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The Archaeology of Native Societies in the Chesapeake: New Investigations and Interpretations

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Abstract Archaeological studies of Native American societies in the Chesapeake have recently incorporated a broader range of interpretive frames, including those that emphasize historical contingency and social interaction rather than cultural ecology and cultural materialism. New evidence of Woodland-period population movements, persistent places, and cycles of social ranking has prompted historically oriented interpretations that foreground particular configurations of ideology, tradition, ritual, and agency. Contact-period studies have demonstrated that native strategies of the colonial period were rooted in precontact social landscapes. Contemporary American Indians are also reclaiming their pasts in ways that challenge archaeological practices and further broaden perspectives on the Chesapeake past.

Keywords Chesapeake · Woodland period · Contact period · Descendant communities

Introduction

Recent excavations on Virginia's coastal plain have revealed the complicated history of a Late Woodland community, a case study that brings into focus several prominent themes in the current archaeological literature of the Chesapeake (Blanton et al. 1999). Blanton and colleagues (1999, p. 92) traced a history whereby 250 to 300 “uncomfortable immigrants” constructed a large, compact settlement during the 14th century AD that was surrounded by a double palisade, rectangular bastions, and an encircling ditch. During the 15th century the immigrants, possibly originating from Owasco communities of the upper Susquehanna, created a “flourishing Tidewater culture” as the village lost its defensive orientation and its

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settlers interred ancestors in collective ossuaries (Blanton et al. 1999, p. 96). A century later, Potomac Creek residents established a second village nearby that was home to the local *weroance* (or political leader) and central to the social landscape of the Patawomekes, an Algonquian-speaking people who figured prominently in the Chesapeake's early colonial history. From Patawomeck, or "trading place" (Barbour 1971, p. 296), and related settlements along the Potomac, the Patawomekes were a counterweight to the Powhatan paramountcy that exercised authority across coastal Virginia during the early colonial era (Potter 1993, pp. 170–175; Rice 2007). Today, descendants of the Patawomekes remain in the Chesapeake region, are engaged in the archaeology at Potomac Creek, and have drawn on this research in their recently successful effort to gain official status as a recognized tribe.

As a prominent example of recent Chesapeake archaeology, the Potomac Creek research highlights themes that have become more important in the region during the last two decades: explanations of cultural change as shaped by historical contingency and social interaction; population movements that introduced new traditions and social conflicts amid a diverse precontact setting; persistent places that became centers of resource procurement, feasting, ritual, and social ranking; exchange cycles that connected disparate communities within and beyond the Chesapeake; research that spans historical archaeology and "prehistory" in order to track links between precontact developments and colonial-era events; and the re-emergence of descendant communities seeking to reclaim their pasts, sometimes in ways that challenge accepted narratives and standard archaeological practices.

Until fairly recently, the precontact archaeology of the Chesapeake has been characterized as a parochial backwater where researchers have been reticent to join the discipline's epistemological debates (Mouer 1997; Waselkov 1997). Much of the archaeology conducted in the region has aimed at describing diagnostic artifacts and at understanding adaptive changes to environmental settings. Although the best examples of such efforts have provided effective frameworks for material culture, settlement patterns, and subsistence regimes, it is also clear that these approaches have placed interpretive constraints on the region's archaeology. The prominent role played by avocationalsists in the study of native sites, particularly in Virginia (MacCord 1990) but also in Maryland (Curry 1999), has resulted in extensive excavation along with archaeology that is at times less attuned to developments influencing other North American regions. Late Woodland archaeology and early colonial accounts together have made the Chesapeake "*the laboratory to explore the archaeological fingerprint of complex societies*" on the Atlantic coast (Stewart 1995, p. 195), yet chiefdom studies in the Chesapeake have had, at best, mixed success at identifying archaeological patterning to balance colonial accounts (e.g., Binford 1964; Gallivan 2003; Potter 1993; Rountree and Turner 1998; Turner 1986).

Recent studies have begun to push against these limitations. As is the case elsewhere in North America, an eclectic range of theoretical perspectives has taken root in the Chesapeake (Means and Klein 2003), including those that highlight Native American materiality (e.g., Hantman 1990; Potter 2006), body symbolism (e.g., Pietak 1998), social hybridity (e.g., Dent 2005; Moore 1993), landscape and emplacement (e.g., Gallivan 2007; Knepper et al. 2006), poststructuralist analysis of ritual (e.g., Dunham 1999), Braduelian temporalities (e.g., Jirikowic 1995; Klein and

Sanford 2004), world-systems theory (e.g., Hall and Chase-Dunn 1999; Stewart 2004), Darwinian evolutionary theory (e.g., Boyd 2004a), and indigenous perspectives (e.g., Clark and Custer 2003; Hantman et al. 2000). Researchers have begun to consider historically oriented interpretations that foreground particular configurations of exchange networks, ideology, tradition, ritual, and agency. Efforts to understand the social significance of artifact styles, cultural boundaries, and ceremonial centers have opened the possibility of a new era in which precontact Chesapeake archaeology could become the basis for a long-term history of native societies that crosses the contact/precolonial divide in a seamless way (cf. Hodder 1987; Nassaney and Johnson 2000). Cultural ecological approaches remain in place, but these are increasingly informed by more nuanced climate histories (e.g., Stahle et al. 1998), geoarchaeological models (e.g., Monaghan et al. 2004), paleoecological records (e.g., McWeeney and Kellogg 2001), and subsistence data (e.g., Messner 2008) that highlight localized conditions and the complex relationships that link environment, culture, and history (e.g., Rice 2009). Many of the recent interpretive shifts have been enabled, in part, by an expanded evidentiary base generated by CRM (e.g., Stewart 2000). Several leaders of the more historically oriented archaeology beginning to emerge in the Chesapeake had, in previous years, been advocates of systemic models of culture, neo-evolutionary typologies, and adaptationist explanations.

This essay reviews Chesapeake research from the past two decades, focusing selectively on Woodland through contact-period studies that address these themes. I depend on several regional summaries (e.g., Custer 1994a; Dent 1995; Hantman and Gold 2002; Little 1995; Stewart 1995) and a series of period-based reviews from the Council of Virginia Archaeologists (Blanton 2003; Hodges 2004; Klein 2003a; Reinhart and Hodges 1991, 1992; Turner 2004). With the exception of the internationally significant investigations of the pre-Clovis Cactus Hill site (McAvoy and McAvoy 1997), much of the recent archaeology conducted in the region that has broader importance centers on the Woodland period and on early colonial contact.

Where archaeological studies of the Chesapeake have typically focused on the rise of native polities cast as archetypal chiefdoms (e.g., Potter 1993; Rountree and Turner 2002; Turner 1976), the richly detailed archaeological evidence from recent field research highlights historical processes not easily accommodated within existing social typologies. In conjunction with the area's voluminous early colonial accounts, the Chesapeake is now poised to become one of the primary regions in North America in which archaeologists foreground historical processes of native social construction that cross the colonial/prehistoric divide. Of broad significance for the archaeology of native North America are Chesapeake cultural landscapes and related social dynamics of the Woodland period that come into sharper focus during the early historic era as Native American communities developed distinctive responses to colonial incursions.

Defining the region

The Chesapeake region is defined in large part by the Chesapeake Bay, the largest estuary in the United States and home to rich and diverse ecological systems and

ecotonal settings (Curtin et al. 2001; Rountree et al. 2007). The region is drained by rivers flowing into the Bay, including the Susquehanna, Choptank, Nanticoke, Patuxent, Potomac, Rappahannock, York, and James, and extends as far north as New York's Finger Lakes and as far west as the Great Appalachian Valley (Fig. 1). Particularly after the 1971 establishment of the Middle Atlantic Archaeological Conference, the Chesapeake has been subsumed within a Middle Atlantic region that stretches along the Atlantic coast from New York to Virginia and west to the ridge and valley province (Custer 1994a). For those favoring a culture-area approach, the Chesapeake suffers along with the Middle Atlantic from uncertainty as to whether it belongs with the Northeast or the Southeast culture area; at different points in the precontact sequence, one or the other regional affinity seems more

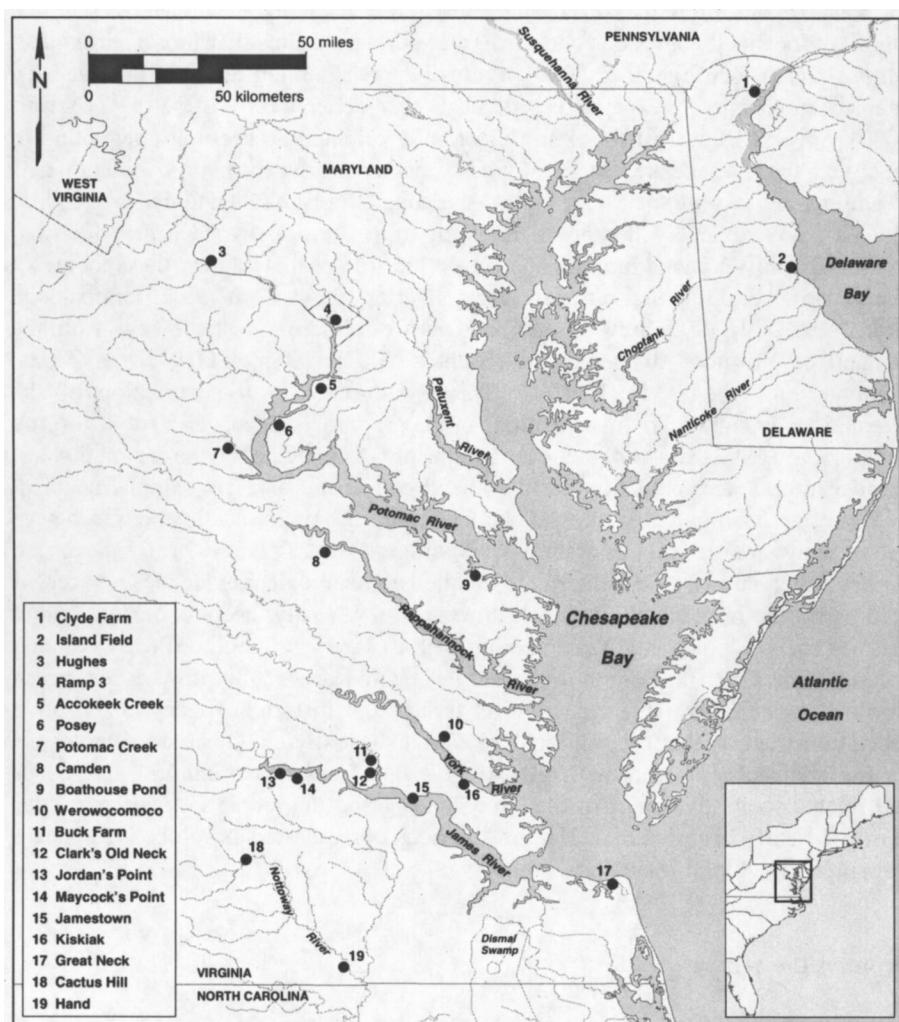


Fig. 1 Chesapeake region and sites mentioned in text

appropriate (Custer 1994a, p. 329; Hantman and Gold 2002, p. 271). Researchers going back to Holmes (1897, pp. 19–20) nonetheless have argued persuasively that the Chesapeake represents a coherent natural and cultural unit within eastern North American archaeology (Dent 1995, p. 2).

The archaeological record beginning c. 1200 BC points to the salience of cultural traditions and social networks within a “Chesapeake” region that includes the coastal plain and piedmont provinces of Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware. Recent summaries of Chesapeake natural history (e.g., Dent 1995, pp. 69–95; LeeDecker 1991; Miller 2001), drawing on analyses by Carbone (1976), Brush (1986, 2001), and others, provide the ecological parameters framing the region’s culture history. Marine transgression triggered by the rising sea levels of the Holocene formed the Chesapeake Bay and its extensive estuary, a process that was essentially complete by 3000 years ago (Dent 1995, pp. 83–84). At roughly the same time, c. 1200 BC, steatite-tempered Marcey Creek pottery appeared throughout the coastal plain and piedmont regions from Delaware south to the James River in Virginia (Egloff and Potter 1982, p. 95), highlighting the emergence of social networks and, possibly, shared ceremonial practices (Klein 1997) of the Chesapeake. Shell-tempered Mockley ceramics appeared c. AD 200 across coastal Chesapeake, introducing a fall-line boundary between the coastal plain and the piedmont and a smaller area marked by a shared ceramic tradition (Egloff 1985). While Chesapeake archaeology typically focuses on the coastal plain after the appearance of Mockley pottery, continuing links into the piedmont have long been recognized in the archaeological and ethnohistorical records (e.g., Hantman 1990; 1993; Kavanagh 1982; Mouer 1983; Rountree 1993). By the 16th century, a circum-Chesapeake exchange sphere that conveyed locally produced shell beads and copper objects from beyond the region is apparent archaeologically (Klein and Sanford 2004, pp. 58–64). The Chesapeake region includes the history of coastal Algonquians as well as Iroquoian and Siouan speakers of the interior who were impacted by early European colonization on the Atlantic coast. Although defining the archaeological record in terms of a Chesapeake region surrounding the bay requires accepting an area with both artificial and permeable limits and considerable internal diversity, the area does have clear historical and cultural coherence during the final three millennia of prehistory.

Archaeological study of the Chesapeake has a long and storied past that includes work by Jefferson (1787), Holmes (1890, 1897), Binford (1964), and prominent figures of historical archaeology (e.g., Deetz 1996; Leone 1995). Research here has played a role in the beginnings of problem-oriented archaeology in Jefferson’s excavation of a Monacan burial mound (Hantman and Dunham 1993), an early case study in processual archaeology (Binford 1991), innovative studies of native social complexity that combine archaeology and ethnohistory (e.g., Rountree and Turner 2002), and excavations at the early English colonial settlement of Jamestown (e.g., Kelso 2006). The Chesapeake also benefits from pioneering programs of archaeological research associated with outdoor museums (e.g., Brown and Edwards 2006; Miller 2007) and urban areas (e.g., Cressey and Vinton 2007, Leone 2005), though these programs typically focus on non-native histories. In fact, the prominence of historical archaeology across the Chesapeake often overshadows the region’s Native American past. Prior to the 1990s, efforts to characterize the archaeological record

of the region's native societies focused on cultural-ecological frameworks and neo-evolutionary models (e.g., Custer 1989a; Gardner 1982). During that era of research, settlement pattern studies took center stage (e.g., Potter 1982; Turner 1976), often emphasizing a Woodland period focused on productive estuarine and riverine environments, and cultural developments understood as adaptations to changes in Holocene environments.

More recently, Dent (1995) has provided a comprehensive summary of research in the region and the authoritative reference on the region's culture history. Writing in the early 1990s, Dent highlighted a handful of efforts to consider the importance of cultural actors, agency, and symbolism in the archaeology of the Chesapeake, themes that already had considerable influence outside of the region. Dent (1995, p. 66) was heartened by the appearance of archaeological and ethnohistorical research, including studies by Haynes (1990), Jirikowic (1990), and Williamson (1979), that began to broaden the then-standard reliance on paleoenvironmental discontinuities to explain social configurations and culture change in the Chesapeake. Adding his own voice, Dent (1995, pp. 277–284) proposed that the rise of chiefdoms in the Chesapeake coincided with an internal reordering of social life during the 16th century triggered by the balkanization of regional groups, population movements, European-introduced disease, and elites' usurpation of ancestral power. In his review of Middle Atlantic archaeology, Custer (1994a, p. 347) similarly noted sporadic signs of increased social complexity, or "flashes in the pan," from the Late Archaic through contact periods that failed to accord in any simple way with environmental parameters. Picking up on this theme, Hantman and Gold (2002, p. 289) noted that the Middle Atlantic region was characterized after 1200 BC by a long-term cyclical pattern whereby competition for rank "was defined by the ability to access nonlocal prestige goods and distinctive mortuary ritual." I borrow from this line of thought, traceable through Dent, Custer, Hantman, and Gold, to organize this review.

Early Woodland

Sites dating to the Early Woodland period (1200–500 BC) have seen relatively limited recent excavation in the Chesapeake, though researchers have applied innovative interpretations to the study of early ceramics, settlement organization, and floodplain geoarchaeology (Klein 2003a, p. 207). The general point of departure for most Early Woodland research in the Chesapeake is a fusion–fission settlement model based on seasonal oscillation between macrogroup/habitation sites and microgroup/temporary camp sites (Custer 1989a, p. 198). Increasing population and sedentism between 1100 BC and 500 BC have been tied to more efficient exploitation of resources in localized areas of natural food diversity (Klein and Klatka 1991; Turner 1976). During this period, hunter-foragers also developed new storage and container technologies within large, semisedentary base camps during a "Transitional period," hinting at things to come (Mouer 1991).

The Early Woodland period in the Chesapeake is marked by the adoption of Marcey Creek pottery and a number of similar "experimental" wares by hunter-foragers who

constructed vessels from slabs of clay molded by hand into trough or bowl shapes (Dent 1995, p. 225; Egloff 1991; Egloff and Potter 1982, pp. 95–97). Marcey Creek ceramics were tempered with crushed steatite and typically had vessel forms mimicking the shapes of soapstone vessels that moved through Late Archaic exchange networks. In the Chesapeake, soapstone bowls appeared sporadically and in small numbers, suggesting limited access (Blanton 2003). A concentration of Late Archaic and Early Woodland soapstone vessels in northeastern Maryland bearing unusually elaborate decorations may signal that the area served as a “gateway zone,” or cultural boundary area, between the distinct social spheres of the Chesapeake and of the Pennsylvania Uplands (Shaffer 2008).

Klein (1997, p. 147, 2003a, pp. 218–219) has presented evidence that Chesapeake soapstone vessels were used for indirect cooking, stone boiling, and serving meats and ritual teas rather than for generalized cooking. His model for the subsequent adoption of ceramics in the Chesapeake is an example of Early Woodland research foregrounding regional interaction, social agency, and the social import of material culture. Drawing on similar arguments from Sassaman (1993) and ethnographic evidence pointing to the use of soapstone vessels as specialized containers, Klein argues that the movement of Marcey Creek vessels across the Chesapeake signaled efforts to maintain a ceremonial sphere linked by exchange ties involving soapstone. Marcey Creek ceramics occur in high frequencies on a limited number of sites (e.g., Mouer 1991, p. 40), suggesting the presence of individuals or communities who controlled access to soapstone and who coordinated feasting and ceremony associated with the bowls (Hantman and Gold 2002, p. 278). Marcey Creek ceramics appear to represent an attempt to extend such practices that originated with earlier soapstone bowls. The subsequent shift to coil-constructed, quartz- and sand-tempered wares (including Accokeek Creek) made ceramic vessels more widely available. The widespread adoption of quartz- and sand-tempered wares may have resulted from efforts to develop expedient container technologies that were independent of the social networks and ceremonial spheres through which soapstone flowed. Accokeek Creek vessels from the Early Woodland period were generally limited to intensively reused macrogroup base camps in ecologically attractive settings (Stewart 1998a, p. 2). Such places include some of the earliest evidence of residential architecture in the region (e.g., McLearan 1991), indicating that sedentism and aggregation created conditions that led to the production of expedient containers (Klein 2003a, p. 219). This historical process may well be implicated in the disruption of older, ceremonial exchange networks involving soapstone.

Efforts to characterize Early Woodland settlement forms have benefited from studies of hunter-forager aggregation sites that exhibit high artifact concentrations and intact features (e.g., Blanton 2003; Mouer 1991). Drawing on data from large, densely occupied settlements in the James River piedmont, Mouer (1991, p. 70) has argued that “sedentary, village-dwelling societies developed in Virginia much earlier than was previously believed,” during the terminal Late Archaic when a shift to riverine adaptations triggered changes in subsistence, technology, site size, and site density. Piedmont sites near the fall-line zone exhibit extensive artifact concentrations, platform hearths for large, seasonal food preparation events, and an

array of pit features. Artifact assemblages from these sites include concentrations of grooved axes, steatite vessels, and stone gorgets tied to land clearing, exchange, and expressions of identity.

Subsequent Early Woodland research has indicated that such sites were, in fact, places of intensive, seasonal occupations of hunter-foragers rather than settlements with large, permanent populations (e.g., Custer 1994b). Concentrations of hunter-forager aggregation sites dating to the Late Archaic and Early Woodland periods have been identified in several parts of the Chesapeake, including the western rim of the Dismal Swamp (Blanton 2002; Lichtenberger et al. 1994) and on the Delmarva Peninsula (Custer 1989a, pp. 185–248). Excavations at the Clyde Farm site on the Delmarva Peninsula identified a concentration of contemporaneous features dated c. 1000 BC that comprised a “household cluster,” including a rectangular pit house, an external storage pit and hearth, and an area containing lithic tool production debris (Custer 1989a, pp. 196–198; Custer et al. 1987). Blanton (2003, p. 187) describes an almost continuous concentration of Late Archaic and Early Woodland sites at the edge of the Dismal Swamp that exhibit similar signs of residential stability, including pit features, large hearths, and cemetery areas. Only one of these sites has been excavated systematically (Blanton 2003), though others are known from surface collections. Recovered artifacts reflect a wide array of projectile point styles within single, apparently contemporaneous, contexts, and dense concentrations of groundstone tools, grooved axes, bola weights, and roller-type pestles.

Much of this material may be understood in terms of an “intensification” of settlement and subsistence-related activities within resource-rich wetland settings (Blanton 2003, p. 188). The numbers and diversity of nonlocal stone artifacts within these Early Woodland settlements also highlight newly expanded social networks animated by large gatherings of hunter-foragers from distinct cultural traditions (e.g., Custer 1989a, pp. 235–247). In such settings, the density and variety of elaborately crafted “bannerstones” (i.e., spear-thrower weights) may, in fact, parallel expressions of “assertive identities” by distinct individuals, as noted in other places of hunter-forager aggregation near the Atlantic Coast (Sassaman 1998, 2005).

Locations with evidence of large-scale gatherings, specialized containers, and large food preparation facilities also likely played a role in the Early Woodland Chesapeake as places of seasonal aggregation and feasting. Archaeological studies of feasts emphasize that such events served diverse ends, ranging from social reproduction to social stratification (Joyce and Henderson 2007), and incorporated strategies that include establishing alliances for war and marriage, mobilizing labor, creating political power and economic advantages, and redistributing wealth (Dietler and Hayden 2001). Feasting can sometimes be recognized in the archaeological record by unusual types and quantities of food, elaborate food preparation techniques and facilities, and unusual serving vessels (e.g., Potter 2000; Spielmann 2002). Of course, not every roasting platform, decorated pot, and dense food deposit identified in the Chesapeake represents a feast, yet the co-occurrence of such evidence in places of large-scale gatherings points to the feasting and social negotiation that accompanied seasonal aggregation in the region.

The construction of houses and cemeteries and the reuse of favored locations reflected in artifact accumulations also point to the growing importance of

“persistent places” (Littleton and Allen 2007; Schlanger 1992) and related changes in the relationship between people and landscape. Persistent places are locations that are used repeatedly during the long-term occupation of a region (Schlanger 1992, p. 92) that may result from the unique qualities of particular locales, from built environments that focus reoccupations, or from repeated revisit over the long term (Littleton and Allen 2007, p. 296). Understanding the social integration and status competition that occurred in these locations during the Early Woodland period requires a great deal more intensive fieldwork in places like the Dismal Swamp and the Delmarva Peninsula.

Middle Woodland

While the archaeology of Early Woodland aggregation sites remains poorly understood, the Chesapeake’s Middle Woodland archaeology offers a more fully developed record that points to population movements, hunter-forager interaction, cycles of social ranking, and the establishment of ceremonial centers. Recent studies of these developments in the Chesapeake have combined new methods of chronology construction, ceramic stylistic analysis, and historical linguistics that have broad significance beyond the region. The Middle Woodland period in the Chesapeake (500 BC–AD 900) has been characterized as a period of “technological homogenization” (Dent 1995, p. 235) during which the use of shell-tempered Mockley ceramics by native peoples spread rapidly across much of the coastal Chesapeake (Blanton 1992, pp. 74–76; Custer 1989a, pp. 276–277; R. Stewart 1992). Whether this change was the result of population replacement or a new focus on estuarine resources remains unclear. The “Mockley spread” coincided with a settlement shift toward estuarine zones in the outer coastal plain and a “burst of human activity” apparent in the dramatically increased numbers of sites in the Chesapeake (Blanton and Pullins 2004, p. 69). Some outer coastal plain sites exhibit shell middens covering several hectares (e.g., Dent 1995, pp. 240–241; Opperman 1992; Waselkov 1982). Excavation of such sites near the mouth of the James River exposed large burial grounds, deep storage pits, and communities that were fully sedentary or nearly so (Hodges 1998, pp. 200–201). The Middle Woodland, then, emerges as the period when a shift to increased reliance on estuarine resources coincided with the regional spread of shell-tempered pottery, developments that may have resulted from the arrival of new populations and/or the adoption of new adaptations by indigenous communities. Mockley ceramics first appeared on Maryland’s Eastern Shore and subsequently spread throughout the Chesapeake, apparently heralding the arrival and spread of Algonquian-speaking populations ancestral to those present at contact (Herbert 2008, pp. 273–274). Complicating this scenario of simple population replacement, though, are indications that Mockley sites coexisted alongside those exhibiting localized wares (McLearan and Mouer 1989, p. 22), pointing to the movement of distinct populations within overlapping territories (Hodges 1998, p. 190).

Recent research in the region has added studies of ceramic technology, settlement patterns, exchange networks, historical linguistics, population movements, and

interaction between culturally distinct hunter-forager communities. Klein's (1994) "absolute" ceramic seriation offers substantial improvements over the use of ware/type classifications, particularly for purposes of chronology construction. Drawing from Braun's (1985) ceramic engineering model and a suite of radiocarbon-dated features in Virginia, Klein developed regression equations that estimate the date of Middle Woodland through contact-period assemblages on an absolute scale. The equations depend on attributes such as sherd thickness, temper size, and vessel morphology and generate more precise temporal predictions than possible with diagnostic artifacts in phase-based dating on a relative scale.

Settlement pattern models proposed for the Middle Woodland include modified versions of Binford's (1980) collector model and a related "fusion–fission" pattern centered on macroband base camps (Blanton 1992). Potter's (1993) survey of Middle and Late Woodland settlements on Virginia's Northern Neck fleshes out these possibilities with a detailed, local study. From AD 200 to 550 hunter-forager groups there moved seasonally between small interior camps and intermediate-sized shell midden sites in riverine and wetland areas. Much larger shell midden sites, including Boathouse Pond, appeared after AD 550; such locations served as places of hunter-forager aggregation for several centuries thereafter.

Persistent places and far-flung networks are particularly well expressed in the Delmarva Adena phenomenon from 500 BC to AD 1 (Custer 1987a, 1989a, pp. 249–275; Stewart 2004, pp. 343–345). A small number of sites on the Delmarva Peninsula dating to this interval contain trade items that originated in the midwestern Adena. Distinctive Adena artifacts include tubular pipes, copper beads and gorgets, and Flint Ridge chalcedony bifaces. Most Delmarva Adena sites were locations of elaborate mortuary rituals that included secondary burials and cremations. Delmarva Adena may have entailed sporadic, ritualized exchange between select Chesapeake groups and those in the Ohio Valley (Custer 1989a, p. 262) or, perhaps, the migration into the area of lineages with ties to Adena ceremonialism. Under Stewart's (2004, p. 341) model of Middle Atlantic exchange, Delmarva Adena is a primary example of the "focused" networks that arose sporadically across the Middle Atlantic through which entrepreneurs or lineages insinuated themselves within informal trade networks to obtain exotica. The geographically circumscribed distribution of these sites and the quantities of imported items raise the possibility that Delmarva Adena sites are high-status burial grounds that asserted social ranking and "big man" status (Custer 1989a, p. 268).

A second example that appears, on first glance, to reflect focused exchange is the distribution of Abbott zoned-incised pottery. Abbott ceramics, which include elaborate combinations of incised lines unlike other ceramics in the region (Cross 1956, p. 144), have been recovered in substantial numbers from Middle Woodland deposits at the Abbott Farm site in New Jersey, from at least six sites in coastal Virginia, and from a handful of other northeastern locations (Stewart 1998b, p. 173). Stewart (1998b) argues persuasively that Abbott vessels played a role in ceremonial feasting, particularly in aggregation locations that were well positioned to exploit seasonal, anadromous fish runs. The Maycock's Point site on the James River contains Abbott zoned-incised pottery in shell middens dating from AD 200 to 900 (Gregory 1983; Heinsman and Duncan 2006; Opperman 1992). The presence of

Abbott ceramics at Maycock's Point raises the possibility that these materials record long-distance trade with groups 400 km to the north in the Delaware Valley.

Analysis of vessel morphology supports the inference that Abbott zoned-incised vessels from Maycock's Point were serving vessels with sizes and shapes distinct from the Mockley ceramics that dominate the assemblage (Duncan and Gallivan 2006). Faunal remains record the consumption of considerable quantities of fish, oyster, deer, and wetland tubers at the location, and possibly a year-round occupation (Barber and Madden 2006). Trace element analysis of Abbott zoned-incised pottery from Maycock's Point and Abbott Farm indicates that the two assemblages were produced independently from local clays, despite the presence of identical decorative motifs (Steadman 2008). Rather than focused exchange, the ceramics at Maycock's Point apparently highlight the regional movement of feasting practices and, possibly, of Middle Woodland populations.

Recent linguistic research provides some context for this finding. Drawing on earlier efforts (e.g., Goddard 1978; Luckenbach et al. 1987; Siebert 1967, 1975), Fiedel (1994, p. 1, 1999) has used glottochronology and protolexicon reconstruction to make the case that "a unified Proto-Algonquian linguistic community existed as late as the Middle Woodland period." The reconstructed Proto-Algonquian vocabulary includes cognate terms for smoking pipes, earthworks, bows, and arrows, items that became prominent in the Northeast during the Middle Woodland period. Combining these linguistic patterns with abrupt changes in artifact sequences and settlement orientations, Fiedel (1999, p. 199) sees evidence for the initial development of Proto-Algonquians in southern Ontario and their outward movement between 500 BC and AD 900. Under this scenario, population movement into the Middle Atlantic region and the Chesapeake occurred during the Middle Woodland. Protowords for town, chief, ceremonial attendant, and fellow clan member also occur across different Algonquian languages, implying that traditional social structures included large villages, totemic clans, ranked lineages, and hereditary chiefs (Fiedel 1994).

Fiedel's reconstruction of Proto-Algonquian and his use of glottochronology are by no means universally accepted. This is partly due to processual archaeologists' general distaste for migration as an explanatory tool (Cobb 2005, p. 565), though other serious questions do arise. Stone tool technologies, pottery styles, and mortuary practices frequently crossed social and linguistic boundaries within the Chesapeake during the contact period, making it difficult to isolate evidence of migration in the archaeological record, particularly prior to contact. The spread of shell tempering across the Chesapeake may, in fact, result from adaptive advantages inherent in this production method. Darwinian archaeologists also have highlighted problems of essentialism inherent in the use of culture-historic taxa (e.g., Kipp Island phase) as direct correlates of ethnic or language groups in the Middle Atlantic (Hart and Brumbach 2003, p. 750). Some historical linguists (e.g., Campbell 2004, pp. 200–210) doubt the efficacy of glottochronology's methodological and analytical principles, particularly in the absence of other corroborating evidence. Nonetheless, glottochronology does play a role in recent studies of migration (e.g., Bellwood and Renfrew 2002) and the spread of domesticates (e.g., Brown 2006) that combine archaeological, biological, and linguistic data sets.

On the whole, Fiedel's linguistic analysis provides an intriguing line of evidence with which to consider the c. AD 200 "Mockley spread" and the subsequent appearance of ceremonial centers (e.g., Stewart 1998b), earthwork enclosures (e.g., Gallivan 2007), and chiefly lineages (e.g., Woodard 2008) in the Chesapeake. Moreover, as archaeologists develop detailed late prehistoric sequences in the Eastern Woodlands, migration is emerging as a "viable alternative" to explanations rooted in "gradualist assumptions" about culture change in the region (Snow 1995, p. 59). Efforts to develop more nuanced models of population movements that draw from ethnohistorical analysis and detailed archaeological sequences also are beginning to appear in the Chesapeake (e.g., Dent 2005), adding to the growing body of studies that draw on migration, conflict, and long-range interaction to explain culture change in the precontact Eastern Woodlands (e.g., Nassaney and Sassaman 1995).

Cordage twist direction as reflected in ceramic surface treatments offers a potentially useful method for detecting population movements in the Chesapeake. Once learned, cordage twist direction usually remains unchanged throughout a person's lifetime, so patterning in this attribute may be interpreted as the product of different learning networks of weaver-potters (Carr and Maslowski 1995, p. 321). Johnson and Speedy (1992) proposed that abrupt changes in cordage twist at the end of the Middle Woodland paralleled the migration of new populations along the coastal James. Complicating such evidence though is the possibility that learning networks during late precontact centuries were shaped by increased sedentism and resulting social boundaries rather than by population movements (Klein 2003b). When sample sizes are small or the ceramics come from temporally mixed deposits, it also can be difficult to rule out the impact of handedness on cordage twist (Custer 2004).

Studies that have posited evidence of a Middle Woodland Algonquian intrusion into the Chesapeake region have been conducted at the Island Field site (Custer et al. 1990) and at the Ramp 3 site in Washington, DC (Knepper et al. 2006). Beginning in 1968, excavations at the Island Field site near the Delaware Bay identified several hundred burials dating from AD 410 to 1180 (Custer et al. 1990, p. 200). Sections of these burial grounds were incorporated into an on-site museum that publicly displayed human remains and associated grave goods. Protests by the Nanticoke tribal leadership led to analysis and reburial of the remains. This study produced several significant archaeological results and contributed to a reorientation of Delaware archaeological practices toward the inclusion of descendant communities (Custer 2005; Petraglia and Cunningham 2006). The site also exhibited traits associated with the Kipp Island phase of the Point Peninsula complex (AD 500–800), including ceramics, grave good assemblages, and mortuary patterns (Ritchie 1994). Centered in New York and Ontario, Kipp Island-related sites also have been identified in New Jersey, Delaware, and Virginia. The mortuary complex at the Island Field site appeared at a time of other discontinuities in ceramics, settlement, and exchange patterns in Delaware, prompting Custer and colleagues (1990, p. 207) to posit that the site records a migration of Algonquian speakers into the region.

Research on the Potomac River's inner coastal plain has brought to light additional evidence of relationships between Chesapeake communities of the

terminal Middle Woodland and peoples and practices to the north. Knepper and colleagues (2006, pp. 204–206) identified a feature at the Ramp 3 site in Washington, DC, containing an antler comb, antler disks, perforated shark teeth, groundstone pendants, a stone phallic effigy, a wooden bead, and charred textile fragments, materials also associated with the Kipp Island tradition (Fig. 2). The Kipp Island connection may correspond with the spread of Algonquian cultures through the Middle Atlantic and into the Chesapeake from the Northeast during the Middle Woodland (Knepper et al. 2006, p. 235). Extending these ideas, Potter (1999) has suggested that the mortuary ceremonialism at Ramp 3 and related sites represented “route markers” for Middle Woodland Algonquian immigrants moving south. The identified materials do indeed represent linkages to communities and practices north of the Chesapeake at a time when shell-tempered ceramics spread rapidly across the region. By the Late Woodland, the archaeological record of these populations may be seen in the distribution of Townsend complex sites surrounding the Chesapeake Bay and in the closely related Colington complex of the Carolina sounds region.

Research on the James–York Peninsula has offered evidence that beginning at the time of these postulated population movements, hunter-foragers from distinct traditions coexisted and interacted, perhaps for as long as several centuries (Blanton and Pullins 2004, pp. 89–91). Grit-tempered Varina and Prince George ceramics have a long history in the area, most often on interior sites that lack midden

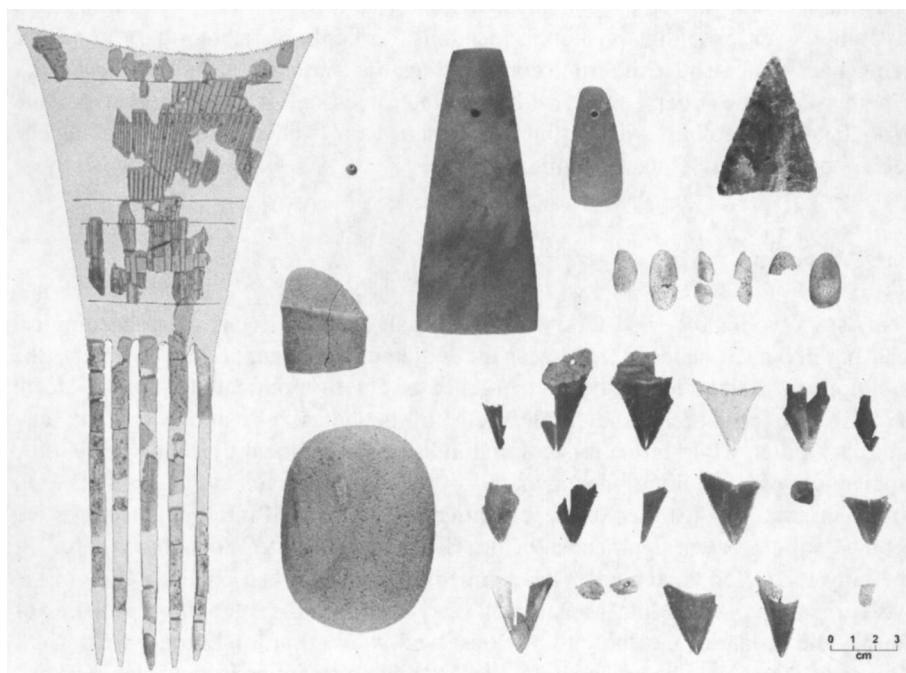


Fig. 2 Artifact assemblage from Ramp 3 site, Washington, DC. Photo courtesy of District of Columbia Department of Transportation, National Park Service, and Versar, Inc. (Knepper et al. 2006, p. 126)

deposits. Shell-tempered Mockley ceramics appear after AD 200 and generally occur at midden sites in estuarine locations. Such differences in pottery production techniques may simply correspond to the tempering agents available to hunter-forager groups in different parts of a settlement round, though there are other indications that the pattern relates to two distinct social traditions that came into contact c. AD 200. While either Mockley ceramics or grit-tempered pottery dominated each assemblage, ceramics from both wares co-occur in feature deposits (Blanton and Pullins 2004, p. 78). The evidence raises the possibility that “a Mockley-using population emerged, coexisted for a time with already-present Varina/Prince George ceramic users, and then effectively replaced the latter population” (Blanton and Pullins 2004, p. 88). Mockley vessels on interior sites and deer bone in estuarine shell middens point to exchange, intermarriage, and the “mutualism” of Middle Woodland hunter-foragers in the area (Blanton and Pullins 2004, p. 91).

Prompted as much by new evidence as by a theoretical reorientation, Middle Woodland research in the Chesapeake is now more open to interpretive frames that foreground population movements, powerful places, and local histories of social interaction. A recent study pushes the boundaries of this interpretive trend and postulates that Middle Woodland mortuary centers near the Potomac River fall line may be best understood best in terms of Algonquian cultural landscapes (Knepper et al. 2006, pp. 236–243). Drawing from characterizations of Eastern Algonquian cosmology and a view-shed analysis, Knepper et al. (2006, p. 238) suggest that “beyond general strategic advantage, the river terraces would have represented favorable, even propitious symbolic locations, particularly for mortuary purposes, being near water and exhibiting commanding unobstructed paths for the dead.” Whether all researchers agree with this interpretation, it is clear that Middle Woodland archaeology will continue to benefit from studies aimed at tracing the social construction of places and landscapes.

Late Woodland period

The Late Woodland period (AD 900–1600) has been the focus of archaeological research in the Chesapeake that traces the settlement of large, permanent towns, the adoption of horticulture, and the emergence of chiefly political structures. Recent studies have considered the implications of boundary formation, warfare, and mortuary ritual, while in the process highlighting the political dynamics behind the emergence of chiefdoms documented by European colonists. The ability to construct narrative histories of these polities that reach well into the precontact era heightens the broader significance of the Chesapeake’s Late Woodland record.

Many Late Woodland studies have aimed at producing “an understanding of the evolutionary processes that transformed Early and Middle Woodland societies of the Middle Atlantic into the cultures observed at the time of European Contact” (Custer 1986, p. 9). The archaeology of hierarchical societies in the Chesapeake—including the Powhatan, Monacan, Piscataway, Patawomeke, and Nanticoke—has emphasized explanations whereby Middle Woodland (500 BC–AD 900) “harvesters

of the Chesapeake" increased in population, developed circumscribed social networks, and became Late Woodland (AD 900–1500) village horticulturalists (Potter 1993, p. 139; see also Binford 1964; Turner 1976). Binford's (1964) seminal study provided foundations for this effort by combining ecological parameters, settlement patterns, and ethnohistorical interpretation. Potter's (1982, 1993) analyses of Algonquian cultural development in the Potomac contributed a richly textured local context for tracing the history of a Native American group. In a series of publications emphasizing environmental productivity, demography, and neo-evolutionary models, Turner (1976, 1992, 1993) has linked Tidewater archaeology to Powhatan ethnohistory. Rountree and Turner's (2002) interpretation of the Powhatan chiefdom as a pyramidal political structure comprising the paramount chief who dominated the Tidewater region, weroances who controlled regional districts, councilors who influenced weroances, and commoners who paid tribute remains the region's standard sociopolitical model.

More recent research has added to and, at times, challenged these studies by emphasizing regional diversity, social conflict, the symbolic and political force of ritual, and the movement of people and material across the landscape. Stewart's (1993) comparison of Late Woodland societies in the Delaware, Potomac, and Susquehanna valleys builds on an earlier comparative study (Custer 1986) that emphasized regional variability. The role of cultigens varied widely in this area, as did community patterns that included dispersed hamlets, palisaded villages, and nucleated towns. Broad ecological factors account for few Late Woodland developments, Stewart (1993, p. 163) argues, whereas regional interaction played a prominent role in the configuration and transformation of societies across the Middle Atlantic. For example, Stewart notes that the absence of defensive communities, settlement nucleation, and population displacements in the Delaware Valley may have resulted from relationships between communities there and Owasco societies to the north. The archaeology offers indications that the historic-era role played by the Lenape as middlemen between Iroquois and Algonquian groups may have also existed during the Late Woodland period, structuring historical developments in the Delaware Valley (Stewart 1993, p. 173, 1998b, p. 177).

Where researchers do foreground the environmental and geographic parameters of Late Woodland social histories, there is a turn toward detailed studies of local settings and a serious consideration of the reciprocal relationship between natural and cultural landscapes (e.g., Blanton et al. 2005; Rice 2009). A recent study of Potomac Valley history probes the relationship between long-term environmental history and local culture history by tracing developments in the drainage from the earliest native settlement through the 18th century (Rice 2009). In his effort to explain why parts of the Potomac River basin were uninhabited on the eve of colonization, Rice (2009, pp. 7–10) emphasizes three related narratives that unfolded in the region: the changing relationship between environmental conditions and cultural adaptations, the history of Native American social interaction, and the social implications of landscapes constructed by previous generations. Rice (2009, p. 255) argues persuasively that the precontact transition to horticulture resulted in demographic patterns among native societies that influenced the early history of colonial settlement and subsequent patterns of agrarian and urban development.

A comprehensive survey on the James–York Peninsula documented local environmental conditions and cyclical changes in settlement that culminated with the development of the Kiskiak polity, one of the communities encompassed within the Powhatan chiefdom by 1607 (Blanton et al. 2005, p. 238). Settlements dating after AD 1300 record a sharp population increase and a shift to dispersed communities comprising small, distinct enclaves. Such settlements, including the village of Kiskiak, were well positioned to take advantage of the richest estuarine resources rather than areas with particularly productive soils for agriculture. Maize and other domesticates were incorporated quite late, likely during the 16th century, and even then played a modest role in subsistence. The research calls into question approaches that rely on coarse-grained models of Chesapeake cultural ecology (Blanton et al. 2005, pp. 238–240), indicating that understanding the emergence of chiefly political structures will require close attention to local histories, diverse environmental settings, and distinct economic practices.

Recent, large-scale excavations have documented Late Woodland community forms. My own study (Gallivan 2003) of James River settlements identified changes in domestic production, community organization, and regional exchange that coincided with the establishment of large and permanent village communities between AD 1200 and 1500. The arrangement of features within domestic spaces suggests that households increased in size and began to exert greater control over the storage of food during this period. Select communities across the drainage erected palisades and began to use large roasting pits for multicommunity feasts. Ceramic styles reflected social networks that were considerably more bounded after AD 1200. These changes, I have argued, resulted in a riverine landscape susceptible to the rise of chiefly political structures.

As referenced above, researchers at the Potomac Creek and Accokeek Creek sites in the Potomac River's inner coastal plain see evidence of population movements, fortification, and mortuary centers (e.g., Blanton et al. 1999, Dent and Jirikowic 2001). Both sites exhibit concentric ditch features and multiple palisade lines surrounding a plaza with ossuaries and primary interments (T. Stewart 1992). Potter (1993, pp. 126–148) has elegantly framed competing hypotheses for the origins of the Potomac Creek complex in terms of a piedmont emigration, an Eastern Shore homeland, and *in situ* development. He argues in favor of a scenario in which piedmont migrants from the Montgomery complex established the Potomac Creek and Accokeek Creek villages during the 14th century AD. Blanton et al. (1999, p. 102) also see evidence of population movement behind Potomac Creek but point to Owasco origins farther to the north.

Closely related to these developments, Late Woodland archaeology in the Potomac piedmont reveals heightened social conflict after AD 1200 in the form of palisaded settlements, cultural disjunctions, and village abandonments (e.g., Dent 2005, Jirikowic 1995; MacCord et al. 1957). Montgomery complex villages were abandoned c. AD 1400 with the arrival of settlers from the Keyser complex (Dent 2005, p. 46). Jirikowic's (1995) study of the Hughes site, a Keyser village, traces the history of an economically self-sufficient and apparently egalitarian community whose mortuary rituals signaled distinct lineages marked by social distance. The Potomac Valley emerges from this research as a highly fluid landscape: “New

groups arrived, old groups dispersed, and diverse people coalesced and defined themselves" (Dent 2005, p. 47). Rather than movements of entire communities en masse, there are hints that the Middle Potomac's archaeology records "serial migrations" (Bernardini 2005, p. 15) whereby individuals, families, or lineages moved across the landscape, establishing new settlements in some places and testing the hospitality of existing communities in others (Dent 2005, p. 47). The resulting communities are likely to have been multilingual places with considerable social diversity (Dent 2005, p. 47; Moore 1993).

South of the Potomac, most Late Woodland settlements in the Chesapeake were large, dispersed communities located near rivers and arranged around wetlands and embayed areas (Turner and Opperman 1993). Excavations in the Chickahominy drainage have offered a sense of Virginia Algonquian settlement forms during the Late Woodland period that include small farmsteads and dispersed villages containing several ossuaries (Gallivan et al. 2009; McCary and Barka 1977). Several unusual Late Woodland settlements also appeared along the Chickahominy River. The Clark's Old Neck site features massive roasting pits, debris from large-scale food preparation events, and highly decorated pottery. The Buck Farm site is defined by trenches and palisades surrounding a compact, 200-m² area that contained several animal burials, a unique arrangement pointing to the special nature of the settlement (Fig. 3). Ethnohistorical parallels raise the possibility that the site represents a 16th-century Chickahominy *quioccasan*, or priestly compound (Shephard 2008). Together, the sites excavated by the Chickahominy River Survey offer anchor points for a narrative that includes dispersed farmsteads, feasting locales, and a palisaded compound. The survey records the emergence of a Late Woodland landscape after AD 1100 comprising residential communities as well as places that were important to social solidarity and community construction. In short, we see hints of the built environments, imagined communities, and lived spaces through which the residents of the river drainage became the Chickahominies (Gallivan 2009).

In contrast with the settlements along the Chickahominy, which reflect continuous use of Townsend ceramics from AD 800 through the 17th century, palisaded settlements that appeared along the James River during the 14th century are generally associated with Roanoke and Gaston ceramics linked to North Carolina traditions (Turner 1993). Near the mouth of the James, excavations at the Great Neck site identified a 16th-century palisaded settlement with an unusually large longhouse structure and burials with associated copper grave goods (Hodges 1998). The settlement, likely a political center tied to the Chesapeake Indians, contained both Roanoke and Townsend ceramics. The size, condition, and context of the ceramics at Great Neck suggest that the 16th-century Roanoke occupation replaced an earlier Townsend component, possibly corresponding to colonial accounts of precontact warfare between Algonquian groups and subsequent population replacement (Hodges 1998, pp. 195–198).

Studies of Chesapeake subsistence are quite limited (Barfield and Barber 1992), particularly prior to the Late Woodland period, though several do call into question a uniform transition to maize-based horticulture. Bioarchaeological analysis in nearby coastal North Carolina indicates that groups there relied on maritime

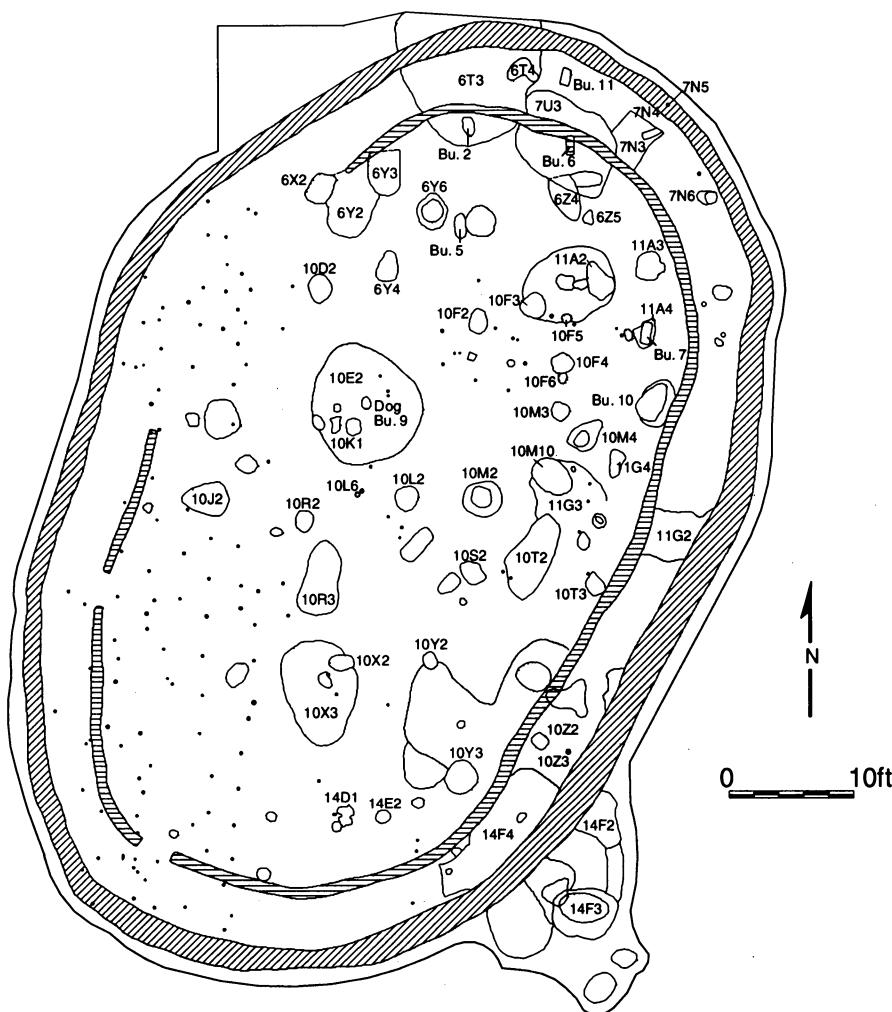


Fig. 3 Plan of the palisaded Buck Farm site, Charles City County, Virginia

resources without adopting corn during the Late Woodland (Hutchinson 2002). A similar study of Virginia piedmont burial mounds (Gold 2004) identified a pattern of local autonomy among Late Woodland villages reliant on maize farming and wild food resources. Changes in Middle to Late Woodland faunal assemblages suggest a focus on deer and riverine resources (Levine 2006), whereas deer procurement strategies intensified even further at the Chesapeake's western and northern margins to supply the early colonial market for hides (Fausz 1988; Lapham 2004). Archaeobotanical analysis has documented considerable regional variability in Late Woodland subsistence (Gallivan and McKnight 2008; McKnight and Gallivan 2007), including patterns west of the Blue Ridge Mountains that conform to the model for North America's middle-latitude riverine zone where the domestication

of native starchy and oily seed-bearing plants appeared during the Late Archaic. East of the Blue Ridge, there is no convincing evidence of horticulture prior to the sporadic archaeological appearance of maize c. AD 1100. This pattern places the Chesapeake within a broader geographic zone lacking pre-maize agriculture that runs along the Atlantic seaboard (Gremillion 2002, p. 490). The distribution of the earliest maize in the region suggests episodic incorporation into select communities across the Chesapeake. Maize was apparently adopted by people who did *not* participate in the pre-maize Eastern Agriculture complex and, perhaps, not primarily to fill a dietary “need.” Several of the sites with the earliest maize are places of seasonal aggregation, large-scale food consumption events, and burial grounds. Archaeobotanical patterning pointing to maize’s use in ritual contexts has been identified at the western edge of the Chesapeake (VanDerwarker and Idol 2008); such practices also may have been at work east of the Blue Ridge after AD 1100.

A considerable body of research has illuminated Late Woodland cultural boundaries and social interaction across them. In coastal Virginia, the increasingly limited distribution of Late Woodland ceramic wares marks rising territoriality related to the emergence of regionally distinct native polities (Turner 1993). Several scholars have identified evidence of Late Woodland interaction across the fall line, a division that separated coastal Algonquians from interior Siouan groups during the early colonial era. The fall line may have comprised a deer exploitation area between these groups (Turner 1978), a political buffer against armed conflict between the Powhatans and the Monacans (Mouer 1983), a frontier of interaction and periodic occupation by groups from both sides (Egloff 1989), or a place of exchange through which prestige items flowed (Hantman 1990). Placing such interaction in a broader, regional and historical context, Hantman (1990) has suggested that Algonquian–Siouan interaction across the fall line played a fundamental role in shaping Native American political strategies during the early colonial era. To the north, the Potomac River fall line represented a conduit for migrating populations at the end of the Middle Woodland period and a boundary area visited by diverse groups during the Late Woodland (Knepper et al. 2006, p. 231).

In a study of the decorative motifs and “grammars” of Late Woodland ceramic designs, Custer (1989a, pp. 308–311) proposed that a cultural boundary separated language groups and interaction spheres in the northern Delmarva–southeastern Pennsylvania area. The two distinct zones correspond with the Minguannan archaeological complex and the Shenks Ferry complex. This boundary, which emerged at the outset of the Late Woodland period, paralleled the division between coastal Algonquians and interior Iroquoian and Siouan groups. Custer (1987b, p. 23) sees evidence in the distribution of design grammars of a broad belt of Iroquoian/Eastern Siouan speakers in the central Middle Atlantic and a north-to-south migration of Algonquian speakers down the Middle Atlantic coast. Petroglyphs on the lower Susquehanna associated with Minguannan communities appear to have reinforced this Late Woodland cultural boundary (Custer 1989b).

Building on earlier characterizations of Southside Virginia’s Late Woodland archaeology (Hodges 1998; Phelps 1983; Turner 1993), a recent study has suggested that the area between the Chesapeake and the Albemarle drainages represented

often-violent borderlands between culturally distinct traditions from AD 1400 to the 17th century (Gallivan et al. 2008). By the early colonial era this region was home to rival Algonquian weroances, powerful Iroquoian traders, Siouan cultural influences, as well as people and objects that moved across these communities and categories. During the Late Woodland period, towns in the region were surrounded by palisades with a greater frequency than communities to the north. The archaeological record points to social practices—notably simple stamping of ceramics, the use of communal ossuary burial features, and exchange in rare objects of body adornment—that crossed cultural and linguistic boundaries. Several Southside settlements dating to this period appear to represent multilingual communities. Other sites provide evidence of the violence, warfare, and population replacement that characterized the borderlands on the eve of contact. Both documentary and archaeological evidence indicates that the Powhatan chiefdom, which emerged during the 16th century, was shaped by these social dynamics on the southern edge of the Chesapeake region.

Analysis of ossuaries and communal mound burial practices of the Late Woodland have illuminated demographic patterns, subsistence practices, and the symbolic and political dimensions of mortuary ritual (e.g., Blick 2000; Curry 1999; Dunham 1999; Dunham et al. 2003; Gold 2004; Jirikowic 1990, 1995; Shaffer 2005). Ossuary burial in the coastal Chesapeake involved collective, secondary deposits of human remains, typically after initial processing of bodies elsewhere. For the Nanticoke, remains interred in ossuaries were sometimes moved when a community was displaced during the colonial era (Shaffer 2005). Potomac ossuaries were often quite large, sometimes containing hundreds of disarticulated remains (Curry 1999). By contrast, ossuaries to the south in coastal Virginia generally contained a much smaller number of individuals, pointing to differences in mortuary practices, social organization, and population densities (Blick 2000). Researchers have noted parallels between Chesapeake ossuaries and the Huron Feast of the Dead, a periodic ceremony in which the remains of the deceased were gathered from several communities and interred collectively amid feasting and ritual (Curry 1999).

With their inclusivity and uniform treatment of the dead, Tidewater ossuary burials appear to be remarkably egalitarian, yet, as Jirikowic (1990, p. 370) suggests “this negation of individuality and the elaboration of collective unity and continuity illustrate how mortuary rituals may create the illusory natural and eternal order which is maintained by ‘traditional authority.’” In a similar way, piedmont burial mounds marked by uniform treatment of the dead may record a hierarchical political order, with power manifested in historical associations between ancestors and territory (Dunham et al. 2003; Hantman 1990, p. 684). Dunham (1999, p. 128) reads Monacan burial mounds in terms of a ritual process shaped by tropes, symbolic constructs that established a triadic relation between mounds, territories, and social groups: “By subsuming the randomness of death itself within a predictable and regulated framework, the collective mortuary sequence would have effectively functioned as a ‘time-space organizing device.’”

Studies of Late Woodland mortuary practices in the post-NAGPRA era also open new possibilities for expanded engagement between archaeologists and contemporary native communities while bringing to the fore disagreements concerning

cultural affiliation and archaeological prerogatives. A study of Virginia burial mounds (Dunham et al. 2003; Hantman et al. 2004) has established that a connection between the mounds and the contemporary Monacans of central Virginia is most “parsimoniously concordant” with the archaeological and documentary evidence, whereas Boyd (2004b) has countered that the mounds cannot be associated confidently with any known Native American group. Another recent study, prompted by a repatriation request from the Nansemond tribe, has concluded that human remains from the 17th-century Hand site located on the Nottoway River in Virginia exhibit more affinities with Iroquoian practices than with those associated with the Nansemonds’ Algonquian ancestors (Mudar et al. 1998).

Clearly each of these positions has substantial consequences for archaeologists and for descendant communities. The interpretation of Hand site burials as Iroquoian is based on the presence of cremations, bundle burials, and primary interments containing associated grave gods, a pattern that contrasts with mortuary evidence from Algonquian sites that generally include ossuaries with few if any related grave goods. While elegant, this interpretation relies on a rather monolithic characterization of Algonquian burial practices, which at times included primary interments and bundle burials alongside ossuaries. Native history during the 17th century also complicates the effort to assign a cultural affiliation to the Hand site, as one group of Nansemonds responded to colonial violence by moving nearby to the Nottoway River where they lived for a time alongside Iroquoian speakers (Vest 2003, p. 790). In addition to the complicated histories of multilingual, coalescent communities, bioarchaeologists seeking to retain access to human remains also must navigate the political aspirations of contemporary descendant communities seeking to reassert a measure of control over ancestors’ remains. Determining the cultural affiliation of human remains in the Chesapeake, as elsewhere, is clearly fraught with a number of serious challenges.

Early colonial period

Studies of the Chesapeake contact period, more accurately termed the early colonial era (Silliman 2005), have benefitted from long-standing interest in the Powhatan chiefdom of Tidewater Virginia and from new approaches to archaeological and ethnohistorical interpretation. Wide-ranging analyses of the Atlantic seaboard at contact have demonstrated ways that the native societies of the Chesapeake were implicated in broader social networks and historical dynamics (Grumet 1995; Hatfield 2004; Loren 2008). New and recently annotated editions of colonists’ accounts from the early colonial era, including those emanating from Jamestown, have been published in recent decades, providing a documentary foundation for contact-period archaeology (e.g., Grumet 2001; Haile 1998; Sloan 2007; Smith and Barbour 1986; Smith and Horne 2007). Studies of historic cartography, including John Smith’s *Map of Virginia*, have provided a geographic framework for understanding native settlement locations (e.g., Turner and Opperman 1993), political geographies (Gallivan 1997; Potter 2009), colonial strategies of appropriation (Harley 1992; Hatfield 2003), contact-period semiotics (Boelhower 2003), and

native toponymy (Potter 2002). Several small-scale excavations conducted prior to 1990 identified evidence of European trade items in Native American contexts that date to the protohistoric 16th century and the early 17th-century contact period (Hodges 1993). More recently, intensive survey (e.g., Blanton et al. 2005; Brown and Horning 2006) and excavation (e.g., Busby n.d.; Gallivan et al. 2005; Luccketti 1994; McLearan and Mouer 1994) have expanded the available evidence considerably. Excavations at James Fort (Kelso 2006) and the commemoration of the 400th anniversary of Jamestown's settlement have focused on early encounters between native societies and English colonists in the Chesapeake, while also drawing attention to the contemporary ramifications of early colonial history in the Chesapeake (Gleach 2003; Hantman 2008; Horning 2006a).

As one of the original locations of an English colonial presence in North America, the Chesapeake has long been a primary region for the development of historical archaeology in the Americanist tradition. The significance of colonial-era archaeology in the Chesapeake has become thornier in recent years, though, as archaeological and ethnohistorical studies have introduced native histories that complicate narratives of English colonial triumph. Anglocentric perspectives have long shaped historians' coverage of the early colonial Chesapeake, while an "artificial divide" continues to separate most historical archaeology from Native American history (King and Chaney 2004). The resulting "blind spot" in early colonial studies (Mouer et al. 1999) has persisted in the Chesapeake long after programmatic statements calling attention to it elsewhere (e.g., Lightfoot 1995). A number of recent studies have challenged this divide and critically interrogated colonial sources with archaeological evidence (e.g., Davidson 2004; Galke 2004; Mallios 2006). The most salient thread running through these studies is the recognition that Native American actors in the Chesapeake adopted highly varied strategies in the face of the colonial encounter. These strategies drew on deep histories of place and landscape (e.g., Gallivan 2007), indigenous cosmologies and systems of meaning (e.g., Waselkov 2006), and structural principles originating centuries before English colonists even saw the Chesapeake (e.g., Scarry and Maxham 2002). Perhaps the most significant contribution of recent archaeological studies of the Chesapeake contact period is the addition of a geographically broader and temporally deeper perspective that "raises questions about the commonplace categories embedded" within the maps and written sources of the colonial era (Klein and Sanford 2004, p. 72).

Chesapeake contact-period studies typically draw on these documentary sources as a point of departure, though the narratives and maps are read in rather distinct ways. Some researchers reconstruct an ethnographic present on the eve of contact that encapsulates the social structures of native societies (e.g., Feest 1990; Rountree 1989; Rountree and Turner 2002). Others emphasize a narrative flow of events surrounding early European settlement in an effort to extricate the histories of native communities that are overshadowed by English perspectives (e.g., Axtell 2001; Kupperman 2007; Rice 2007; Rountree 1990). Still others draw from developments in historical anthropology, emphasizing that culture is a historical product and that history is culturally ordered (e.g., Sahlins 2004). These approaches start with the premise that Native American actions during the early colonial era accorded with

deeply rooted cultural structures (Williamson 1992, pp. 368–369) and that several layers of interpretation, including linguistic, religious, and ideological, need to be considered when assessing early encounters (Haefeli 2007, p. 409; Kupperman 2000). For example, a recent study probes the relationship between priestly authority and chiefly power among Virginia Algonquians, demonstrating ways that ritual and cosmology framed the structures of Powhatan leadership (Williamson 2003). Another study, an “ethno-ethnohistory,” identifies culturally informed strategies on the part of both the Powhatans and the English, suggesting that both sought to “civilize” the other (Gleach 1997). Analysis of exchange involving Jamestown colonists, an earlier Spanish mission, and the Roanoke Colony indicates that Europeans repeatedly violated indigenous gift-exchange rules and in the process provoked native hostilities (Mallios 2006). Chesapeake colonial history also highlights strategies employed by Native American elites to reproduce their status, a process constrained by “prior practice and established patterns of discourse” (Scarry and Maxham 2002, p. 168). Complex kinship structures that are masked behind English depictions of Powhatan society also played a role in framing colonial Chesapeake history (Woodard 2008).

Recent archaeological investigations of contact-period sites that offer a complementary line of evidence include excavations of several sites at Jordan’s Point on the James that have identified an early 17th-century English settlement superimposed above a 16th-century native settlement (McLearan and Mouer 1994). The Jordan’s Point sites graphically record the colonial English strategy of establishing plantations on prime agricultural land that had been cleared and farmed by native communities (Potter and Waselkov 1994). Investigations at the mouth of the Chickahominy have uncovered a Paspahegh settlement dating to the early years of the Jamestown Colony (Lucckett 1994). Located five miles from Jamestown, the settlement features the material record of a group under Powhatan’s influence living in close proximity to Jamestown. The native community interacted intensively with the colonists, as reflected in the written accounts and in the presence of European copper artifacts in burial contexts. Recent investigations on the York River (Blanton et al. 2005) have identified similar materials at the Kiskiak site, including sheet copper, lead shot, and English flint fragments, that originated from Jamestown.

Excavations at the Werowocomoco site on the York River coastal plain identified a dispersed village dating from the 13th century through contact (Gallivan et al. 2005). Werowocomoco was the Powhatan political center and the scene of early colonial encounters. The settlement included two distinct zones: a residential area lining the river and an interior area marked by concentric ditches constructed from AD 1300 to 1500. The interior area contained a high percentage of nonlocal ceramics and serving vessels near a large structure associated with Wahunsenacawh, paramount of the Powhatan chiefdom. Trade copper from Jamestown also appears in 17th-century deposits surrounding the structure. Drawing on social theories of landscape and “place-making” (e.g., Basso 1996, p. 5), my colleagues and I have suggested that Werowocomoco was redefined as a ritualized and politicized node within a landscape of similar such places constructed by Algonquian communities across the Chesapeake after AD 1200 (Gallivan 2007). The process of place-making at Werowocomoco likely played a role in the development of social ranking in the

Chesapeake after AD 1300 and in the 16th-century origins of the Powhatan chiefdom.

No discussion of the contact-period Chesapeake would be complete without mention of the excavations conducted at James Fort (Kelso 2006). Most relevant to the history of Native American–Anglo interaction are deposits from the Fort period (1607–1623) that contrast with Post-Fort period (1624–1660) contexts (Mallios and Straube 2000, p. 27). Fort-period features contain copper, glass beads, and wild fauna. Roughly half of the pottery from Fort-period deposits is Native American. The Fort-period assemblage matches a record of regular, bilateral exchanges involving the movement of copper and glass beads to native communities, while ceramic vessels (containing food) and wild fauna flowed from Native Americans to the colonists (Mallios and Straube 2000, p. 29). Subsequently, exchange relations became unidirectional as food moved from native communities into the fort while few trade goods moved in the opposite direction.

Copper clearly played a critical role in early colonial interaction in the Chesapeake. The recent identification of scrap copper at Jamestown (Kelso 2006, p. 179) and of Jamestown copper at native sites on the James (Fleming and Swann 1994) and the York (Hudgins 2004) offers avenues for evaluating colonial-era interaction and native systems of meaning. As a symbol and source of power that circulated through ritualized exchange spheres, copper played a key role in native religious and political structures (Hantman 1990). The inundation of copper in the Chesapeake following Wahunsenacawh's 1609 departure from Werowocomoco undermined these authority structures and contributed to contact-period social havoc (Blanton and Hudgins 2005; Hudgins 2004; Potter 2006).

Providing a climatological context for early colonial interaction, another study has demonstrated that the worst droughts of the past 800 years coincided with the failures of the 16th-century Roanoke Colony and the early 17th-century “starving time” at Jamestown (Blanton 2000). Bald cypress trees from the Dismal Swamp provided the basis for an annual temperature and precipitation history from AD 1185 to 1984 (Stahle et al. 1998). This record suggests that extreme drought was a factor in the Roanoke Colony's failure and in Jamestown's early struggles. Spanish Jesuit missionaries' descriptions of Virginia in 1570 as a land “chastened” with famine and death allude to the serious impact of periodic droughts (Lewis and Loomie 1953, p. 89). The tree-ring research also indicates that year-to-year climatological variation has long characterized the Chesapeake, fluctuation that required native societies to develop social means of alleviating resource shortfalls.

Researchers have considered the potential impact of protohistoric epidemics introduced by European forays into the Chesapeake on the region's early colonial history (Rountree 1990, pp. 128–130; Rountree and Turner 2002, p. 32). Barker (1992) has even suggested that protohistoric depopulation triggered by European-introduced epidemics was a factor in the emergence of the Powhatan political economy. Under this scenario, the curtailed tribute available from a declining population prompted military expansion by Algonquian chiefs, including Wahunsenacawh, who sought to expand their influence over greater numbers of communities. Diseases introduced by colonists, including smallpox, also may have contributed to the disintegration of the Powhatan social order after Jamestown's

settlement (Mann 2007). Native disease is indeed documented during the 17th century, following intensive colonial interaction (Rice 2009, pp. 131–134), whereas Native American references to precolonial diseases are equivocal (Rountree 1989, pp. 141–142). Bioarchaeological evidence of Chesapeake pandemics preceding colonial settlement has not been identified, and systematic research in adjacent areas indicates that widespread disease and death either followed direct contact (Ward and Davis 1991) or was largely absent (Gagnon 2004). Even with uncertainty in the Chesapeake's bioarchaeological evidence, the dramatic contrast between the population of Virginia Algonquians c. 1607 (Turner 1982) and during the 18th century (Jefferson 1787) indicates that colonial-era disease, enslavement, and violence each had a substantial and tragic impact on native history (Hantman *in press*).

Chesapeake archaeologists have recently begun to integrate the study of native settlements and interaction between Native Americans and newcomers more fully into the comparative archaeology of the 17th-century Chesapeake and the history of the Atlantic world (King and Chaney 2004). Reanalysis of the Camden site located on the Rappahannock River and the Posey site on the Potomac has revealed ways that native households participated in trade networks and incorporated European goods (Porter 2006, pp. 68–72). These sites highlight alternative choices made by native households in the Chesapeake and ways that European materials were incorporated into traditional native practices and exchange spheres (Galke 2004). Other native sites from the colonial era lack European materials altogether (e.g., Stewart 1999), highlighting the range of social strategies adopted by Native Americans.

Sites such as Posey and Camden dating to the later 17th century often feature low-fired earthenware, “colonoware,” that played a role in interactions involving Indians, English colonists, and enslaved Africans (Henry 1992; Noël Hume 1962). Historical archaeologists have focused on the close association between colono ceramics and enslaved Africans (e.g., Deetz 1993, p. 80), though colono ceramics also were produced by Pamunkeys, Rappahannocks, and other native groups who marketed them to colonists (Atkins 2009a; Potter 1993, pp. 224–228). Mouer and colleagues (1999) have shifted discussions of colonoware and related materials in fruitful directions by turning away from an older focus on the ceramic as an identity marker and toward the colonial “creolization” process that crossed social and ethnic categories. A potential problem inherent in this emphasis on creolization, though, is its tendency to mask the violence, conflict, and differences of power inherent in the colonial Chesapeake behind a focus on blended material culture, unifying practices, and the ethnogenesis of new peoples (Horning 2006b, p. 199).

Contact-period studies in the Chesapeake in recent years have focused attention on Jamestown, at times overshadowing the archaeology and history of native communities beyond the fort (Hantman 2008). Studies that frame Jamestown as an icon of American history also constrain understanding of the site by obscuring European motivations and experiences while rendering the Native American presence all but invisible (Horning 2006a, p. 1). When native societies are included in these discussions, the terms are usually set by European voices. As Klein and Sanford (2004, p. 72) have observed, “The snapshot of Virginia Indians presented in

the map and writings of John Smith have dominated anthropological reconstructions of the Native American world” in the Chesapeake. The memorialization of Jamestown has, in fact, obscured the histories of native groups beyond the Powhatan core and the cultural variability of Algonquian, Siouan, and Iroquoian societies implicated in early colonial history.

Despite the challenges of seeing beyond Jamestown, recent scholarship on the contact period has included ethnohistorical reassessments that offer alternatives to a static ethnographic present and to narratives that cast American Indians primarily as victims. Archaeology centered on several prominent native settlements has likewise opened up a deep history of places and landscapes within the Powhatan core. Studies of other sites in the Chesapeake highlight the diversity of social strategies and the salience of deep-seated cultural structures throughout early colonial history.

Descendant communities and indigenous archaeology

In the past two decades, new forms of collaborative and consultative archaeology have emerged in the Chesapeake, partly in response to contemporary American Indians’ insistence that they be included in discussions of their past. This recent and tentative development in the Chesapeake lags behind the changes in archaeological practice adopted in other North American regions that have responded to American Indians’ demands and to federal legislation. Virginia has eleven state-recognized tribes (Moretti-Langholtz 1998; Rountree 1990), and these groups have become involved with several archaeological projects (e.g., Atkins 2009b; Gallivan and Moretti-Langholtz 2007; Hantman 2004). Maryland has at least 12 native descendant communities, none officially recognized as an indigenous tribe, and efforts to establish frameworks for consultation have had mixed results (Hughes and Henry 2006). The State of Delaware recognized the Nanticoke by statute during the 19th century (Koenig and Stein 2007, p. 117), and the tribe has genealogical ties to the Lenape and the Nanticoke Lenni-Lenape of Delaware and southern New Jersey (Blume 2006, p. 198). The Nanticoke and Lenape tribes have recently become involved in public archaeology and cultural resource management (Blume 2006; Petraglia et al. 2002), some of which included initially antagonistic relations between native leaders and archaeologists (e.g., Custer 2005).

Complicating and constraining indigenous communities’ efforts to gain access to and influence over archaeological research in the Chesapeake is the fact that none of these groups has federal recognition as Native American, a standing central to the consultation processes under the Native Americans Graves Protection and Repatriation Act and the National Historic Preservation Act as revised in 2001. Recent passage or revision of legislation in Virginia (Jameson 2003, pp. 32–33), Maryland (Hughes and Henry 2006, p. 113), and Delaware (Blume 2006, p. 200) has provided consultation structures outside the federal framework and more effective protections for native burials. Conceted efforts by native communities have resulted in repatriation and reburial of archaeologically excavated remains in Virginia (Rountree and Turner 2002, pp. 227–229), Maryland (Hughes and Henry 2006, p. 113), and Delaware (Custer et al. 1990), beginning in the 1980s. During the

past decade the remains of more than 100 individuals have been reburied in Virginia in cooperation with several state-recognized tribes (Moretti-Langholtz 1998). Each of these reburials involved significant cooperation between the Native American and archaeological communities in conjunction with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

A small but active group of archaeologists and cultural anthropologists (e.g., Cook 2000; Hantman 2004; Moretti-Langholtz 1998; Rountree 1990; Rountree and Turner 2002) has developed relationships with Virginia Indian communities that have “combined applied anthropology and advocacy to form creative models for collaborative research and ethnography” (Cook 2003, p. 191). A partnership between archaeologists at the University of Virginia and the Monacan community of central Virginia began two decades ago and represents an example of sustained collaboration in the region. Hantman has incorporated Monacan voices in his effort to write a seamless Monacan history linking “prehistory” to the recent Monacan past, starting these efforts by consulting with the Monacan Tribal Council and initiating research based in part on *their* priorities (Hantman et al. 2000). In coastal Virginia, the Werowocomoco Research Group has more recently developed a framework for consultation and collaboration with six tribes descended from the Powhatans (Gallivan et al. 2005). The project was initiated by discussions with the Virginia Council on Indians and is informed by an all-Native American advisory board. Several Virginia Indians have joined the project as field and laboratory technicians and have received training in fieldwork, laboratory analysis, and interpretation. These native archaeologists include a member of the Pamunkey tribe who has entered William and Mary’s Ph.D. program and another who has since become a full-time field technician with a CRM company. Though limited in scope, this small opening of spaces in the archaeological community for members of the Virginia Indian community may result in archaeological practices that combine indigenous values with academic research and CRM priorities. Several of our native colleagues share a strong desire to see discussions of Werowocomoco’s past extend beyond a focus on interactions with colonists at Jamestown, a priority we have incorporated into our research designs.

Outside the academic setting that frames these efforts, consultation and collaboration with native communities has had mixed results in Virginia. The King William Reservoir project, the largest CRM effort in coastal Virginia, was structured by a memorandum of agreement that required consultation with three Native American tribes and direct participation by Virginia Indians (Gallivan and Moretti-Langholtz 2007). In practice, though, consultation and native participation were fraught with miscommunication, confusion, and frustration (Atkins 2009b). Even beyond its CRM aspects, this project was predicated on political marginalization and exclusion of the public (Flannery 1999). In the face of determined opposition from environmentalists and Indian tribes as well as repeated difficulties in the permitting process, Newport News city officials decided to end their attempt to build the reservoir in 2009. In contrast, efforts to memorialize native history and indigenous places through the Virginia Historic Highway Markers program have resulted in more productive collaboration between Indians, archaeologists, and state

government officials (Hantman 2008). Virginia Indians have seized the opportunity to appropriate these markers as monuments highlighting narratives involving native peoples and places that were previously ignored.

Disagreements surrounding a CRM project in Delaware have led to collaborative efforts and a joint publication by an archaeologist and the assistant chief of the Nanticokes (Clark and Custer 2003). Clark and Custer's innovative reinterpretation of a burial pit encourages reconsideration of similar such features on other sites. Custer (2005) subsequently called for changes in archaeological practice that respond to descendant communities and to ethical imperatives regarding the Native American past. Central to his message are three priorities: fostering dialogue between archaeologists and Indians, allowing native priorities to shape research agendas, and incorporating a stronger preservation ethic to protect unthreatened sites. A flurry of responses to Custer's programmatic statement published in the same issue of *North American Archaeologist* documented a range of reactions by archaeologists (e.g., Espenshade 2005; Moeller 2005). Some questioned Custer's choice of (possibly rhetorical) language to characterize archaeologists' failures, and others noted his tendency to write of American Indians and of archaeologists in rather monolithic terms. More to the point, Shackel (2005) commends Custer for his willingness to critically assess his own work while noting that archaeological practice in other North American regions has already incorporated Custer's basic priorities and found that collaboration can be mutually beneficial for native communities and archaeologists. Indeed, the northern Chesapeake and Delaware Bay area have seen several collaborations recently, including those that have broadened discussions beyond a single native consultant and a single tribe (Blume 2006). A particularly intriguing example that demonstrates one possible direction such efforts may take has resulted in archaeologists' incorporation of traditional knowledge to broaden their conceptions of the archaeological record (Petruglia and Cunningham 2006).

Perhaps the most dramatic change in Chesapeake archaeological practice over the past two decades has resulted from the efforts to communicate, consult, and collaborate with descendant communities, native and otherwise. During this period archaeologists studying the native past dropped most claims that we operate in an objective, scientific void and developed new relationships with native communities and a greater awareness of archaeology's contemporary implications. The mixed results of consultative and collaborative archaeology in the Chesapeake, though, continue to raise vexing questions with broad relevance beyond the region. Can archaeologists retain the independence necessary to pursue a range of questions about the native past even as we begin to share authority over the research and interpretation process with contemporary native communities? How can archaeology proceed in a collaborative way when the circumstances (particularly in some CRM settings) present few if any priorities shared by archaeologists and descendant communities? Perhaps because of the absence of federally recognized tribes in the area, collaborative archaeology in the Chesapeake has followed various pathways, allowing archaeologists and descendant communities to tailor their relationships to a project's circumstances. The qualified successes that have emerged often share several elements that have allayed the suspicions and fears of various stakeholders.

These include relationships between archaeologists and native leaders that developed over years, early notification and sustained communication that provide native communities the opportunity to influence the structure of planned investigations, transparency regarding the financial structure of archaeological research, and flexibility regarding project outcomes that may include site visitation, publicly accessible publications, or exhibits that are attentive to a descendant community's priorities.

Conclusion

In 1995, Dent (p. 68) spotlighted a handful of studies that began "to fill an existing vacuum where processual explanations have clearly been questioned." Here I have expanded this roster with a list of publications that offer a glimpse of what could become a new era of Chesapeake research. A growing number of studies of the Woodland and contact periods have uncovered particular native histories of social interaction, population movements and persistent places, meanings embedded in materials and practices, and colonial strategies masking native actors and indigenous landscapes. Interpretive frames have widened considerably beyond approaches emphasizing cultural ecology, systems theory, and cultural materialism. Where environmental histories are incorporated into recent Chesapeake studies, researchers have recognized the importance of precise temporal sequences, diverse local conditions, and the intertwined histories of natural and social landscapes.

Although the few academic researchers who study the Native American archaeology of the Chesapeake have made important contributions to recent developments, much of the recent innovative interpretation and collaboration has occurred outside the academy in cultural resource management. This is encouraging given that the vast majority of archaeology in the Chesapeake is and will be conducted in this setting. It also is of some concern given that the results of much of this work can be difficult to access. Efforts by historic preservation officials to make CRM's "gray literature" more readily available are limited in the Chesapeake, though Delaware's Department of Transportation, Maryland's Historic Trust, and the District of Columbia's Historic Preservation Office have led the way in responsibly beginning this process on the web. The Virginia Department of Historic Resources' various report series also offer a particularly valuable contribution to the regional literature. Supported by several state agencies and nonprofit historic preservation institutions, the Comparative Archaeological Study of Colonial Chesapeake Culture represents an impressive model of digital archaeology centered on 17th-century colonialism (King et al. 2006). Hopefully, efforts such as this one are just the beginning of a trend toward creative data sharing that fosters diverse interpretation through digital technologies.

While it is difficult to predict the future course of native archaeology of the Chesapeake, there are indications of at least some of the questions that will play a role. Early and Middle Woodland research has demonstrated that substantial changes in hunter-forager settlement and subsistence occurred amid new patterns of regional interaction and qualitatively different forms of residential stability. Is it

possible to trace the long-term histories of Algonquian societies that apparently came to settle in the estuarine Chesapeake during this era? Understanding the diverse social traditions of these periods will require intensive investigations of aggregation locations and nodes within long-distance exchange networks.

Late Woodland archaeology in the Chesapeake has long benefitted from direct historical approaches linking documented societies to archaeological complexes. Might we benefit from jettisoning generic chiefdom models in the effort to trace the development of complex societies of the Chesapeake and to understand their histories on their own terms? Moving beyond the limitations of neo-evolutionary typologies and toward historically oriented approaches will require more precise chronological methods as well as detailed studies of local cultural sequences and environmental dynamics spanning the Late Woodland through the contact period.

Contact-period archaeology has demonstrated that native strategies in the face of the colonial encounter were closely connected to the cultural structures of the precontact world and were more varied than European documentary sources allow. How did the new forms of social interaction that emerged during this period reflect both colonial agendas and native social strategies? Answers to this question will require more effort to bridge the historical and precontact archaeology of the Chesapeake as well as a more intensive focus on native archaeology that postdates early contact.

Descendant communities have come to play a more prominent role in Chesapeake archaeology, presenting new challenges and opportunities for archaeologists working in the region. Can archaeologists and native communities develop means of sharing power over research agendas and archaeological practices that produce positive results? The expanded involvement of descendant communities in Chesapeake archaeology will, I suggest, reconnect the Native American past, present, and future in ways that begin to challenge accepted narratives of American history (Gallivan et al. in press).

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