The PORTOLAN

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25th Anniversary Issue of *The Portolan*

page 17

Jouhan de la Guilbaudière, his "Buccaneer's Atlas", and the Beginnings of French Trade along the Pacific Coast of South America ca. 1700

by Anthony Páez Mullan

"Isle de Chilloüé" by Sieur Hanche in *Description des principaux endroits de la mer du Sud depuis les 52 degres 30 minutes sud, oùest le d'Estoit du Magelland jusqu'au 41. degrez Nord...* by Jouhan de la Guilbaudière. ca. 1696. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

In This Issue

page 9
Rethinking Captain John Smith's Map of Virginia
by Stephen R. Potter

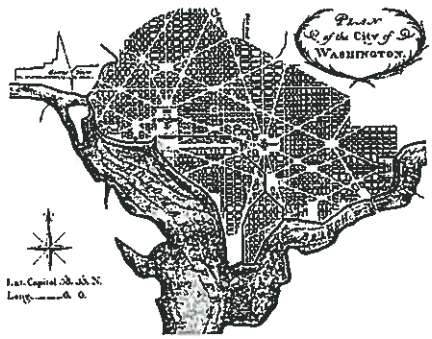
page 32
Recommended Publications from the Personal Libraries of Washington Map Society Members
by Bert Johnson

page 43
A review and update of the oldest picture map in Çatalhöyük
by Türkay Gökgöz

page 55
WMS Member's Map Evening
by Thomas Sander

page 56
WMS Annual Business Meeting
by Steve Vogel

page 59
WMS Annual Dinner
by Thomas Sander



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Inside

President's Fall 2009 Letter *Howard Lange*	2
Washington Map Society Meetings	3
Reopening of Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education, October 2009	5
Exhibitions and Meetings	6
Map Site Seeing	7
Ristow Prize Competition 2010	8
Rethinking Captain John Smith's Map of Virginia *Stephen R. Potter*	9
Jouhan de la Guilbaudière, his "Buccaneer's Atlas", and the Beginnings of French Trade along the Pacific Coast of South America ca. 1700 *Anthony Páez Mullan*	17
Recommended Publications from the Personal Libraries of Washington Map Society Members *Bert Johnson*	32
Cartographic properties and current situation of the oldest picture map in Çatalhöyük *Türkay Gökgöz*	43
Book Reviews: Census of Portolan Charts & Atlases *Bob Karrow*	50
Maps of Malta from the Collection of Albert Ganado *Howard Lange*	52
A Railroad Atlas of the United States in 1946 (Volume 3 – Indiana, Lower Michigan & Ohio) *John Baesch*	53
WMS Member's Map Evening, March 2009 *Thomas Sander*	55
WMS Business Meeting, April 2009 *Steve Vogel*	56
WMS Annual Dinner, May 2009 *Thomas Sander*	59
Spotlight on the WMS Membership	60
Cartographic Notes *Thomas Sander*	61
Recent Publications *Joel Kovarsky*	64

FROM THE EDITOR

This is the 25th anniversary issue of *The Portolan*. 25 continuous years of producing three issues per year, with enhancements many times along the way. Other map and discovery publications have also been published during these past 25 years, but several of them have ceased publication, or publish only infrequently. This journal's Editors have put in countless hours to bring you this publication, and it is with the support of the membership, contributors, the Society's Board and our advertisers that we are able to continue bringing you this journal. Do mention to these member dealers that you saw their advertising in *The Portolan*. Your comments on the journal and its articles are always welcome. In this issue the wide variety of our articles is again apparent. From a buccaneer's atlas, to the John Smith map of Virginia, to the results of a survey of what members consider their most useful cartographic publications, to current research on what may be the oldest map in the world. Several varied book reviews are included as well as reports on a number of WMS events. And of course the regular Recent Publications column, the membership spotlights, cartographic notes, and news of selected cartographic meetings and events. This issue is being sent to over 400 members and institutional subscribers in twenty countries.

Tom

Rethinking Captain John Smith's Map of Virginia

By Stephen R. Potter

Captain John Smith's Map of Virginia, first printed in 1612, is one of the best known maps of colonial America. Coolie Verner, a scholar of Virginia cartography, considered it "the most important map to appear in print during the period of early settlement and the one map of Virginia that has had the greatest influence upon map making for a longer period of time."[1] As late as 1873, it was referenced as a primary source in the Virginia-Maryland boundary dispute.[2]

The roots of Smith's map are found in the London Council's "Instructions given by way of Advice" written in late 1606. Once in Virginia, the colonies' leaders were to "imploy [forty men] for two Months in Discovery of the River above you and on the Contrary [country?] about you."[3] In addition to noting "what Comodities" they found, the main motivation behind the "Discovery" was to "Observe if you Can Whether the River on which you Plant Doth Spring out of Mountains or out of Lakes[.] [I]f it be out of any Lake the passage to the Other Sea will be the more Easy & it is Like Enough that Out of the same Lake you shall find Some Spring which run[s] the contrary way toward the East India Sea."[4] This belief in the nearness of a "passage to the Other Sea" is reflected on John Farrer's 1651 map of "Old Virginia and New" and it persisted for almost a century after the founding of Jamestown.[5]

The information for the Smith/Hole Map of Virginia was gathered over the period 1607–1609, during twenty trips which covered an estimated 4,488 miles.[6] Explorations made during the first year of the colony were recorded in two documents—one, a letter from Smith to a "Worshipfull friend in England," (published later in 1608 as a pamphlet titled "A True Relation of such Occurrences and Accidents of Note, as Hath Hapned in Virginia...") and, the other, a sketch map made by Smith.[7] This map, properly referred to as the Smith/Zuniga map, was copied by an Englishman and secretly sent, in September 1608, by Spain's ambassador to London, Don Pedro de Zuniga, to King Philip the III.[8]

On June 2, 1608, the day that Smith's letter and sketch map were sent to England via the ship *Phoenix*, Smith and fourteen men aboard a two-ton open barge, or shallop, embarked on his now-famous "Discovery" of Chesapeake Bay.[9] Smith's explorations were nothing short of astonishing. In little more than three months, "having sought all the inlets and rivers worth noting...," he and his companions traveled about 3,000 miles and mapped most of the bay using an astrolabe, sundial, compass, and a sounding lead.[10]

Although Smith's party did not find the hoped-for passage to the East India Sea, they did discover "what furres, metals, rivers, Rockes, nations, woods, fishings, vistuals and other commodities the land afforded."[11] Embedded in this colonial shopping list of things-to-be-discovered (perhaps, to belie its real importance) is the seemingly innocuous word "nations." And no mistake about it—Smith's treks around the Chesapeake were as much military missions to gather intelligence on the relative strengths and weaknesses of the Virginia Algonquians and other Indian groups as they were voyages of discovery.

When Captain Christopher Newport left Jamestown for England on December 1, 1608, he took with him the latest results of Smith's explorations—a "Mappe of the Bay and Rivers, with an annexed Relation of the Countries and Nations that inhabit them." It was these documents, expanded and updated with subsequent information that Smith transformed into his second pamphlet, "A Map of Virginia with a Description of the Countrey...."[12]

Smith engaged William Hole, a well-known portrait engraver and die-sinker at the royal mint, to cut the copper plate for printing his map. From its first printing in 1612 till its last in 1632, at least eleven different states of the Smith/Hole map were printed from the original copperplate—each state containing additions or modifications to the previous one.[13] (See Figure 1.)

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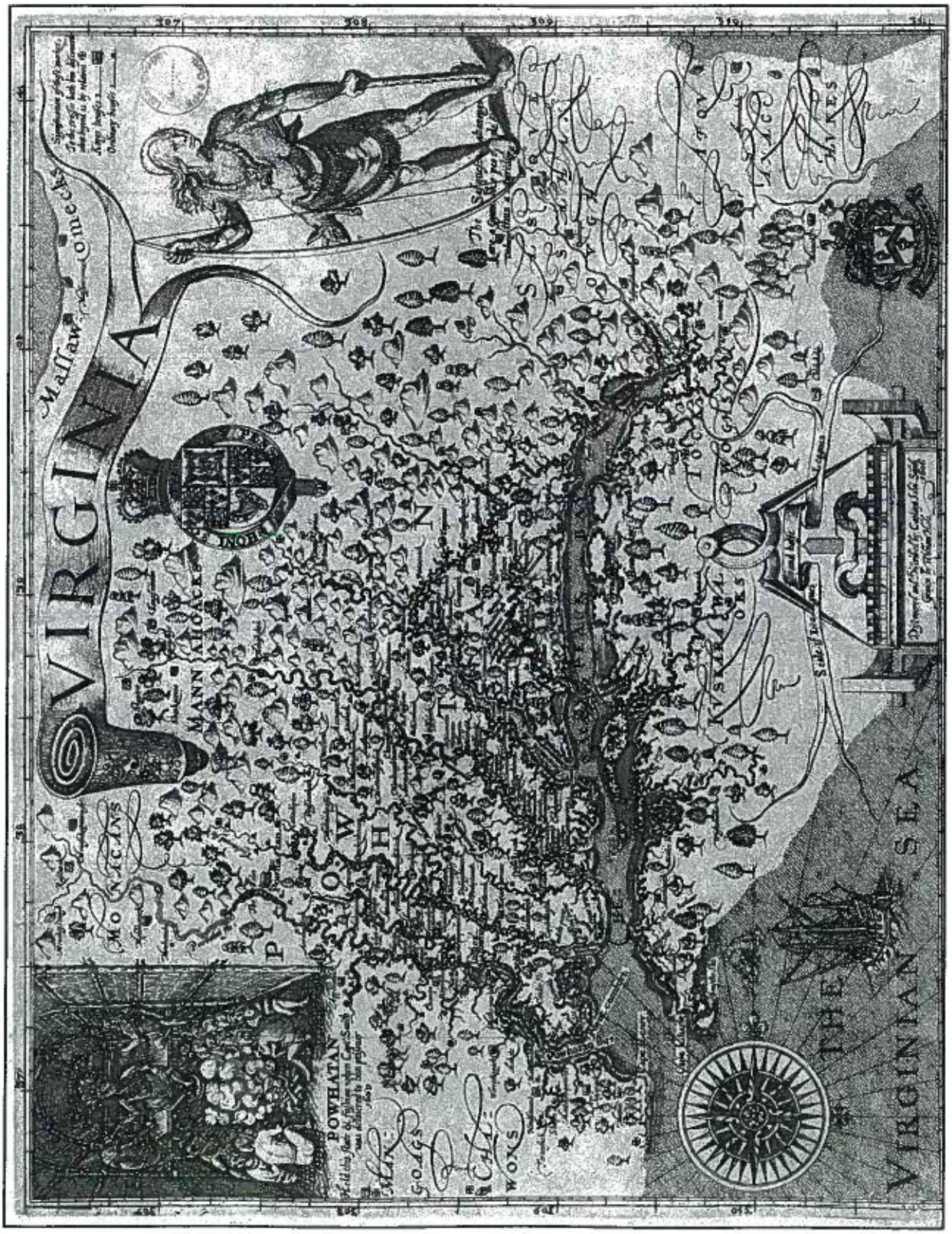

Figure 1. Smith, John. *Virginia / discovered and discribed by Captayn John Smith, 1606; graven by William Hole.* London, 1624. Sixth state. Oriented with north to the right. Courtesy, Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress (G3880 1624 .S541 Vault). Viewable at *http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gmdhtml/gmdhome.html*

There are several striking features about the map. Perhaps the most extraordinary feature is represented by the twenty-seven Maltese crosses. Smith made a point of directing the reader's attention to these symbols: "as far as you see the little Crosses on rivers, mountains, or other places [these] have been discovered; the rest was had by information of the Savages, and are set downe according to their instructions."[14] Being an astute observer, Smith was careful enough to indicate the limits of his exploration, something rarely done by his contemporaries.[15]

Certainly the most curious feature about the map—at least to modern viewers—is its orientation. The map appears "sideways," with "up" being west, rather than north. If you were a seventeenth-century sailor, however, the map would appear perfectly normal since maps of this period were often drawn from the perspective of a ship approaching land from the sea.[16]

Another interesting feature is the way in which the 166 places of American Indian settlement were designated—either as "King's howses," represented by diminutive longhouses, or "Ordinary howses," shown as circles with a dot in the center. To fully understand their meaning, we must briefly examine the political structure of the Algonquian-speaking peoples of the Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina coastal plains.

Although the degree of social and political centralization varied among these groups of village agriculturalists, all of them were chiefdoms—pyramids of power with major and minor leaders holding forth over major and minor subdivisions of the group; a chain of command linking paramount to middle range and local level chiefs. When the English landed at Jamestown in 1607, they unwittingly settled in the midst of the most politically complex Indian group in the Chesapeake Bay region, the Powhatans. Named for the paramount chief who governed the majority of the Virginia Algonquians, the Powhatan chiefdom was the largest and most centralized of the southern Algonquian polities, incorporating thirty or so local chiefdoms and at least 15,000 people. At the top of the pyramid was the paramount chief, or the *Mamanatowick*, Powhatan. Beneath Powhatan were the district chiefs, or *werowances*, who ruled the local chiefdoms. Below them were the sub-chiefs, or "lesser werowances."[17]

This pyramid of power is reflected on Smith's map. The symbol of a king's house represented the town where the *werowance* of a local chiefdom lived. These have been likened to territorial or district capitals. With the exception of the Chickahominy, ordinary houses represent towns within a *werowance's* territory ruled by lesser werowances. The Chickahominy were not part of Powhatan's chiefdom in 1607 and, therefore, they were not governed by a *werowance*. Instead, the Chickahominy were ruled by a council of eight great men, or *munguys*—with no *werowance*, there was no need on Smith's map for a king's house in Chickahominy territory.[18] (See Figure 2.)

While Smith's map has long been recognized as a valuable source for the location of Indian towns, native cultur-

Figure 2. (Inset) A detail from Smith's map showing the Chickahominy River. There is no "King's howse" because the Chickhominy Indians were governed by a council of eight great men and not a chief or *werowance*. (Courtesy, Library of Congress)

al groups, and place names, it is much more than this. By combining historical chronology, ethnohistory, historical linguistics, and anthropology, one can begin to read between the engraved lines and transform the map from a static, geographical representation of Indian settlements to a dynamic, native cultural landscape.

Let us start with the place where the man "Powhatan" was born—the town of Powhatan located below the falls of the James River near modern Richmond, Virginia. Commonly, the place called Powhatan has been translated as "town at the falls."[19] However, the name was likely derived from a cognate of Narrangansett *powwaw*, meaning "priest." Using this information, Philip Barbour translated Powhatan as "Medicine-man's village."[20] Given the symbolic and political significance of the town to the man Powhatan and his chiefdom, Frederic Gleach suggests "one who dreams," with the town named after the person. For it is as the *Mamanatowick* that Powhatan served as a mediator between the secular and sacred worlds, as both a peace chief—concerned with everyday internal matters—and a shaman.[21]

Sometime between the 1550s and 1580s, Powhatan began his career as paramount chief when he inherited a number of local chiefdoms along the James and York rivers. They were the Powhatan, Arrohateck, Appamatuck, Pamunkey, Youghtanund, and Mattaponi. The territories inhabited by these groups formed a crescent from the south bank of the James River, below the fall zone, north-northeast to the upper York River.[22]

Driven by "certayne Prophesies" related by his priests that "from Chesapeake Bay a Nation should arise, which should dissolve and give end to his empier," Powhatan and his brother, Opechancanough, the War Chief, expanded the paramount chiefdom eastward to the coast.[23] Between the late 1500s and 1608, Powhatan is reputed to have attacked the coastal chiefdoms of Kecoughtan, at the end of The Peninsula near Old Point Comfort; the Chesapeake, on the southside of the James River at its mouth; and last, the Payankatank, on the Middle Peninsula along the river of the same name. By the end of 1608, through inheritance, intimidation, and the persuasion of power, Powhatan had incorporated all the groups (but the Chickahominy) between the falls, and the James and York rivers and Chesapeake Bay, into his chiefdom.[24]

Probably before 1600, and certainly before the settling of Jamestown, Powhatan established his primary place of residence at Werowocomoco, located midway along the north bank of the York River. From this vantage point, Powhatan was more centrally located to affect the governance of those Virginia Algonquians who paid him tribute.[25] Werowocomoco means, incidentally, "rich, royal place," or simply "King's howse."[26]

The rapid expansion of the Powhatan chiefdom during the last quarter of the sixteenth century must have made the local chiefdoms of the lower Rappahannock River uneasy. Not wishing to suffer the same fate as the original inhabitants of Kecoughtan or Chesapeake, many of the groups moved from the south to the north bank of the Rappahannock, putting the river between them and Powhatan. By the time Smith explored the river in 1608, only seven towns were observed along the Rappahannock's southern or right bank, while an astounding thirty-five towns were seen along the left bank.[27]

The politics of native expansion and inter-group competition also led to the complete abandonment of some areas. For example, there is a conspicuous absence on Smith's map of any settlement along the western shore of Chesapeake Bay north of the Patuxent River in Maryland. Smith explored this area as noted by the Maltese crosses on his map and in his writings where he stated, unequivocally, that the Bolus or Patapsco River was "not inhabited."[28] What could have caused this? The answer is quite simple, really—no sane person would have attempted to live in an area contested by both the Susquehannock and the Massawomeck.

In 1607, the Iroquoian-speaking Susquehannock lived near the head of Chesapeake Bay along the lower Susquehanna River in what is now Pennsylvania, but claimed as their territory the entire Susquehanna Valley, vast areas on either side of the bay, and a hunting and trapping preserve that stretched all the way to the South Branch of the Potomac River where archaeological evidence of satellite villages has been found near Romney and Moorefield, West Virginia. Susquehannock raiding parties were striking Algonquian towns along the Patuxent and Potomac rivers.[29]

Somewhere northwest of the Susquehannock were their "mortal enimies" and linguistic cousins, the Massawomeck. As Amorlock, a Siouan-speaking Manahoac Indian, vividly described them, the Massawomeck had "so many men [that] they made warre with all the world."[30] Indeed, when the Massawomeck were not using the Patapsco River as a quick water route to trade with the Cuskarawock or Nanticoke of the Eastern Shore, they busied themselves by

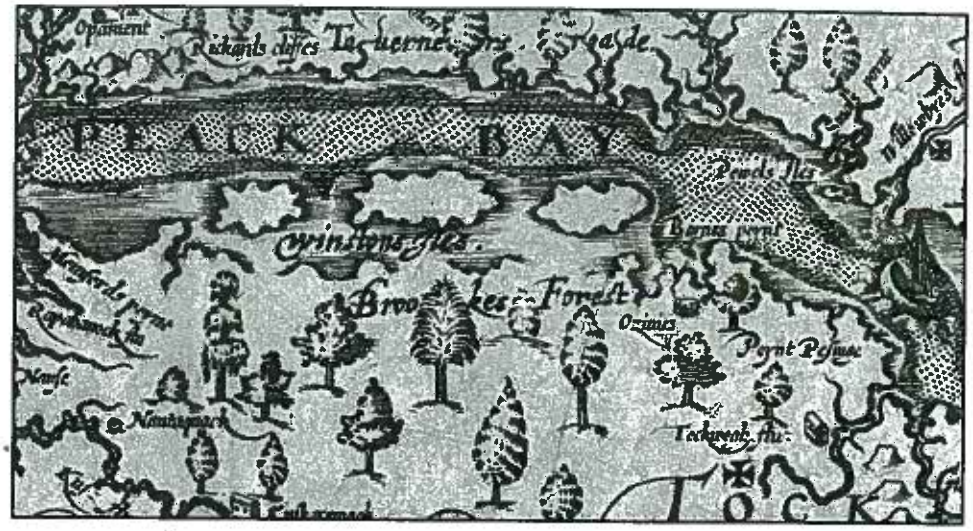

Figure 3. (Inset) "Brookes Forest" represents an area of the Eastern Shore that Smith bypassed during his explorations, which explains the discontinuous shoreline, lack of detail, and so many trees. (Courtesy, Library of Congress)

attacking the Susquehannock, the Tockwogh and other Indian groups near the head of Chesapeake Bay, the Algonquians of the Patuxent and Potomac rivers, and the Manahoac of north-central piedmont Virginia. Exactly who the Massawomeck were is a matter of continuing debate, with some scholars hypothesizing that they were one or several members of the Five Nation Iroquois, while others make the case for a group known only through archaeological evidence as the Mononogahela Tradition of southwestern Pennsylvania.[31]

On the other hand, if an area on Smith's map is devoid of settlements, one cannot assume it was uninhabited. Take, for instance, the area marked "Brookes Forest" on the Eastern Shore—the shore is marked by a broken line, there is a conspicuous lack of detail, and an overabundance of trees. (See Figure 3.) An explanation for this apparent disparity on the map is found in the 1612 "Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia" and, again, in Smith's 1624 *Generall Historie of Virginia*. Exploring up the Eastern Shore as far as the Nanticoke River and finding little fresh water, Smith's party headed west across the bay. Later, when Smith returned to the Eastern Shore, he explored the upper bay and never ventured any farther south than the Tockwogh or Sassafras River. Consequently, he completely missed the Chester, Wye, Miles, and Choptank rivers, and any Indian settlements along their banks.[32]

On another occasion, Smith narrowly missed documenting seven towns strung along Quiyough or Aquia Creek, in modern Stafford County, Virginia. Were it not for his persistence in searching for "a glistering metal the Salvages told us they had from Patawomeck," Smith never would have gone so far up the creek. The possibility of discovering a silver mine lured him to journey eight or so miles into the interior and to, coincidently, chart the towns along the way.[33]

Not only did access to and control of the Chesapeake trade cause competition between the Iroquoian-speaking Susquehannock and Massawomeck, it also heightened competition between local Algonquian chiefdoms. Let us consider a tale of two towns—Nacotchtanck and Patawomeck. (See Figure 4.) William Tooker translated Nacotchtanck to mean "at the trading town."[34] Patawomeck

Figure 4. (Inset) The chief's or *werowance's* towns of Patawomeck and Nacotchtanck were strategically located to control trade from Chesapeake Bay up the Potomac River and into the interior, and vice versa. (Courtesy, Library of Congress)

has been translated by Philip Barbour as "trading center."[35] The territory controlled by the *werowances* of both towns lay to the east of the fall zone (shown on Figure 4 by a Maltese cross) and straddled the great natural trade route of the Potomac River, linking Chesapeake Bay and the Appalachian Mountains. Nacotchtanck and Patawomeck probably functioned something like gateway communities situated astride constricted trade routes, which provided opportunities for the werowances to control the flow of long-distance trade up and down the river.[36]

Sometime prior to 1600, the Nacotchtanck and Patawomeck had been "ancient allies"—members of a larger alliance that included at least three to five groups in Maryland and two in Virginia. According to Piscataway oral tradition, recorded by the English in 1660, this inter-group alliance was led by a paramount leader, the *Tayac* of the Piscataway, who was vested with some degree of centralized power and authority. Apparently, competition over trade, among other things, caused the Patawomeck to break away from the larger polity. By the time Smith contacted the Patawomeck and Natcotchtanck in 1608, they were inveterate enemies.[37]

Native politics and inter-group relations not only influenced the distribution of aboriginal peoples over the landscape, so did the seasonal abundance of certain resources. Consider, for example, the names of three settlements along the Potomac River's right bank just below the falls. Starting with the settlement on the right and moving down river, the names are translated as "fishing place," middle fishing place," and "fish—plenty of."[38] Beginning in late winter and continuing through August, anadromous fish—fish that live in salt water but spawn in fresh—like herring and sturgeon, made the trip to the area below the falls.[39] When Smith first recorded these three settlements it was the latter part of June. "In Aprill they begin to plant," he wrote, "but their chiefe plantation is in May, and so they continue till the midst of June."[40] After the fields were planted, Smith remarked that "some disperse themselves in small companies and live upon fish...."[41] Most likely, these three settlements were seasonal fishing camps and not agricultural towns.

Seasonality was also a factor in the location of the communal hunting camp of Rasawrack, shown on the Smith/Zuniga map near the headwaters of the Chickahominy River. In December 1607, while exploring and mapping the upper drainages of the river, Smith was captured by a large hunting party lead by Opechancanough.[42] After taking him captive, Smith wrote "we returned to Rasawrack, the first town they brought me to, where binding the Mats in bundles, they marched two days journey."[43] This is a description of the dismantling of the Algonquian's "hunting howses," which were described as "not so laboured, substanciall, or arteficiall as their other, but are like our Soldiers Cabyns the frame sett up in twoo or three howres, cast over head with Matts, which the women beare after them...."[44]

It is understandable why the anonymous annotator of Smith's "True Relation" was perplexed and wrote that there was no such name and place as "Rasawrack." The name means "in-between place," (in this case in between the headwaters of the Chickahominy and York rivers) and it denoted a temporary hunting camp occupied during the communal deer hunts in late fall and early winter.[45]

The ethnohistorian Christian Feest has suggested that "some differences in opinion between Smith and his anonymous annotator about the existence of certain Chickahominy towns may be tentatively explained by the difficulties in trying to ascertain whether individual hamlets belonged to some other village or constituted an independent settlement."[46] It is obvious that the English did have trouble determining where one town began and another ended, which is probably why on Smith's first map, the Smith/Zuniga map, places of Indian habitation do not appear as a single symbol but as groups of dots. And, although individual symbols are used on Smith's Map of Virginia, the legend defines the longhouse and the circle with a dot, not as towns, but as "King's Howses," and "ordinary howses." Most likely this is because some of the Algonquian towns consisted of longhouses scattered over many acres, which did not conform to an Englishman's idea of a town as an enclosure, cluster, or aggregation of houses.[47]

Having presented a brief history of Captain John Smith's Map of Virginia and some interpretations of the dynamic nature of the American-Indian cultural landscape contained within its lines, what conclusions can be reached about Smith's map, itself? First, it does not depict a moment frozen in time. The information it is based on was gathered during different seasons of the year, over several years. Second, Smith missed entire river systems (the Chester and Choptank rivers, for example) and many Indian settlements. Although a Maltese cross exists at the head of all the rivers Smith ventured up, it does not mean every

stream emptying into these rivers was investigated. Third, while many ordinary settlements were missed (perhaps, because some were temporary and/or seasonal), fewer of the *werowance's* towns went unnoticed because of the political and military importance of knowing where the leaders lived. And, finally, since Smith had greater interaction and experience with the Algonquians of the James and York rivers, his settlement locations for them are more reliable than those for other parts of Chesapeake Bay.

—Stephen R. Potter, Ph.D., is the Regional Archaeologist for the National Park Service's National Capital Region. He is the author of Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs: The Development of Algonquian Culture in the Potomac Valley *(University of Virginia Press, 1993) and the co-editor of and contributing author to* Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War *(University of Florida Press, 2000). This article is based on a talk he gave to the Washington Map Society in February 2008. An earlier version of this article was presented on January 6, 1995 at the 28th Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology in Washington, D.C.*

ENDNOTES

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2 E.M. Sanchez-Saavedra, *A Description of the Country: Virginia's Cartographers and Their Maps, 1607–1881* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1975), 12.

3 Philip L. Barbour, ed., *The Jamestown Voyages under the First Charter, 1606–1609*, Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., no. 136, vol. 1 (Cambridge: University Press for the Society, 1969), 51.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Ben C. McCary, "John Smith's Map of Virginia, With a Brief Account of its History," in *Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklet*, no. 3 (Williamsburg: Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corporation, 1957), 1.

6 Edward W. Haile, *John Smith in the Chesapeake* (Champlain VA: RoundHouse, 2008), 1. Using original texts, Haile reconstructs the twenty trips Smith took during his 892 days in Virginia, providing both narrative and commentary. This detailed study is a necessary companion to *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith*, ed. Philip L. Barbour, 3 vols. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986).

7 Barbour, *Complete Works*, 5–6; Barbour, *Jamestown Voyages*, 238–40.

8 *Ibid*, 235, 238–40; Barbour, *Complete Works*, 127. Spanish spies were afoot in Jamestown, as well as London. George Kendall was arrested and executed at Jamestown in late 1607, on suspicion of being a Spanish agent. See also William M. Kelso, *Jamestown, The Buried Truth* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006), 40, 132.

9 William Simmonds, "The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia," (1612) in *Complete Works*, 1:224; John R. Hebert, "The Westward Vision: Seventeenth-Century Virginia," in *Virginia in Maps: Four Centuries of Settlement, Growth, and Development*, ed. Richard W. Stephenson and Marianne M. McKee, (Richmond: The Library of Virginia, 2000), 10.

10 Simmonds, "The Proceedings," 232; Haile, *John Smith in the Chesapeake*, 3, back cover.

11 Simmonds, "The Proceedings," 227–28.

12 John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles*, (1624) in *Complete Works*, 2:189; J. A. Leo Lemay, *The American Dream of Captain John Smith* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1991), 43.

13 Coolie Verner, "Smith's Virginia and Its Derivatives," in *The Map Collector's Circle*, no. 45 (London: Robert Stockwell Ltd., 1968), 9–10, 25–26.

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15 Lemay, *American Dream*, 43.

16 Sanchez-Saavedra, *Virginia Cartographers*, 12–13.

17 Stephen R. Potter, *Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs: The Development of Algonquian Culture in the Potomac Valley* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993), 1, 14.

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19 Helen C. Rountree, *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 11.

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22 Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia Through Four Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 25.
23 William Strachey, *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania* (1612), ed. Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund, Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser. no. 103 (London: University Press for the Society, 1953), 104.
24 Potter, *Commoners*, 18–19.
25 Martin D. Gallivan, "Spatial Analysis of John Smith's Map of Virginia," *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology* 13 (1997): 147–48, 158. Recent documentary and archaeological research has confirmed the location of Werowocomoco on Purtan Bay, Gloucester County, VA. See Martin D. Gallivan, et al., *The Werowocomoco Research Project: Background and 2003 Archaeological Field Season Results* (Richmond: Department of Historic Resources, 2006), Research Report Series, no. 17.
26 Barbour, "Earliest Reconnaissance," 302; Strachey, *Historie of Travell*, 57.
27 Potter, *Commoners*, 177. A preliminary archaeological survey along portions of the Rappahannock River's north bank supports the idea that native populations increased late in prehistory. See Douglas W. Sanford and Michael J. Klein, "An Archaeological Assessment of Richmond County, Virginia," (Fredericksburg VA: Mary Washington College Center for Historic Preservation, 1994).
28 Smith, "Map of Virginia," 148.
29 Francis Jennings, "Susquehannock," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 15, *Northeast*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 363; Potter, *Commoners*, 175–76; Jeffrey H. Maymon, personal communication, 2004.
30 Smith, *Generall Historie of Virginia*, 176.
31 James F. Pendergast, "The Massawomeck: Raiders and Traders into the Chesapeake Bay in the Seventeenth Century," in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 81, pt. 2 (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1991), 34–38; Potter, *Commoners*, 176, 179; "Final Minutes of the Massawomeck Round Table," (Shepherdstown WV: June 3–4, 2006).
32 Helen C. Rountree, Wayne E. Clark, and Kent Mountford, *John Smith's Chesapeake Voyages, 1607–1609* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 118, 209–212. This indispensable reference includes everything from a discussion of Smith's two expeditions to map the bay to a reconstruction of the Chesapeake environment and its native people as seen by Smith. The book ends with an examination of the changes that have occurred in the bay since Smith's explorations. See also Thomas E. Davidson, "Relations between the Powhatan and the Eastern Shore," in *Powhatan Foreign Relations, 1500–1722*, ed. Helen C. Rountree (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993), 142–43.
33 Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, 44–45; Haile, *John Smith in the Chesapeake*, 49–51.
34 William W. Tooker, "On the Meaning of the Name Anacostia," *American Anthropologist* 7, no. 4 (1894): 389–93.
35 Barbour, "Earliest Reconnaissance," 296.
36 Potter, *Commoners*, 160.
37 *Ibid*, 149–150.
38 Barbour, "Earliest Reconnaissance," 286, 293. The Algonquian place names are Namassingakent, Assaomeck, and Namoraughquend.
39 Potter, *Commoners*, 107.
40 Smith, "Map of Virginia," 157.
41 *Ibid*, 162.
42 John Smith, "A True Relation of such Occurrences and Accidents of Note, as Hath Hapned in Virginia," (1608) in *Complete Works*, 1:45–47.
43 *Ibid*, 52/
44 Strachey, *Historie of Travell*, 83.
45 Barbour, "The Earliest Reconnaissance," 298; Potter, *Commoners*, 40–41.
46 Christian F. Feest, "Seventeenth Century Virginia Algonquian Population Estimates," in *Archaeological Society of Virginia Quarterly Bulletin* (1973) 28, no. 2: 68.
47 E. Randolph Turner, III and Antony F. Opperman, "Archaeological Manifestations of the Virginia Company Period: A Summary of Surviving Powhatan and English Settlements in Tidewater Virginia, circa A.D. 1607–1624," in *The Archaeology of 17th-Century Virginia*, ed. Theodore R. Reinhart and Dennis J. Pogue (Richmond: The Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1993), 72–75. See also "town," in *Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield MA: G & C Merriam Company, 1967), 936.