Allotment Petitions

During the years of 1818-1821, a group of recently appointed Trustees petitioned the Legislature to sell Nottoway land needed for “furnishing them [the Nottoway] with the necessaries of life.” The Trustees recommended selling all of the remaining Indian land on extensive credit. The Nottoway refused this proposal, as it would “completely dispossess several of your petitioners of their plantations & settlements on which they have resided for several years.” Acknowledging the “reduced state of their fund” the Nottoway counter-petitioned the “legislature to amend the former law...or to pass a new law authorizing...[the] sale of the land contained in the annexed plat containing one thousand acres” on “one or two years credit” (LP Dec. 14, 1819). The Nottoway again pleaded with the General Assembly to hold the Trustees accountable, “that the said Trustees be compelled to account annually with the executive of the Commonwealth.” The 1819 document was endorsed by the marks of twelve adult Nottoway, including Edith Turner at the top of the petition, and undersigned by literate John and William Woodson – the two head males of the Woodson matrilineage. The bill was deemed reasonable, drawn and passed in February 1820 (LP Dec. 14, 1819; Dec. 10, 1821).

The legislative petitions filed during this period suggest competing views from the Nottoway and their Trustees about how best to stabilize the tribe’s growing debt and financial security. Though thwarted from selling as much of the Nottoway land as recommended, the Trustees persevered and arranged to sell one quarter of the tribe’s 4235 acres in four divisions (DB17:97-104; LP Dec. 16, 1818; LP Dec. 8, 1819; LP Dec. 14, 1819; LP Dec. 10 1821; LP Dec. 14, 1822). By the December 1821 Legislative Session, the Trustees again appealed to the General Assembly for more direct control over Nottoway affairs. Complaining that the interest of the new fund was insufficient to support the Nottoway material needs, the Trustees requested the county court be given full jurisdiction over Nottoway concerns, including annual accounting, the

determination of individual tribal annuities, and the collection of debts owed the tribe. Within this scheme, the Trustees could recover their own existing expenses from the principal of the trust, allow their colleagues [land buyers] to retain capital for their own uses, and thus influence the Nottoway estate's management at the local level (LP Dec. 10, 1821).

The Legislature deemed the Trustee request "reasonable" in January of 1822. The Nottoway did not endorse the petition and instead found new legal representation to propose another arrangement. The tribe needed monies for new agricultural pursuits, and to support growing families, then upwards of thirty matrilineal members. Headed by the Woodson matrilineage, the Nottoway also sought cash to pay for mounting legal fees associated with pursuing the tribal estate, and for defense attorneys needed by individual tribal members. The 1821 Nottoway petition contained something very different, however, from any previous request: upon mutual agreement reached by the tribe "convened in Council," they requested the Legislature "*to have their lands divided amongst them*" (LP Dec. 11, 1821, emphasis added).

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

pal amounts derived, and internally manage the distribution of those resources (LP Dec. 11, 1821).

To emphasize the Nottoway request, the chief and three other signatories signed the document with Iroquoian titles or personal names: Wane' Roonseraw or Edith Turner, Kare' hout or Polly Woodson, William Woodson, and Te-res-ke' or Solomon Rogers. Significantly, the 1821 Nottoway Legislative Petition is the only extant document of nineteenth-century Tidewater Virginia where Indian people use their indigenous language in political discourse. These individuals represented the leadership of the remaining Nottoway matrilineages, and notably, were two males and two females. One of the signatories of the 1821 petition, William Woodson, was also known as Billy Woodson or William G. Bozeman. He was the son of Nottoway Indian Nancy Woodson and Micajah "Mike" Bozeman, a White smallholding farmer. William G. Bozeman had a Quaker education and experience with his father's land dealings, both of which may have influenced this early Nottoway request for privatization and allotment. Bozeman was literate, had close association with his father's land purchases, monetary loans, and farming ventures. He also worked his own farm outfit, first as a laborer, and then as a landowner (C1820, Halifax County, NC; DB19:136, Northampton County, NC; OB1819-1822:433; PPTL1807-1821).

As well, the Nottoway had engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry for many years, selling crops, livestock, and home-manufactures in Southside markets. They worked as day laborers for monetary remuneration, purchased and hired slaves to work Nottoway agricultural lands, and accumulated personal property. An 1820 visitor to Nottoway Town described headwoman Edith Turner as "extremely intelligent... although illiterate she converses and communicates her ideas with... facility and perspicuity." While the Trustees dismissed Nottoway industry as not reaching the land's full potential, outsiders suggested portions of the tribe's "plantations" were "comfortable...[,] well furnished" and kept "in a good state of cultivation." Onlookers to the 1819-1820 land sales remarked Indian Town "farming and other business" was managed

“with discretion and profit” (Gentleman’s Magazine 1821:505-506; Cabell Papers 1808; Morse 1822:31; PPTL1782-1792, 1792-1806 and 1807-1821; OB1691-1713:83, Surry County, VA).

The Nottoway tribal petition for allotment was rejected by the General Assembly in January of 1822. The House approved the Trustees’ petition from the same year, but did not enable them to access any of the principal from the land sales [about \$4,000]. The Trustees claimed the available interest for annuities only amounted to about three dollars per Nottoway, which was not adequate to satisfy the “demands” of the community. The Nottoway recognized the arrangements. As long as the General Assembly maintained the Trustee system, the elites of Southampton could manipulate the financial trust.

Unsatisfied with the Trustees’ response and still wanting more control over the estate, the Nottoway considered their position. Another tribal petition went to Richmond in 1823. In this instance, only one tribal member applied for permission “to hold in fee simple so much land as he may be considered entitled to free from the control of the Trustees.” The genesis of the 1823 William G. Bozeman petition is not entirely clear. Additional tribal members did not endorse the application, nor did the Trustees; the petition was made by Bozeman as an individual. However, based on the previous Nottoway petition endorsed by four residents of Indian Town on behalf of the whole “Council” that also requested some form of allotment, the origins of the appeal can at least be partially attributed to the tribal community. In general, it can be said that allotting Nottoway land was a goal of some residents of Indian Town and a goal of some Southampton landowners. The exact configuration, however, of the agents orchestrating Bozeman’s appeal is unknown (LP Dec. 1823, Letter, Sept. 15, 1823).

The stipulations of the 1824 Act Concerning William G. Bozeman included:

- Nottoway individual rights to independent surveys,
- The ability to individually possess land allot-

ments and monies from the tribal trust,

- The Nottoway were granted “the same power to sell convey or exchange the same, as free white persons of this Commonwealth possess and enjoy” and lastly,
- The land allotments and financial trust were open to “any descendant of a female of the Nottoway” who applied.

And thus, William G. Bozeman also known as Billy Woodson, a principle male of the dominant Woodson matrilineage successfully lobbied the General Assembly for the allotment of the Nottoway reservation (Acts Passed...Commonwealth of Virginia 1824:101-102).

Six years later, the first allotments were taken by leadership figures of Indian Town. Edith Turner petitioned the Southampton court for an allotment of reservation land on March 11, 1830; five days later William G. Bozeman made the same request (CC). The lands surveyed were “the most inferior” of reservation and unoccupied by Nottoway residents. These actions suggest strategy on behalf of the community and coincide with Nottoway Town’s more complete participation in the agricultural economy. At a deeper level, Nottoway agency speaks to an indigenous understanding of economic relationships and the constraints imposed upon them within Virginia’s legal system.

Trustee Jeremiah Cobb was appointed commissioner to establish the Nottoway’s interest in their property, which Cobb later reported was 3,109 acres with a value ranging from \$4 to \$10 per acre. Averaged, the total valuation of the tribe’s real estate was \$21,763. Bozeman and Turner, as “two of the Nottoway Tribe of Indians” received a 1/27 division of the surveyed land, 209¼ acres in severalty each, plus a cash payment from the general fund of \$24.50 for three and one-half acres that were lacking from the survey. Bozeman and Turner made arrangements to sell the combined allotments to Henry Vaughan, a White planter who previously [1819-1823] purchased Nottoway lands from the Trustees. The newly surveyed tract conveniently bordered Vaughan along the Belfield Road, south of

Indian Town, suggesting the community coordinated the survey, the sale, and the locations of the allotments. Vaughan paid \$1160 to Bozeman and Turner for 416½ acres in May of 1830. It would be over ten years after the 1824 Bozeman Act – and fifteen since the 1821 “Council” request – before further Nottoway allotments were made in 1835. (CC May 1830; DB21:381).

THE NOTTOWAY DURING THE ANTEBELLUM ERA, CIRCA 1830-1860

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

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

Nineteenth-century references to the community’s settlement give the impression of small farmsteads located on agricultural lands crossed by tracts of timber, generally referred to as the “Indian Woods.” The “Edi Turner settlement” was located

south of the Indian path and Jack Woodson’s place was noted as a tract of land surrounding a “small log house situated on the Indian Road” (DB24:116; 25:62). A swath of timber “in the Indian Woods” was cut “on the land of Edwin D. Turner” (DB34:212) not far from the crops of “corn, cotton, peanuts and peas planted on the farm of...Alex Steward” (DB34:176). Families occupied a “small log cabin” or “a well furnished and comfortable cottage” where “horses, cows, and other domestic animals” were housed in pens, sheds, or arbors (Binford 1961:246; Morse 1822:31). Most households had apple, cherry, peach, or pear trees nestled between adjacent farmlands, and small creeks crisscrossed the “low lying” grounds in the Indian Woods (DB28:699; DB38:404). Along the river, several sections were known as “guts” where arteries of the Assamoosick Swamp joined the Nottoway (DB28:699). Here, a “sain fence” or V-shaped rock weirs were seasonally fished by Indian Town residents, and the “Indian seine place” or “Indian fishing place” appeared as a landmark in period deeds and plats (CC March 4, 1854; DB8:98, 250; OB1835-1839:153; PB20:12; Trout and Turner 2006:45-46; Woodard 2013:211).

Nottoway Marriage and Descent

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

Challenges emerged for the Nottoway matrilineage system, as the children of Nottoway men with non-Nottoway women created an imbalance in the rights to community resources, in both spheres of socio-cultural practice and political economy. Ir-

Iroquoian descent and the codified Virginia laws governing Nottoway resources, stated that allotments could be requested by “any descendant of a female of the Nottoway.” Thus, as a matrilineal Nottoway Billy Woodson/William G. Bozeman could receive allotment land and a share of the trust, but because he married a White woman, his children could not. His sister, Winifred Woodson-Bozeman passed her rights to her children, and in turn through one of the females, the descent carried to her granddaughter, Millie Woodson. During the antebellum era, Nottoway families were anchored around female sibling sets, tied to the matrilineal resources of land and membership in the extended lineage.

Indian Town residents increasingly oriented themselves as linked nuclear families, and framed their external relations around farm production and labor exchange. Individual property ownership and personal finance became tied to small family interests, rather than communal compounds where resources were equally divided among matrilineage members. Depressed Indian population numbers necessitated marriages beyond Indian Town, with surrounding Whites and other Free People of Color. Prior to the Civil War, Indian Town economic relationships, business interactions, and marriage-mate selection drew from the neighboring population (Woodard 2013:214-213).

During the antebellum era, Nottoway Turner and Woodson matrilineage members were certified by the Southampton County Court as “not a free negro or mulatto,” but “persons of mixed blood” and “descendants of a female of the Nottoway Tribe of Indians” (e.g. OB18:320 [1837]; M22:169 [1864]). However, some of the individuals certified as “not a free negro or mulatto” were described in other documents as having one non-Nottoway “free negro” parent (LP John Turner 1837). Intriguingly, Virginia’s Attorney General upheld Nottoway rights as “tributary Indians,” despite tribal members meeting the “statutory definition [of] a mulatto” or “having one fourth or more negroe blood” (LP Parsons Turner 1838). Southampton court orders relating to racial or legal definitions of Nottoway people were always certified “upon satis-

factory evidence of white persons adduced to the Court” (OB18:320).

The Nottoway were increasingly forced to navigate a legal code established to restrict Free Peoples of Color’s social, economic, and political mobility. During a period of increased tension between Whites and individuals of African ancestry [i.e. Nat Turner’s 1831 Rebellion occurred in Southampton County], Indian Town contended with the demographic impact of the 1802-1803 Iroquoian removals and the challenges associated with non-Nottoway intermarriage. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, there were no matrilineal Nottoway married to other matrilineally-descended Nottoway, but rather “their husbands and wives are chiefly free negroes” “mulatto” and “white” (Cabell Papers, July 18, 1808; LP, Cobb to Bowers, December 31, 1821). Between 1830 and 1850 at least two marriages between the remaining Nottoway matrilineages occurred [Edwin Turner and Betsy Woodson; Parsons Turner and Mary Woodson], as did one union between a matrilineal-descended Nottoway woman and an agnatic-descended Nottoway male [Patsy (Martha) Woodson and Alexander Scholar]. These “inside” Indian Town marriages maintained clan and lineage rules, and demonstrate efforts to support and foster Nottoway solidarity within an increasingly narrow social position and shrinking Iroquoian demographic. Millie Woodson-Turner’s mother was Mary or Patsy Woodson, and from this Nottoway ancestry Millie Woodson-Turner accessed an allotment tract on Indian Town Road (Woodard 2013:231, 368-369, 370-377).

The Nottoway Reservation Allotment

Nottoway allotments during the Antebellum occurred in two waves, first during the period of 1830-1840, and then 1847-1854; additional allotments also occurred during post-war Reconstruction, 1868-1871. The 1830-1840 divisions were surveyed and nearly immediately sold, repeating the previous Nottoway pattern of using land sales as a means of generating significant income. Possibly the revenue was distributed among matrilineages or collectively managed by the community leaders.

Based on the allotment petitions and sales, collective community action is implied, rather than acts of individualism.

The 1847-1854 allotments, however, took on a different character. The majority of property allotments from this later period were retained by tribal members and developed into smallholding farms managed by conjoined nuclear families. Land allotments were requested as group efforts, with matrilineage sibling sets or parallel cousins [Ir-quoian classificatory siblings] leading the allotment initiatives. While small-producing Nottoway farms were flourishing, some tracts were sold within several years; property acquisition and sale could be a means to promote other agendas. One entire lineage segment [Taylor] relocated during this period, opting to timber their tracts, sell their shares, and remove to Richmond and Petersburg for wage labor opportunities. Importantly, Indian Town headman Edwin Turner purchased these allotment lands from the Nottoway planning removal (DB28:699), and thereby retained allotted land, but enlarged his personal property (C1850-1860 Petersburg, VA; DB28:44, 357-358; Woodard 2013:258-259).

The matrilineal component of the Nottoway community requested allotments near the time of their adulthood, and of those that did not sell, they kept their personal tracts as individual property owners. Judging by the household composition and residence of allottees following the transactions, the funds from some land sales were reinvested in multi-generational, matrilineal, sibling-set farmsteads (C1850-1870; D28:306, 339).

The tribe again sued their Trustees in 1849-1852, in an attempt to recover missing funds and unpaid rents and annuities. The Chancery Court case was complicated by the death of former Trustees, but the Nottoway were eventually able to recover some of the funds, pursue new allotments, and request the appointments of new Trustees (CC Indian Trustees vs. Cobb et al., 1849-1852; CO1832-1858:260-261; 273). No further proceedings against the former Trustees emerged before the Civil War. Based on a careful review of the documentary re-

cord, it is obvious the new Nottoway Trustees and their legal representatives were more careful and transparent with recordkeeping than previous generations. The Nottoway continually resisted Trustee manipulation and paternalism, confronted their protectorates' embezzlement, and actively sought financial control of their real and personal property. A pattern of struggle, resistance, accommodation, and acceptance is revealed through decades of legislative and judicial proceedings. Following the Trustee court case, matrilineage segments consolidated their holdings more fully in small family farms. With the infusion of capital, more active participation in labor sharing, cash crop production, and individual farm development, Indian Town showed signs of prosperity during the decade before the Civil War.

THE MILLIE WOODSON-TURNER ALLOTMENT AND FARMSTEAD, CIRCA 1850-1860

Born c.1831, Millie Woodson-Turner was one of the few residents of Indian Town whose parents were both of matrilineal Nottoway descent. Her mother called for her first allotment of Indian land in 1837, and received additional shares in 1840. During that time one of the Turner men was the subject of an important court case during the late 1830s, in which the Attorney General of Virginia confirmed the Nottoway's tributary status. From the records of that case, Parsons Turner's matrilineal descent was confirmed, but also some level of African ancestry, as he was described as "having one fourth or more negroe blood." To clarify this apparent legal conflict, the Attorney General ruled:

"to the case of [a] member of any of the tribes of tributary Indians although such member may be in the statutory definition a mulattoe...they are under the full powers of our laws, but it is in the their character of members of a dependent nation of indians that their relation to the government is formed, and not their individual character as mulattoes?"

“In their character of members of a dependent tribe of Indians the individuals of the [Nottoway] tribe have all the privileges of Indians. The fact that some of them may also be mulattoes should not deprive them of this privilege. The term mulatooe might by a liberal construction embrace them[.] But as the law should be strictly construed I cannot think that they are properly embraced in it” (Sidney S. Baxter, Attorney General of Virginia, LP Parsons Turner, March 29, 1838).

Thus, the 1838 ruling recognized the Nottoway’s tributary status, as well as confirmed matrilineal descent as a means of identifying members of the tribe. This case, along with the 1824 Bozeman Act, codified Indian rights and resources as linked to matrilineality. Only individuals who “descend from a female of the Nottoway,” could access allotment lands or the financial trust. However, these orders also locked the community into a legal framework that would not allow flexibility in the reckoning of tribal resources. From 1824 onward, Virginia law, not Iroquoian cultural practice, dictated access to the Nottoway estate.

Of the daughters of Winifred Woodson [also known as Winifred Bozeman, sister of William G. Bozeman, the 1824 allotment act petitioner], there are several females in the Nottoway records named “Patsy,” “Polly,” and “Mary.” Whether one and the same, all can be assumed matrilineal Nottoway, as one or two of these named individuals called for allotment land. Winifred, like her brother William, was Nottoway on her mother’s side and had a White father. Winifred’s husband, however, was a non-Nottoway named Burwell Williams, variously described as a “free colored person,” “negro,” or “mulatto.” Thus the children of Burwell Williams and Winifred Woodson-Bozeman were matrilineal Nottoway, but were of African, Native American, and European descent. The use of multiple surnames reflects the conflict of matrilineal descent, patronymic surname use, and legal or common-law married name, depending on the context (Woodard 2013:367-370). During the first half of the nineteenth century, Virginia’s

slave-holding society restricted the legal, social, and economic mobility of African-descended peoples, free or enslaved. Therefore, the Virginia laws and court orders that separated the Nottoway from these constrictions are important to recognize, as they are the source of some Nottoway strategies and behaviors during the antebellum era.

Despite the shifting surname use, Millie Woodson-Turner descended from Winifred Bozeman through one of her daughters and carried the surname “Turner” through a father. Multiple Nottoway allottees carried the Turner surname, including Green Turner, Henry Turner, James Turner, John Turner, Parsons Turner, and William Turner. One of the possible families of Millie Woodson-Turner’s origin was that of Parsons and Mary Turner. Parsons Turner and Mary Woodson raised a family along the main dirt road [modern Rt. 651] that cut through the Indian Town. According to extant documents, the Woodson-Turner farm was along the northern side of the road, in the northwest corner of the remaining Nottoway lands. The allotments Parsons and Mary Turner received [along with all of the above identified “Turners”] were sold in the 1830s and 1840s – and farther away from the Woodson farms – within the middle of the reservation, areas called the Indian Woods and Indian Outlet (Map 4). The children of these allottees, as young adults, requested allotments and shares of the Nottoway trust during the 1850s Southampton court proceedings, a period when the Nottoway exerted significant control over their real and personal estate. Three females, Betsy, Millie, and Rebecca Turner requested Nottoway allotments, 1850-1852, as did their maternal kin [all classificatory siblings in the Iroquoian system] Caroline, Indiana, and Patsy Crocker. Both sibling sets descended through the Woodson-Bozeman matrilineage, their mothers being sisters. Based on the configuration of the allotment surveys and distribution of land, the matrilineage segments were conjoined in small farming; the allotments included the residential compounds of the matri-



Map 4. 1864 Map detail of Southampton County, prominently showing the remaining "Indian Land" west of Jerusalem, later known as Courtland.

lineage (LP Plot of Indians Land 1125 acres, Nov. 18, 1850; Woodard 2013:258, 369).

From these allotments, several Indian-owned family farms emerged adjacent to the undivided reservation lands, all north of Indian Town Road. Millie Woodson-Turner established a cabin on allotment land sometime during the 1850s, adjacent to her mother and matrilineal kin. Next door, were the farms of Millie's nearest relatives: Patsy Woodson and husband Thomas Crocker [mother or Iroquoian classificatory mother], and Martha/Patsy Crocker [sibling or Iroquoian classificatory sister] and husband Alexander Scholar [also known as Alex Stewart]. Farm "cabins" or "cottages" were surrounded by small agricultural fields, which crisscrossed the Indian lands. The neighboring matrilineal farms had outbuildings of barns, corncribs, livestock sheds, smokehouses, and possibly privies, as well as small "dwelling houses,"

which housed "free colored" tenants. Chickens, hogs, cows, mules, and horses served the residents of the farms through labor or sustenance. Completing each compound, ditches and fences outlined the fields and property divisions. House gardens and orchards provided the source for family table fare. Mid-century crop yields and income estimates suggest Nottoway farmers were competitive with their middling planter neighbors, and in some cases cornered market niches in swine, orchard, Indian Corn, and cotton production (C1850, 1860, 1870; Crofts 1997; DB 41:377; Kocher and Dearstyne 1954:108-110; Perdue, Barden and Phillips 1976:139-142; Woodard 2013:209-212, 274, 372, 376).

Indian Town's nearest property-owning neighbors [1850-1860], James and William Gray, and Susan Lamb, were members of the White middling planter class, occupying and developing smallholding farms from previously sold Nottoway lands. Nearby, Charlotte Bryant owned Rose Hill, a pros-

perous Southampton plantation of the county's upper economic tier. The Trustee Blow family formerly owned Rose Hill, being a part of the Nottoway lands leased in the 1770s and sold in the 1790s; it also was the site of the old Indian villages of Warekeck and Ronotough, and thus a relatively short distance up the river from the c.1850-1860 Woodson-Turner farms. The Grays, Lambs, and Bryants were all slaveholders, but also relied on hired laborers and family members to seasonally work the agricultural fields, orchards, and to cull livestock. The Nottoway and their farm neighbors also relied on slave hires during the decades leading up to the Civil War. Slaves were not compensated for their labor. Rather, the owner of the enslaved person was paid for the enslaved laborer's activities, toil, and contribution to production. At times, this arrangement included "shared labor," whereby one owner or free person would contribute labor or collateral in exchange for enslaved labor. Extant records indicate only a few Nottoway owned slaves, but slave hires and labor exchange were common practice. As well, Indian Town residents contributed much of the hired labor to neighboring middling farms and plantations (Woodard 2013:218-223, 302).

Evidence does not suggest Millie Turner owned any enslaved peoples, but her neighboring relative Martha/Patsy Stewart owned one slave near the time of the 1850s allotments. Martha's husband Alexander Scholar-Stewart, with his brothers Jordan and Charles, were among the regularly hired plantation hands. Tax records and census schedules from the era also reveal a fairly stable, but seasonal, rental population of laborers on the Indian Lands. These individuals were categorized as "Free Colored People," and may or may not have been of Nottoway descent, although some, like Alexander Scholar-Stewart, were descendants of Nottoway men (DB26:395; PPTL1807-1820; SCLP1822; Woodard 2013:219, 221, 227, 304, 317-319, 375-377).

Millie Turner established a residence on one of the Nottoway allotment tracts c.1852. During this era, "before the war," oral history suggests a first, but "separate set of children," were born to Millie Turner. The era is difficult to document, but

based on census tabulations, the following children were born to Millie Woodson-Turner during the antebellum era, and all may be reasonably considered born at the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead:

Virginia, born c.1853, [also known as Virgi]

Cordelia / Ophelia, born c.1855, [also known as Candy or Puss]

Joshua, born c.1857, [also known as Josh]

By the time the war ended, Millie Turner began a relationship with a young man named Morefield Hurst. Listed in the Southampton census as "Free Colored Persons," the Hurst family worked as farm laborers and Morefield's father was a cooper by trade. Cooperage was highly desirable in Southampton, owing to the extensive orchard brandy business that utilized casks for storage and shipping, along with other domestic uses such as barrels, buckets, and firkins. Thus, a skilled tradesman headed the antebellum Hurst family, rather than a general laborer (C1820, 1830, 1840, 1850; Woodard 2013: 311, 319-322).

However, Hurst was a seasonal laborer on other Southampton farms, working as a ditcher, and appears not to have maintained a permanent residence with Millie Turner prior to the Civil War. Millie Turner headed her 1860 household, which included three of her children, and a live-in adult female from the affinal [spousal] Crocker family. During this era, it was not uncommon for young women at Nottoway Town to either head or reside within multigenerational households that included kindred of spouses or lineal kin, but with absentee husbands or fathers of their children. Male residence was dictated by labor and agricultural work on neighboring and surrounding farms, whereby non-propertied males pooled resources and income, contributing partially to Indian Town farms and earning wages at neighboring plantations. Morefield Hurst and Millie Turner had the following children after the end of the Civil War, and all may be reasonably considered born at the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead:

Susanna, born c.1865, [also known as Susan]

Thomas, born c.1867, [also known as Tom]



Map 5. 1847-1871 Nottoway reservation allotments. Millie Woodson's allotment is near center (top). Detail (above) shows Mille [Milly] Woodson and associated matrilineal kin allotments

Indian Town Farms

Antebellum farms at Indian Town had the character of other local smallholders and plantations (Map 5). Mid-century Nottoway agricultural production became geared toward sale and export, whereby subsistence essentials, such as coffee, flour, salt, and sugar, could be purchased from the derived income. The Nottoway sold livestock and agricultural produce, and had long become reliant on the mercantile goods that pervaded most communities of the American South. By the time of the Civil War, Southampton's Indian Town was completely connected by railroad, planked roads, and all manner of county infrastructure to the markets of the Atlantic. In turn, connections to urban centers like Norfolk, Petersburg, Portsmouth, and Richmond became increasingly important. Shipping and export lanes for farm produce, importation of finished goods, and in some cases wage jobs, connected Nottoway farmers to the surrounding economic centers.

In 1853-1855, Southampton cotton cultivators raised money to improve the overland-roadway to Petersburg, including a private bridge over the Assamoosick Swamp, which at its lower extremities emptied into the Nottoway River at Indian Town. Individual subscribers agreed to provide financing "for the benefit of the neighborhood" in "building a bridge across the Asamossock swamp." This contract included twenty-four farmers, two of which were Nottoway-affiliated men. Significantly, the two Indian Town farmers contributed as much or more capital than their White contemporaries, and were the only non-Whites to help fund the construction (Crofts 1992:17; 1997:53-54).

The archaeological record of the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead [see Appendix II and III] supports the interpretation of Nottoway connections to markets and finished-good consumption. Based on the materials recovered during the 2016 survey, manufactured goods completely replaced earlier indigenous forms – in all aspects of life. Multiple forms of mid-nineteenth century ceramics, and window, bottle, and container glass were recovered in substantive quantities. Further archae-

ological research would likely make more of specific domestic features, contexts, and develop tighter chronologies. The existing assemblage suggests a substantive increase in domestic activity and finished good consumption at the Millie Woodson-Turner farm c.1850-1860. Further evidence of connectivity and consumption can be seen through Nottoway household inventories, documented in the Southampton archives. Mid-nineteenth-century Nottoway residents listed "household and kitchen furniture," "2 feather beds and furniture... farming utensils," "2 ploughs," "[an] old waggon," and significant "farm implements and machinery" among the possessions of the allottees (AG1850:421, 433; AG1860:416; DB26:395, 544, 600; DB27:313; WB12:106; Woodard 2013:286-293).

During this era, Nottoway produce for market included cotton, fodder, hay, Indian corn, oats, peas, and potatoes; the collective Indian Town farmsteads had over 300 acres engaged in agriculture in 1860. On average, the antebellum community annually produced 2.3 bales of cotton, 837 bushels of corn, 137 bushels of peas, 38 bushels of Irish potatoes, 167 bushels of sweet potatoes, and 24 tons of hay. Domestic animals at Indian Town, which would be characteristic of the Woodson-Turner farm, included cattle, chickens, hogs, horses, milch cows, mules, and sheep. Some animals were used for farm labor and table fare, but others were raised for market. Similar to the agricultural produce, Nottoway hog ownership 1850-1860 reflected a cash-cropping pattern. Records indicate Nottoway households owned twenty, thirty, forty, and over fifty hogs during a given season. Combined with agnatic [male-descended] Nottoway, affines [spouses], and collateral kin [siblings and siblings' descendants], Indian Town's 1860 passel was enumerated at 134 hogs, those culled valued at \$600 – all compounded on reservation allotment or tribally-owned land. Notably, Nottoway cash-crop swine livestock and husbandry surpassed all neighborhood plantations' production (AG1850:423-424, 433-434, 443-444; AG1860:416-417; Woodard 2013:303, 313-315).

Growing Indian corn was one cropping staple with continuity to the Nottoway past. The

community's relationship to maize growing remained constant through the colonial period and references to nineteenth-century Nottoway agricultural production begin with corn, "The quantity of land occupied by the Tribe is about 144 acres, all high land, the greater part is commonly planted with corn..." (Cabell Papers July 18, 1808). Shucked corn was stored in corncribs while still on the cob; corn intended for human use was shelled before being ground into meal. Thus, Nottoway corn took several forms during the antebellum era. Corn stalks and tops were used as blade fodder for livestock, as was whole corn on the cob, as loose corn kernels for hominy, and as grinding corn for cracked corn, grits, and meal. According to the extant documentary record, fodder production was a constant and increasing Nottoway pursuit. Beyond corn and hay, Indian land and allotments yielded 103 bushels of oats in 1860, more than tabulated for Nottoway farms at any other time. Increased production of fodder and grain coincided with the enlargement of Indian livestock holdings, but also reflected bales, barrels, and bushels for potential markets in Petersburg or Southampton (AG1860:416-417).

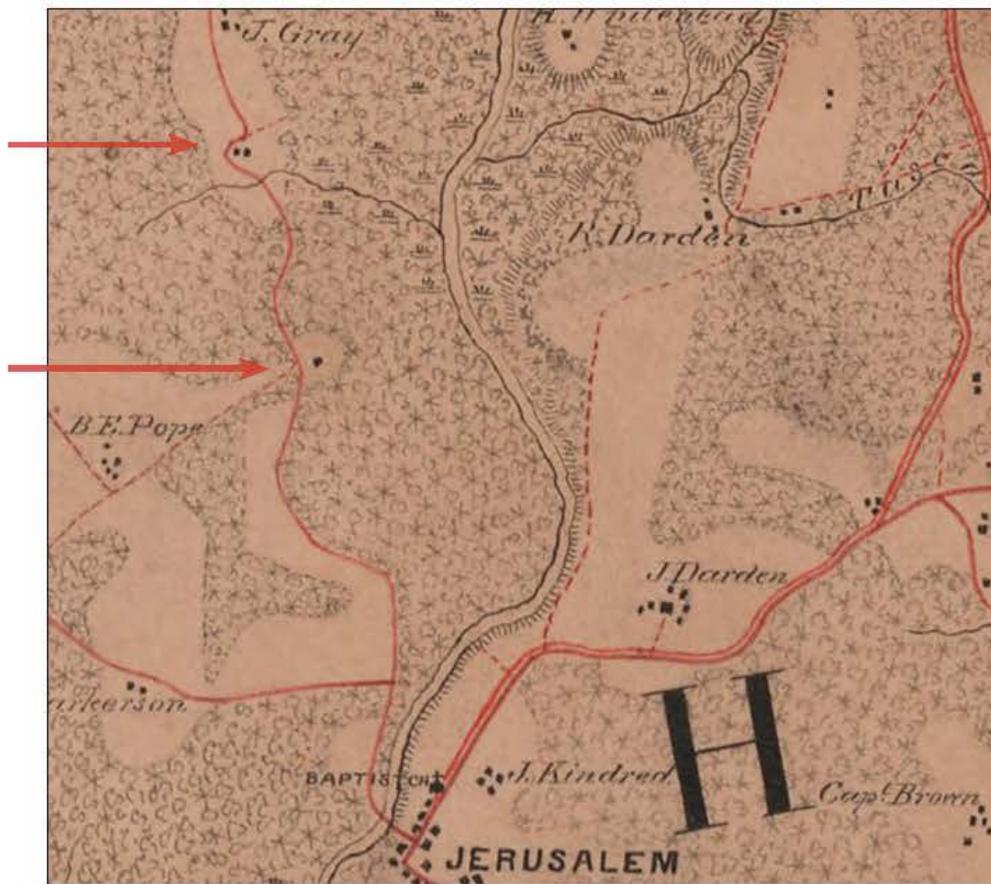
Millie Turner's sib [Iroquoian classificatory sister] Martha Stewart and husband Alexander used their crops, allotment land, and livestock as securities on credit for agricultural pursuits. Adjacent to the Woodson-Turner homestead, the Stewart records provide a window into the specifics of Nottoway farms during the midcentury. One contract inventoried Alexander Stewart's "twenty head of hogs and increase[,] 3 head of cattle & increase... [his] present growing crop of corn[,] fodder[,] peas & potatoes & also five barrels of corn & one thousand pounds of fodder now in hand...". In another transaction, Stewart used "one fourth of [his] crop of corn[,] fodder and peas now growing on [his] wife's land" and one-third of another tract's "crop of corn[,] fodder & peas..." to settle existing debt – some of which was owed to another Nottoway. The court provided the forum to secure the credit and schedule an auction to "sell the...crop of corn fodder and peas to the highest bidder for cash" (DB26:396; DB27:430).

Cash cropping for the demands of the market diversified the Nottoway's agricultural-economy, and shaped the routines and choices of Indian Town's farmers. Based on the evidence, one may argue the conjoined Nottoway farms were beginning to show levels of prosperity during the years prior to the Civil War. Allotment lands, such as that of Millie Turner and her sibs [Iroquoian classificatory siblings], were retained and developed into income-producing agricultural ventures. A careful reading of Southampton's deed books and court records suggests cycles of debt and repayment were part and parcel of the antebellum political economy. As property owners, the Nottoway replicated the farming operations of their neighbors, including financial liens and farm loans, and more intensely participated in the cash-crop economy of the region. At the beginning of the 1860s, Indian Town had lost a substantial amount of their reservation, yet the tribe retained nearly 725 acres of communal land and a small financial trust. Like the Millie Woodson-Turner homestead, there were hundreds of acres in individual Nottoway allotments adjacent to the tribal lands.

THE MILLIE WOODSON-TURNER FARMSTEAD, CIRCA 1860-1900

The Civil War

The brief ten-year period of Nottoway economic stability and increase was destroyed as a result of the 1861-1865 Civil War. (Map 6). Like Southamptoners of all socio-economic classes, "they were just struck down, as was everybody else, by the war...there was deep deprivation and poverty" (Friddell 1978:2, 6). With emancipation and the influx of thousands of freed slaves into the labor market, the Nottoway allottees struggled to resituate themselves as competitive wage-laborers and smallholding property owners. Indian "certification" no longer carried the same social and political status as during pre-Civil War times, only an attachment to undivided tribal property. During Reconstruction, the last Nottoway allotments were made, as Indian Town families attempted to recover from economic



Map 6. 1862 Gilmer Map of Southampton County (detail)

diminishment, boost farm income, and socially distinguish themselves as individuals within the South's transforming society.

While no significant Civil War battles were fought in Southampton, the loss of county resources in support of the war effort was significant. Confederate requisitions drained away White and Black labor for military service, and appropriated much of the county's productive agriculture and animal husbandry. One period observer noted Southampton's "center of civilization, refinement & wealth" had been rendered "poor and desolate" by 1862. Food shortages became a severe problem across the county as Robert E. Lee's Southern army claimed all farm produce "except for those that were actually necessary for the sustenance of life" (Crofts 1992:201-203). The county court empowered magistrates to consolidate existing private property and stock, in order to redistribute stores to families that had little

or no food, including the farms in and around Indian Town. Children of Nottoway reservation allottees, who lived through the conflict, recalled, "when the soldiers came" through the "fields" along the Nottoway River. Countywide loss of property and provisions were substantial among all segments of Southampton society (Friddell 1978:2, 6; Parramore 1978:157-177). Descendants of Nottoway reservation households recalled their elders "talked of the old days, when life was hard following the Civil War" and that Indian Town residents "got along... without much." *Susanna Turner*, daughter of allottee *Millie Woodson-Turner* reportedly stated, "we lived off the land" but "supplies were very short" (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

The war had multiple and long-lasting economic impacts on the Nottoway. Wages dropped as property owners attempted to bargain with freed slaves for annual pay, share crop tenancy, and oth-

er sustenance in exchange for labor. Northern-installed political officials oversaw the county's administration, including the Freedmen's Bureau who assisted the regulation of former slaves' contracts with property owners. Smallholding and plantation assets, whether tied up in Confederate currency, bonds, or slaves, were wiped out. Land values stagnated or depreciated and many creditors were unable to recover extended credit lines or extensive debt. The default of many loans dried up local sources of capital. The war's economic devastation required Nottoway farmers to leverage much personal property in order to maintain existing agricultural operations (CC Bozeman vs. Lanier Bros., 1869; Crofts 1992:221-223; DB30:408).

Reconstruction

Of the records from Southampton's Reconstruction labor contracts, no Nottoway appear, suggesting they maintained a level of separation from the property-less Whites and Blacks, as well as semi-independence from the plantation owners. A Nottoway affine [spousal] family, however, did maintain an 1866-1867 contract with nearby Rose Hill. Described as a "mulatto" and born a free man, Thomas Hill worked the land at Rose Hill during and after the Civil War, and had a wife among the enslaved workforce. Rather than accepting supplies for labor payments, as did most former-slaves following the war, Hill received \$90 per year in wages. So too, by 1869 Nottoway headman Edwin Turner had rented some of his arable allotment land to James T. Hill, a White tenant farmer. Turner, Martha Stewart, and Patsy Crocker's allotment farms all returned figures for agricultural production in 1870, indicating some level of recovery among the allottee families. One may argue that the Nottoway farms had weathered the Civil War, and were successfully navigating Reconstruction. The community members appear to have utilized the court system, personal property collateral, and financial relationships with middling and upper class Whites to fund and stabilize their farms. During a period where White vigilantes were terrorizing Southampton freedmen, the Ku Klux Klan organized and demonstrated in the county, and former slaves were

attacked and driven from their homes, it is notable that the Nottoway appear to not have been targets of the pervading radicalism. Possibly there was an attempt to distinguish themselves as a particular kind of people, or that others identified them as a separate "Colored" class from the recently enslaved. For the first time in the Southampton County census returns, the majority of Nottoway allottees, and their children, were identified as Indians in 1870 (AG1870:1-2; C1870; Crofts 1992:261; FB Register of Contracts 1866-1867, Jerusalem, Southampton County, Labor Contracts, Indenture and Apprenticeship Records, 1865-1872).

The Nottoway continued to build alliances with the segment of Black Southampton that were free before the war, as well as Black individuals of distinction, such as Reconstruction officials, Black politicians, and Baptist preachers from newly organized Black churches. The Freedmen's Bureau saw an opportunity at Indian Town for Virginia's Reconstruction education initiative, although a lack of funding and prejudice were seen as barriers to progress in Southampton. The Freedmen's Bureau schools were not well received by Whites in the local counties, to the extent of arson and violence against adult students and teachers. Southampton Bureau agent Mortimer Moulden reported from Jerusalem in 1868 a county of resource shortfalls, extreme prejudice and violence, and a great resistance from White residents to Union occupation and Reconstruction. Moulden stated that there was significant interest among the "Colored People" in creating day schools, but much difficulty in getting support and keeping the fledgling schools open. Beyond funding, the most challenging obstacle for Moulden was "a large class of people, designated 'poor whites' who are ignorant and superstitious, and are hostile to the education of the colored people, perhaps fearing they may outstrip them in the race of life." Nonetheless, besides other schools at Black Creek, Franklin, Zion, and Nottoway Station, Moulden was hopeful of "getting a school in the 'Indian Woods'." By March of 1869, "a school [was] started at the 'Indian School House'" (FB Reports and Records, 1866-1868 [Field Office Records, Jerusalem]).

A philanthropic organization, the New York Friends, offered charity to fund several Virginia schools, including ones in neighboring Southside counties and Richmond. Situated on Indian allotment lands, the “Turner’s Hill School” was adjacent to the Millie Woodson-Turner farm, on the precipice sometimes called “Clay Hill” or “Red Hill” in county records. Nottoway headman Edwin Turner was listed as owning the building that housed the school. The school’s teacher was Harriet A. Gregory, daughter of the Black politician and preacher Joseph Gregory – a leader of Southampton’s Reconstruction era Republican Party – and candidate for the House of Delegates in 1869 (Crofts 1992:246; DB41:377; FB Education Records Roll 15, Superintendent of Education for the State of Virginia [Southampton]; Paramore 1978:189).

Harriet A. Gregory reported in April of 1869 that she had thirty-two students in attendance, six over the age of sixteen, and seven who were advanced readers. Twenty-eight pupils could “spell, and read easy lessons,” and a few students were engaged in arithmetic, geography, and writing. The Gregory reports indicate that the Freedmen’s Bureau and New York Friends jointly funded the Indian Town school, but that funding was irregular, rent was not always paid, and transportation not supported. After the first months of the school’s opening, Gregory stated that “my scholars ar[e] doing as well as eny one could expect them to do.” The Bureau provided Gregory’s board; she received about \$8 per month. Nottoway headman Edwin Turner received \$10 per month as the rental fee from the New York Friends. By October, Gregory reported that the county sentiment toward the “Turner Hill School” was “Favorable indeed” and that “our school is getting along very well & prosperous.” Amanda S. Montier transferred to Turner Hill in the fall of 1869 and continued as the instructor in 1870 (FB Field Office Records [Jerusalem]; FB Superintendent of Education for the State of Virginia [Southampton]).

The number of Nottoway allottee children that consistently attended the school is not known. Gregory and Montier’s enrollment fluctuat-

ed throughout the year, and attendance waxed and waned with the crop cycles. The numbers of enrolled students hovered on average at forty, but only about thirty regularly attended. In the lull between crop ripening and harvest, enrollment increased to sixty with fifty-two consistently counted present; when the cotton was ready in October and November, attendance of the children dropped by half. Of the children that attended the Indian Town school, fewer than twenty were “Free before the War” and only about a dozen of these pupils regularly attended. The regular scholars correspond to the number of Nottoway allottee children in the 1870 Indian households, nearly all of whom, including adults in their twenties, were notated in the county census as “attended school within the year.” In contrast, not all of the neighboring White or Black children were recorded as having recently attended school. Millie Turner and Morefield Hurst sent their children to the Turner Hill School, which was within literal sight of the family’s farmstead (C1870; FB Field Office Records [Jerusalem]; FB Superintendent of Education for the State of Virginia [Southampton]).

Millie Turner and Morefield Hurst maintained their “little farm...up on the road” during the Reconstruction era, with a growing household. Morefield worked the property as well as continued ditching and “grubbing the land for White folks.” Among the marketable crops, they “raised apples and peaches...and had two to three tenants” working small tracts. Morefield carried the garden produce and the larger staple crops to market in Courtland (Patricia Phillips MS 1977). The Hurst couple had the following children during the Reconstruction period:

Josephine, born c.1868
 William P., born c.1870
 George, born c.1871
 Ben, born c.1874

All of the children can be reasonably presumed born at the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead, owing to the consistency of census residence, land surveys, and deeds that identify Millie Turner as remaining on one of the Nottoway allotments.

The family was neighbored on Indian Town Road by Millie's collateral Nottoway kin [Iroquoian sibilings] and their spouses: the surnamed families of Artis, Barrett, Britt, Claud, Crocker, Lewis, Stewart [or Scholar], Turner, Wiggins, and Williams were among the Nottoway and affinal [kin of spouse] households in the Indian Woods c.1880. Two children of Martha and Alex Scholar-Stewart applied for allotments during the early 1870s, further privatizing the reservation lands north of the Millie Woodson-Turner tract against the Nottoway River, and leaving approximately 600 acres of undivided Indian tribal land adjacent to the allottee farms (Map 5). Headman Edwin Turner was deceased by 1877, and his seven children moved to divide the remaining reservation land amongst themselves in 1878. Notably, significant numbers of matrilineal Nottoway descendants remained [such as those of Millie Turner], but neither future allotment petitions nor recognition of their interests were discussed in the extant Southampton records. By the early 1880s the final remains of the Nottoway Indian Tribe's reservation were divided amongst the children of deceased headman Edwin D. Turner. Thus, the period of Nottoway allotment ended [1824-1881], and the remnant community entered into a post-reservation era of privatized allotment tracts [1881-1953].

Post-Reconstruction Nottoway Families

Near the time of the Turner division of tribal assets, one of Millie Woodson-Turner's daughters, Susanna Turner, also known as Susanna Hurst, became involved with a local man who had ties to the labor community at Rose Hill. James Thompson Claud was raised by the "free issue" Tom Hill, his mother being Hill's common law wife Sarah Claud, a former slave on the nearby plantation. The term "free issue" was used prior to the Civil War to identify individuals born free, or who were manumitted, and issued papers confirming their freedom. Descendants of Millie Woodson-Turner recalled Tom Hill continued to identify himself as a "free issue," decades after the Civil War. The descendants suggested it was a mark of distinction, for which Hill was proud to claim, many years beyond Reconstruction. James Thompson Claud's biological father was a White man,

Dr. E.C. Barrett; Claud had a half-brother through E.C. Barrett, named Charlie Barrett, who also married a matrilineal Nottoway, Annie Wiggins. Susanna Turner-Hurst and James Thompson Claud began a family at this time, and like Morefield Hurst, Claud remained a non-resident of the Woodson-Turner allotment household, laboring on nearby agricultural properties for White planters. James Thompson Claud was married to Susanna Turner "in the year of 1880 August the 18 at seven o'clock at night," and their first child, Nannie Turner-Claud, was born to the couple in October of 1880 (Claud Bible, 1880-1904; Woodard Field Notes).

James Thompson Claud was engaged in the community and was close to his sisters, fathered by Thomas Hill. Along with his half-brother, one of the sisters [Adeline Hill] also married a Nottoway allottee descendant [John H. Williams]. Thus, one can see an emerging, continuing, and progressive Nottoway relationship with free Black and formerly enslaved individuals during the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction eras – relationships framed by aspects of social difference and similarity. Claud was "half White," and his descendants recalled that he was "a very proud man, who stayed dressed up," and thought of himself "as better" than some people; that he was a "particular" father and "ran the other children off of the [allotment] property" as a "protective measure...he did not want his children to mingle" with other "certain children." Claud was known as educated, a preacher, and to visit multiple Baptist Churches in the vicinity of Jerusalem, later known as Courtland. His descendants described him as a "short [man] with a mustache, coal black hair, and rosy light skin" (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

James Thompson Claud became more and more a part of the 1880-1890 Indian Town agricultural cycle, and eventually a permanent resident. He appeared in the 1880 agricultural census working fifty acres for a share of the produce, possibly in association with Rose Hill. Neighborhood allottee families with farm production, such as James Artis, William Artis, John K. Britt, James Robert Crocker, Martha Stewart, Edwin D. Turner Jr., and John B. Williams

all owned their land, or were spouses of allottees (AG1880:24-26).

Private property as collateral, farm ownership, and a small tract of tribal land continued to distinguish Nottoway Town residents from Southampton's property-less masses, but social divisions with other non-Whites became increasingly blurred. Competition among landless White and "Colored" laborers increased. The social divisions between peoples "free" before the Civil War and those recently emancipated underwent realignment during Reconstruction. The significant identification of the Millie Woodson-Turner household and other Nottoway allottees as "Indian" in the 1870 Census was not repeated in the 1880 Census, indicating that for a brief time following emancipation, county officials distinguished Nottoway individuals from others with African ancestry. The separation of Nottoway peoples from the wider Southampton Black community, however, would dissipate with the allotment of the final tracts of tribally held lands in the 1870s and 1880s. Additional forms of "otherness" would come to replace a strictly "Indian" notion of peoplehood; moral character, church membership, civic leadership, deportment, economic success, education, and property ownership would all play important roles in defining who were socially-related peoples (C1870-1880; Crofts 1992:218-234; Rountree 1987:211-212; Woodard 2013:334-335; Woodard Field Notes).

The foregoing discussion indicates that aspects of the dominant society's racialized stratification and social restrictions placed upon Southampton County peoples were observed and incorporated at the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead. While not exclusive of a particular race, owing to the complexity of the biological origins of the family, the Woodson-Turner choices made in marriage-mate selection, social distinctions, and the "particular" practices of family members suggest forms of social segregation based on class distinctions. The choices individuals made were not unique to the Millie Woodson-Turner family, but their preferences and actions speak to a wider phenomenon of social stratification, both in class and racial cleaves of late nineteenth-century Southampton.

Post-Reconstruction Nottoway Finances

As the post-war economy slowly recovered, individual allottees continued to use their personal property for extensions of credit and long-term loans, entering some Nottoway households into a cyclical credit dependency with their White neighbors. The Southampton records of the 1880s and 1890s indicate allotment lands were leveraged as security on debts, sold, and repurchased multiple times (Rountree 1987:212). Following the 1878-1881 division of the last tracts of the Nottoway tribal estate, cooperation among allottee households for labor and material resources became paramount. In an 1883 example, Indian Town men [mostly Nottoway males and their brother-in-law] James Thompson Claud, John K. Britt, James Robert Crocker, William Artis, Augustus Wiggins, and Thomas Hill collaborated on a the sale of a \$100 "grey mare." The expensive mare was likely raised stock for horseracing, a well-known Southampton activity of the nineteenth century (DB37:190-191). The economic collaboration of these related men suggests an increasing importance of male labor and resource pooling among Indian Town residents, despite the matrilineal organization of households and property ownership.

The period's finances of "credit" and "trust" collateral can be seen in the records of Millie Woodson-Turner and the neighboring allotment farms. In 1875 Millie "Bozeman alias Turner," used one tract [70 acres] and another allotment she controlled [48 acres] as security on a loan from land speculator Robert S. Pope (DB 37:517). Millie Turner repaid her 1875 loan from R.S. Pope in March of 1884, and in turn the same day leveraged two allotments in trust with William B. Shands for a long-term loan from E.J. Gardner, a White farmer and grocer. Familiar with the Nottoway, Shands had acted as the lawyer who facilitated the final allotment disbursements to the children of Edwin D. Turner and their spouses. During the same spring as Millie Turner's loan, in May of 1884 Martha Stewart also entered into a loan with Ezra J. Gardner. Instead of using her allotment as collateral, Stewart utilized a future crop, planted with the assistance

of Hugh Darden, husband of her first cousin [Iroquoian classificatory sibling] Emma Wiggins. For an advance of \$150 and “fertilizer and provisions,” Stewart and Darden made a lien on “all the crops of cotton, corn, field peas, fodder, potatoes, and other crops growing on the land of Martha Stewart for the year 1884.” The parties were to “deliver the said crops...in good merchantable order to....Ezra J. Gardner at his store in Jerusalem” (DB37:619). However, Stewart still owed Gardner \$74.25 by the end of the season, and she was forced to use her personal property as security on another loan to repay the debt. As trustee, William B. Shands agreed to clear Stewart’s debt, in exchange for the rights to two allotment “tracts lying in the Indian Woods,” as well as “one yearling steer, two sows & three pigs & three shoats [and] all her growing crops of cotton, corn & field peas” (DB38:404). By 1890 the Scholar-Stewart family had lost both tracts of land [combined about 100 acres] to unpaid debt. As well, one of the allotments [48 acres] Millie Turner used as collateral in 1875 and 1884 was lost due to “taxes” by 1889, although Turner’s second loan was paid in full by January of 1903 (DB37:517-518; DB41:377; DB43:324).

*The Nottoway Reservation Descendant Community:
Changing Designations*

Southampton residents’ social perspectives about the Nottoway during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries vacillated between recognizing some of them as “Indians” of the “Nottoway Tribe,” and grouping them collectively under the “colored” category as “negroes.” Others recognized the community as “mixed bloods – none pure...in the vicinity of Jerusalem, belonging to the Nottoway tribe.” Emic descriptions of the Indian Town kindred, provided by Millie Turner’s elderly grandchildren during the 1970s, offers a window into the complexity of the community’s appearance and biological roots. Turner was described as having “long hair down to her waist,” as “a stout, brown skinned woman,” but also as “a full blooded-Indian with red skin.” Her daughter Susanna Turner Claud was remembered as a small-framed woman, “light skinned,” or “brown

skinned with pretty long hair and tall,” “a long thin face, with a big nose, high cheekbones and little legs.” Long hair with a “grey streak” marked her older years (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

Outside of Southampton, there was a growing academic interest in the study of American Indian culture, driven in part by the rise of anthropology as a scholarly discipline, and the emergence of American museums. The end of the nineteenth-century Great Plains Indian wars also fueled this interest, as scholars mobilized to study the cultures of “the vanishing Indian race,” then confined to western reservations. Researchers, many of whom were located in eastern urban centers, were further concerned with the “salvage” of culture from American Indian tribes long marginalized by the previous centuries of culture contact. In 1889, the Smithsonian Institution’s Bureau of American Ethnology [BAE] circulated research flyers throughout Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia in search of multiple Indian tribal remnants, archaeological sites, Indian place names, and names of people identified as Indian in each of the states’ counties.

According to the flyer responses, the Nottoway were recognized by Carolina and Virginia residents, as well as were a number of Iroquoian place names. BAE researcher James Mooney handwrote an additional query on the Southampton circulars, “Any Nottoways speaking any of the language?” The responses indicated “no,” the “Indian language lost,” but multiple people recognized the Nottoway families of “Edwin Turner,” “John Williams,” “Robert Joyner,” the location of the old “reservation,” and that “the Nottoways...village or town... some three miles west of Jerusalem now known as Courtland.” However, those individuals “of mixed Indian blood,” who “belong to the Nottoway tribe,” were also described as “very few in the county.” It is noteworthy that county residents only identified males affiliated with Indian Town, thus overlooking the matrilineal organization of linked Nottoway farms, such as that

of Millie Woodson-Turner. Most respondents referred the BAE to the tribe's former lawyer, William B. Shands, who had facilitated the last distributions of land in 1878-1881, and acted as the trustee for Millie Turner and Martha Stewart's loans several years before. Shands reported to Mooney:

“some few years since under the law I obtained a decree of the court dividing the residue of the tribal lands among those indians who still had an interest in them[.] I think there was some ten of them who received shares[.] And you may say this was an end of the Nottoways as a tribe” (William B. Shands to James Mooney, June 30, 1889 in Mooney MS 2190).

While Shands personally knew Nottoway allottees, recognized the legal rights of the community, and their specific descent from the historical Nottoway, he disparaged the tribes of “Eastern Virginia” “now extinct, having intermarried with negroes until there are no pure bloods left.” Shands thus identified his Nottoway acquaintances as “negroes and very poor” (CC Edwin D. Turner et al. v. William Turner et al., 1881-1885; Mooney MS 2190).

Shands' race-based view pervaded most outside observations of Nottoway descendants during the next century. However, other reports indicate the community's Nottoway affiliation was recognized, as evidenced by the 1889 BAE circular responses. In another example the following year, the July 28th edition of the *Alexandria Gazette* offered “Virginia News,” in which it stated “John Williams, the eldest of the remaining Nottoway tribe of Indians, was at court at Boykins last week. He is seventy-four years old, hale and hearty and works on his farm every day.” The *Gazette* notice was a rare public statement from the 1890s; official Southampton records pertaining to the Nottoway eventually tapered off during the twentieth century. Those identifying documents usually appeared in relationship to further land divisions of allotments, deeds of sale for timber or privatized land, tax liens and delinquencies on allotments, and inheritance cases. Record-

ed references included the “Indian Woods,” the “Indian Road,” “the Nottoway Tribe of Indians,” and “Indian Town,” but rarely were twentieth-century individuals described as “Nottoway” or “Indian” in official Southampton documents (Chancery OB14:331; DB104:251; Trust DB8:117; Woodard 2013:336-338).

However, the personal stories of Southampton residents were less restrictive in social conversations, and easily accessed upon inquiry. Multiple contemporary sources referenced the Nottoway descendants of Southampton County living along Indian Town Road [Rt. 651] during the twentieth century (Binford 1964; Boyce 1978; Calvin Beale pers. comm. 2006; Commonwealth of Virginia 1983; Gilbert 1946; Painter 1961; Parramore [1978] 1992; Speck n.d.; Stanard 1925, 1928; Rountree 1969-1973, 1973, 1979).

Among those personal recollections was the “small farm” of Millie Woodson-Turner and “Suzanna T.[urner] Claude,” that the “Turner family still lives on this road [Rt. 651] and the Claude family is very large.” Others were “scattered all over the county” but the “reservation which they occupied” was clearly known to residents, “Our road got its name from what it implies – Indian Town Road. The Indian town and settlements were located here” (Patricia Phillips MS 1977).

THE MILLIE WOODSON-TURNER FARMSTEAD, CIRCA 1900-1949

By 1900, James Thompson Claud and Susanna Turner Claud had taken over the farm of her parents, and lived alongside the other remaining adult children of Nottoway allottees. The couple worked the arable land in cotton, peanuts, and other crops for market and table fare, as well as rented some of the property to tenants. Millie Turner and Morefield Hurst, then in their 60s, appear to have taken up residence in one of the adjacent dwelling houses on the allotment lands. Millie was listed in the 1900 census as the owner of the structure, while Morefield was classified as “a lodger.” Based on the order of

the census households and other records, the Claud occupation of the farm “in the bend” of Indian Town Road is certain, but the location of Millie and Morefield’s second home is less clear. Millie Turner’s previous use of an adjacent allotment of forty-eight acres is suggestive of the locale, as this was the site of several tenant structures (Map 7). James Thompson Claud repurchased three allotment tracts of nearly 200 acres in 1903, lost for debt by Nottoway descendants during the 1890s. The parcels were contiguous to the Millie Woodson-Turner allotment. Combined, at the beginning of the twentieth century the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead, which encompassed the James and Susanna Turner Claud farm, equaled approximately 350 acres, all from Nottoway allotment lands. The farm included the lands previously allotted to Caroline Bozeman [41 acres, 1851], Indiana Bozeman [50 acres, 1853], Patsy Bozeman [48 acres, 1851], Millie Woodson [64 acres, 1853], Lamb Bozeman [71 acres, 1868], and Lydia Bozeman [75 acres, 1871] (Map 5, detail).

As Susanna Turner was a resident of her mother’s farm through the 1880s, the Claud family’s growth appears to have occurred in that locale, with Susanna’s parents Millie Turner and Morefield Hurst relocating to a neighboring dwelling to accommodate the increasing household, the seniors’ advancing age, or some other domestic reason. William P. Turner, Susanna’s brother, eventually incorporated their parents into his home, which was also adjacent as a tenant structure on an old allotment off the “Indian Road” (C1900-1910). James Thompson and Susanna Turner Claud had ten of sixteen children live into adulthood, born during the 1880-1900s:

Nannie, born Oct. 1880
 Mattie, born Oct. 1882
 Sarah, born May 1885, [also known as Lovey]
 Lila, born Sept. 1886, [also known as Tigie]
 Arthur, born c.1888, [also known as King Arthur or Boss]
 Addie, born Dec. 1891
 Virgie, born Dec. 1895
 Lilly, born Dec. 1897
 Joshua, born Nov. 1899, [also known as Josh]
 Alice Rosetta, born c.1904, [also known as Ett]

The Claud Farm

The Millie Woodson-Turner homestead became known as the “Claud Farm,” however it retained much of its nineteenth-century character during the first decades of the twentieth century. The family continued to rent land, borrow money against property, and “made their living through farming.” Susanna “worked in the fields picking cotton, working hogs [and] planting in the fields.” Now as the “matriarch of the family” Susanna Turner Claud was called “Big Grandma” by the lower generations, from which she organized labor through her immediate family and extended kin networks; they “worked in the fields and picked cotton and tended hogs” among other farm and family activities (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes). As recalled by the children of Susanna Turner:

“The house garden contained corn, bush beans, tomatoes, potatoes, and cucumbers. Corn was dried for feed, eaten fresh, and dried for meal...potatoes were stored in a root cellar for the winter, surrounded by straw...cornhusks were used for bedding in mattresses.”

“The hog pen was away from the house. The pen near the house was for a sow with new piglets. Ma [Susanna] would feed them scraps from the kitchen, ‘slop the hogs,’ [she would say]; she would stand on the bottom rung of the pen fence and toss the bucket of scraps over.”

“Chickens were free-roam, as were the ducks and geese – all in the yard of Ma’s [Susanna’s] house.”

Susanna Turner Claud’s descendants also described domestic pig and cow butchering, game hunting, and smokehouse cuts, “side meat, shoulder and sausage.” Hunting and fishing supplemented all meat offered from the farm; freshwater fish from the Nottoway River and opossums were regular additions to the table fare. Whalen Nickens, husband of Nannie Claud, along with Susanna’s son Joshua



Map 7. 1919 USGS Topographical Map, Boykins District (detail). Beginning in the bottom right corner, Indian Town Road runs through the middle of the map.

Claud, would “share meat, [and] help in butchering and scaling fish.” Susanna was close to her brother’s [William P. Turner] wife Romine Turner; the family called her “Miss Romine.” The two women would go fishing together on the Nottoway River, in the vicinity of where nineteenth-century records documented the Nottoway “fishing seine.” Other farmstead recollections from Susanna’s descendants included “a big iron pot to render fat, to fry meat in boiling grease,” and another “for laundry.” Susanna’s farm “had apple trees and pear trees,” and a “favorite dish was apple turnovers,” “dough rolled out with apples placed in and folded over and fried.” These treats, as well as common “cornbread,” could also be “baked” in a Dutch oven, or cooked as “Johnny-cakes,” as there was “no stove” (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

Others recalled “water was retrieved from a freshwater spring bubbling out of the ground near the river. It was very clean and good water. Someone’s job was to haul that water every day.” Outbuild-

ings at Susanna Turner Claud’s farm included “covers for the pigs and chickens” and “a shed for the cows,” a “two-seater out house,” where “newspapers were toilet paper.” A repeated comment of Susanna’s descendants concerned the crops and burden animals of the farmstead, “there was a mule or horse for working the fields...[the family] grew peanuts and cotton as a cash crop.” On “a bright day,” relatives remembered, Susanna would “hitch-up her wagon to go to Church” or “hitch her wagon to go to Courtland to sell cakes, pies, and chickens.” Susanna wore a “large outdated bonnet to protect her from the sun.” She hitched “two cows to a wagon to drive herself to church” and she “smoked a pipe” along the way. Church was an important part of the post-reservation Nottoway community, owing to the social restrictions of the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras. James Thompson Claud “went to school to take up preaching,” and had regular attendance and preaching at Shiloh Baptist Church, a few miles south of Indian Town Road; Claud baptized his children at this church. The family also had an affiliation with nearby

Bryant's Baptist Church, organized in 1874 (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

Susanna's great grandson Alfred O. Whittaker, who claims to have repeatedly visited the property during the 1930-1940s, recounted the Susanna Turner Claud farm. Whittaker's keen memory, described in field notes, remembered the homestead as such:

Property Description

"Susanna's house – 'round logs, notched out' – a log cabin. [The] interior was 'covered with newspapers,' 'shellacked like wallpaper.' The exterior was 'whitewashed' and 'the roof was tin.' When it rained, 'buckets were positioned to catch the water' that came 'through the roof.' The floor was hard-packed dirt, 'which was pleasing to the children from the city who wore no shoes!' [There was] 'no running water or sewage... there was a bedpan for the night or a bucket.' The entrance most often used was 'in the back the house, to the left.' A small covered stoop served as a porch. A bell hung nearby for 'calling people out of the field or in for dinner.' A block of wood was used as a step in to the house. The front entrance was used 'for company.' The rear door entered into the kitchen where shelves were lined with plates, tin cups, mason jars, canned foods, and other supplies. The 'sink was a zinc box...water ran out the bottom' to a pan or bucket. Water was brought in from the well or the natural spring. 'Kerosene lanterns' lit the interior at night. Water barrels were placed 'off the corners of the house to catch rainwater.' 'Monday was washday...a big kettle was used to boil wash water,' others were used 'for soap,' etc. Inside, 'a brick chimney with a big fireplace' served as both the 'heat and stove' for the house, 'Freeze in the back and burn on the front,' was a common saying in the house. There was 'always a kettle cooking and a fire smoldering.' A table in the kitchen was 'used by the grown ups to

eat, then the children...it sat about six, with chairs.' Brooms 'were made from sedge in the fields...wheat-like grass tied with a string, used to sweep the dirt floor.' 'Hooks' for the fireplace and cast iron 'were the only cooking space;' the 'kitchen table doubled for counter space.' There were 'cloth partitions' to divide a mostly 'one-story, one-room house.' There were 'two windows on either side of the front door, maybe screened, but no glass, with shutters for when storms blew up.' 'Benches and crates were used as furniture around the fireplace.' 'Straw and cornhusks' filled cloth sacks for bedding. Small platforms or 'palettes made of wood sat on the floor' to give the bedding 'height off the dirt floor.' 'Men slept in one part of the bedding area, women in another, with partitions'" (Woodard Field Notes).

Aside from contemporary descriptions c.1900-1949, Susanna's descendants remembered stories about the old days, when the reservation lands were still intact and allotments petitions were mid-stride. For instance, one descendant recalled Susanna discussing conditions during Reconstruction, "when life was very hard for the family." The oral history of that period recounted when the "family lived off of the land and supplies were short," told by Susanna as "living like animals, without much." A difficult time was recollected, when food was served in common wooden trenchers, described "as troughs like the animals." However, the later era was more prosperous and stable, particularly during the twentieth century when the children of Susanna Turner and James Thompson Claud moved to urban centers, and traveled between the urban and rural homes. Most family members tried to put the difficult times behind them, telling "Big Grandma" to "hush about that" and "Oh momma, no one wants to hear about that." However, it is clear that the difficulties of Reconstruction continued in varying forms into the twentieth century, whether through memories, social constructs of the "new order of things," or the legal arrangements made during that time (Crofts 1992:218-234; Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

Another topic, alcohol production and consumption, reoccurs in the historiography of Southampton County (i.e. Crofts 1992; Parramore [1978] 1992) and the oral history of the Woodson-Turner descendants. Southampton County was well known during the nineteenth century for its particular apple and peach brandies, referred to locally as “Apple Jack.” The Nottoway reservation allottees, their neighboring plantation owners, and smallholding farmers contributed orchard stock to the multiple farm distilleries of the 1800s. The “best apple brandy to be found in the world” was reported to come from Southampton County (Crofts 1992:79; Parramore 1978:50-51; Woodard 2013:319-321). By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, mass produced and distributed beer replaced earlier spirits, although county moonshine was popular during Prohibition and in the later 1930s. Edgerton Claud, grandson of Susanna Turner Claud, was “well known for his brand of corn liquor. He also distilled barley.” During the first half of the twentieth century, drinking was a social and business activity for men. As recalled by Susanna’s descendants, men “in the country” would often gather on Saturdays, imbibe, and socialize in the barns of Indian Town Road farms. Susanna’s father Morefield Hurst [husband of Millie Woodson-Turner], her brother William P. Turner, and her son-in-law Whalen Nickens, were among the men who participated in these social activities (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

The Death of Millie Woodson-Turner

The granddaughter of Millie Turner, Alice Rosetta “Ett” Claud, recounted the family memory of Millie’s death. As a daughter of Susanna Turner Claud, Ett was a resident of the farmstead, and about ten years of age when her grandmother died c.1915. She recalled her grandparents “lived on the old Indian Reservation,” and “the day Millie died”:

“Ett told the story of the day...she had been in the field and had been walking with a stick. She asked Virgie [granddaughter] to help her get to bed to lie down. She took her arm and wrapped it around Virgie’s neck to help her

to lie down and told her to leave the house. She lied down and died. Morefield came in and started crying.”

Millie Turner’s death at the homestead marked the end of an era for the Woodson-Turner-Hurst-Claud family, of an individual Nottoway allottee’s living memory of the Nottoway reservation and the division of tribal resources. Millie Turner’s husband Morefield Hurst died a few years later in 1918. By then, multiple adults of the family had moved to Petersburg and Portsmouth, and a new period of urban-rural relations and migrations emerged (ibid). However the descendants’ oral histories of Millie Woodson-Turner and community’s memories of the Nottoway Reservation era remain linked to the old farmsteads of Indian Town Road.

Millie Woodson-Turner Descendants: Outmigration, c.1905-1950

By 1904 Sarah Claud, one of Susanna Turner Claud’s oldest children, had relocated to Portsmouth. She married William M. Wright and the couple lived on the South Street Extension, near the Seaboard Railroad Yard where Wright worked as a janitor for the “Seaboard Shop.” Other Claud siblings followed the urban migration, and according to their descendants, “Aunt Lovey [Sarah] was the first to move from Southampton to Portsmouth... the siblings who arrived first would assist the others who came along later.” Lila “Tigue” Claud, one of Susanna’s middle children, lived with Sarah and William Wright in 1905. “She was single when she moved to Portsmouth,” relatives recalled, “but met Mathew Harris...probably through the church.” Harris was from Ridgeway, North Carolina and worked at the naval yards as a caulker. They lived on Rutter Street once married, and then later, on South Street. Sarah and Lila’s sister, Addie Claud, moved to Portsmouth and married James Edwards by 1920; the couple lived on First Avenue, then later Glasgow Street. Edwards, born in Carolina, worked as a hauler for teamsters (C1910-1930, Portsmouth, VA; Death Certificate, Addie Edwards, July 31, 1928, Portsmouth, VA; Woodard Field Notes).

Other children of Susanna Turner Claud took on farming as their livelihood, and remained in Southampton County. Nannie Claud and her husband Whalen Nickens remained as tenants adjacent to the Woodson-Turner / Claud farm, and “King” Arthur “Boss” Claud took up his own farming operations in the county, both as an owner and tenant farmer. Another daughter, Mattie Claud, married Edwin Turner, Jr., the son of former Nottoway headman Edwin Turner. The couple farmed on Indian Town Road until the 1910s, when they relocated to Portsmouth. Their children, William Turner [b.1904] and Bessie Turner [b.1906], remained with their grandmother Susanna at the Claud farm through 1920, and eventually joined their parents in Portsmouth. Joshua Claud continued to live at the old allotment home site, and farmed the Woodson-Turner / Claud land through the 1940s (C1900-1940; Woodard Field Notes).

Susanna’s daughter Lilly Claud [b.1897] “was the first of the family to move to Philadelphia.” She followed “her husband Ashby Jones, who was a railway man and worked repairing the rails up the Atlantic.” The couple lived in “north Philly,” first on 28th Street [c.1930] and then “on 22nd and Diamond.” After moving from Susanna Turner Claud’s farm in Southampton to the Portsmouth home of her parents Edwin and Mattie Turner, Bessie Turner also relocated to Philadelphia. She eloped with William Harris, ten years her senior and brother of Mathew Harris, husband of Bessie’s aunt Lila “Tigue” Claud. Once in Philadelphia, Bessie worked as a private domestic for a family, and William was engaged as a private chauffeur. Bessie and Lilly were “close in age” and had a good relationship, “Bessie and Lilly were the anchor of the Philadelphia family.” As the Portsmouth families assisted those moving from Southampton, the Philadelphia immigrants helped kin settle in the northern center. Arthur “Boss” Claud’s second oldest daughter, Susie Claud [b.1915], moved to Philadelphia and lived with Lilly until she was “able to find a job...and get settled” (C1920-1940, Philadelphia, PA; C1920-1940, Portsmouth, VA; Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

While Portsmouth and Philadelphia were destinations for some of Millie Woodson-Turner’s grandchildren, others moved to nearby locales. The family of granddaughter Virgie Claud offers an example of the itinerant Southampton residences and patterns of movement c.1910-1950. Virgie Claud married John W. Hardy in 1915, and for a time the couple lived in Courtland on the corner of Water and High Street. They rented the house from Frank Davis, a White businessman, and soon had a growing family, including twins Mary Elizabeth and Joseph born in 1923. John Hardy worked as a farm laborer in the county and a sawmill hand for F.W. Fisher’s Estate. Soon [1925], the couple relocated to River Road, north of the Nottoway River, where Virgie’s paternal aunt Johnny Hill [Scott] had a country store, and Virgie’s brother “King” Arthur or “Boss” Claude was the head of his own farm. The family recalled a path through the woods, and a “foot bridge over the river,” that led back to Susanna Turner’s farm “from Johnny Hill’s.” The Hardy family relocated to Riddicksville Road [now Riverdale Road] c.1928 and “were sharecroppers” until the beginning of “the war,” when John Hardy died, the older sons joined the military, and the family created multiple households. Daughter Gertrude [b.1916] married Walter Porter in 1940. The other Claud-Hardy females [Verlee and Mary Elizabeth] and younger male [Joe] moved with Virgie to Pine Street in Franklin c.1943, then to “Hall Street for a few years.” Like some of her Portsmouth cousins who relocated for opportunities in Philadelphia, Mary Elizabeth moved to New York (C1910-1940; DC 1917 Arthur Claud; DC 1917 John W. Hardy; Woodard Field Notes).

John Melton Hardy [b.1919], the eldest son, had joined the Navy in 1940 and served on board the USS Memphis out of Norfolk; Leroy Hardy, Sr. [b.1921] served in the Army, starting in 1942. Between 1940 and 1948, John Melton Hardy sent “a portion of his military pay...to his mother...he supported his mother and family.” After his 1947 marriage, and the 1948 birth of his daughter, Hardy directed his earnings toward his own nuclear family and household. He stayed in the military, and again served honorably during the Korean War. By the end of the World War II, and the years thereafter, most

of the Claud-Hardy children had married and started new families during America's "baby boom" (Woodard Field Notes).

By c.1950 Virgie and her other children established residences in a "new" developing area of Franklin, and eventually most of the family lived within a few blocks of one another between South Street and Rosewood Avenue. Virgie Hardy resided on the corner of Rosewood and Roosevelt. Her daughter Verlee Hardy Baker [b.1917] lived on the corner of Washington and Rosewood, and was "very proud of her brick home" as it was "a symbol" of upward economic movement. Another daughter, Gertrude Hardy Porter [b.1916], and son Leroy Hardy, Sr. [b.1921], both lived "around the corner on Washington Street." After his Army service, Leroy Hardy, Sr. worked in the construction business and was part of the effort to develop this area of South Street in Franklin, including building New Hope Baptist Church on Rosewood Avenue. Adjacent to the Claud-Hardy households, families of similar socio-economic status from the "Colored" community included the surnames Britt, Brown, Chavis, Cutler, and Everett (C1920-1940; Woodard Field Notes). The Virgie Claud-Hardy family transition from itinerant rural laborers to suburban homeowners was part of a wider pattern in the United States c.1900-1950, and as such, situates the Nottoway descendants within trends of shifting American demography, the banking system, increased labor mobility, and industrialization.

Urban-Rural Connections During Jim Crow, c.1920-1950

With the death of her parents Millie Turner [d.1915] and Morefield Hurst [d.1918], and the outmigration of most of Susanna Turner Claud's children c.1905-1920, the character of the Claud farm became somewhat different than in earlier years. Most of the men and women of the extended allottee family lived away from the "old reservation," some in urban centers, others in Southampton or nearby counties. Many worked in jobs for wage labor, while some were "share croppers," but few owned their own businesses or labor. Memories of the decades before the Second World War focused on "visiting," resource pooling

between the urban and rural residents, and a type of socio-economic continuum of kinship between "city life" and "in the country." Interviews with elderly informants who lived through this era also described the racial climate of Portsmouth and Southampton, and that Nottoway descendants were identified and segregated as "Black," with little regard by Whites for other distinctions.

Portsmouth c.1940 was racially segregated in all of its institutions and businesses. As a consequence, Nottoway descendants of African ancestry and affiliation were barred from participating in social and economic institutions reserved for "Whites Only." As an outcome, the Nottoway descendants more fully engaged the Black community in Portsmouth. "In the early years, Colored people owned more businesses and serviced the community," recalled one allottee descendant. Blacksmiths, barbershops, canvas shops for boat's sails, mechanics, pool halls, theaters, and other stores were "commonly Black-owned and had Colored patrons." Black churches were the "center of the Portsmouth community," and burial associations, fraternal orders, insurance societies, and schools that attended to the needs of the urban residents were barred by White society. Nottoway descendants regularly participated in and contributed to these businesses, institutions, and social networks. However, some relatives were known to "pass as White," and they "could not be visited;" they "would visit infrequently for purposes of [a] holiday, funeral, or the like." These relations had access to more resources "better pay, better food, and merchandise," and would "visit intermittently, sometimes bringing hard to find food items" or similar desirables. Other relatives, who were "light-skinned" and phenotypically White, many times "with one White parent, insisted on being identified as Colored or Black," and as full members of the family. These racially motivated choices, and the narrow social maneuverability of family members, speak to the complexity of the Nottoway experience during the first half of the twentieth century (Woodard Field Notes).

In regard to urban labor, nearly all of the family's adult males worked in association with the

railroad depot, naval yard, or in manual labor. Most of the male spouses of the Claud women were described as “Negro,” and along with the social segregation of the period, the Portsmouth families were also stratified economically. Affine Mathew Harris [husband of Lila Claud] was a caulker for wooden ships engaged in coastwise trade, and his brother William Harris joined the Merchant Marines before relocating to Philadelphia with Bessie Turner. William Wright [husband of Sarah Claud] was a janitor for the Seaboard Railroad, and James Edwards [husband of Addie Claud] worked loading and unloading goods for shipping. Others were engaged in “Public Work,” or unskilled manual labor. “The men used to ride together in trucks. The kinds of jobs that they had sometimes were pick-and-shovel kind of jobs. The truck would come by and they’d climb on and go off to wherever the work was repairing roads.” The women of the families worked as maids and servants for Whites “across town,” and some did laundry for White households as a side job. Lila “Tigue” Claud-Harris washed clothes, “ironed them and delivered them to their door. That was one of the jobs she did.” Adjacent to her home on South Street “there was Benny’s sandwich shop” that served the Seaboard railway workers, “sold cigarettes...other tobacco products, and made sandwiches to order.” Lila Claud-Harris “cooked for the uptown location” and “many [of the family] bought chewing tobacco or snuff there” (C1910-1940, Portsmouth, VA; Woodard Field Notes).

In rural Southampton County, Depression-era “Public Work” at the county seat of Courtland involved men waiting for the train “across from the depot to unload the boxcars” when they arrived. Other jobs included paving roads, sawmill labor, and hauling. When not farming his family’s allotment land, Josh Claud caught work in Courtland, as did Joe and Leroy Hardy [sons of Virgie Claud-Hardy]. “Colored” laborers almost exclusively manned these jobs in the 1920s, 30s, and 40s. While wage labor was vital, Courtland was recalled as,

“not a welcoming place for people of color... most stayed away from there, especially when there were events or congregations of people

in town...too many chances to get arrested for looking the wrong way, unless you were standing on the corner waiting for work.”

“There was an amazing amount of pressure on those people to conform...to constrain themselves and work within society...you had to do what you had to do to survive, and those people did it” (Woodard Field Notes).

Despite the Depression and racial politics in both locales, connections to Southampton remained important for the Portsmouth immigrants. With economic and social constrictions, the resources of the Woodson-Turner / Claud rural homestead on Indian Town Road provided urban family members with a constant infusion of foodstuffs from the farm. Plants and animals were transplanted to Portsmouth, mostly in the form of chickens, fruit trees, and vegetables. Lila Claud-Harris “had chickens in the coop and we would collect the eggs in the morning. Occasionally they had a duck or two in the yard.” Mattie Turner “had a grape arbor that would grow great big juicy grapes. She [also] had an apple tree and a fig tree.” These amenities provided some level of comfort to the Nottoway descendants, and represented an aspect of Southampton “country life” in Portsmouth. Mattie Turner also utilized an empty lot of “railroad land” to have “a garden right outside their house,” where “they would plant butter beans, collards, and cabbage out there, and every year they’d get a nice supply of fresh vegetables.” These domestic food sources were not uncommon for some neighborhoods in the city, but their origins from the family’s rural lifeway on Nottoway allotment farms made them unique (ibid).

In support of the importance of Southampton connections, family members fondly recalled, “visits to the country” during the summer and early fall ripening and harvest seasons. Brother Arthur Claude and mother Susanna Turner Claud annually contributed to the Portsmouth produce supply during the 1930s and 40s. “Fill up the basket” was the cry from the Claud matriarchs in the city as the younger generations “roved Big Grandma’s [Susanna Turner’s] garden;” the family would

“fill the bushel basket full of vegetables to take back to Portsmouth.” Sometimes, the family would be called to assist with harvesting on the Claud farm, “they would be met by Uncle Boss [Arthur Claud] who would bring them to the country to pick cotton on the farm of James Thomason Claud” or assist “Uncle Josh [with taking] his peanuts to market to sell.” Starting in November the Portsmouth families would “return to Southampton for fresh meat” from animal culling and butchering, and game hunting; in the spring and fall, “fishing in the river,” was particularly important when the herring and shad would run (ibid).

Visits to the Susanna Turner Claud farmstead “were sometimes only overnight or for the weekend,” and other times “longer in the summer.” During the 1920s, some members of the “family had a car,” others only “for a short time,” or “a car was borrowed to drive to the country.” By the 1930s, a summer tradition of the urban families was to “drive to the country” and “strut” their accomplishments from Portsmouth and Philadelphia. The extended kin would “show off their cars, new suits, hats with big feathers in them...to show how well they were doing in the city...that lifestyle was appealing to the [younger] farm [kindred] looking out into the world...they looked up to their success.” Visitors from Philadelphia came less often, only for holidays, weddings, or funerals. Lilly Claude “often had fancy clothes...fitted gloves and tailored attire... her husband worked for the city [Philadelphia]. He had steady pay and benefits...they had a nice house, fancy china, sterling silver settings, and glass ware.” The lure of economic mobility and the benefits of urban wage labor weighed heavily on Southampton kindred; by 1940 70% of the Claude children lived in cities, although the generation remained connected by kinship to the matrilineal allotment farms of Millie Woodson-Turner / Susanna Turner Claud from their Southampton youth (ibid).

The women, in particular, would return to socialize with their Southampton cousins, aunts, and uncles. Bringing “all their kids,” they crossed the “the wooden bridge with the boards on it” from Courtland, wound past “the peanut factory,” and turned

up Indian Town Road to Susanna’s farm. Extended family lived along the “old reservation” in “an old house that sat back off the road” where people “would recognize you by waving and sometimes with a handkerchief” (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes). Living descendants of Millie Turner and Susanna Turner Claud remembered that, “people came from all around” to visit and socialize at the Claud farm, particularly during the warmer months:

On the old Turner Claud farm, “they would sit on the porch in the evening trying to get something burning so they could keep mosquitoes from biting. They’d sit out there until 9:00, 9:30, 10:00 talking, depending on the conversation, if they were having fun remembering things, telling lies on each other. That’s how they entertained themselves in those days. They didn’t have T.V., didn’t have telephone, didn’t have radio in most cases...[one relative] used to get the paper every day, but they didn’t have a whole lot of other stuff up in the country...they would sit on the porch and somebody from the community or the neighborhood would come by with a guitar and they would sit out there and harmonize. They’d sing along [to] church songs, somebody would pray...it was almost like a church service. Those were the kind of things they would do to entertain themselves and spend some time together.”

Other community engagement included attendance at Bryant’s Church on Sunday mornings, where “Pastor David” preached in the 1920s and 30s. The church was four miles south of the Claud farm, and continued to be a center of Turner-Claud descendants’ life into the 1970s. Several members of the family, including Arthur “Boss” Claud, were buried in the associated cemetery (ibid). By c.1940, the Millie Woodson-Turner / Susanna Turner Claud farm and associated tracts had been allotted from the Nottoway reservation and maintained as a private homestead for ninety years. As a continuously occupied Nottoway property from the 1705 colonial reservation surveys, descendants had resided on the tracts for 235 years.

Farm Loss

Many of the Nottoway descendants repeatedly used their reservation allotments as collateral on loans, or placed a lien on their livestock or future crops to secure funding. Sometimes crop failure ruined a family's finances, and resulted in farm loss due to debt. In other cases continual tax delinquency required outside assistance to maintain the property of the poor and elderly. The Turner Claud family lost property, repurchased it, and some cases, rented tracts after they were sold. Southampton County court documents indicate the Nottoway descendants were often engaged with prominent White court officials, landowners, and lawyers, such as D.D. Barham, James T. Gillete, Robert S. Pope, Junius W. Pulley, William B. Shands, and William J. Sebrell. These men acted as lawyers, securities on debt, witnesses on deeds, and financial lenders to the Nottoway. However, as during an earlier period of Nottoway Trustee superintendence, these prominent men did not always act with the Indian Town Road residents' interests in mind, but rather their own. There are multiple transactions within the Nottoway's Southampton documentary record c.1920-1950 that demonstrate predatory lending and liens, with the result being debt, dependency, and property loss.

There were also disagreements among descendants of Millie Woodson-Turner regarding the inheritance of the allotment tracts, and some competition over control of portions of the Claude farm. After Millie's death, a lawsuit among some of her children and their spouses resulted in the public auction of several tracts within Claud farm, and the proceeds distributed among the heirs. Some suggest the sale took place without the knowledge of the all concerned parties, but the monies were divided once the tracts were sold (Chancery OB 15:256). Included in the 1917 auction was the sixty-four acre wooded tract Millie Woodson-Turner originally received as an allotment, situated in the middle of the Claud farm (DB60:78). The property changed ownership multiple times thereafter, but it does not appear to have physically impacted the residential compounds of the homestead, situated on the cleared area of the adjacent allotment facing Indian Town Road.

James Thompson Claud and Susanna Turner Claud used the Nottoway allotments as loan collateral multiple times before 1920, but always paid down the debt over time. However, with the relocation of the grown children, and the advancing age of the Clauds, the productivity of the larger aggregate of allotment properties diminished; a home farm and smaller operation emerged "in the bend by Clay Hill" on Indian Town Road, which Josh Claud eventually managed with family help. The Clauds timbered several hundred acres of the allotment land after Millie Turner and Morefield Hurst's death, providing a substantive boost to the farm's finances (Trust DB 13:552-553; Woodard Field Notes).

By 1926 James Thompson Claud was failing in health, and entered a will at the Southampton Courthouse in April of that year. Signed by witnesses James T. Gillette, a prominent lawyer and future mayor, and Bessie T. Shands, daughter of lawyer and former senator William B. Shands, Claud's will outlined several points related to personal property and debt. He directed that all of his financial shortcomings be paid at his death, and that all of his household furniture should be given to his wife Susanna. James Thompson Claud's will, however, also included several unusual articles, based on the existing patterns of Indian Town property holding:

"All the balance of my property, real, personal, and mixed, I desire shall be sold and converted into cash. I give to my wife one-third of the entire amount, to be hers forever, and the balance of the property, after one-third is taken out and given to Susanna Claud, I desire to be equally divided among all my children. Should any one die before my death, I desire that his, or her part, shall go to his or her children. Thus my grandchildren shall have their parent's share"

"I desire that my hereinafter named Executor shall have the authority and power to sell my real estate and convert same into cash...I do hereby nominate and appoint James T. Gillette of Courtland, Virginia, Executor of this my last Will and Testament...Witness my

hand and seal this 8th day of April, 1926”
(WB23:83).

Family members indicate that Susanna Turner Claud was unaware of what arrangements her husband made or why he made them, but after James Thompson Claud’s death in October 1926, James T. Gillette moved to survey the property for sale. Susanna Claud appeared before the county clerk in protest and entered a renouncement of the will:

“I Susanna Claud, widow...do hereby waive and renounce the said clauses and provisions of the said will of James Thompson Claud, deceased, and elect to claim such share of my said husband’s estate, real personal, and mixed as I would have had if he died intestate...Witness my hand and seal this 2nd day of December, 1926. Susanna Claud her X mark (SEAL) Witness Nannie E. Nickins”
(WB23:87).

Children and grandchildren of Susanna Turner Claud remarked that James Thompson Claud “would have never wanted to evict his children.” The witness, Nannie Nickens was Susanna’s oldest daughter and farm neighbor; the sale impacted the Nickens family and several other Nottoway descendants living as tenants on the Turner Claud farm. Neither the court nor Gillette were moved by Susanna Claud’s rejection of the will, and Gillette who “qualified as the Executor on the said estate on the 4th day of November, 1926” proceeded to sell about 200 acres of the Claud farm. Ten acres of land at Clay Hill, bordering Indian Town Road and Millie Turner’s old allotment, were kept as a dower interest of Susanna Turner Claud as long as she lived, but reverted to the sold “tract at the death of Susanna Claud.” W.J. Sebrell purchased several tracts, which contained three allotments [Patsy Bozeman 48 acres, Lydia Bozeman 71 acres, and Lamb Bozeman 75 acres], and sold them to D.C. Gillette and Lucile Gillette by March of 1928. Lawyer James T. Gillette, as trustee, retained control of some of the properties, including the tract around Susanna’s farm (DB:73:121; 125:524; 243:239).

The sale of the allotments by Gillette was denounced by the family, who stated in oral history interviews that, “lawyer Gillette...had the will drawn up...to fool [Susanna] out of 350 acres of land.” Allottee descendants remained suspicious of county officials, lawyers, and financial institutions, as they were seen to be the mechanisms by which families were “cheated” “out of their land.” It was Gillette that facilitated the sale of the Millie Turner tract in 1917, and as of 1926, the dispossession of the remaining allotment farmstead. Thus, some descendants saw Gillette in a negative light. A sentiment of betrayal and loss pervade the oral histories of Nottoway allottee descendants, particularly those who lived through the last divisions of the old reservation farmlands (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

Susanna Turner Claud was remembered as being fastidious about her tax payments, as she knew this was a means by which other families on Indian Town Road had relinquished their allotments. Several of her matrilineal family on Indian Town Road lost their properties through over ten years of tax arrears 1924-1939, resolved by a small circle of prominent White men in Courtland (COB 11:446, 477-479, 498). Family members recalled that White men, who kept track of due dates, interest, and bank loans for a fee, sometimes paid the property taxes. But others suggested that some “prominent White men” collected the money, never paid the tax, allowed the arrears to accrue, and then facilitated the farms’ auction. In most of these cases residents retained “lifetime rights,” once their property had been sold to a third party (Rountree 1987:212). As during the nineteenth century, sometimes the trustees for the property sale, and the family of the purchaser were one and the same, closely related in business, or the lawyer and trustee became the purchaser (DB69:435-436; 125:121-122).

According to descendants, another strategy used by the same circle of Courtland officials, was to pit one family member against another in inheritance situations, and thereby force the resolution in court. As most of the Nottoway descendants could not afford to outright purchase their kin’s interests

in the land, the court favored auctioning the property and dividing the income, including substantial fees paid to the lawyers. There are multiple examples of this situation unfolding on Indian Town Road, including the 1926 auction of the Claud farm (CC Edwin D. Turner et al. v. William Turner et al., 1881-1885; Rountree 1987:212; CC Sykes et als. v. Harris et als., 1952-1953; WB23:83-84, 87). A pattern of manipulation and loss may not be conclusive, but when compared against the history of the Nottoway Trustees and Reservation Allotment, a connection is suggested.

Despite diminishment and loss, Susanna “stayed on the land,” “farmed,” and “paid her taxes.” Family members recalled that Susanna Turner Claud “became sick when she was informed she would lose the farm.” The evidence is lacking for the specifics of the situation, as she retained her ten acres of “dower interest” until her death. She “took to her bed, which was an uncommon state for her.” Bed-ridden, “Big Grandma” left the remains of the Claud farm c.1947 and “went to live with her son King Arthur Claude – Uncle Boss.” However, while Susanna Turner Claud vacated the old allotment compound, a mysterious fire burnt the c.1850 farmhouse to the ground. Completely devastated, Susanna Turner Claud died of a coronary, March 10, 1949. Her death certificate attributed congestive heart disease as the source of the occlusion, but interviewed family members repeatedly connected the death of Susanna Turner Claud to the burning of the old family home, “it was just too much for her;” “she died from the stress,” “a broken heart” (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

Susanna Turner Claude’s children, grandchildren, great grandchildren, extended family, and many community members attended the matriarch’s funeral in Southampton County. Those that lived away travelled from Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Portsmouth for the service. According to individuals that attended the funeral, descendants gathered at the site of the old homestead, and photographs of the event show well-dressed men and women from multiple branches of the extended family. The death of Susanna Turner Claud, daughter of Nottoway allottee Millie Woodson-Turner, and the loss of the home and farmstead marked the end of continuous Nottoway affiliation with the site (ibid).

In 1952, one of Nottoway headman Edwin D. Turner’s granddaughters, Rosa Ellen Sykes, sold her life interests in two Indian Town Road reservation allotment tracts to her daughter. Another relative contested the transfer, and in 1953 a chancery court ordered the property be auctioned, and the monies arising from the sale divided in proportion to descent from the original allottee (Rountree 1979:48). As Edwin Turner, Jr. had married Mattie Claud [daughter of Susanna Turner Claud], their children and descendants were identified in the suit. Thus, William Turner and Bessie Turner [Harris], who had lived with “Big Grandma” Susanna Turner Claude when their parents moved to Portsmouth, were considered interested parties. The court traced the Nottoway descendants in Southampton, as well Susanna’s grandchildren and great-grandchildren in Philadelphia, for the monetary divisions from the auction (Chancery OB 14:331-332, 400; Woodard Field Notes). With the 1953 sale of these two allotment tracts, the last continuously controlled parcels of Iroquoian territory left the hands of Nottoway descendants.

CHAPTER THREE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The narrative of the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead is remarkable, not only because of the Iroquoian descendants' retention of the property for such a long time, but also because the history is so unknown and has been so overlooked. While not yet part of the wider storyline of Virginia's Indian people, the memory of the Nottoway, Millie Woodson-Turner, and Susanna Turner Claud remain strong among their descendants – linked to the allotment properties and farms of the “old Indian Reservation” on Indian Town Road. The Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site [44SN0341] was one of the last continuously occupied matrilineal Nottoway farms, and as such, the site remains a primary ancestral center of the contemporary and historical Nottoway community.

The memory of the Susanna Turner Claude family farm remains in Southampton – among descendants – and also the wider community. For nearly forty years, the house chimney of Susanna Turner Claud's farmhouse continued to stand in the middle of the current agricultural field in which 44SN0341 is situated. A member of the Southampton County Historical Society, and resident of Rt. 651 Indian Town Road, wrote a correspondence to one of the matrilineal Nottoway descendants in 1979:

“Yes I do remember Suzanna T.[urner] Claude. They owned a small farm between my place and Courtland. The chimney still stands after a fire several years ago. The Indians were given this land years ago for a reservation[,] which they occupied until early 1920...A great deal of information can be obtained in the courthouse at Courtland.

Deeds, marriages, wills, leases and court proceedings are on record there” (Woodard Field Notes).

To improve agriculture at the site, the chimney was eventually toppled and other remaining architectural debris removed by tractor to the edge of the agricultural field. Informal interviews with property neighbors and county residents, both related and unrelated to the family, revealed that artifacts from the house were known to be scattered across the field, and that the chimney stood for many years, at least until c.1985 “at the bend in the road” and “by Clay Hill.” The removal date of the chimney to the edge of the agricultural field is suggested to have occurred c.1990. The remains of the chimney are now situated in the southeast corner of the site, along the drainage ditch and entrance to the property on Indian Town Road.

The 2016 archaeological survey confirms that 44SN0341 represents the remains of a structure[s] with “strong evidence of inhabitation on site” from the mid-nineteenth century through c.1950, which corresponds to the documented occupation of the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site environs. Of the 2016 materials recovered, “the site assemblage is characterized largely by domestic and household items, which can be seen especially in the glass, ceramic, and metal components” (Appendix II). Evidence suggests that the site suffered a fire event; some artifacts show signs of intense heat, are burned, and several lenses of charcoal were recorded in the site's soil stratigraphy (Appendix I, Appendix II). Moreover, the artifactual record documents the site was not occupied as a domestic space after

the mid-twentieth century. Very few artifacts post date c.1950, may be counted as terminus ante quem for the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead, and likely represent secondary deposits. Third-quarter of the twentieth century artifacts include a 1956 U.S. Wheat Penny, 1950s Pepsi Cola bottle sherds, an iron refill tube for Revlon Futurama lipstick c.1955-1960, and a medicine bottle from c.1958. These artifacts suggest the remains of the house site may have served as a gathering point for field workers associated with the farm's post-1950 history, and a place where a limited number individuals congregated for social purposes or labor breaks.

From the 2016 survey, artifacts dated to the third and fourth quarters of the eighteenth century indicate an increase of historical artifacts deposited on the site during the colonial and early Republic eras. These artifacts are mostly situated in the northeastern section of the site, away from the core of 44SN0341's artifact density, and may reflect an earlier Nottoway domestic structure. In the same vicinity, at the north end of the agricultural field, a previously identified site 44SN0069 is a Late Archaic / Early Woodland camp [2500-1200 B.C./1200-500 B.C.]. Materials recovered from the 2016 survey and excavation confirms the

latter site's lithic assemblage, which is primarily focused on tool making (Appendix II), and unrelated to the Nottoway occupation of the Millie Woodson-Turner farm.

The Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site is an exceptional archaeological site, and a heritage space within the living memory of contemporary descendants. Not only does the resource represent the wider Iroquoian Nottoway community's connection to the Southampton landscape, it offers an opportunity to explore and examine the ways in which Nottoway people adapted, changed, and accommodated the colonial encounter, as well as the emerging American economy, over time. Future work could include archaeological investigation of the allotment tracts and other home sites, with excellent chronologies, an extensive documentary record, and undisturbed cultural resources. Based on the evidence presented, it is the opinion of the research team that the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead is worthy of consideration for nomination to the Virginia Landmarks Register and National Register of Historic Places, and meets the objectives set forth by the *Underrepresented Communities* grant and VDHR's *Continuity Within Change: Virginia Indians National Register Project*.



Figure 2. An assortment of nineteenth- and twentieth-century artifacts

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ABBREVIATIONS

AG	Agricultural Schedule [U.S. Federal]
C	Census [U.S. Federal]
CC	Chancery Cause [County]
Chancery OB	Chancery Order Book [County]
DB	Deed Book [County]
DC	Draft Card [U.S. Federal]
FB	Freedmen's Bureau [Virginia]
GWP	George Washington Papers Digital Edition
LP	Legislative Petitions [State]
M	Court Minute Book [County]
OB	Order Book [County]
PPTL	Personal Property Tax List [Library of Virginia]
SCLP	Southampton County Loose Papers [Library of Virginia]
WB	Will Book [County]

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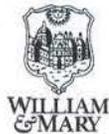
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