

The Brown Family of Charles City and New Kent County, VA: A Biographic Study of a Tri-racial Chickahominy Family and their Kinship Patterns between 1700-1900

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Abstract: This paper explores the Brown family of Charles City and New Kent, VA, through Elizabeth Brown. She is the grandmother of the famous Abraham Brown of Charles City, VA. Abraham Brown is an important pillar of African American and Indigenous-American history. Elam Baptist Church, while often called a free black church, served as the house of worship for the Indigenous families of mixed ancestry as well. The first Chief of the Chickahominy Tribe, William H Adkins held leadership roles in the church alongside the Brown family. Elizabeth Brown and her descendants are members of an Indigenous community of tri-racial ancestry whose traditional homelands are Tsenecommecah. Not only did her descendants' institutions serve as a place for social cohesion within the historical Chickahominy community comprising Indigenous families of tri-racial ancestry, but some of her descendants were also important to the reorganization of the Chickahominy tribe in the early 1900s. Modern Chiefs such as the great Jerry Stewart of Eastern Chickahominy and Mildred Stewart the wife of the late Chief Leonard Adkins and mother of Assistant Chief Wayne Adkins can be counted among the direct descendants of this family. This paper highlights the kinship patterns maintained between the Brown family and other Indigenous families of mixed ancestry in Charles City, New Kent, VA, and surrounding counties. Theodore Stern published that this Brown family was a Chickahominy family, however, the reorganized tribe selectively acknowledged which members belonged. Despite nearly 200+ years of marriage patterns with other Indigenous families in the region, only those who married according to the new political body of the tribe would be considered Indigenous.

This paper aims to highlight the importance of the Brown family in the historical and modern Indigenous mixed-race communities that comprise of the Chickahominy tribes today and their consistent kinship ties within the community over 200+ years. Through this biographic study, this paper hopes to expose the negative impacts colonization has had on traditional kinship patterns and community identity. The aim is to utilize this family as a case study which will allow follow-up research to provide policy guidance on how tribal communities, who have been disrupted by colonial practices on establishing citizenship criteria, can reclaim kinship practices and return all legitimate descendants to their community.

Keywords: Indigenous, Kinship, Endogamy, Chickahominy, First-contact tribes, Triracial, Virginia Indian, Disenrollment, Tribal sovereignty

1 Introduction:

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In 1978, the Santa Clara Pueblo v Martinez case provided a landmark decision on tribal sovereignty and its ability to determine citizenship. The case was based on Julia Martinez's case. Her children were denied enrollment because the constitution stated that citizenship would not be granted to descendants of a non-Pueblo male, even if the mother was Pueblo. For a comprehensive analysis of the case, see Gabe Galanda's work.⁴ Ultimately, this constitutional requirement is rooted in colonial thought applied to Indigenous governance rather than traditional kinship practices. Requirements like these and Blood Quantum (BQ) are colonial concepts that many believe operate to create a paper genocide of Indigenous people.⁵ For first-contact tribes, such as those on the eastern seaboard of the United States, racial admixture became a point of contention. With eugenics reigning supreme in the colonies and shifting class structure based on racial purity, phenotype, and complexion, Indigenous communities of the region had to take on another battle. Indigenous communities were losing their tribal lands as a result of having "too much" black admixture.⁶ This historical reality only exacerbated itself after the Turner Rebellion in 1831.⁷ To ensure that no further African admixture would take place, reorganizing bands of Indian families began to place walls around their community, preventing intermarriages and association with Black presenting people. Fair-skinned mixed-race people who did not maintain their Indigenous identity also placed walls around their community. Until the turn of the century, the upper class of Black society was dominated by descendants of Free mulattos, quadroons, and octoroons. This friction split entire families apart.⁸ For the Chickahominy tribe, by the late 1800s, family members who would intermarry with black presenting people would be excluded from the family. Entire tribal lines were systematically pruned or "forgotten."⁹ Oral history of some Chickahominy families demonstrates that sometimes entire families decided not to reorganize with the tribe if that meant that their entire family of legitimate descendants would not be welcome into the tribal formation.

During the formal reorganization period of tribes, members of families who had been excluded previously were not reinstated on base rolls. In effect, Kinship ties meant to determine tribal

⁴ Galanda, Gabriel, In the Spirit of Vine Deloria, Jr.: Indigenous Kinship Renewal and Relational Sovereignty (March 20, 2023). Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=4338913> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4338913>

⁵ https://www.voanews.com/a/usa_some-native-americans-fear-blood-quantum-formula-paper-genocide/6208615.html

⁶ <https://historyengine.richmond.edu/episodes/view/6501>

⁷ By the late 1700's, no Virginia, NC, or MD Indigenous community was comprised of individuals who were not mixed with Indigenous American and non-Indigenous American blood. This fact is highlighted by tribal oral history, external records, and census records later used by tribes to determine BQ. This point is highlighted for two reasons. The first, to acknowledge that the Brown family is not unique in its racial admixture as a first-contact Indigenous people. Their admixture is similar to all other families we will highlight as Indigenous families. Their uniqueness is in how they identified. The Dungee family is one of the only other Indigenous families of VA who continued to identify as tri-racial Indigenous people. The second reason, is to state that despite mixed ancestry, Indigeneity is not reduced. An Indigenous person is an Indigenous person whether all of their ancestors are from this continent or not. As long as their identity continues to reflect elements of their Indigenous ancestors and are recognized by their community. With those two points, I will use Indigenous or specific tribal names when referring to the Brown and other families.

⁸ Adams, M. M. (2016). *Who Belongs?: Race, Resources, and Tribal Citizenship in the Native South*. Oxford University Press.

⁹ Stern, Theodore. "Chickahominy: The changing culture of a Virginia Indian community." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 96.2 (1952): 157-225.

identity and belonging were replaced by formal and informal criteria about who one married. As we will see with the case of the Brown family that we explore biographically in this paper, strong kinship ties existed between other mixed Indigenous families from colonial times to the present. In other words, this family maintained their Indigeneity and African ancestry. Theodore Stern listed the Browns as a fringe Chickahominy family according to tribal oral history. However, unlike the historical reality of the family that maintained deep kinship ties with other mixed Indigenous families, tribal oral history, according to Stern, alleged that “the Browns were essentially like the whites and had only begun intermarrying with the Chickahominy in the early 1900s.”¹⁰ Despite this, many descendants of this family are included in the reorganized federally recognized Chickahominy and Eastern Chickahominy Tribes today.

In contrast, others are denied their inherent rights of belonging based on who was married and who was included during the reorganization. The statement of “essentially white” seems to run counter to the concept that African presentation was the reason for this family's split. While many of the Browns of the 1800s were nearly white presenting, they did acknowledge their tri-racial ancestry and were also important pillars of the free black community.

A full analysis of the breaking down of kinship structures that define Indigenous communities within first-contact communities is beyond the scope of this paper. Instead, this paper focuses on the genealogy and kinship structures of the Brown family, beginning with its earliest ancestor to about the 1900's.

This paper establishes kinship between the Brown family and other Indigenous families that make up the core families of several recognized tribes in Virginia today. To establish these kinship patterns, this paper looks at marriage records, census records, oral history, church records, academic literature, books, and court records to show social cohesion between families. Indian families are identified using four criteria.

1. Is the person's family name considered an Indian name according to names identified as Indian in colonial VA records? Two datasets have been created with these names and are provided in Appendices A and B.
2. Is the family considered an Indian in academic literature?
3. Was a member of this family listed on any census records, military records, or court documents as part of an Indian community in the area?
4. Is a person listed as an ancestor of a member listed on the 1910 US Federal Census as Chickahominy, Pamunkey? Is a person an ancestor of a member listed on the Mooney 1907 census records?¹¹ Is a person an ancestor of a member listed in the Eastern Chickahominy rolls?¹²

¹⁰ Stern, Theodore. "Chickahominy: The changing culture of a Virginia Indian community." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 96.2 (1952): 157-225.

¹¹ Mooney, James. "The Powhatan confederacy, past and present." *American Anthropologist* 9.1 (1907): 129-152.

¹² Chickahominy Indians-Eastern Division, A Brief Ethnohistory

This paper will be broken down into several chapters. Chapter two will introduce the Brown family of Charles City and New Kent County's earliest known ancestor, a brief speculation of his origin, his children, and grandchildren. The rest of the paper will focus only on his descendants from his granddaughter, Elizabeth Brown, whose children created the base of the Charles City and New Kent County Brown families. Chapters three, four, and five will highlight subsequent generations of Elizabeth Brown and provide a narrative on the endogamy between different mixed Indigenous families in the area. Although there are many more descendants from the generations highlighted in this paper, we exclude those who moved beyond the surrounding counties and those whose exact parentage could not be ascertained. Despite the focus on the Indigeneity of the Brown family, this paper is not meant to diminish the powerful legacy the family has had on the African-American community for the past 200 years. It doubles to demonstrate that this family has had, and still has, a unique impact on the Black and Indigenous community. One identity does not diminish the other, and all legitimate descendants of this family should be able to not only celebrate its tri-racial identity but they should be able to engage in their birthright as Indigenous people to reclaim culture lost through colonization and act as stewards to protect their ancestors' homeland.

2 The Origin of The Brown Family

This paper covers the Brown family of Charles City and New Kent County, VA, whose earliest recorded ancestor is William Brown (1670), listed in several documents in Westmoreland, VA, in the late 1600s and early 1700s. William Brown is listed as "negro," and his son William Brown (1690) is listed as "mulatto."¹³ Originalle Brown, on May 16, 1677, was paid to transport Joseph Roberts, Robert Melton, William Brown, William Morgan, Elizabeth Constant, and Elizabeth Harris from St. Mary City, VA, to Westmoreland, VA.¹⁴ No records connect William Brown (1670) to the William Brown brought to Westmoreland or Originalle Brown. Still, no records suggest William Brown's emancipation or end of indenture. Since institutional slavery began in 1662¹⁵, and the status of an enslaved person was contingent upon the status of the mother, we know that William Brown (1670) was born at the very least to a free woman, regardless of race. William Brown (1690) was called a mulatto on April 28, 1715. At this time, a mulatto was defined as someone half white, half Indian, or the grandchild or great-grandchild of a negro.¹⁶ This tells us that the mother of William Brown (1690) was likely white or Indian, and William Brown (1670) was likely to have been mixed himself.

Whether William Brown (1670) is the descendant of William Brown, who was transported from St. Mary's City, MD, or not, we know several things that allude to an early African/Indigenous American relationship with the Brown family. First, in St. Mary City, indentured servants of African ancestry were imported sometime in 1634. These individuals have been speculated to have been mixed race from other parts of the colonies before entering MD and are sometimes

¹³ Orders 1705-21, 266, 353a; 1721-31, 113, 293; Estate Settlements 1723-46, 26, 243

¹⁴ Westmoreland Co., VA, Order Book 1675/6-1688/9, p. 7.

¹⁵ <https://www.thirteen.org/wnet/slavery/experience/legal/docs1.html>

¹⁶ <https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/an-act-declaring-who-shall-not-bear-office-in-this-country-october-1705/>

referred to as English Creole. Matthias De Souza, one of the first Indentured servants of African descent brought to St. Mary's City, MD, in 1634, was repeatedly identified as being a "molatto" as a free man.¹⁷ There are still ongoing debates from scholars, but many of the first ships of Africans to the colonies came from other American colonies and carried mixed African-Indigenous Individuals.¹⁸ Second, while Brown was a common name in 1624, only 8 of the 1033 people of early Jamestown had that name.

John Brown (1596) married Temperance Bailey# in Charles City and had several children. One of them was John Brown (1632), who married Sarah Cocke and had several children, including Temperance Brown (1666).¹⁹ This family later moved to Henrico. In John Brown's (1632) estate, executed 6 September 1684, he left his daughter Temperance Brown, one Indian boy valued at 2,500 pounds.²⁰ It is also possible that William Brown is the same boy. Although this theory seems more improbable than the first, a few elements based on oral history and migration patterns make it a likely contender. The fact that William Brown's descendants migrated to Charles City, specifically Westover Parish, the traditional Weyenoke territory and near where John Brown and his descendants resided, makes the idea compelling. To add to this, several bodies of literature, including the oral history of the Chickahominy themselves, state that Chickahominy community, uprooted from their traditional lands and pushed into King William, King and Queen, and other counties, families began migrating back to Charles City by the mid-1700s.²¹ This is in alignment with the Brown migration to Charles City, VA where Elizabeth Brown's (1722) children were bound as apprentices in Westover parish in the 1740s.

As a final theory to consider, Thomas Brown, "an Indian," was buried on February 27, 1686, in Middlesex County, VA.²² This territory was part of the Powhatan Confederacy and a clearly documented instance of the Brown name in a territory between the two areas we are considering, Charles City and Westmoreland. Thomas Brown may be an ancestor of William Brown (1670). This potential connection is more likely given the early infrequency of the name Brown with the time that Thomas Brown was likely born. Subsequently, in the case of William Brown, it is not implausible that two people occupying the same region, one with a documented Indian listing and the other with a strong oral history of Indigeneity and documented descendants considered Indigenous today would have been related.

Since the race of Indian's, Blacks, and Mulattos was not consistent during the colonial period, and many documents were lost, building circumstantial evidence on one's identity is not uncommon. For years, the Bradby family of the Chickahominy tribe and Pamunkey tribe today was speculated to be descended from a baptist minister named James Bradby and a

¹⁷ https://www.researchgate.net/publication/226842353_Passing_for_Black_in_Seventeenth-Century_Maryland

¹⁸ https://www.uib.no/sites/w3.uib.no/files/attachments/forbes_2-africans_and_native_americans.pdf

¹⁹ 8. The Virginia Genealogist. 30:29 citing Henrico County Wills & Deeds 1677-92, p 281; Henrico County Order Book 1678-93, p 214; Wills & Deeds 1688-97, p 179.

²⁰ Order Book 1678-93, p. 281

²¹ <https://www.congress.gov/115/plaws/publ121/PLAW-115publ121.pdf>

²² Middlesex County, VA Orders 1680-94, P. 31

Chickahominy woman. The evidence was based on the fact that a James Bradby who attended William & Mary during the time that VA Indian children attended the Brafferton was a strong enough case.²³ It was later discovered the Bradby line descended from Jane Gibson (1640), possibly a Weyenoke or Chickahominy woman was the progenitor of several free mixed Indigenous lines such as the Bradby, Bowman, Smith, Evans, and Redcross family. James Bradby and possibly his brother Edward Bradby then were already Indigenous before marrying in with other families. In fact, speculations of the origin story of Opechancanough, Powhatan's brother suggest it is possible that he is Don Luis, an Indigenous man captured and raised by Jesuits who returned home.²⁴ Genealogy is difficult when documentation was inconsistent, lost, or unavailable. What is telling is that the Brown family would continue marriage patterns and association from the late 1600's forward with other free mixed race Indigenous families, strongly implying truth to the Indigenous origin of William Brown (1670).

Moving on from the speculative origin of William Brown (1670), Whether it was a matter of race, caste, or class when William Brown (1670) inherited the estate of his son William Brown (1690), his guns were not taken, despite the new laws against free Blacks after Bacon's rebellion.²⁵ The Brown family that we can document from William Brown through the 1800s in Charles City and New Kent County, like their ancestor, had accumulated wealth and established good standing in their community with the neighbors.

William Brown (1690) had four children bound out upon his death:

1. Abraham Brown (1718)
2. William Brown (1719)
3. Elizabeth Brown (1722)
4. Susanna Brown (1724)

Abraham was bound in an apprenticeship until 16, William until 21, and Susanna until 18. 21 and 18 were the ages under the children apprenticeship and pauper system applied to all free children with no father.²⁶

Of William Brown's (1690) children, the child with the best documentation for their descendants is Elizabeth Brown (1722). Elizabeth Brown and her children were in Charles City, VA, by the mid-1700s. After their apprenticeship, where they were bound in the Westover Parish, several of her children began to accumulate on par with wealthy white landholders of the county. Several of her children are Revolutionary War heroes. Their status as a wealthy, free, tri-racial family

²³ Helen Roundtree. *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia through Four Centuries*.

²⁴ Helen Roundtree. *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia through Four Centuries*.

²⁵ Two Appraisers of his estate, William (Brown) Wroe and Original (Brown) Wroe; they are brothers and sons of Judith Brown. Judith Brown is the daughter of Original Brown (1648 - 1698). Original Brown left many things in his estate to his son William Brown, including Chests, Guns, and Tobacco, and requested that a carpenter, wheelwright, or Joyner bind him. The estate of William Brown negro included chests, guns, tobacco, cooper, carpenter, and joiner tools. There seem to be a relationship between William Brown (1670) and the Original Brown family, but nothing to highlight what.

²⁶ Tyler, Lyon G. "Education in Colonial Virginia: Part I, Poor Children and Orphans." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 5, no. 4, 1897, pp. 219–23. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1914924>. Accessed 12 Dec. 2023.

has meant that they have had a tremendous influence on the Indigenous, Black, and White communities where they lived.

Elizabeth Brown (1722) is documented as having eight sons. Figure 1 below shows a family tree of Elizabeth Brown and her sons. Of the eight, Abraham, Isaac, Dixon, Benjamin, Freeman, and Edward fought in the Revolutionary War. Additionally, Abraham, Isaac, Dixon, Benjamin, and Edward all have documentation of children that we could find at the time of writing. There are numerous cases within these first three generations before the 1850 census where Browns were listed as heads of households, but we could not ascertain the name of spouse or children within those records.²⁷ Of the eight children known of Elizabeth, We know only one maiden name of Dixon's wife, where he married Sussanah Harris of Charles City County, VA. Where we don't have clear paper evidence, we leave off the names of descendants, although we recognize that these descendants exist and come from the same Brown family!

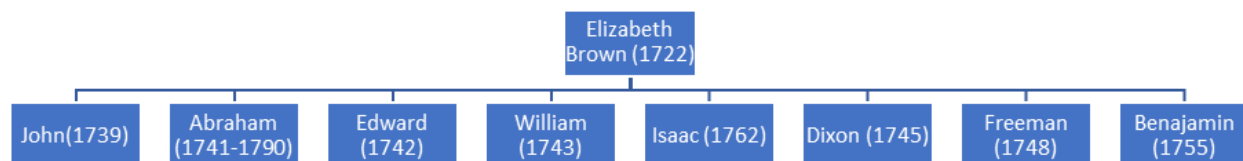


Figure 1 The children of Elizabeth Brown

3 The Grandchildren of Elizabeth Brown

3.1 Abraham Brown (1741 -1790) Children

Abraham Brown was married to Sarah Corey Brown (maiden name unknown). After his apprenticeship, Abraham acquired 100s of acres of land and several slaves, which he passed on to his children in his will.²⁸ Five children were identified in his will, displayed in Figure 2, along with the names of their spouses.

²⁷ In some cases it's possible to align genders and ages from those census records with Brown members that later show up on other census records, free negro registry, etc., we will stick to following lines with clear paper trails.

²⁸ From FreeAfricanAmericans.com Abraham Brown, born in 1741, purchased 156 acres in Westover Parish, Charles City County, from William Tyree and John Wayles on 27 September 1769 for £96. And he purchased two slaves named Sarah and Phillis for £60 on 8 December 1770 [DW 1766-74, 155-6, 274]. He was taxable in Charles City County on slaves Silvey and Isaac, five horses, and 15 cattle in 1784 and taxable on slaves Silvey, Isaac, and Jane in 1785 [PPTL, 1783-7]. He was paid £12.15 by the

The maiden/surnames of the children of Abraham (1741) are the following:

1. Harris: 1
2. Cumbo: 1
3. Lewis: 1
4. Brown: 1
5. Unknown: 1

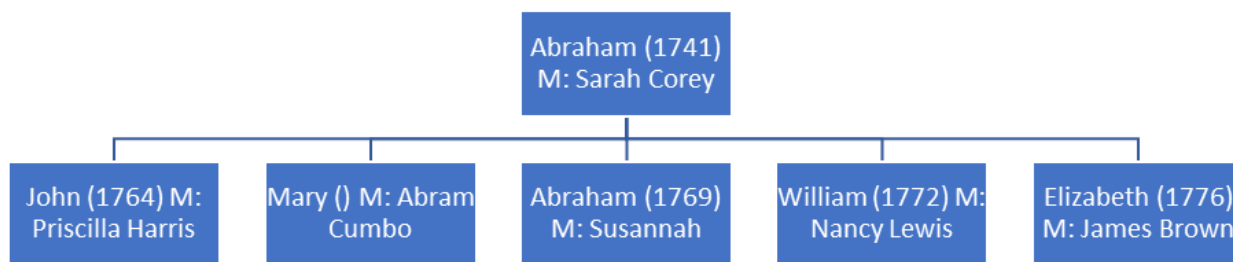


Figure 2 Children of Abraham Brown I

3.2 Edward Brown (1742) Children

Edward Brown (1742) is reported as having five children. Figure 3 shows his Children. Edward's spouse and her maiden name are unknown. Like Abraham, Edward was a revolutionary war hero and acquired 100s of acres of land that he would pass on to his descendants.²⁹ Based on the readily available records, we only have the maiden name of one of his children's spouses. Edward Jr. (1763) married Rebbaca Harris, Frances

Charles City County estate of Samuel Harwood on 15 June 1778 and £13.11 by the estate of William Merry, deceased, in 1784 [WB 1:177, 355]. He called himself Abraham Brown, Jr., in his 11 July 1789 will, which was proved on 17 June 1790. He left his wife Sarah Brown £25 specie; son John Brown 118 acres he had purchased from Samuel Riddlehurst; left daughter Mary Brown a slave named Jany; left sons Abraham and William all his remaining land, which he had purchased from William Tyree to be divided between them when they came of age; left daughter Elizabeth Brown a slave named Sall and divided the remainder of his estate equally among his wife Sarah and children John, Mary, Abraham, William, and Elizabeth Brown; ordered that his uncle Abraham Brown, Sr., should be maintained out of his estate and allowed Elizabeth **Syldom** the use of the house and garden on his land during her lifetime [WB 1:16-17]. His wife Sarah made a 1 June 1791 Charles City County will, which was proved on 15 December 1791. She left a slave named Silvy and a horse to her son Abram, left a slave girl named Mary to her son William, left a feather bed to her youngest daughter Elizabeth, and divided the remainder among her surviving children. Elizabeth **Seldon**, Benjamin Brown, and Frances **Harris** were witnesses [WB 1:70].

²⁹ From freeafricanamericans.com Edward Brown, born say 1742, was taxable in Charles City County from 1784 to 1794 [PPTL 1783-7; 1788-1814] and taxable on 200 acres from 1782 to 1793 [Land Tax List, 1782-1830]. He may have been the Edward Brown who was drafted out of Charles City County but had not yet reported for duty in Williamsburg on 28 November 1777 when Lieutenant John Dudley placed an ad in the *Virginia Gazette* warning him and John Major, Jr. that they had until 10 December to report [Virginia Gazette (Purdie), p. 3, col. 2]. He was issued pay for service in the Revolution in Charles City County [Eckenrode, *Virginia Soldiers of the American Revolution*, 1:68, citing Auditors' Account XVIII:558 (Accounts from 30 October 1783 to 22 May 1784)].

Harris's descendant. The marriage patterns between the Harris and Brown families have happened early and frequently. An interesting pattern in every generation of the Brown family is marriages where siblings and first cousins of one family marry siblings and first cousins of another family. There are also high rates of first-cousin marriages within the family. For instance, Edward Uncle Dixon's wife, Susannah Harris, is Frances Harris's daughter. Also, his first cousin, John Brown's wife, is the daughter of Frances Harris as well. Theodore Stern published that the Chickahominy tribe had the highest rates of these types of marriages, which is consistent with what we see with the Brown, Adkins, Jones, Bradby, Bowman, Cumbo, Stewart, and other Chickahominy families.³⁰

Marriage Surnames/Maiden names:

1. Harris: 1
2. Unknown: 4

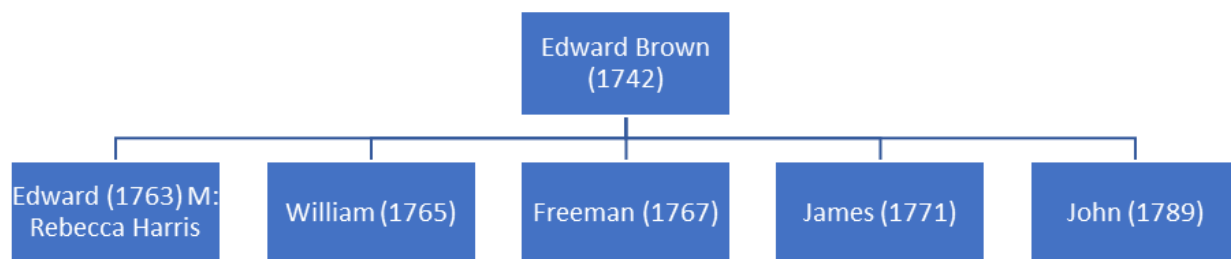


Figure 3 Children of Edward Brown

3.3 Dixon Brown's Children

Dixon Brown, like his siblings mentioned above, was a revolutionary war hero and acquired much wealth in his life.³¹ He had many children, both legitimate and

³⁰ Stern, Theodore. "Chickahominy: The changing culture of a Virginia Indian community." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 96.2 (1952): 157-225.

³¹ From freeafricanamericans.com Dixon Brown Sr (1745) was taxable in Charles City County on his tithe, (his son) Edward Brown, two horses, and 11 cattle in 1784 [PPTL 1783-7] and witness to the 29 July 1784 Charles City County will of James **Harris** [WB 1:55]. He purchased 50 acres on the road leading from Soans's Bridge to the Charles City courthouse, joining his land for £50 on 11 September 1790 and another 72 acres in the same area for £90 on 2 February 1797. He purchased 70 acres at the mouth of Lennard's Mill Run adjoining Isabella Lennard and Soans's line on 19 December 1796 for £77, and he and his wife Susannah sold this land on 2 February 1797 for £80 [DB 4:28, 323, 331, 332]. His wife Susanna was named in the 12 November 1803 Charles City County will of her mother, Frances **Harris** [WB 1:650]. He was taxable on 220 acres near the Charity School from 1797 to 1821 [Land Tax List 1782-1830] and head of a household of 4 "other free" in 1810 [VA:938]. He made a 24 January 1811 Charles City County will, proved 18 January 1821. He left 40 acres to be divided between his son Dixon Brown and daughter Susannah **Harris** (wife of Chavis **Harris**), the land they were then living on; he left his house and 75 acres to be divided among his daughter Catherine Brown, son James Brown and son Peter Brown; left 30 acres to his illegitimate children Polly **Harris**, Susannah **Harris** (wife of James **Harris**), and Peggy **Bowman** which was the land they were then living on; left 10 acres each to his daughters Elizabeth and Milly Brown; left 10 acres to his son Edward Brown's children Polly, Lucy, and Rachel Brown; left 10 acres to be

illegitimate, whom he claimed. Dixon and his children have multiple patterns of sibling pairing marriages with the Harris family. Chavis Harris married Dixon's daughter, Susannah, the brother of Dixon's wife, Susannah Harris. James Harris, who married Dixon's illegitimate daughter, Susannah, is the brother of both Chavis and Dixon's wife. Figure 4 shows Dixon and his children! Dixon's children have better documentation on their spouse's maiden/surnames, and those patterns are listed below as follows:

1. Harris: 3
2. Bowman: 2
3. Stewart: 1
4. Unknown: 5

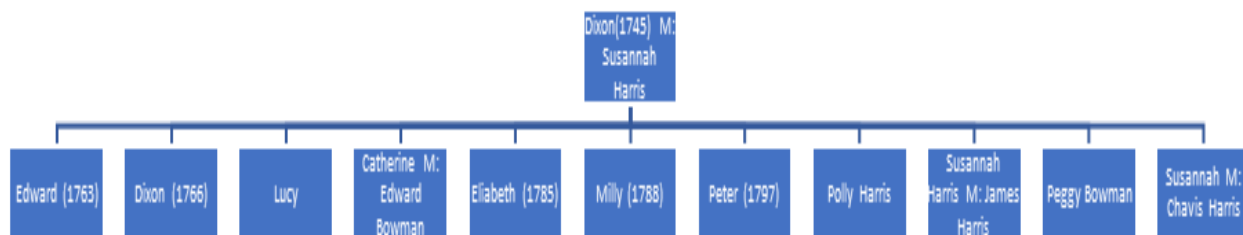


Figure 4 Children of Dixon Brown I

3.4 Benjamin Brown's Children

Benjamin Brown fought in the Revolutionary War but was later listed as a deserter. He, too, acquired land, which he passed on to his offspring.³² Benjamin is only documented as having one child, and that child's spouse's name and maiden name are unknown. Figure 5 shows the family tree of Benjamin and his children.

Marriage surname/maiden name patterns:

1. Unknown: 1

divided between his daughter Sally Brown's children Betsey **Harris**, Cornelius Brown, Polly Brown, Sabrina Brown, Lucy Brown, Reuben Brown and Elizabeth Brown; 10 acres to be divided among his daughter Lucy Brown's children Dancy, Locey, Henry, Edward and Eliza Brown; a bed and furniture to his daughter Catherine, and appointed his son Dixon Brown and Henry C. **Harris** his executors. James **Harris**, Peter Brown, Edward **Bowman**, James Brown, Jr., Billy Brown, Milly Brown, and Dixon Brown posted £500 security for Henry C. **Harris**'s estate administration [WB 2:471].

³² Benjamin Brown, born say 1755, was in a list of deserters advertised in the 28 November 1777 issue of the *Virginia Gazette* by Lieutenant John Dudley as one of the drafts from Charles City County who were lurking about the county. A reward was offered for their delivery to the commanding officer in Williamsburg [*Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), p.3, col.2]. He was taxable on his own tithe and a horse in Weyanoke Precinct of Charles City County from 1784 to 1814: listed as a "Mulattoe" in 1813 and 1814 [PPTL, 1784-1814]. He was paid 10 shillings for shoes he provided Elizabeth Christian in 1782 [WB 1:79]. He was witness to the 1 June 1791 Charles City County will of Sarah Brown [WB 1:70] and head of a household of 3 "other free" in 1810 [VA:958].

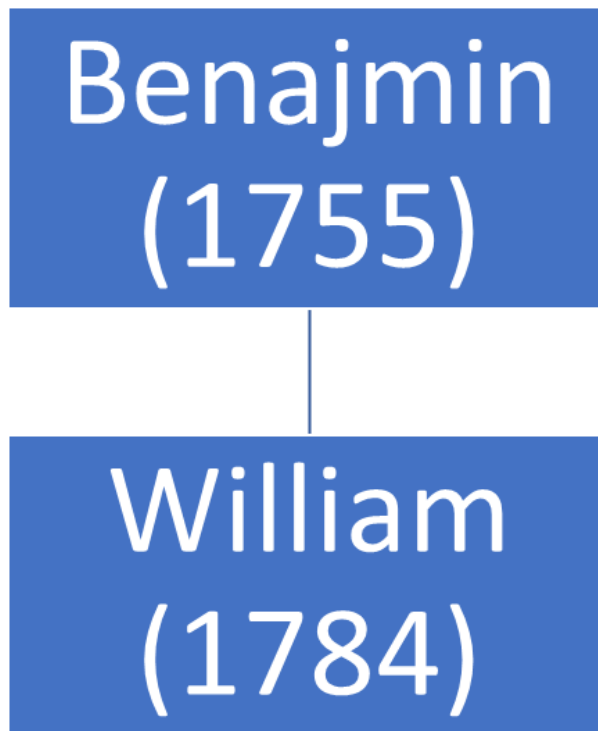


Figure 5 Children of Benjamin Brown

3.5 Isaac Brown's Children

Isaac Brown is the final brother who fought in the Revolutionary War and had children. Like the others, he acquired much land during this life, which he later passed on to his children and spouse.³³ Isaac and his children are in the **Figure 6** family tree. Of his five

³³ Isaac Brown, born about 1762, was born in Charles City County and enlisted there in the Revolution for 1-1/2 years on 12 September 1780: *complexion black, 5'2-1/2" high, a farmer* [Register & description of Noncommissioned officers & Privates, LVA accession no. 24296, by <http://revwarapps.org/b69.pdf> (p.45)]. He was taxable in Lower Westover Precinct of Charles City County in 1786 [PPTL, 1783-7], and head of a Charles City County household of 10 "other free" in 1810 [VA:959] and 4 "free colored" in 1820 [VA:13]. He purchased 75 acres in Charles City County from Peter Ladd for \$200 on 15 February 1804 [DB 5:34]. He applied for a pension in Charles City County at the age of 69 on 19 May 1829 when he was living on his 70 acres of land with his unnamed wife, 20-year-old son, 21-year-old daughter and her 4-year-old child. He stated that he enlisted in Charles City County in 1780 and served eighteen months [NARA, S.39,214, M804-366]. He made a deed of trust for 75 acres of land adjoining Peter Ladd and the Cellar Run as well as all his personal estate for the benefit of Peter Ladd, Jr., on 22 January 1829 [DB 7:366]. He made a 10 April 1830 Charles City County will, which was proved 19 August 1830. He left one third of his estate to his wife Sarah, to be divided among his children at her decease, left the remaining two thirds to son Micajah and daughter Sally Ann Brown, noted that his sons Carver and Travis could get their own living since they were able-bodied unlike their brother Micajah, and noted that his daughters Maria and Clarissa were married and had already been provided for [WB 3:407-8].

children, at the time of writing, we only have the maiden/surname of two of his children's spouses. These marriage patterns are the following:

1. Stewart: 1
2. Brown: 1
3. Unknown: 3

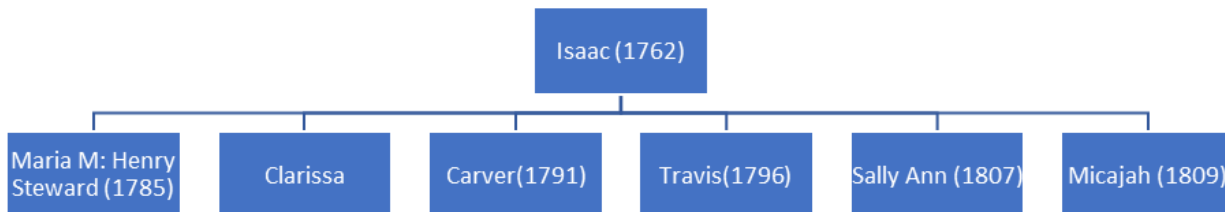


Figure 6 Children of Isaac Brown

3.6 Patterns of Endogamy

Based on the documents we had available to us at the time of writing, Elizabeth Brown (1722) had 26 grandchildren in Charles City and New Kent, VA. Of those 26 grandchildren, 15 of their spouses' maiden/surnames are unknown. 11 are known, with the most frequent marriages occurring with the Harris family. **Table 1** shows the frequency of marriage between the Brown family and other families, or within the Brown family; additionally it shows whether or not these surnames are associated with historical Indian surnames in the area. Appendices A and B show family names related to VA Indian communities, tribal affiliation, and counties these families cluster in. These lists are what we use to determine whether a family name is Indian. Next, we explore whether a member of the family we have highlighted has descendants today enrolled in Tribes.

This Harris line has frequent marriage patterns with other Indian families, and their descendants who migrated to North Carolina were core to the reorganization of the Saponi tribes in the region. The originating lines of the Holmes, Miles, and Stewart lines of Chickahominy all have a direct Harris ancestor.

The Stewart family has been considered an Indian family since 1795, and they were listed as a Chickahominy family in Theodore Stern's work.³⁴ Through a marriage between John Jones and Eliza Cumbo, most of the Chickahominy Jones family today are their descendants. While not

³⁴ Stern, Theodore. "Chickahominy: The changing culture of a Virginia Indian community." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 96.2 (1952): 157-225.

necessarily considered an old Indian line, The Cumbo family frequently intermarried with families considered Indian, as well as FPOC families not regarded as Indian. They were wealthy FPOCs who built strong bonds with other wealthy FPOC families. The Bowman family descends from Jane Gibson, a free Indian woman from Charles City, VA, who was either Chickahominy or Weyenoke.³⁵ Of the known marriage patterns, optimistically, 10/11 marriages took place with members of other tri-racial Indian families. Excluding the Cumbo and Brown line to account for pedigree collapse, 7/11 known marriages were to people from these Indian families. This means that over 50% of the known marriages reflect a social bond between the Brown family and other Indian families.

Table 1 Marriage patterns of the grandchildren of Elizabeth Brown

	Frequency	Surname considered colonial error Indian surname	Descendants from this particular family represented in Chickahominy Tribe Today	Descendants from this particular family represented in other tribes Today
Harris	5	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cumbo	1		Yes	
Bowman	2	Yes	Yes	Yes
Stewart	2	Yes	Yes	Yes
Brown	2	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lewis	1	No		
Unknown	15			
Total	26			

In reflecting on the marriage patterns of the grandchildren of Elizabeth Brown (1722), the court records, and plausible origin story of the Brown family reinforces not an isolated incidence of Indian identity, but rather a familial identity.

4 Great Grandchildren of Elizabeth Brown

4.1 Grandchildren of Abraham Brown

In chapter 3, section 3.1, we introduced the five documented children of Abraham Brown (1741). Our research shows Abraham has documented grandchildren from four of his five children:

1. Abraham
2. John

³⁵ Lynchburg City Chancery file, 1821-033, LVA

3. Betsey
4. William

It was difficult to follow a trail for William's son Sam Brown, so we omitted a separate section for him.

4.1.1 Children of Abraham (1769)

Abraham (1769) is usually where the Brown story is told in books about the Brown family; he is the founder of Elam Baptist Church and was a landowner in Charles City, Petersburg, and Southampton County, VA.³⁶ Because we are focusing on the Charles City and New Kent portion of this family, identifying his descendants who make up the fringe of the Nottoway community is beyond the scope of this paper. Abraham married Susanna, but his will did not record her maiden name. Of the numerous children he had, quite a few maiden/surnames of spouses are missing. Some of these children may be marrying within the Brown family, as we have demonstrated the case in the previous chapter. Abraham's daughter Cornelia married Oliver Bowman, and they migrated to Ohio. Their descendants will be excluded from this paper. Figure 7 shows the family tree of Abraham Brown's (1769) children. We have the following breakdown of the marriage pattern surnames/maiden names:

1. Bowman: 2
2. Jones: 1
3. Thompson: 1
4. Unknown: 6

³⁶ Abraham² Brown, born say 1769, "son of Abraham," was taxable in Charles City County in 1790, a "Mulattoe" taxable in 1813 [PPTL, 1788-1814], taxable on two tracts of land: one of 92-1/2 acres and the other of 30 acres in 1790 and 1800 [Land Tax List, 1790, p.1; 1800, p.1], head of a Charles City County household of 10 "other free" and 3 slaves in 1810 [VA:957] and 9 "free colored" in 1820 [VA:3]. He was a man of color from Charles City County who served in the Revolution [*Charles City County historical Society Newsletter* 6:10-14 cited by NSDAR, *African American Patriots*, 148]. On 17 July 1800 he and his wife Susannah (both signing) swapped the 115-1/2 acres he received by his father's will with 125-1/2 acres which his brother William received by the will [DB 4:514, 516]. He and his wife Susanna made a deed of gift to Cornelius Brown, John Brown, Henry C. **Harris** and Dixon Brown, Jr., as trustees for a tract of land adjoining John Brown upon which a meeting house known as "Elam" was to be set apart expressly for the use of the Baptist Church on 20 November 1818 ("but when unoccupied by the baptist to be free for any minister of the Gospel to preach us") [DB 6:214]. He was granted administration on the Charles City County estate of his brother John Brown, Sr., on 20 October 1825 [Minutes 1823-9, 141]. He made a 12 April 1836 Charles City County will (signing), proved 19 November 1840. He left his son Christopher the house where Christopher then lived and 20 acres of land on the north side of his plantation, left the remainder of his land to his three sons Allen, Abraham James, and Samuel Brown, and left the remainder of his estate to his children Allen Brown, Abraham James Brown, Christopher Brown, Samuel Brown, Patsy **Thompson**, Polly Brown, Susanna Brown, and his grandson Robert Brown (son of his daughter Nancy **Jones**) [WB 4:375]. He died in Charles City in August 1840 [Register of Free Negroes, 1835-64, no. 11].

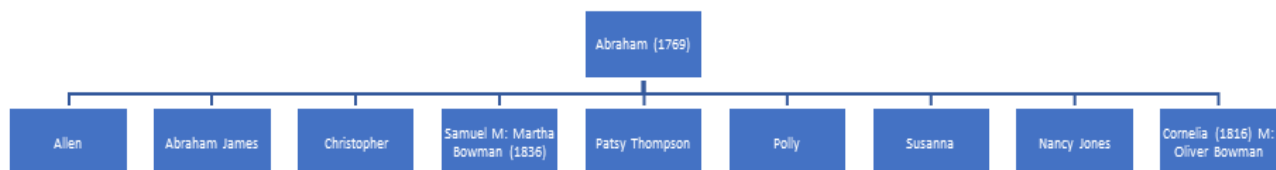


Figure 7 Children of Abraham Brown II

4.1.2 John Brown (1764) Children

John Brown has two documented children.³⁷ In addition to John Brown's relationship with the Harris family through marriage, other Brown family members through in family marriages, he also lived near and sold land to George Jones. George Jones is the progenitor of the Jones line in Charles City, VA, and has descendants himself in the Chickahominy tribe.

John's children both married their first cousins, and the surname/maiden patterns are:

1. Brown: 2

37

John Brown, born say 1764, was taxable in the Charles City County household of (his father) Abraham Brown in 1785 [PPTL, 1783-7], taxable on 118 acres in 1790 and 1800 [Land Tax List, 1790, p.1; 1800, p.1], and head of a household of 5 "other free" in 1810 [VA:958]. He was the father of Rebecca Brown, granddaughter of Frances **Harris** who left her a spinning wheel by her 12 November 1803 Charles City County will [WB 1:650]. On 6 October 1804 he (signing) made a deed of trust to Wyatt Walker for 118 acres which he received by the will of his father Abraham Brown to secure a bond which Dixon Brown had posted for him to satisfy an execution against his estate by Thomas Blanks [DB 5:65]. He was a "man of colour" who made a deed of trust (signing) on 28 May 1817 for 80 acres which was all the land he was then living on which descended to him by the will of his father Abraham. He and his wife Priscilla (both signing) sold 16 acres adjoining his land and Abraham Brown's to George **Jones** for \$96 on 8 May 1821 [DB 6:92]. The account of his Charles City County estate was taken by Abraham Brown and had its first entry on 1 November 1825. Abraham distributed about \$11 to James Brown, Sr., and Carver Brown who was also paid \$1.62 for accommodations furnished the appraisers of the estate [WB 3:236].

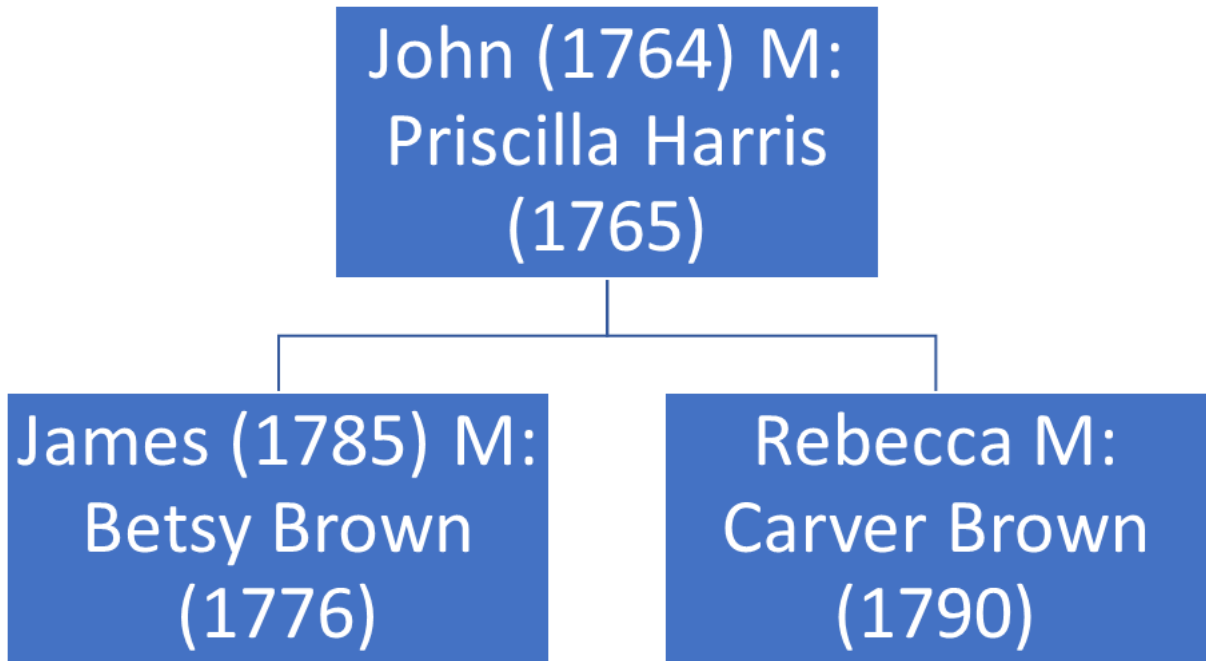


Figure 8 Children of John Brown and Priscilla Harris

4.1.3 Betsy Brown (1776) Children

Betsey is the sister of John (1764) and wife of her nephew James (1785). They have three children. Warren (1817) married Martha Fox (1812). Although no marriage records exist for Mary and Littleton Bradby, they went together to get their free papers on December 15th, 1831. Littleton's older sister Mahala (1802) did marry Levi Brown, which makes this union plausible. Mahala and Littleton's brother Alexander Bradby (1805) is listed on the Eastern Chickahominy historical rolls, and many of his children are listed on the Eastern Chickahominy and Chickahominy rolls. Several of Alexander Bradby's children married Browns. In particular, two of his daughters married two Brown brothers descended from Abraham Brown's line. Those children and their Brown spouses are considered Eastern Chickahominy. This clustering of marriages and social connectedness between the two families highly suggest endogamy. The Bradby family is documented as descending from Jane Gibson, an Indian woman who was likely Chickahominy or Weyenoake.³⁸ The children of this union would be considered the grandchildren of Abraham and the grandchildren of John. Therefore, we will not list the tree again in the next chapter. The marriage surname/maiden patterns for Betsy Brown's children are the following:

1. Fox: 1
2. Bradby: 1

³⁸ Lynchburg City Chancery file, 1821-033, LVA

3. Unknown: 1

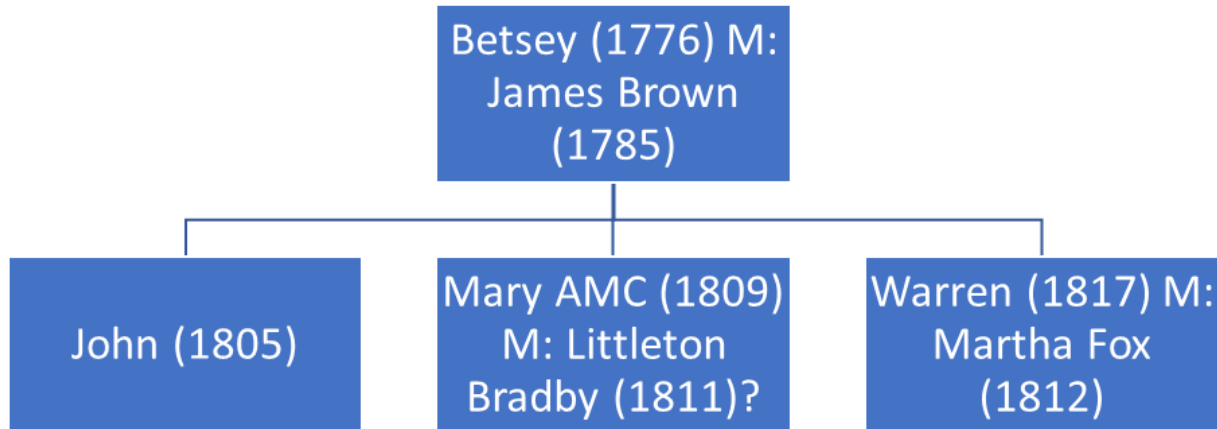


Figure 9 Children of Betsey Brown and James Brown

4.1.4 Patterns of Endogamy

Of the 14 documented grandchildren of Abraham Brown (1741), 6 of their spouses' names and maiden/surnames were unknown. Of the seven known, Brown appeared twice. Bradby, Bowman, Thompson, and Jones all appeared once. The Bradby and Bowman lines descend from Jane Gibson, an Indian woman from Charles City, VA, who was likely Chickahominy or Weyenoke. These names clearly connect to the historical Indigenous communities of Charles City and New Kent County. Several descendants of the Bradby family were adopted by the Pamunkey tribe and listed on the Pamunkey petition as historical Indians when they went for federal recognition. As we highlighted in chapter one, the Brown surname is associated with several Indians of the territories of the Powhatan confederacy in the 1600s. The Jones family is considered one of the core families of the reorganized Chickahominy tribe in 1901³⁹ There is no evidence that the Fox family was considered an Indian family.

Beyond the marriage patterns, the land purchases, the use of members from these families for testimony in court, living near each other, and getting free papers together demonstrate social cohesion between these families.

³⁹ Stern, Theodore. "Chickahominy: The changing culture of a Virginia Indian community." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 96.2 (1952): 157-225.

Table 2 Marriage Patterns of the grandchildren of Abraham I

	Frequency	Surname considered colonial era Indian surname	Descendants from this particular family represented in Chickahominy Tribe Today	Descendants from this particular family represented in other tribes Today
Fox	1			
Bradby	1	yes	yes	yes
Bowman	2	yes	yes	
Brown	2	yes	yes	yes
Thompson	1	no	yes	
Jones	1	Yes	yes	yes
Unknown	6			
Total	14			

4.2 Grandchildren of Isaac Brown

At the time of this paper Carver, Lilly Ann, and Maria are the three children of Isaac where we have documented descendants for their lines.

4.2.1 Children of Carver Brown

Carver (1791) Married his cousin Rebecca Brown (1791), and they had multiple children. Despite having grandchildren through multiple lines, only one maiden/surname, Cumbo, is known for Carver's children. So Carver's children's marriage maiden/surname patterns are the following:

1. Cumbo: 1
2. Unknown: 7

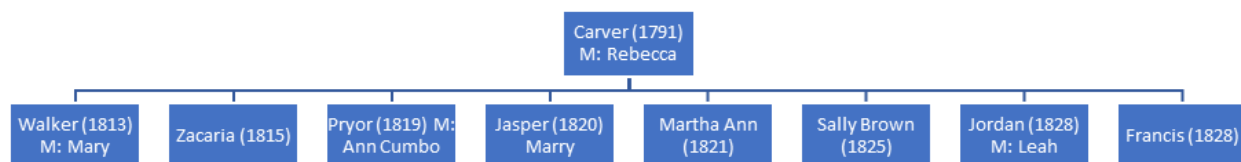


Figure 10 Children of Carver Brown and Rebecca Brown

4.2.2 Children of Lilly/Sally Ann Brown

Lilly Ann/Sally Ann Brown, Isaac's daughter, has children from several relationships. Her first few children's father's name is unknown, but family research suggests that Ottoway, while a European name, was a given name to represent the Nottoway ancestry of Ottoway Brown (1825). This research was distributed at one of the Brown family reunions. Lilly Ann's later children, Algernon, Sally, Micajah, and Susan, are all likely the children of Coupland Green. Still, Lilly Ann's children's marriage surname/maiden name patterns are the following:

1. Brown: 1
2. Going: 1
3. Binford: 1
4. Jackson: 1
5. Unknown: 2

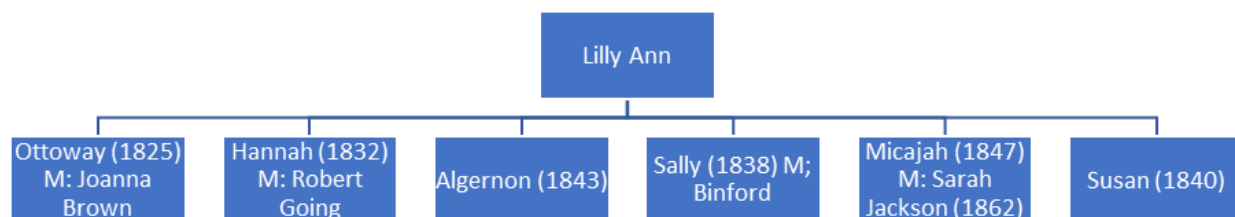


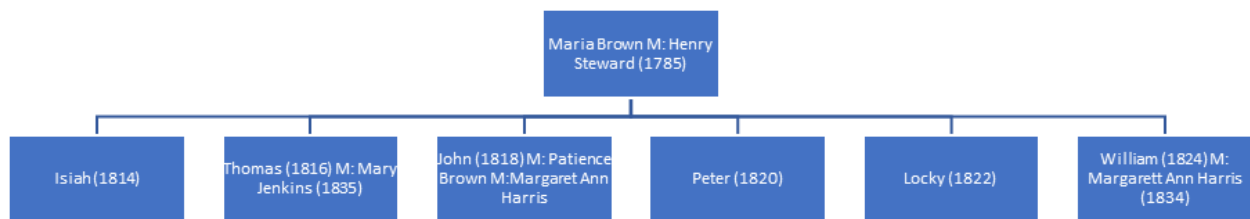
Figure 11 Children of Lilly/Sally Ann Brown

4.2.3 Maria Brown's Children

Isaac Brown's daughter, Maria Brown, married Henry Stewart (1785). Through this marriage, the Stewards of the Chickahominy tribe originated.⁴⁰ The marriage patterns of Maria Brown's children with surnames/maiden names are as follows:

⁴⁰ Henry Stewart, born say 1785, was taxable in Charles City County from 1805 to 1813, listed as a "Mulattoe" in 1813 [PPTL 1788-1814]. He died before 16 April 1835 when the Charles County court ordered the overseers of the poor to bind out his orphans Peter and William Stewart to Micajah **Brown** until the age of twenty-one [Minutes 1830-7, 231]. His widow Maria Stewart registered with four of their children in Henrico County on 5 February 1838: *wife of Henry Stuart, about 51 years of age, a bright mulatto woman, 5 feet 3 inches, Born free as appears by a certificate from the clerk of Charles City County* [Register of Free Negroes and Mulattoes, 1831-1844, p.28, no.871]

1. Brown: 1
2. Harris: 2
3. Jenkins: 1
4. Unknown: 3



4.2.4 Patterns of Endogamy

Isaac’s grandchildren show similar marriage patterns to those of the previous Brown generation and the marriage patterns of Abraham Brown’s descendants. Of the known maiden/surnames of his grandchildren's spouses, over half are considered Indian names, and members of that particular family are members of a recognized tribe today. In addition to marriage patterns, continued social connectedness patterns arise. For instance, Micajah Brown, the son of Lilly/Sally Ann, is living with the Charity family in the 1870 census.⁴¹

Table 3 Marriage patterns of Isaac Browns Grandchildren

	Frequency	Surname considered colonial error Indian surname	Descendants from this particular family represented in Chickahominy Tribe Today	Descendants from this particular family represented in other tribes Today
Cumbo	1	yes	yes	
Brown	2	yes	yes	yes

⁴¹ <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/37153257:7163?ssrc=pt&tid=189634674&pid=242461680424>

Going	1	yes	yes	yes
Jenkins	1	no		
Harris	2	yes	yes	yes
Binford	1	no	uncertain	uncertain
Jackson	1	yes	yes	
Unknown	12			
Total	21			

4.3 Grandchildren of Benjamin Brown

4.3.1 Children of William Brown

Benjamin only had one documented child, William Brown (1784). William's spouse's name is unknown. Williams' children are recorded in the Charles City free negro registry.⁴² William and his descendants are broken into two figures below. We will explore the descendants of William in the next chapter, but we will highlight a case here. His daughter Anne Eliza Brown (1827) married Archer Cotman. Their son Robert Cotman was listed as Chickahominy on the Chickahominy census created by Anthropologies James Mooney in 1907.⁴³ The known marriage patterns of William's children are as follows:

1. Cotman: 1
2. Fox:1
3. Oglesby: 1
4. Smith: 1
5. Staurt/Stewart: 1
6. Unknown: 7

⁴² <https://charlescity.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Free-Negro-Register.pdf>

⁴³ Mooney, J. (1907). The Powhatan confederacy, past and present. *American Anthropologist*, 9(1), 129-152.

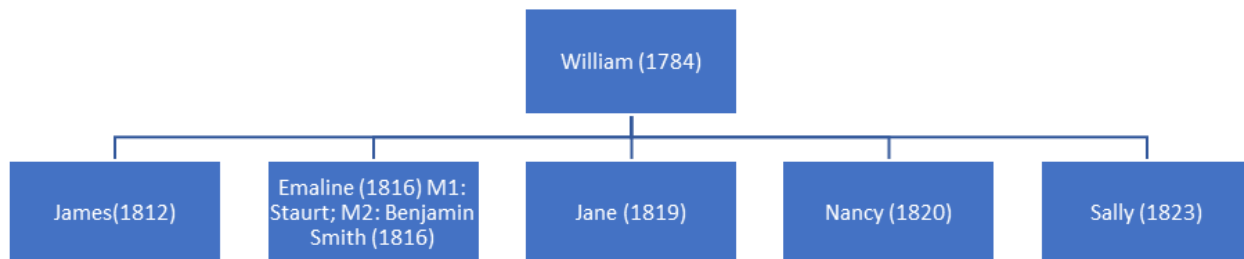


Figure 12 Children of William Brown Part 1

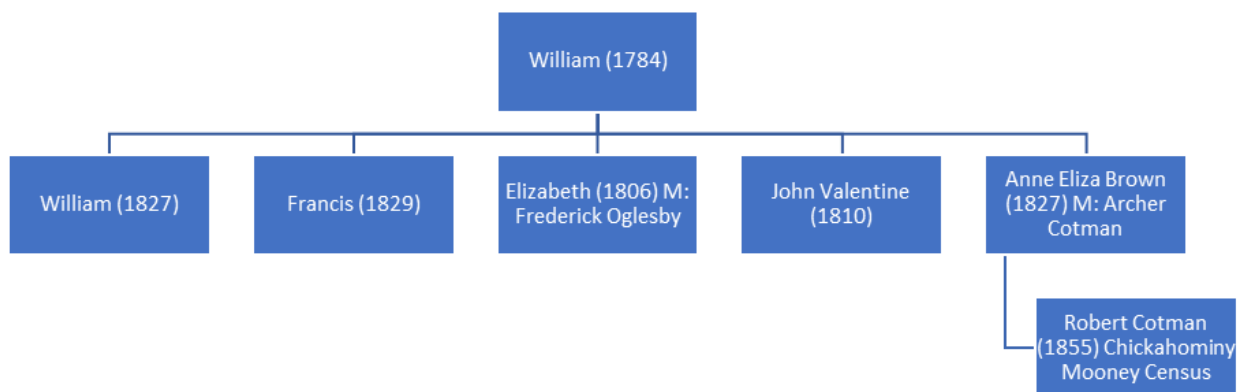


Figure 13 Children of William Brown part 2

4.4 Grandchildren of Dixon Brown

Dixon had many children both legitimate and illegitimate. Some of the illegitimate children he claimed, others were not, but speculated to be based on wills such as Morris Harris (1780). Of the children who have easily verifiable descendants are the following:

1. Susannah Brown () M: Chavis Harris
2. Dixon Brown (1766) M: Lucy
3. Lucy (1774)
4. Elizabeth (1785)
5. Peter (1797)
6. Catherine () M: Edward Bowman (1792)

4.4.1 Children of Susannah Brown

Susannah Brown, his legitimate daughter, Susannah, had four documented children with Chavis Harris. There were:

1. Thomas Harris (1805)
2. Burwell Harris (1807)
3. William "Big Billy" Harris (1810) M: Susan H Harris (1807)
4. Benjamin Hampton Harris (1812)

4.4.2 Children of Dixon Brown

1. Dixon Brown (1792)
2. James Brown (1794)

4.4.3 Children of Lucy

1. Dancy⁴⁴
2. Locky M: David Goin
3. Henry
4. Edward
5. Eliza

4.4.4 Children of Elizabeth Brown

1. Richard Brown (1805)

4.4.5 Children of Peter Brown

1. Harriett Harris (1818) M: Valentine Harris (1806)
2. Albert Brown (1821)

4.4.6 Children of Catherine Brown

1. Eramus Bowman (1815)
2. Susan Bowman (1817)
3. Rebecca Bowman (1820)
4. Delly Bowman (1823)
5. Betty Bowman (Byrd) (1827)

4.5 Grandchildren of Edward Brown

4.5.1 Children of John Brown (1789) M: Nancy J

1. James Brown (1814) M: Oney Twopence (1812)
2. William Brown (1819)

⁴⁴ Moved to Albermarlo county, VA

4.6 Patterns of Endogamy for William, Dixon, and Benjamin Descendants

There are significant missing maiden/surnames of people in this generation. For the names that we do know, the patterns of Indian surnames and descents from these people who are enrolled members of tribes today, however, remain strong. Since in-family marriages are so common among the Brown and Harris families, it is probable that many of the missing maiden/surnames of spouses are similar to the family names of these members.

William “Little Billy” Brown later remarried Agnes Ann Richards (1817) Who was the mother of Mary Jane Brown (1831). Mary Jane is seen in the household with Smallwood Bradby (1784) in 1850 and 1860. In addition to Mary, Martson Cotman, Susanna Cotman, Annie M Cotman, and Robert Cotman are also cohabitating with Smallwood Bradby in 1860.⁴⁵ Martson’s brother Archer is married to William Brown’s daughter Anne Eliza Brown, and his brother Thomas is married to Eliza Jane Brown who is the daughter of James Brown and Sally Stewart.

Table 4 Marriage patterns of Dixon, Benjamin, and Benjamin Grandchildren

	Frequency	Surname considered colonial error Indian surname	Descendants from this particular family represented in Chickahominy Tribe Today	Descendants from this particular family represented in other tribes Today
Twopence	1	yes	yes	yes
Bowman	1	yes	yes	
Cotman	1		yes	
Stewart	1	yes	yes	yes
Going	1	yes	yes	yes
Harris	2	yes	yes	yes
Oglesby	1	no		
smith	1	yes	yes	yes
Fox	1		yes	
Byrd	1	yes		yes
Unknown	23			

⁴⁵ <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/34515897:7667>

5 Great-Great Grandchildren of Elizabeth Brown
5.1. Great Grandchildren of Abraham Brown (1741)
5.1.1 Grandchildren of Abraham Brown (1769)
5.1.1.1 Children of Christopher Brown

By this generation, we begin to see names that appear in documents of the reorganized Chickahominy tribe. For instance, Jones Brown and Sarah Bradby are listed in the Eastern Chickahominy tribal rolls. If Samuel and Christianna had children, they likely would have been included just the same. Christianna and Sarah are daughters of Alexander Junis Bradby (1805), one of the core ancestors of the Eastern Chickahominy today.⁴⁶ The other marriage patterns of Christophers' descendants also reflect a relationship with the Chickahominy tribe. The marriage patterns for Christophers' Children are the following:

1. Jones: 1
2. Bailey: 1
3. Bradby: 2
4. Brown: 2
5. Unknown: 1

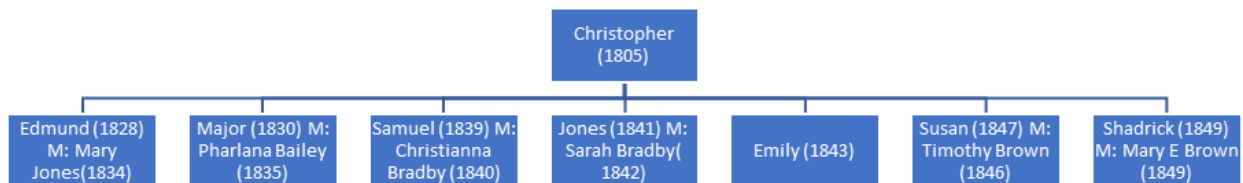


Figure 14 Children of Christopher Brown

Pharlana's sibling has a descendant, Carrie Pearl Banks (1874), who is included in the Chickahominy 1910 federal census, with both of her parents listed as Chickahominy. Additionally, Pharlana's 1st cousin or sister, Letitia Bailey, married Ferdinand Wynn, who was considered Pamunkey. Their descendants make up the Wynn Chickahominy family today. Mary Jones is the sibling of John Jones, who married Eliza Cumbo, who has the most numerous Jones descendants in the Chickahominy tribe. Ferdinand Wynn called Isaac Brown (1875), the son of Robert Walker Brown (1845) his cousin in the 1900 US census. The connection between Isaac and Ferdinand is the relationship between the Bailey line and through the Stewart line where Isaac Brown is also the cousin of Ferdinand's wife.

⁴⁶ Elaine and Ray Adkins. Chickahominy Indians Eastern Division: A Brief Ethnohistory

5.1.1.2 Children of Polly Brown

Polly Brown has four documented Children. Three of these children allegedly descend from John Tyler. Several DNA test results through ancestry suggest a relationship between the Brown and Tyler family, but more testing needs to be done to confirm. Of the four children, three maiden/surnames of spouses are documented. Joanna (1830) is married to Ottoway (1825), a second cousin through Isaac's line. Several of their descendants are on the Chickahominy tribal rolls or documents today. Like Joanna's line, Crawford's daughter is listed as Indian in New Kent County on the 1910 US census with her husband, Albert Williams. Reuben and his descendants migrated west to Ohio, but some of his descendants are recognized by the Ohio Saponi tribe that migrated west from VA as well. The marriage patterns from this generation are:

1. Brown: 1
2. Bailey: 1
3. Harris: 1
4. Unknown: 1

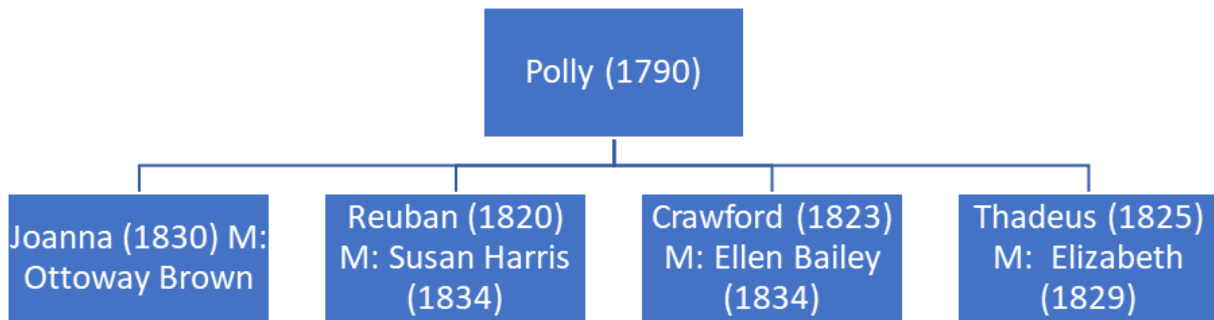


Figure 15 Children of Polly Brown

5.1.1.3 Children of Sam Brown

Sam Brown married Martha Bowman. They had eight documented kids that we found during our research. The marriage patterns of this generation are as follows:

1. Washington: 1
2. Harris: 1
3. Pool: 1

4. Brown: 2
5. Sampson: 1
6. Unknown: 2

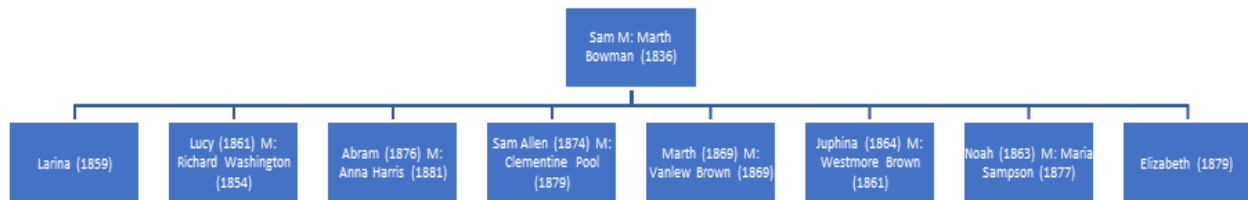


Figure 16 Children of Sam Brown

5.1.1.4 Children of Abraham James Brown (1825)

Abraham James Brown (1825) had several children. Ella Brown (1871) married Albert Williams (1866), and both were listed as Indian in the 1910 US Federal Census in New Kent County, VA, as well as their children.⁴⁷ Mary (1865), who married John Harris (1861) daughter Emma married John Bradby, the son of Alexander Junis Bradby (1835), a key member of the Eastern Chickahominy tribe. The marriage patterns are as follows:

1. Brown: 2
2. Harris: 1
3. Cumbo: 1
4. Williams: 1
5. Unknown: 1

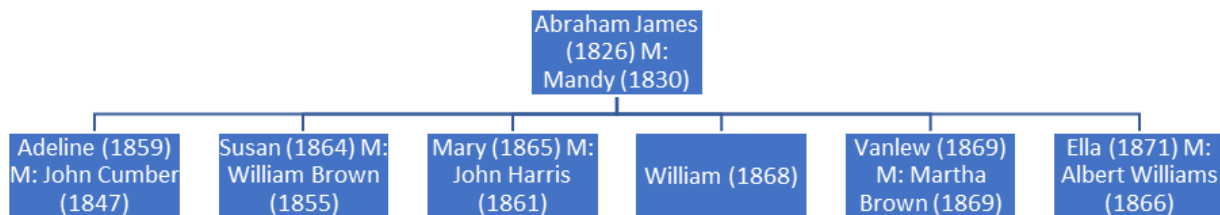


Figure 17 Children of Abraham James Brown

5.1.1.5 Patterns of Endogamy

The descendants in this generation show a strong pattern of intermarriage with other Indian families in this generation as well. Several of these descendants are listed on the US Census as

⁴⁷ <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/187559887:7884?ssrc=pt&tid=189634674&pid=242474908374>

Indian or are in the Eastern Chickahominy rolls as Indian. Table X shows a breakdown of the marriage patterns for this generation. As Theodore Stern pointed out, this generation's in-marriage and sibling pairing patterns are also quite clear and consistent with what we would expect from a Chickahominy family.

Table 5 Marriage Patterns of Abraham II grandchildren

	Frequency	Surname considered colonial error Indian surname	Descendants from this particular family represented in Chickahominy Tribe Today	Descendants from this particular family represented in other tribes Today
Cumbo	1		yes	
Brown	7	yes	yes	yes
Harris	3	yes	yes	yes
Williams	1	yes	yes	yes
Sampson	1	yes		
Pool	1			
Bailey	2	yes	yes	yes
Bradby	2	yes	yes	yes
Jones	1	yes	yes	yes
Unknown	5			

5.2 Great-Grandchildren of Isaac Brown

5.2.1 Grandchildren of Carver Brown

5.2.1.1 Children of Walker Brown

Walker Brown only has one documented descendant, Robert Walker Brown (1845). Robert has had two documented wives: the first, America Bowman, and the second, Mary Allen Adkins. Robert had numerous children between both marriages. We will not make an exhaustive list of Robert's children in Chapter 6; we will only highlight a few cases relevant to the case of the Chickahominy connection. From Robert's first marriage, Robert's son, Walker (1872), is listed as Indian in the 1910 US federal census in New Kent County, VA. His household includes his wife, Madeline Adkins, and their children are all listed as Indian.⁴⁸ Walker's daughter Jane O Brown from his second marriage married Peter Jefferson, who was listed on the Mooney

⁴⁸ <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/187559684:7884?src=pt&tid=189634674&pid=242467329071>

Chickahominy census of 1907.⁴⁹ After being widowed, Jane remarried Zachariah Charity.⁵⁰ The Charities are considered an important Chickahominy family.

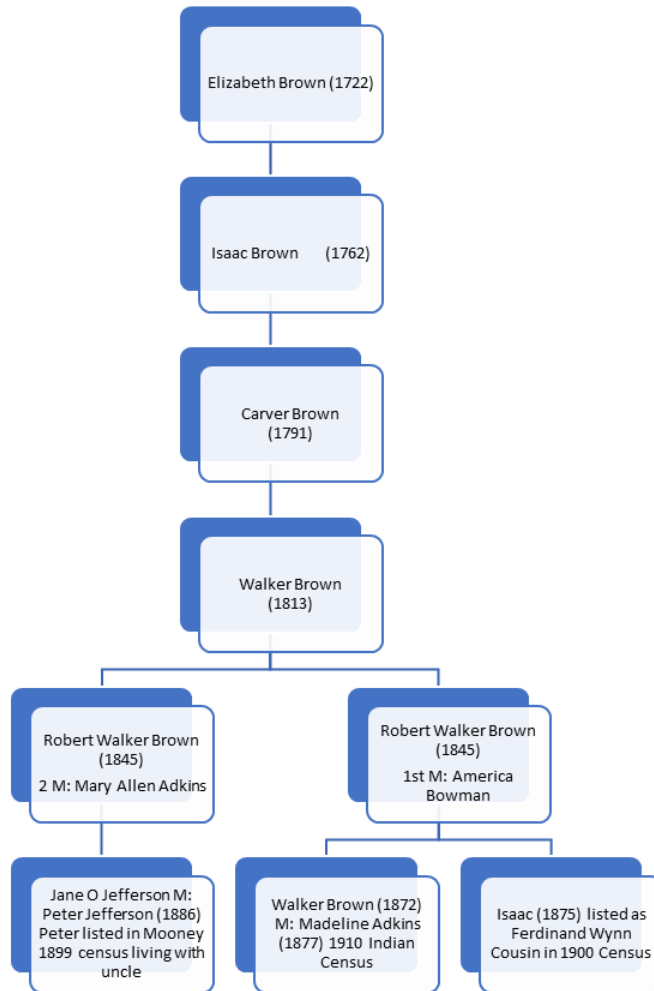


Figure 18 Children of Walker Brown

5.2.1.2 Children of Joshua Brown

Jordan and his wife Leah had seven documented children. Of these 7, 3 of them have records of their spouses' maiden/surname. Jordan's children's maiden/surname marriage patterns are as follows:

1. Christian: 2

⁴⁹ Mooney, J. (1907). The Powhatan confederacy, past and present. *American Anthropologist*, 9(1), 129-152.

⁵⁰ <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/11258509:9279?ssrc=pt&tid=189634674&pid=242467329580>

2. Harris: 1
3. Unknown: 4

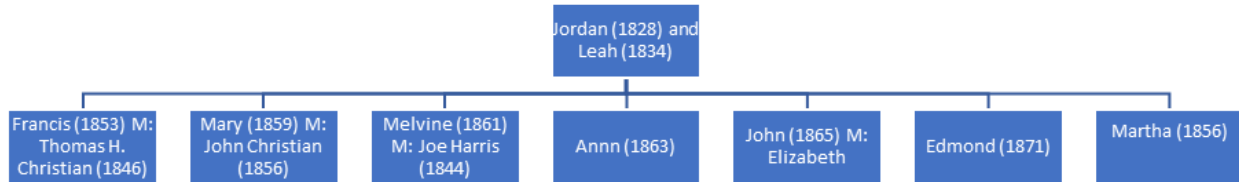


Figure 19 Children of Jordan Brown

5.2.2 Grandchildren of Maria Brown

5.2.2.1 Children of William Stewart

William Stewart (1824) married Margaret Ann Harris (1832) and had around seven children. Most of these Stewart children are on the 1910 US federal census as Chickahominy in New Kent County, VA. The Stewart Children and their marriages are recorded below. There are links to the US Federal census for each member listed as Indian

1. Rebecca Stewart (1851) M: Ferdinand Wynn⁵¹
2. Joseph Stewart (1849) M: Ann E. Stewart
3. Chayton (1853)
4. Richard (1854) M: Edmonia Howell (1860)⁵²
5. Elizabeth Pocahontas (1857) M: Richard William Bradby (1853)
6. James (1858) M: Lou F Brown (1860) M: Fannie Howell (1866)
 - a. Cora (1893) M: Lucian Almond⁵³
7. Marion (1859)
8. Jack Edward (1866) M: Sarah Bradby (1871)⁵⁴

⁵¹ <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/187559948:7884?ssrc=pt&tid=189634674&pid=242471935280>

⁵² <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/187559938:7884?ssrc=pt&tid=189634674&pid=242471934969>

⁵³ Listed in Mattaponi Indian Town as Indian <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/23402922:6061?tid=189634674&pid=242472306671&hid=1027790455552>

⁵⁴ <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/187560038:7884?ssrc=pt&tid=189634674&pid=242471418771>

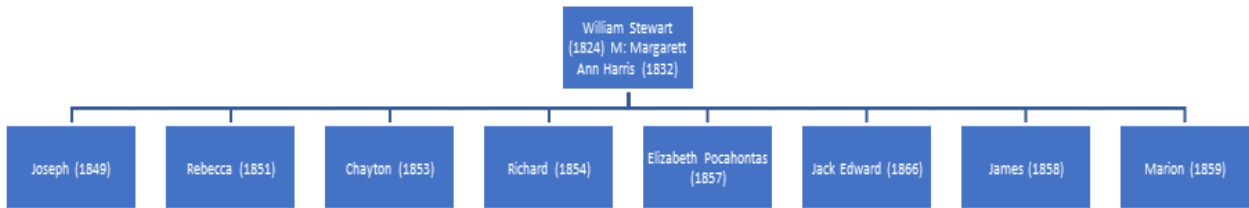


Figure 20 Children of William Stewart

5.2.3 Grandchildren of Lilly/Sally Ann Brown

5.2.3.1 Children of Ottoway Brown

1. Mary E. (1849) M: Shadrick Brown (1848)
2. Tazwell (1850) M: Mary E Brown (1855)
3. Allen (1854) M: Susan V. Harris; M: Bessie Lillian Christian

5.2.3.2 Children of Algernon Brown

1. Augusta Brown (1856)

5.2.3.3 Children of Micajah Brown

1. Edler (1887)
2. Annie (1890)
3. Pinkie (1891)
4. Edmund (1892) M: Millie Ann Tyler
5. Burnette Brown (1906)

5.2.4 Patterns of Endogamy

The patterns of high intermarriage with other mixed families are also consistent here. Several descendants in this generation appear on the US Federal 1910 census as Chickahominy, have married someone who appears on the census as Indian, or have been listed as Chickahominy in the Eastern Chickahominy rolls.

	Frequency	Surname considered colonial error Indian surname	Descendants from this particular family represented in Chickahominy Tribe Today	Descendants from this particular family represented in other tribes Today

Adkins	1		yes	yes
Bowman	1	yes	yes	yes
Harris	2	yes	yes	yes
Brown	2	yes	yes	yes
Christian	3		yes	
Wynn	1		yes	yes
Howell	2	yes	yes	yes
Bradby	2	yes	yes	yes
Tyler	1	yes		
Stewart	1	yes	yes	yes
Unknown	11			

5.3 Great Grandchildren of Dixon Brown

5.3.1 Grandchildren of Susannah Brown

Susannah Brown, his legitimate daughter, Susannah, had four documented children with Chavis Harris. There were:

1. Thomas Harris (1805)
2. Burwell Harris (1807) M: Phyllis Cook⁵⁵
 - a. R.A Harris (1850)
 - b. Isham B Harris
3. William "Big Billy" Harris (1810) M: Susan H Harris (1807)
 - a. Lucy (1830) M: Cornelius Smith
 - b. Susan (1834) M: Reuben Brown (1820)⁵⁶
 - c. Sarah (1836) M: Christopher Bowman
 - d. Calidoman (1837)
 - e. William (1841) M: Emily Brown (1847)
 - f. Henry Harris (1846)⁵⁷
 - g. Joseph (1846) M: Patrickanna Brown (1854)
 - h. Abraham (1847)
 - i. Isibin (1850)
4. Benjamin Hampton Harris (1812)

5.3.2 Grandchildren of Dixon Brown

⁵⁵ Went to Petersburg

⁵⁶ Reuben is the son of Polly Brown, the family went to Ohio. The Ohio Saponi group recognizes some of their descendants.

⁵⁷ Moved to Ohio and Pennsylvania

1. Dixon Brown (1792)⁵⁸
2. James Brown (1794) M: Sally Stewart (1796)
 - a. Jesse (1817) M: Rebecca
 - b. Mary Frances (1821) M: Walker Christian (1820)
 - c. Martha Major (1832) M1: Peter Harris; M2: Warren Brown (1818)
 - d. Uriah (1827) M: Matilda (1823)
 - e. Joshua (1828)
 - f. Eliza Jane (1830) M: Thomas Cotman (1827)
 - g. Thomas (1832) M: Mary A Smith (1838)
 - h. Susan G (1840) M: Amos Binford (1836)
 - i. Sarah J (1840) M: James Bowman (1841)
 - j. John H (1835) M: Eliza

5.3.3 Grandchildren of Lucy

1. Dancy⁵⁹
2. Locky M: David Goin
3. Henry
4. Edward
5. Eliza

5.3.4 Grandchildren of Peter Brown

1. Harriett (1818) M: Valentine Harris (1806)
 - a. James Allen (1835) M: Sabilla Cumber (1855); M: Fannie Brown (1838)
 - b. Austin (1838)
 - c. Peter (1840)
 - d. Charles (1847)
 - e. George (1849) M: Martha Wallace (1856)
2. Albert Brown (1821) M: Martha Brown (1825)
 - a. Fleming (1846)
 - b. Florence (1867)
 - c. Julia M: Spencer Scott
 - d. Susan Mary
 - e. Lucy Dandridge
 - f. Patrick Henry
 - g. Desiree

5.3. Patterns of Endogamy

Dixon descendants continuously have a lot of missing names for maiden/surnames of spouses. Of the names we see, we continue to see a similar marriage pattern in the family. Table x shows the marriage patterns

⁵⁸ Went to Petersburg

⁵⁹ Moved to Albemarle County, VA

Table 6 Marriage Patterns

	Frequency	Surname considered colonial error Indian surname	Descendants from this particular family represented in Chickahominy Tribe Today	Descendants from this particular family represented in other tribes Today
Cook	1			
Smith	2			
Harris	2			
Brown	6			
Scott	1			
Going	1			
Cotman	1			
Binford	1			
Bowman	2			
Wallace	1			
Cumbo	1			
Christian	1			
Unknown	20			

5.4 Grandchildren of William (Little Billy) Brown

5.4.1 Children of Bartlett Brown

Bartlett married Mary Anna Fox (1826). Their Children are:

1. James Henry Brown (1857) M: Patrick Anna Bailey
2. Mary V Brown (1858)
3. Beverly C Brown (1862) M: Elizabeth Patterson (1861)

5.4.2 Children of James Brown

1. Henrietta Brown (1861)
2. Marcella (1856) M: Alfred Clark (1874)

5.4.3 Children of Sarah Major Brown

1. Clarah (1848) M: Bolling Carter (1853)
2. Lucy (1850) M: John Cotman (1852)
3. Samuel (1852) M: Annie Martha Cotman (1861)
4. Mary (1854)
5. Ann B (1859)

5.4.4 Children of Elizabeth Brown

1. Elenor Brown (1826)

5.4.5. Children of Anne Ellza Brown

1. Martha Cotman (1845)
2. Sarah E (1847)
3. William (1848) M: Sarah F Jones (1848)⁶⁰
4. Archer (1853) M: Mary A. Farrer (1856)
5. John (1855) M: Lucy A. Hampton (1854)⁶¹
6. Robert (1855) M: Mahala Robinson (1844)⁶²
7. Algernon (1860) M: Susan Bradby (1862)⁶³

5.4.6 Patterns of Endogamy

The Marriage patterns in this generation continue to show a high rate of intermarriages with mixed Indian families. In this generation, descendants and/or their spouses' families appear on the US Federal Census as Chickahominy, the Mooney Census, or their children are later listed as Indian in future US Federal census records. Table X shows a breakdown of these patterns.

The Mooney Chickahominy census, as well as the US 1910 Federal Indian census, does not account for all siblings and parents of members who are included. Looking at the case of Susan Bradby (1862) and Sarah F Jones (1848). Some of their siblings are listed on these records with associated blood quantum. Their parents are also listed as Chickahominy. Since these are full siblings, although not included in these records directly, by relation to their siblings and parents listed, they, too, are Chickahominy. Robert Cotman is the only one of his siblings to appear on the Mooney Chickahominy census. This would mean that his siblings and parents too much be Chickahominy.

Table 7 Marriage Patterns

	Frequency	Surname considered colonial error Indian surname	Descendants from this particular family represented in Chickahominy Tribe Today	Descendants from this particular family represented in other tribes Today
Bailey	1			

⁶⁰ Sarah is the daughter of John Jones and Elizabeth Cumbo. Her sister Elizabeth Jones (1820) is married to William H Adkin (1818) who are both on Chickahominy and Eastern Chickahominy Rolls. Her siblings Riley and Wyatt both have their children considered Chickahominy. Her sister Martha (1845) is listed as Indian on the 1910 US federal census and both her of parents are labeled as Chickahominy.

⁶¹ Lucy is the daughter of Sarah Major Brown and Benjamin Hampton

⁶² Robert is listed on the Mooney Chickahominy census as Chickahominy

⁶³ Susan Bradby is the daughter of Henry Bradby and Frances Bradby and most of her siblings are listed on the Chickahominy census of 1910 or the Mooney Chickahominy census.

Patterson	1			
Carter	1			
Clark	1			
Cotman	2			
Jones	1			
Farrer	1			
Hampton	1			
Robinson	1			
Bradby	1			
Unknown	7			

5.5 Great Grandchildren of Edward Brown

5.5.1 Grandchildren of John Brown

3. James Brown (1814) M: Oney Twopence (1812)
 - a. Hannah (1835)
 - b. William (1838)
 - c. Virginius (1842)
 - d. John (1848)
 - e. Mary (1853)

6 Discussion

Marriage Patterns and Kinship

Chapters 3,4, and 5 show kinship patterns of Brown descendants that we could document with precision. The marriage patterns in each generation show a social cohesion with other families in Charles City and New Kent County with established Indigenous identities. From the known names of spouses married, well over 50% of marriages demonstrate marriages between Indigenous families. Additionally, in alignment with an observation by Theodore Stern, the Brown family has very high rates of marriages between two siblings of one family and two siblings of another family. Like other families, they also show a preference towards in-family

marrying. This could be a traditional kinship pattern or a socio-economic phenomena to protect the wealth of the family. In either case, the patterns are consistent with other Chickahominy families. As we have also seen, there are clusters of the Brown family whose descendants today are part of the reorganized Chickahominy tribes that took place during the early 1900s.

Although marriage patterns were consistently within this historical mixed Indigenous community, not all descendants from these marriages are part of the reorganized tribe today. During the reorganization period of the early 1900s, not only were entire families excluded, but sometimes full siblings were excluded from the new tribal rolls. There are a lot of oral histories and documented histories as to why. There are likely elements of truth in all of them. According to Richard Bowman, a well known local historian and first cousin with Chief Stephen Adkins, The reorganizing tribe went to recruit members to be part of the newly organized tribe. Richard Bowman articulated that some families refused because they chose to remain colored or black people. According to others, they were denied enrollment due to colorism or hair tests. Others still were able to pass as white and chose to move beyond the community to be accepted by larger white society. Still some chalk up the exclusion of some families based on who one married, what church was attended, and outright family politics.

Because of this, the Brown family isn't the only case where siblings, cousins, and parents were separated from those included in the reorganized tribe and those that were not. There are Bradby's, Bowman's, Charities, Miles, Adkins, Bailey, Stewart, Cannaday, Wynns, Jeffersons, Cotmans, Harrises, to name a few that have similar patterns of split families between Indian, Black, and white. These splits predate additional admixtures outside the core original community.

Whether the exclusion of families from base rolls was a matter of self-selection or a matter of familial discrimination, the fact remains that the Brown family and the other Indigenous families maintained strong kinship ties for hundreds of years. Some of those excluded from the tribe would continue to maintain their Indigenous identity, while others wish to reconnect with their heritage. Based on historical and kinship claims, there is a legitimacy to that desire to be included in the reorganized tribe. As Arica Coleman asserts, the kinship ties of these communities split between Black and Indian, often of the same family shows indisputable proof of a Red-Black community.

Brown Family Contribution to the Reorganized Chickahominy Tribes

The descendants of Abraham Brown have been well documented for their contributions to the African American community. Abraham Brown and his descendants were important to the creation of Elam Baptist Church. Elam Baptist Church became a pillar of the free community of Charles City, largely comprised of mixed-race Indigenous families. Elam splintered into many other churches, including Little Elam (1886) and Cedar Grove (1875). All of the ancestors of the reorganized Chickahominy tribes today attended Elam Baptist Church before William H Adkins, James E. Adkins, and several other Adkins and Jones members established Cedar Grove Baptist Church in 1875. It was the members of Cedar Grove and Little Elam who, on April 13, 1901, left their home church to start Samaria Baptist Church. Before these splits, Elam Baptist Church was the focal point for all of these families. For nearly 65 years, the Chickahominy community worshipped in the church built by the Brown family. William H Adkins, the first chief of the reorganized Chickahominy tribe, served in leadership roles at Elam Baptist Church.

William H Adkins (1851) is the son of William H Adkins (1818) and Elizabeth Jones (1820). Elizabeth Jones is the daughter of Elizabeth (Betsy) Cumbo (1801) and John Jones (1802). Betsy Cumbo's siblings. Two of Betsy Cumbo's siblings married Browns. William H (1851) married Virginia Bradby (1851), who was the daughter of Smallwood Bradby (1805) and Pamela

Crawley (1810). Smallwood, his father Smallwood, and Pamela are all seen cohabitating with Browns, Cotmans, and Crawleys in the 1850 and 1860 census records. Smallwood (1786) is married to Rebecca (1786), and it is speculated that she is either a Brown, Cotman, Crawley, or Wallace. Several of Smallwood's nieces and nephews were also married to the Brown family. Although mostly lateral, William H Adkins and his wife had familial and social connections with the Brown family.

The fifth chief of the Chickahominy tribe, Arthur Leonard Adkins (1926), married Mildred Stewart (1928). Mildred Stewart was the daughter of Oliver Augustus Stewart (1898) and Mozella Adkins (1907). Oliver Augustus Stewart is a direct descendant of Isaac Brown (1762) through his daughter Maria Brown and marriage to Henry Stewart. Mildred was an important community member as she supported her Husband and his tireless efforts for federal recognition.

In the census conducted by James Mooney in 1901 and published in his 1907 work, 5 of the 40 heads of families were either direct descendants of the Brown family or married to a direct descendant of the Brown family discussed here. The names include:

1. Robert Cotman
2. Sanford Bradby
3. John Stewart
4. Peter Jefferson
5. Ferdinand Wynn

In the 1900 US Federal Census, Ferdinand Wynn named Isaac Brown as his cousin, which would also make him the cousin of Winslow Wynn.

When factoring in additional familial connections, we have already discussed the relationship between Chief William H Adkins with the Brown family and, subsequently his siblings as well. Chief Alexander Junis Bradby (1838) is the brother of two sisters who married two Brown brothers, and has two children who married direct Brown descendants as well. Additionally, Aurelius Adkins, James E Adkins, and Spotswood Adkins are all the children of Elias Adkins (1817) and Mary Adkins (1821). Despite the oral history that Mary Adkins was a Brady, there are no records of a Mary Bradby (1821) in Charles City or New Kent County, VA, at the time of writing this paper. In census records and the Charles City free negro registry, however, there are several Mary Browns that are in that age group and, as of today, not accounted for in marriage records.

7 Conclusion

This paper explores the genealogy and kinship patterns of the Brown family of Charles City and New Kent County, VA, from approximately 1700-1900. The Brown family is a well-known family of African, Chickahominy, and European Ancestry. Like all first-contact Indigenous families of mixed ancestry, part of the Brown family has been included in the formal reorganization of the Chickahominy tribes. In contrast, others were excluded for various reasons. The Brown family is not unique; full siblings were sometimes excluded from the tribe's reorganization. This pattern can be seen across all the core families of the modern reorganized tribe and historical families.

The fact that families who have maintained kinship ties for over 200 years are suddenly torn apart by colonial ideas on Indianness, politics, and blood highlights the unfortunate reality that kinship ties, social bonds, and ethnicity have become a lost practice in Indian country, especially for many first-contact tribes. In addition to showing the kinship ties of the Brown family with other Indigenous families in Charles City and New Kent County, VA, this paper also highlights the Brown family's contribution to the reformation of today's Chickahominy Tribe. Like the African American community pioneers who drew from this Brown family, they also exist within the Chickahominy community. Today's Chief of the Chickahominy Tribe Eastern Division is the direct descendant of Isaac Brown, the son of Elizabeth Brown and brother of Abraham Brown. Mildred Stewart, the wife of the great Chief Leonard Adkins, was also the direct descendant of Isaac Miles. Direct descendants of this family accounted for 5 of the 40 heads of houses or spouses in the 1901 Mooney Chickahominy census. Deep familial connections can be established with at least ten more heads of family. This research hopes to highlight the importance of the Brown family in the modern Chickahominy tribe today while demonstrating how colonial forces have corrupted Indigenous kinship patterns that determined tribal identity.

Appendix A: Colonial Names Associated with Indian Families pre-1830

Tribe	Surname	Earliest	Does name appear in	Appear on Charles City	Considered Core	Married one of the Modern
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		Record	Charles City and/or surrounding Counties?	or Surrounding Free Negro Registries?	Chickahominy Name?	Chickahominy family names?
Weyanoke	Pierce	1710				
	Wynoake					
Wicocommoc	Paptico	1710				
	Cole	1713				
Saponi	Bowling	1742				
	Collins	1742	yes			
	Ervin	1728				
	Griffin	1742				
	Irvin	1728				
	Irwin	1728				
	Isaac	1728				
	Mack	1728				
	Sauno	1728				
Pamunkey	Bolling	1700				
	Dungee	1825	yes	yes		
	Collins	1830	yes	yes		yes
	Rosen	1708				
	Sampson	1748	yes	yes		yes
	Tawhah	1708				
	West	1677				
	Holt	1787				
	Kinny	1798				
Nottoway	Bartlet	1808				
	Hines	1735				
	Edmunds	1808				
	Green	1708	yes	yes		yes

	Rogers	1808				
	Turner	1808	yes	yes		yes
	Woodson	1808	yes	yes		yes
Meherrin	King	1727				yes
	Major	1710				
	Querro	1712				
Gingaskin	Baker	1816				
	Liverpool	1788				
	Bingham	1831				
	Carter	1823	yes			yes
	Collins	1815				
	Driggers	1831				
	Francis	1823				
	Jeffrey	1815				
	Povell	1831				
	Press	1816				
	West	1813				
Chickahominy	Mush	1704	yes			
	Perry	1704				
Metomkin	Revell	1688				
Tuscarora	Blunt	1713				
	Jumper	1707				
	Mason	1707				
Seneca	Gils	1713				
Unknown	Bif	1711				
	Brown	1694	yes	yes	yes	yes
	Bradby	1710	yes	yes	yes	
	Fri	1767				
	Ridle	1767				

	Williamson	1727				
	Tuker	1710				
	Bass					
	Gibson	1640	yes			yes
	Langston	1710	yes			yes
	Bibens	1719				
	Bingham	1739				
	Black	1789	yes			yes
	Booth	1709				
Bowman derivative	Bowmer	1765	yes			yes
	Brooks	1754				
	Byrd	1754	yes	yes		yes
	Cockran	1765				
	Coleman	1793	yes	yes		
	Cook	1792				yes
	Cyprus	1728				
	Ellis	1750				
	Jones	1750	yes	yes	yes	
	Colley	1798	yes			
Choctaw*	Findley	1712	yes			
Unknown	Scott	1791	Charles City			yes
	Smith	1791	Charles City	yes		
	Redcross	1791	Charles City			
	Morris	1791	Charles City			
	Goff	1702	Surry County			
	Hatcher	1750	Goochland			
	Hatfield	1706	Stafford			

	Hicks	1818	Brunswick			
	Hill	1748		yes		
	Jacob	1752				
	Lang	1725	Northampton			
	Keys	1709				
	Lawrence ⁶⁴	1772	Middlesex			
	Matthews	1757	Cumberland			
	Newton	1770	Norfolk			
	Nutts	1774	Northampton			
	Patterson	1806	New Kent	yes		yes
	Peters ⁶⁵	1752	Lancaster	yes		
	Pinn	1748	Lancaster			
	Bagwell	1706	Somerset			
	Priss/Press	1730	Accomack			
	Ridle/Ridley	1767	Pittsylvania			

	Rosario	1730	Northampton	yes		
	Shepard	1721	Accomack			
	Stewart	1795	yes	yes	yes	yes
	Sunket	1766	Northampton			
	Tate	1833				
	Teage	1725				
	Venners/vena/viney, et c.	1791	Richmond			

⁶⁴ Also appears in 1870 census as Indian
https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/37555683:7163?tid=&pid=&queryId=5842d7d8048ab0a7a8cf3354cb33afd5&_phsrc=gCX156&_phstart=successSource

⁶⁵ Peters is seen again on Virginia death records in 1854

	Vicory	1757				
	Whitehurst	1782				
Catawba	Tyler/Tyree	1768		yes		yes

Appendix B: European Names Associated With Indian Families 19th Century

Tribe	Name	Appearance	County	On Free Mulatto and Negro Registry?	Considered Core Modern Chickahominy name?	Married a Core Modern Chickahominy name?	Married a Family considered Historical Chickahominy
Mattaponi & Pamunkey	Allmond						
	Arnold ⁶⁶						
	Tupponce ⁶⁷						
	Sykes						
	Dollings ⁶⁸	1870 US Census	Bolling Green				

⁶⁶ Listed as Indian in New Kent 1870 Census

https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/1864320:8756?tid=&pid=&queryId=aa0ec37a168eba919f4283aa69514baf&_phsrc=BVa220&_phstart=successSource

⁶⁷ Listed on 1870 census in King William county as Indian

https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/37049140:7163?tid=&pid=&queryId=5842d7d8048ab0a7a8cf3354cb33afd5&_phsrc=gCX155&_phstart=successSource

⁶⁸ [https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-](https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/39125096:7163?tid=&pid=&queryId=5842d7d8048ab0a7a8cf3354cb33afd5&_phsrc=gCX157&_phstart=successSource)

[content/view/39125096:7163?tid=&pid=&queryId=5842d7d8048ab0a7a8cf3354cb33afd5&_phsrc=gCX157&_phstart=successSource](https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/39125096:7163?tid=&pid=&queryId=5842d7d8048ab0a7a8cf3354cb33afd5&_phsrc=gCX157&_phstart=successSource)

	Jackson ⁶⁹	1860 US census	B: Virginia L: Kentuck				
	Thomas ⁷⁰	1850 US census					
	Lucas ⁷¹						
	Scott ⁷²						
Chickahomin y and Pamunkey	Sweat ⁷³						
	Harris ⁷⁴						
Chickahomin	Miles ⁷⁵						

⁶⁹ https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/39298087:7667?tid=&pid=&queryId=e280eb83b04e924369e95faa6f6270ae&_phsrc=gCX143&_phstart=successSource

⁷⁰ List on 1850 census for Joshua Thomas born in VA living in California as a Miner

<https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/18052872:8054>

⁷¹ Listed in 1850 census in Ohio, with family originally from Virginia

https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/13226093:8054?_phsrc=gCX137&_phstart=successSource&ml_rpos=13&queryId=9d21e997abbc1e1bc1c409065d8173e4

⁷² List as Indian in the Richmond 1860 census

https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/34021224:7667?tid=&pid=&queryId=51978f665aa649ba9f088ac579c0dbfd&_phsrc=BVa221&_phstart=successSource

⁷³ Listed as Indian in the 1870 census as Indian

https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/37011969:7163?tid=&pid=&queryId=a483dfadee559a3a1efa3f6c7a5be05e&_phsrc=oER251&_phstart=successSource

https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/37014353:7163?tid=&pid=&queryId=da1264226290eeab633a9e4a43c88961&_phsrc=BVa222&_phstart=successSource

⁷⁴ Harris listed as Indian in 1879 death certificate. Harris family that migrated to NC are founding members of the reorganized Greenville county Indian communities

https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/2599708:8756?tid=&pid=&queryId=1e351817674c642441edae810a2d156c&_phsrc=oER258&_phstart=successSource

⁷⁵ The Miles family appear to have been of Indian origin when Isaac miles was wone of the Pamunkey who signed a letter to the governor on 1836. Isaa is the son of Isaac (1766) and related to the Pleasant miles in the 1870 census listed as Indian

y & Pamunkey							
	Key ⁷⁶						
Various	Holmes						
Nottoway	Whitehead						
	Christian ⁷⁷						
Chickahominy	Bailey ⁷⁸						
Chickahominy & Pamunkey	Wynn ⁷⁹						
	Williams ⁸⁰						
	Dennis						

https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/13842485:6742?tid=&pid=&queryId=67692216a6b43246ade1050858f6068d&_phsrc=oER253&_phstart=successSource

⁷⁶ Listed as Indian in 1870 census

https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/37508811:7163?tid=&pid=&queryId=5842d7d8048ab0a7a8cf3354cb33afd5&_phsrc=gCX156&_phstart=successSource

⁷⁷ Listed as Indian in 1870 census with Baileys

https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/39268001:7163?tid=&pid=&queryId=a483dfadee559a3a1efa3f6c7a5be05e&_phsrc=oER251&_phstart=successSource

⁷⁸ Listed as mulatto in 1860 with Turner listed as Indian. Listed as Indian in 1870 Census in New Kent

https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/33793099:7667?tid=&pid=&queryId=6ae43d207a5122e70908677962915a64&_phsrc=oER252&_phstart=successSource

⁷⁹ Listed as Indian in 1870 census in New Kent

https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/37011969:7163?tid=&pid=&queryId=a483dfadee559a3a1efa3f6c7a5be05e&_phsrc=oER251&_phstart=successSource

https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/37011969:7163?tid=&pid=&queryId=da1264226290eeab633a9e4a43c88961&_phsrc=BVa222&_phstart=successSource

⁸⁰ Pops up on a marriage record in Michagin of Charles Williams born in Fredericksburg, VA. record is 1882

https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/1035605:9093?tid=&pid=&queryId=fc07590e69c789f57bed3fd8484cd9de&_phsrc=gCX151&_phstart=successSource

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	Branham						
	Beverly						
	Custalow						
	Cooper						
	Grimes						