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"A Graine of Marveilous Great Increase": A Political Landscape Approach to Powhatan Maize Production and Exchange in Seventeenth Century Virginia

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ABSTRACT

This study evaluates political and economic relations in the seventeenth century Coastal Plain of Virginia by combining cartographic and edaphic evidence of Powhatan cultural landscapes with written accounts of exchange events involving Native residents and English colonists. In an effort to understand political relations in early colonial Virginia, I focus on spatial patterns related to Native maize production and exchange by comparing accounts of "Indian fields" in seventeenth century land patents with descriptions of Virginia Company era transactions between Native Americans and colonists involving maize. I evaluate these references against cartographic information regarding 1) soil fertility and 2) Powhatan chiefly centers in order to frame the cultural geography of maize production.

Beyond its role as a staple in Powhatan subsistence, maize became a critical component in the surpluses that underwrote a chiefly elite and a powerful tool in the inter-cultural relations of the Contact Period. By synthesizing disparate lines of evidence regarding the role of maize in the Powhatan political economy, this analysis offers a new perspective on social relations within early seventeenth century Virginia. Specifically, the evidence considered in this study is relevant for understanding the role maize played in the creation and transformation of a political landscape defined in large part by the Powhatan chiefdom and the newly-established Jamestown Colony. The combined evidence suggests that this political landscape was shaped by a conglomeration of political centers and political elites who struggled to maintain their own power while negotiating new political, economic, and social relationships with the colonists.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

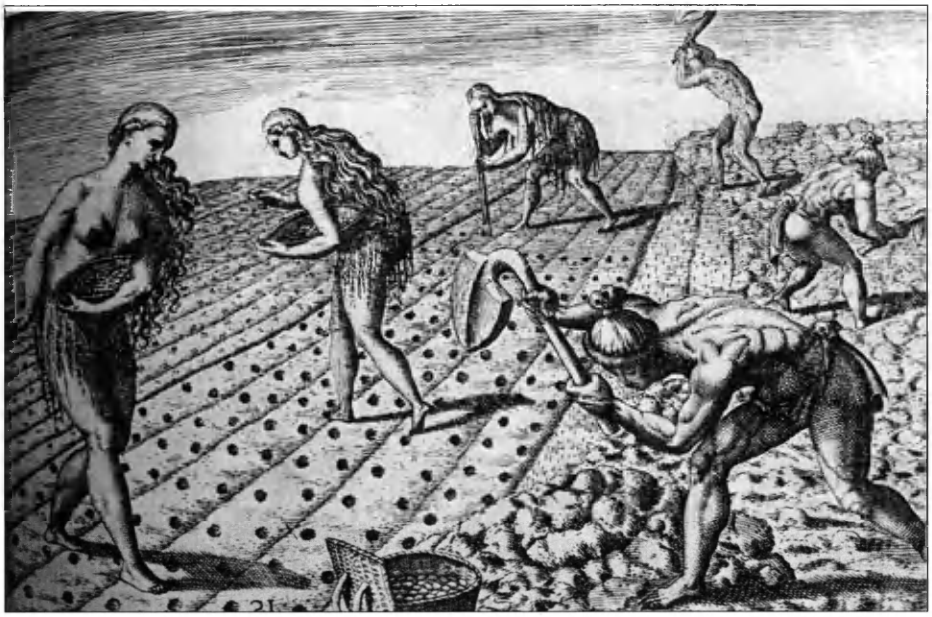

Figure 1 **Theodore De Bry engraving of a 1585 John White water coloring of Florida Indians working in their agricultural fields (Lorant 1945).**

During the early seventeenth century English colonists settling at Jamestown encountered a Native polity of considerable complexity that dominated much of the Virginia Tidewater region. Written accounts of the Powhatan chiefdom from such colonists as John Smith (Smith 1608; Smith1612; Barbour 1986; Haile 1998), William Strachey (Strachey 1953), and Henry Spelman (Haile 1998) offer researchers remarkable access to the Native worlds of the Chesapeake region during the early contact era. These accounts, though, are incomplete and heavily biased with a colonialist frame of reference

that colored English conceptions of the Virginia Natives. Smith and others emphasize strategies and tactics through which the colonists manipulated Virginia Algonquian societies, due in part to the Natives' incomplete understanding of English practices and intentions in Virginia. Such colonial accounts often emphasize, and occasionally over-emphasize, the influence and authority of the Powhatans' paramount chief, the man known to the English as Powhatan.

As noted in several studies of the Powhatan ethnohistory (e.g., Potter, 1989, Hantman 1990, Gleach 1997, Fausz 1985, Gallivan 2003), it is clear from the Jamestown chronicles that the Virginia Algonquians also exploited the colonists' incomplete understanding of the Powhatan world. This thesis expands upon such research on Native manipulation of early colonial relationships through a consideration of regional political economy. The study explores Powhatan political dynamics through a landscape approach focusing on the spatial organization of maize production and exchange. I combine documentary accounts, including records of land patents and exchange relations, with evidence of Native land use patterns and the environmental parameters that influenced these patterns. My primary goal is to reconsider the early colonial history in the Chesapeake region through a perspective emphasizing the Native political economy of the early seventeenth century in which maize production on fertile floodplains gained considerable importance. A basic point of departure for this research is the notion that understanding Powhatan political economy requires consideration of the spatial dynamics and exchange relations that operated on a regional scale encompassing the Virginia Tidewater.

The following discussion outlines the Powhatan cultural context with an emphasis on the changing role that maize (i.e. corn) production played before turning to a political landscape approach. Subsequent chapters expand upon this theme by considering the Powhatans' regional political economy from the perspective of documentary accounts, land patent records, soil survey data, and seventeenth century exchange. A central conclusion of this research is that with the arrival of the Jamestown colonists Virginia Algonquians began to implement strategies outside the orbit of chief Powhatan by manipulating a colonial political economy powered by the English demand for maize.

The Powhatan and Corn

The paramount chiefdom the English colonists encountered in 1607 was comprised of Algonquian Indians who gathered, hunted, and farmed for their existence. These versatile subsistence strategies were a response to the various food stuffs found on the Virginia Coastal Plain, the availability of which fluctuated seasonally. Some researchers (e.g., Turner 1976) have suggested that corn contributed at least half of the food consumed by the coastal inhabitants, resulting in subsistence strategies dominated by cultivation. Consequently, Virginia Algonquians led a sedentary lifestyle with some seasonal mobility. This horticultural (i.e. low intensity food production), rather than agricultural, existence resulted in part from the less than reliable Powhatan crop yields (due to drought and frost) as well as the abundance of other types of seasonal food including fish and shellfish (Miller 2001:109-126). At the time of initial English settlement corn was the primary crop, as it was in many other parts of North America at the time of contact, because it was relatively hardy, produced a good yield, and could be

stored through winter. The method of cultivation practiced by Virginia Algonquians was slash and burn or swidden farming, often entailing the planting of maize, beans, and squash in the same plot one year after burning the field (Potter 1993:33-34). Corn was harvested in summer and in fall, in time to be stored for winter use (Strachey 1953). These two harvests represent two varieties of corn with varying rates of maturity. Below is just one of many early historical accounts of corn, the "wheat" of the "New World."

> Pagatowr, a kinde of graine so called by the inhabitants; the same in the West Indies is called Mayze: English men call it Guinney wheate or Turkie wheate, according to the names of the countreys from whence the like hath beene brought. The graine is about the bignesse of our ordinary English peaze and not much different in forme and shape: but of divers colours: some white, some red, some yellow, and some blew. All of them yeelde a very white and sweete flowre: beeing used according to his kinde it maketh a very good bread. Wee made of the same in the countreyssome mault, whereof was brued as good ale as was to bee desired. So likewise by the help of hops therof may bee made as good Beere. It is a graine of marveilous great increase...
>
> (Harriot 1972:13-14)

Corn was mentioned often by early explorers due to its prominence in Native subsistence strategies and because early explorers needed a subsistence crop of their own. The colonists' met this immediate need with corn, "...a grain of marveilous great increase." The colonists could store corn through the winter and acquire it with mere "trinkets" through trade with the Indians. Historical texts recount how the English colonists manipulated this situation through force, trickery, and the trade of "trinkets" that included various iron implements, copper, and glass beads. However, such histories

rarely consider how Virginia Algonquians also manipulated these negotiations for their own ends, framed by their own political and cultural world.

Despite the importance of maize to Powhatan subsistence and to the early colonists, the crop appears to have played a relatively modest role, within Native political and economic relations prior to English settlement. The Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom, headed by Powhatan (the paramount chief), dominated much of coastal Virginia when the English arrived. Powhatan had gained this status through chiefly privilege and inheritance, as well as through coercion. This included the collection of tribute (skins, meat, shell and copper beads and ornaments, and other food stuffs) and the gathering of human resources to fight battles and work in the paramount chief's agricultural fields. This influence was maintained across the Virginia Tidewater by a series of "middlemen" or werowances, lesser chiefs in charge of the various villages that comprised Powhatan's Paramount Chiefdom. In return for these chiefly privileges bestowed by Powhatan, Powhatan provided feasts and bestowed the lesser chiefs or elites with their own status.

Corn played a small, but significant role in this system. Scholars agree that corn was produced for tribute, most likely to provide food for feasting guests or possibly for limited redistribution to the needy (Gleach 1997:25-26; Potter 1993:17-18). Henry Spelman, who lived with the Algonquians for two years, reports that village commoners regularly came together to plant and harvest a chief's field, thus producing additional corn supplies (along with other crops) presumably for personal consumption by the chief's household (Haile 1998:493). Though corn was collected for tribute and was collectively produced for the chief it appears that corn supplies controlled by the chief were small and of little economic or political importance, used only for personal

consumption and minimal redistribution. In all, at the time of contact corn played a minor role in Native political strategies, though it was important to household subsistence. It is important to remember, though, that the Powhatans produced only modest surpluses of corn through the collection and storing of corn through winter. Such winter stores may have served as a surplus, subject to the strategic manipulation by both the Powhatans and the English.

The Jamestown colonists were aware that the cultivation of corn was a primary subsistence strategy for Virginia Indians as Native cornfields were visible on the landscape (Harriot 1972:13-14). The colonists were no doubt also conscious of the supplies of surplus corn stored for winter use. They needed corn and saw that the Indians could provide it. The English initiated the trade for corn with any Indian group or individual they could, even stopping canoes along the various waterways to trade for the foodstuff. Wahunsenacawh (Powhatan) soon tried to control the trade of corn and the influx of goods the English were willing to trade for it, including iron tools, copper, and beads. Powhatan sought influence over the distribution of these goods, which represented prestige items in the Algonquian world and were received as tribute to the paramount chief (Powhatan) or sub-chiefs.

The Social Life of Maize: Corn as a Political Object

Early in the colonial encounter corn assumed a new role in the political and economic strategies of the Virginia Algonquians. Items that embodied economic and political value were items that suggested wealth and status. Thus corn, an item primarily produced for direct consumption, lacked a true collective use which would have provided

a reason for its control by chiefly elites prior to the arrival of the English. Rather, chiefly privilege in the Chesapeake region appears to have revolved around the control of prestige goods, items that suggested wealth and status (primarily copper and beads). Powhatan may have had chiefly privileges, though it appears that he did not control corn production or horticultural fields on a large-scale, institutionalized basis. As detailed in the chapters that follow, I suggest that the arrival of English settlers triggered dramatic changes in the political and economic importance of corn. The English colonists, men in control of objects made from copper, iron, and glass that resonated in the Native world of prestige good exchange, desperately sought corn. The introduction of this new element into the Chesapeake appears to have triggered a crisis within the Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom, pitting the traditional system against a new Chesapeake world order influenced by the English need of corn. The paramount chiefdom was held together, for a time, through Powhatan's influence and the influence he held over his lesser chiefs. With the changing importance of corn these lesser chiefs soon had leverage over Powhatan because they, not Powhatan, controlled corn producing areas and, soon, the trade of corn to the English. By the second and third decades of the seventeenth century, the Powhatan chiefdom began to dissolve into separate constituents centered on various villages that originally comprised the paramountcy. The English eventually made the trade of corn obsolete shortly after the 1622 uprising when they no longer attempted to exchange "trinkets" for corn but rather took it by force.

This crisis, triggered by the advent of English settlement and exchange, was met with an existing framework of cultural practices. Ideas drawn from practice theory, as discussed in Chapter III, are useful in explaining Powhatan's motives for dealing with the

English as he did. They also help contextualize new roles assumed by werowances, local leaders in the region. Powhatan initially tried to control the outcome of exchange with the English colonists through the traditional means of a paramount chief, but the developing role of corn as a commodity retarded these efforts. No longer were prestige items received as tribute but rather they were received as payment in exchange for corn. An effort to characterize this developing political economy, as addressed in Chapter III, helps to frame the changing role of corn in the Chesapeake. Powhatan's werowances, acting in terms of an existing order in which collection of tribute and control of prestige items resulted in political prominence, sought to gain greater status. They pursued this status independently of Powhatan, through their own control of localized high corn producing areas.

Such actions, as that of the werowances, may be understood in terms of a practice-based (Bourdieu 1977) approach. Under these approaches people enact or represent traditions in ways that continuously alter them (Pauketat 2002:79). Practices are the performance of people's 'habitus' or internalized social context (Bourdieu 1977). Such contexts have 'doxic' (i.e. "commonsensical") referents which often lead to the recreation of tradition. People's internalized social contexts and subsequent practices are not immune from change, as they are open to unpredictable circumstances, surroundings, and participants (e.g., Sahlins 1985). The werowances in the Virginia Coastal Plain acted according to traditional means of gaining status by acquiring prestige items from English colonists. In the process, the elites altered those traditions and changed the political field.

A political economy approach is also central to this study as it directs attention to the changing role of corn from a subsistence item produced for consumption to an item

produced for exchange. The changing social relations implicated in the transformation were central to the early colonial history of the Chesapeake.

Categories of Evidence on the Powhatan Political Landscape

The Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom and the nature of its political and economic systems have been discussed by a range of scholars from various vantage points (Reinhart and Hodges 1992; Fausz 1985; Feest 1973; Gleach 1997; Potter 1989, 1993; Potter and Waselkov 1994; Rountree and Turner 1994; Turner 1976, 1993; Waselkov 1989; Williamson 1992; Mallios 1998; Gallivan 1997; Gleach 1997; McCartney 1984; McCary and Barka 1977; Potter 1993; and Rountree 1996). These vantage points include population studies, soil fertility, cartographic evidence of political centers, subsistence strategies, trade/exchange, and settlement patterns.

The evidence to be used in this thesis is neither new nor unstudied. What is unique about my approach is the combination of evidentiary types and the interpretive synthesis of this evidence. Though a variety of studies have considered the political and economic aspects of Powhatan's chiefdom, they have yet to explore the movement[1] of corn through space and across social categories. The movement of corn within the Powhatan social landscape was critical to the initial interaction between the English and Virginia Indians and ultimately transformed the Powhatan chiefdom.

[1] "Movement" is the generic word I will be using in order to keep things simple. Movement means "the act or process of moving" (taken directly from Webster's New World College Dictionary) and I am using it to mean simply that. It includes trade, redistribution, giving, and taking of corn from whence it was produced, without including all of the tricky connotations that these terms encompass.

Of course landscapes are both objective and natural on the one hand, while being subjectively experienced by different actors and understood with reference to a historical and cultural context on the other. For the English, segmented portions of the Chesapeake landscape were conceived of as bounded objects which became particularly important commodities as more colonists arrived looking to acquire patented land. Landscapes are socially-constructed, as seen in the planting of corn fields, though there are always, of course, ecological constraints, such as soil fertility, restricting that construction. Though people consciously manipulate the spaces around them, the same spaces in turn frame their experience of the world. The way people arrange themselves of the landscape is meaningful, as is the way they move through that same landscape.

The people of the Powhatan chiefdom created a landscape composed of distinct villages with surrounding cornfields that provided food for individual households. This cultural landscape lacked exclusive control by an individual or privileged group. The English moved into this pre-defined landscape and saw productive cornfields offering food they could acquire. Consequently, the English maneuvered through this landscape to trade with the Powhatans for corn and ultimately to acquire and redefine it. The Powhatans, in turn, were able to manipulate this situation within their existing culturally defined landscape by modifying their political and economic systems and incorporating the new significance of corn within these systems.

The specific methods for studying the political landscape implemented in this study focuses on the circulation of corn within the political and economic systems of the Powhatan chiefdom. Important aspects of this circulation include the location of corn production, who controlled its production, which communities exchanged corn with the

English, and who controlled this trade. In order to evaluate these elements of the Powhatan political economy, I have located seventeenth century Indian fields in land records and have compared this evidence with references to Native political centers. This portion of my research follows on a previous study by Potter and Waselkov (1994), which also uses seventeenth century land patent information to confirm the location of Indian fields. My intent is also to discover which political centers may have produced large quantities of corn. After locating these political centers I then compare these centers to areas with high soil fertility, confirming that large corn producing areas were located on fertile soil. Next, I compare large corn producing centers to locations of exchange with the English. Some of these locations correspond to large corn producing centers while some do not. It appears that these differences are the result of early Native attempts to control the trade of corn and the influx of prestige items coming from the English. These comparisons lead to a number of conclusions for the circulation of corn. These conclusions paired with cultural contexts will decipher the political landscape of the paramount chiefdom.

CHAPTER II

A BRIEF HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY COASTAL VIRGINIA

The following chapter provides a brief social context for seventeenth century coastal Virginia. This chapter will proceed by addressing the political composition of the Powhatan chiefdom and documentary evidence of initial interactions between the Powhatan and the English. Written accounts of seventeenth century Virginia, as will be used throughout this paper, come from various sources including Virginia Company documents, personal letters, and publications authored by colonists recounting their adventures in Virginia. These documents contain valuable ethnographic information, though they are also often ethnocentric and biased in their content. To varying degrees, biases are inherent in any historic document, and historical researchers must address such biases. Published manuscripts may be the most suspect because they are often written and revised long after the actions discussed in them have occurred. Primary sources, including land records, are obviously free of some of these distorting elements.

Throughout this thesis I will make an effort to take these biases into account. This will often be done by quantifying the documentary evidence and then looking for patterns and asking questions of the quantified data, thus making the interpretation of the documents more objective. In areas where this is not possible a critical reading of the document is required. Frequently long quotes will be given of historical documents where I have inferred a particular conclusion and would like to fully disclose the possible

biases in the document and in my reading of it. This disclosure is essential if I am to draw sound conclusions about the political landscape of the Powhatan chiefdom.

As summarized earlier, immediately prior to English settlement, coastal Virginia Indians practiced slash and burn horticulture complimented by hunting and gathering. This subsistence strategy was carried out by a division of household labor, which included female foraging and horticulture and male hunting (Gallivan 2003:22). The degree to which farming and corn production (along with other crops: beans and squash) provided sustenance is unclear (Turner 1976). It does appear, however, that corn played a primary role (possibly along with some hunting) during the winter months when supplies of dried corn were relied upon and other seasonal food stuffs were not available (migratory fowl, many plant foods, etc.). Virginia Algonquian material culture consisted primarily of pottery, lithic tools typified by small triangular points, wood and bone implements, botanical cordage (nets, basketry, etc.), deerskin clothing, and shell and copper beads (Egloff and Woodward 1992). Early colonial assemblages often include non-Native materials and objects (e.g., non-Native copper, metal implements, glass, etc.) and objects with non-Native styles and designs (e.g., prehistoric pottery vessels made in English styles). Coastal Virginia Indians focused their subsistence and settlement patterns on the floodplains of the region's principle rivers while still making use of upland areas for hunting and other special uses. They lived in relatively large and permanent villages dispersed along floodplain terraces. Their subsistence patterns resulted in seasonal mobility based around these permanent village sites. Cultivation appears to have taken place immediately surrounding these permanent village sites on

floodplain terraces. Coastal Virginia Indian's social-political makeup included social inequality and the emergence of chiefdoms as early as AD 900 (Geier 1992).

The emergence of chiefdoms amongst coastal Virginia Indians is most likely the result of a variety of factors, on which many discussions have been based (Gallivan 2003; Potter 1993; Turner 1976). Possible factors for the occurrence of chiefdoms include population pressures, increased reliance on farming (i.e. increased sedentariness, control of group labor and resources), and outside influence from the English, Spanish, and/or other Native groups. Intermittent European contact with the area occurred throughout the sixteenth century, prior to settlement of the Jamestown colony. These meetings often ended violently (Gleach 1997:90-97).

In 1607, when the first English colonists came to settle along the James River, they encountered what has been called one of the most politically complex groups along the eastern coast of the new world (Potter 1993:1). The colonists founded Jamestown, located in the midst of several Native communities that had been recently (in the last 25 years) organized into a paramount chiefdom. The chiefdom was lead by a single paramount chief or Mamanatowick (generally defined as 'king'), named Powhatan. The Powhatan paramount chiefdom was concentrated in the James and York river basins. Sometime in the late sixteenth century Powhatan had inherited six chiefdoms. These chiefdoms included Powhatan, Arrohateck, Appamattuck, Pamunkey, Mattaponi, and Kiskiak (Chiskiak) (Rountree 1990:10). By 1608 Powhatan had gained some semblance of control over the James River, York River, Rappahannock River, and the southern portion of the Potomac River, through coercion and warfare (Rountree 1990:10). The Chickahominy Indians, along the Chickahominy River near the center of the chiefdom,

were the only group in the area to keep Powhatan at bay, possibly due to their large number of warriors (Strachey 1953:61-62).

The English colonists found Powhatan society to include stratified social statuses, with both "elites" and "commoners" (Potter 1993:16-17). Decent and inheritance was based on the matriline and authority was both ascribed and achieved, meaning status was gained through inheritance and personal achievement. As such, Powhatan's chiefly status and position was gained through a series of familial relationships/inheritances and personal action. Part of Powhatan's social role and standing was linked to his notions of the sacred. Though Powhatan's rule has been understood as absolute, some colonists also noted that before political decisions were made he consulted with advisors (Strachey 1953:104). These advisors were often comprised of elders, lesser chiefs, and priests or quioccosuks. A ritual rite of passage, called the huskanaw, consisted of putting young boys through a series of trials, after which those boys who successfully passed the rite became quioccosuks or priests. Quioccosuks lived away from society in a separate existence that only Powhatan had access to (Gleach 1997:38-43). As illustrated by this relationship, Powhatan's chiefly status included a certain godliness or shamanisitic authority, linking those participating in everyday life to the afterlife or religious arena (Gleach 1997:38-43; Williamson 1992). Though this social role may not have been explicit in Powhatan's daily activities, it nonetheless existed hand in hand with his political and economic roles.

Powhatan's status was maintained by his control of prestige items (copper, shell beads, furs) and food stuffs and through his ability to call on a large number of warriors when the need arose (Strachey 1953:87; Potter 1993:17-18). The paramount chief

collected tribute and controlled its redistribution, which often manifested in the form of feasting (Potter 1993:17-18). Powhatan also created relationships and perpetuated his chiefly status through the manipulation of trade relations involving prestige goods. These exchanges manifested the paramount chief's power and prestige within the political, economic, and social worlds.

Powhatan tried to create similar social, political, and economic relationships with the colonists as he had with much of the Virginia Tidewater. This meant controlling the trade of English goods by inducing the English to become tributary to Powhatan in return for Powhatan's protection, provisions, and bestowal of status as a sub-chiefdom of the Powhatan paramount chiefdom. Prior to the English arrival, Powhatan may have acquired the majority of his copper, a highly valued prestige item, from natural copper sources located inland, in the vicinity of the Monacans, a noted enemy of Powhatan (Hantman 1990). The opportunity to avoid exchange and/or involvement with the Monacans likely made the English a more desirable trade partner. As Potter (1989) has demonstrated from the archaeological record, Powhatan was not completely successful in controlling the trade of English goods, including copper and glass beads. Potter's evidence shows an increasing occurrence of high status grave goods after contact, indicating that prestige items became more widespread. This may be evidence that Powhatan was losing status as more people were gaining access to high status symbols (e.g., copper and glass beads) (Potter 1989). Trade appears to play a large role in this pattern. Interaction was conducted through exchange, and corn soon became the most valuable and useful exchange item for Virginia Indians to trade to the English in return

for copper and glass beads. It becomes clear that the English were important to Powhatan's existence and likewise that Powhatan corn was central to English survival.

In the following passages John Smith describes some of his meetings with Powhatan, the Algonquian paramount chief in control of the area surrounding Jamestown in 1607. Both John Smith and Powhatan tried to establish political, social, and economic ties with the other even while each tried to manipulate the other.

> This so contented him, as immediatly with attentive silence, with a lowd oration he proclaimed me a werowanes of Powhatan, and that all his subjects should so esteeme us, and no man account us strangers nor Paspaheghans, but Powhatans, and that the Corne, weomen and Country, should be to us as to his owne people: this proffered kindnes for many reasons we condemmed not, but with the best languages and signes of thankes I could expresse, I took my leave.
>
> (John Smith quoted in Barbour 1986: I, 67)

> ...Openchankanough conducted me and Maister Scrivener by land, where having built a feasting house a purpose to entertain us with a kind Oration, after their manner and his best provision, kindly welcomed us. That day he would not trucke, but did his best to delight us with content: Captaine Nuport arrived towards evening, whom the king presented with sixe great platters of fine bread, and Pansarowmana. The next day till noone we traded: the king feasted all the company, and the afternoone was spent in playing, dauncing, and delight; by no meanes hee would have us depart till the next day, he had feasted us with venizon, for which he had sent, having spent his first and second provision in expecting our comming: the next day he performed his promise, giving more to us three, then would have sufficed 30 and in that we carried not away what we left, hee sent it after us to the Pinnis. With what words or signes of love he could expresse, we departed.
>
> (John Smith quoted in Barbour 1986: I, 77)

Smith understood the need to take part in Powhatan's feasts and rituals linked to trade in order not to offend him. It becomes obvious from these excerpts that trade within the Powhatan world was not only an exchange of goods but was a social exchange as well. In the first excerpt, in which Powhatan proclaims John Smith a "werowanes" it places Smith within Powhatan's political world, in a position that made Smith one of

Powhatan's lesser chiefs. Thus Smith, now a werowance or chief owed tribute to Powhatan.

In the second excerpt, which occurred some days after the first, Smith was treated like a werowance and forced to take part in a day of feasting and dancing before he could begin trading. Unlike the first excerpt the second is a trading event not with Powhatan but with Openchankanough, Powhatan's brother and successor. This event may illustrate Openchankanough's efforts to usurp his brother's status. It also hints that Powhatan did not have a monopoly over English trade. Two of the ways Powhatan maintained his "paramount" status was by collecting tribute and displaying it through feasts and by perpetuating the status he bestowed on others. As part of Powhatan's chiefdom, Smith was treated accordingly. He was incorporated into the feasting and dancing that was part of Powhatan's treatment of werowances. This placed Powhatan in a position of power and John Smith in a subservient position. If John Smith was indeed a werowance, then Powhatan was his superior.

The English who first arrived at Jamestown in 1607 came in search of profitable commodities such as gold or pearls and were not farmers or craftsmen prepared for self-sufficiency (Haile 1998:13-26). These Englishmen came with the intention of relying on consistent supplies from England. Since supplies were inconsistent and inadequate, the English colonists needed to find them elsewhere. The need for provisions came to define the early relations between the English and Virginia Algonquians for several decades after initial settlement. The colonists sought an Indian supply of corn since it provided a ready source of energy and could be dried and stored through winter. The following

excerpt from the Virginia Company Records demonstrates how the colonists relied on corn to sustain themselves. They were willing to barter or even take it by force:

> By the governor and Captain General of Virginia
>
> To all to whom these presente shall come, I Sr Francis Wyatt knight Governor & Captain generall of Virginia send Greeting in or Lord God everlasting Where as the present neciessitie of this Colony requireth help and rlief by way of trade for Corn into the River that fall into Chesepiacke Bay, Know yee that I do by these presente authorise Captaine Ralph Hamor to go Captain of the good Shipp called the Tyger now ridinge at Anchor before James Citty, and to sett saile wth the first oportunitie of wind into the Bay, and any Riuer falling into the said Bay, and there to trade wth the Indians for corne; an in case he cann get no trade wth them, or not such as he especteth, then it shalbe lawfull to take it from them (if he be able) by force. And I do further giue vnto the said Captain Raph Hamor full power & authoritie to inflict such punishmt, vppon al those vndr his charge during the said vioage, in case of Mutiny, misdemeanor, or otherwise, as he shall think fitt (life only exepted). Given at James Citty the 7th day of May 1622.
>
> To Capt Raph Hamor for trading in the Bay &c.
>
> FRANCIS WYATTCHR: DAUISON Secr:
> (Kingsbury 1906-1935: III (I), 622) [some spellings changed for clarity]

As the English need for foodstuffs grew, Powhatan tried to create and maintain a centralized surplus of corn (possibly receiving it in tribute from various sub-chiefdoms). Powhatan used corn as a commodity to barter with and to increase his status through alliance and control over the English and their trade goods. The English, with their firearms, could be a helpful ally in Powhatan's quest for an ever increasing empire and the perpetuation of his position as paramount chief. Sahlins' (1963) study of political systems in Melanesia and Polynesia offers some indications of what may have taken place within the Powhatan chiefdom after the initial flux of English colonists. According to Sahlins, if a chief placed a hold on the harvest of a crop, "reserving its use for a

collective project", households under his domain would be forced to enter into a new form of subsistence (Sahlins 1963:296). Where previous labors were not needed, new labors would now be required in order to create "a politically utilizable agricultural surplus" (Sahlins 1963:296).

In the Powhatan world, Powhatan's lesser chiefs gained status in return for tribute (rooted in a surplus stimulated by Powhatan). Though Powhatan maintained his position as paramount chief through coercion and chiefly privilege, he ultimately relied on his lesser chiefs to maintain his status, as they controlled the flow of prestige goods and the production of surplus corn, both of which Powhatan received as tribute. In turn, these lesser chiefs also relied on Powhatan to legitimize their own positions.

Though tribute was received in the form of prestige items and various foodstuffs, the English demand for food began a focus on one food item produced by the people of the paramount chiefdom - corn. Corn was not originally produced as a politically utilizable surplus, though the winter stores of corn may have become one. Through Powhatan's manipulation, as well as others, a true surplus may soon have been produced, changing the role of corn from a food item to an exchange item.

Not long after initial English settlement at Jamestown, when no supplies were forthcoming from England and rations began to run low, the colonists became acutely aware of how much they depended on Native American corn. In order to prevent dependence on the Powhatans, the Virginia Company enacted several laws ordering colonists to plant their own corn fields and outlawing any unauthorized trading. The following excerpts, from the Virginia Company Records, describe key provisions of these laws.

A Proclamation for planting of Corne suficient.

By the Governor and Captaine generall of Virginia

Forasmuch as this Colony hath been many times in danger of famine through the peoples great neglect of planting Corne, notwithstanding very strict decrees and Proclamations in former times comanding the same: And that nothing can be more dishonorable to or nation, then to stand in need of suplies of or most necessarie food from these base Salvages nor more dangerous, then to haue or liues, and the life of the Colony it self, to depend uppon the uncertaine hope of trade with them. Yet so measurable is the coveteousnes of of [sic] many in planting Tobacco, and so great theire improvidence, as to neglect the planting of Corne, to pserue the lives of them and theire families. The Governor therefore, with the advice of the Counsell of State (out of theire care to prevent the danger that might hearafter befall this people and Commonweatlth, by the neglect of planting Corne) have ordered and appointed, and by these present do straightly charge and Comand all psons whatsoever, wich now do or hereafter shall inhabitt in this Colony, that they plant at least a sufficiencie of Corne for themselves and theire families, and that they do not hope or rely uppon any supply of Corne, by trade with the Indians, wich wilbe in vaine, since leaue and license to trade with them, shalbe very sparingly grannted to any, and not at all to such, whose want of Corne hath proceeded form theire neglect of planting thereof.

These Comand they require and charg all men to obey, as they will answer the contrary at theire uttermost perill. Given at James Citty, May the 9th 1623

FRANCIS WYATT

(Kingsbury 1935: IV(II), 172-173) [some spellings changed for clarity]

and

A Proclamation for biddinge trade for corne within the Bay.
By the Governor and Captain Generall of Virginia.

Forasmuch as the tradeing for Corne by diurs privat men hath not only beene the meanes of bringeing downe the vallew of or Trucking stuffe amongst the Indians (whilest mens necessities have caused them to give any rates for Corne, rather then return emptie) but also beene agreat hindrance to the planting of Corne (so often, and so strictly Comanded, and of so absolute necessitie for this Colony) whilst many have relyed uppon the supplieing theire wante by trading The Governor therefore, wth the advice of the Counsell of state, for the avoiding of these and many other inconveniences, incident to such private trade, hath ordered and decreed and by these psent doth straightly charge and Comand, that no pson or psons (within this

Colony) of what condicion or qualitie soever, shall dare to go trade or truck for Corne with any Indians, either Easterne Shore, or within any part of the Bay of Chesapeack: as they will answer the contrary at theire uttermost perill. Given at James Cittie the fourth day of September 1623.

FRANCIS WYATT

(Kingsbury 1906-1935: IV (II), 275-276) [some spellings changed for clarity]

After the "uprising" of 1622, in which Algonquians under the Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom attacked and killed many English settlers, the embittered colonists declared Virginia Indians enemies and promoted their expulsion from the area. The colonists had already begun pushing Virginia Indians off their lands, but now colonists openly condoned and "logically" explained the taking of Native lands. The following quotation illustrates the colonists' anger and future plans.

EDWARD WATERHOUSE. "A DECLARATION OF THE STATE OF THE COLONY AND... A REALATION OF THE BARBAROUS MASSACRE..."

...Because our hands which before were tied with gentlenesse and faire usage, are now set at liberty by the treacherous violence of the Savages, not untying the Knot, but cutting it: So that we, who hitherto have had possession of no more ground then their waste, and our purchase at a valuable consideration to their owne contentment, gained; may now by right of Warre, and law of Nations, invade the Country, and destroy them who sought to destroy vs: whereby wee shall enioy thier cultivated places, turning the laborious Mattocke into the victorious Sword (werein there is more both ease, benefit, and glory) and possessing the fruits of others labours. Now their cleared grounds in all their villages (which are situate in the fruitfullest places of the land) shall be inhabited by us, whereas heretofore the grubbing of woods was the greatest labour.

(Kingsbury 1906-1935: III (I), 556-557) [some spellings changed for clarity]

The colonists not only began seizure of Native lands they also began a series of raids on remaining Indian villages to steal Indian corn. Though the Virginia coastal

Indians had a powerful hand to play during the time of initial English settlement because they had corn to trade to the starving English, the English ultimately required both corn and land from the Native people. Soon they took both by force.

This chapter has summarized the Powhatan cultural context during the early days of the Jamestown Colony, focusing on the Powhatan chiefdom's political framework. The intent of this chapter was to set the stage for further exploration of the political landscape as seen through the historical/traditional production and distribution of corn.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL VIEWPOINT

The documentary records summarized in the previous chapter recount a dynamic era in early colonial Virginia history in which the Powhatan chiefdom was in a state of flux. The accounts indicate that the precontact rise of the paramount chiefdom placed constraints and expectations on the paramount chief that, when altered due to English intervention, resulted in a loss of dominance over the political economy. Chief Powhatan lost much of his control over the circulation of surplus corn, while lesser chiefs with more direct access to floodplain fields and corn production itself, increased their status and influence within the sphere of the Powhatan world. This shifting balance of leadership transformed Native economic practices toward an emphasis on corn production for exchange with the English colonists, fundamentally altering the dynamics of the Powhatan political economy. A productive avenue for studying this shifting political landscape involves the movement of what the early colonists referred to as "Guinney wheate", the prime "commodity" sought by the colonists in the early years of Jamestown.

During the early seventeenth century, the production, distribution, and consumption of corn had spatial components fundamental to the Powhatan political economy. Corn was produced on the landscape and circulated through it. Corn became important within the political world of the Powhatan chiefdom because it assumed a greater role as an exchange item rather than primarily a consumable food. It was linked

to the political landscape because it was produced and distributed in varying ways across the landscape, contributing to inequalities of wealth and power across space.

An analysis of the political landscape as used in this paper requires the assumption that the way in which political players position themselves on the landscape, according to socioeconomic and sociopolitical guises, can reveal information valuable for understanding the political sphere. This study of a political landscape uses a spatial analysis of the movement of maize in order to uncover some of these spatial relationships. This is a study of *political landscapes*, meaning that space is being studied in order to understand how the powerful Native elites used their political, economic, and social ties to manipulate the political sphere. Critical to my understanding of the Powhatans' political landscape are assumptions about individual human actions and economic decisions. My first assumption is that human actions are rooted in cultural practices that recreate traditional ways of acting and conceptualizing. A second set of assumptions draws on principles of economics regarding exchange value, use value, and the creation and control of surplus. In order to explain these assumptions I will turn to two theoretical perspectives, practice theory and political economics.

Practice Theory

A useful starting point for understanding practice theory is Pierre Bourdieu's contrast between "doxa," society's norms and values that are deeply rooted through unconscious socialization and are thus not argued against, and "habitus," practices that are also unconsciously socialized. Habitus revolves around goal-oriented actions that are ultimately limited by doxa (Bourdieu 1977, 1990). According to Bourdieu, doxa and

habitus are linked to one another and reflexive of one another, and both are equally important to human action. The basic principle from practice theory that I will draw upon in this study is the notion that goal-oriented human actions are the actual practice of carrying out traditional norms. This presupposes that the actions are not solely traditional but can involve completely novel means of negotiating the real world. While goal-oriented, cultural practices often have unintended consequences.

Following these basic principles, I will assume that Powhatan and other Native individuals were motivated by and based their decisions on a set of traditional norms acquired through an historical context. Traditional subsistence strategies, traditional markers of status, and traditional conditions of relationships will have guided the choices made by Native individuals during the advent of English intrusion. Thus it will be important for this study to take into account this historical context, which appears to have greatly impacted the political landscape of the Powhatan Chiefdom. At the same time the basic principles of practice theory lead me to assume that actions are essentially new, meaning that new situations allow for new choices to be made, though these choices will be inherently guided by traditional norms.

Chief Powhatan drew upon a set of cultural norms, which included traditional leadership roles, such as collecting tribute and throwing feasts, to cement his status. He held his chiefly position through traditional chiefly privilege and through his own personal actions. When the English arrived, Powhatan conducted himself within this new situation by following traditional practices, by attempting to make the English tributary to him and trying to fulfill his own personal goals of increasing his chiefly status by controlling the English trade in prestige items. His actions, though unprecedented,

effectively practiced traditional norms. Powhatan's sub-chiefs also acted by following traditional norms. Werowances answered to their paramount chief, as least initially during the early colonial era, yet new constraints placed on them by English involvement allowed, or even required, them to follow other paths.

Political Economics

The exchange of corn for iron implements, copper, and glass beads between Powhatan groups and the English involved an exchange of tangible goods, which economically relies on the *exchange value* of those goods. As economic anthropology will tell us, an exchange of goods is really an exchange of labor, the labor required to produce the goods (Mandel 1970). In the language of Marxian approaches to political economics, this labor must come from some mode of production, comprised of the forces of production or how products are produced and the relations of production or the means by which the labor for production is organized.

Prior to English colonization there appears to have been primarily a domestic mode of production in the Chesapeake region. The domestic mode of production "is an economy of production for use, for the livelihood of the producers" rather than an economy of surplus production (Sahlins 1972: 68-69). Some surplus was available for coastal Virginia Indians in the form of tribute paid to the paramount chief, although this involved a relatively modest component of production and distribution. Corn appears to have played a minor role as part of this surplus. Tribute paid to the paramount chief was primarily comprised of furs, meat, copper beads, and shell beads, items with more prestige value than corn.

The forces of production in the Chesapeake were not highly associated with complex or labor-intensive technology. Other than slash and burn farming that produced small surpluses, the relations of production were predicated in part on the chief versus commoner relationship. Powhatan perpetuated a small surplus as a way of gaining prestige items. Those who provided the tribute in turn increased their status and ties to Powhatan. This initial relationship was most likely based on a series of familial ties and related expectations. It is only after English settlement that a larger surplus, in the form of corn, became important as a means to obtain prestige items introduced by the English.

It is unclear how much of a corn surplus may have been readily available since a domestic mode of production was in place. Winter stores of corn may have initially been used as the only available "surplus". Pressures were probably placed on commoners within the Powhatan chiefdom to produce more corn, creating a larger surplus and placing strain on the relationship between Powhatan, his sub-chiefs, and the commoners within the paramount chiefdom. Powhatan held his position because of this delicate relationship between what he expected from the sub-chiefs and the commoners and what they expected in return. Increasing pressure on this relationship placed his position as paramount chief in jeopardy. Perhaps this is why he virtually lost his position as paramount chief and the sub-chiefs began to take on more prominent positions after initial English settlement.

For Native Americans at the time of contact in the Chesapeake area, corn had a *use value*. It was produced for direct consumption, though some portion of corn and other foodstuffs were produced for tribute paid to the Paramount Chief and lesser chiefs, giving these "elites" some economic control through control of a surplus (Rountree

1990:9). Of course this economic control was partially symbolic because the corn and other foodstuffs given for tribute did not serve as elite subsistence strategies. Rather, these foodstuffs were used to keep up chiefly pretense in the form of feasting and the like (Rountree 1990:9). As has been discussed by Rountree and Turner, Powhatan may have achieved most of his economic and political control by controlling the trade of prestige items, including copper, puccoon, shell beads, hides, etc. (Rountree and Turner 1994). At this point it becomes readily apparent that with the increase in the *exchange value* versus the *use value* of corn, due to the colonial need of it for direct consumption, Native elites likely encouraged commoners to intensify corn production for exchange, in turn acquiring greater economic and political control.

Basic principles of economic anthropology explain the processes taking place. The spatial analysis of corn production and distribution reveals several important patterns that will be discussed in the following chapters. Economic studies, such as Sahlins' Melanesian and Polynesian study (1963), provide a vocabulary and interpretive frames for some explanations of the patterns observed.

With the influx of English strangers and the prestige items they brought with them, the economic and political world of the Powhatan Chiefdom changed drastically. Corn became a commodity of exchange for the Powhatans. Because the availability of this new commodity varied regionally and was critical to obtaining the prestige items from the English, it became important in the socioeconomic and sociopolitical dynamics of the Powhatan Chiefdom after the initial settlement of the English. The movement of corn, a "commodity" so highly sought after by the colonists, becomes a central concern for this analysis of the Powhatan political landscape.

The Gift and the Commodity: Applying Practice to Political Economics

A defining characteristic of the political economic approach is the distinction between a commodity economy and a non-commodity (i.e., gift) economy (Gregory 1982:12). After the advent of English settlement, the role of corn began to change and the status of corn to the Powhatan became less fixed. It was neither strictly a gift nor a commodity, but played different roles depending on circumstance. This indeterminate state can be seen through the expectations of the "exchangees". In a commodity economy, the exchangees are unattached to the item they exchange, each walking away with a mutual feeling of independence from the exchange and the item exchanged (Gregory 1982). In a non-commodity exchange the transactors are each attached to the items or gift exchanged and come away with a feeling of debt (Gregory 1982). In Powhatan's situation he collected tribute, thereby putting himself in debt, requiring that in return for the tribute he bestow status on his lesser chiefs. At the same time Powhatan and others exchanged surplus corn with the English for prestige items, with the appearance of no debt exchange. Though this exchange may not have been completely debt free, as the two groups came with different sets of expectations. What was different about this latter exchange was that prestige items were now acquired through the exchange of corn as a commodity, not through gifts of tribute. Corn became a barter or exchange item rather than solely a food item. Traditional norms had no precedence for the treatment of corn as an exchange item and thus it lacked a link to traditional tribute (or gift) items that would normally create a debt when exchanged. Consequently, political economics lends itself to describing corn as a pseudo commodity, an alienable

item now produced in large quantities for a politically utilizable surplus, and used as such.

In the following chapters these theoretical viewpoints are applied to the analysis of the movement of corn and are useful in deciphering the political landscape of the Powhatan chiefdom.

CHAPTER IV

LAND PATENT ANALYSIS

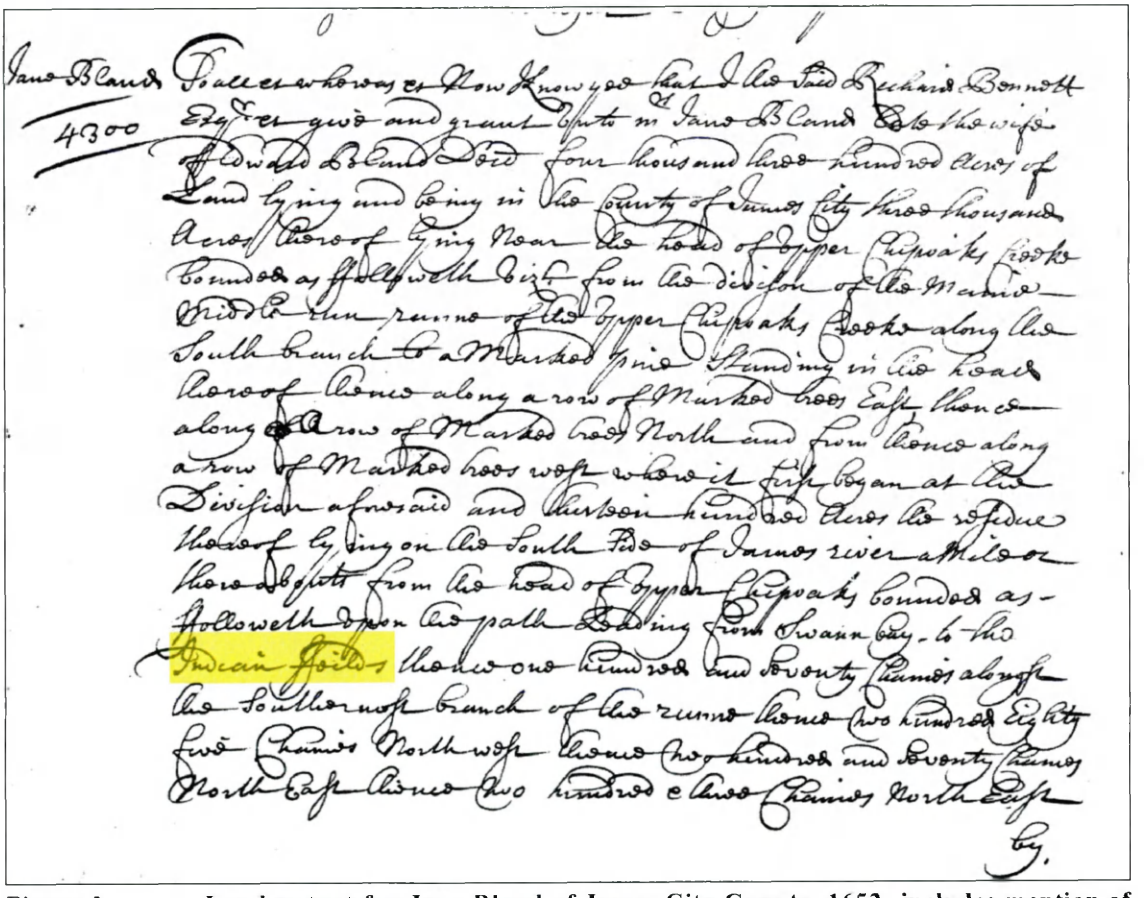

Figure 2 **Land patent for Jane Bland of James City County, 1652: includes mention of "the Indian fields," (Library of Virginia).**

Above is a seventeenth century land patent, an historic example of a property deed. This chapter explores the plethora of information available from these patents, particularly the information concerning the location of "Indian fields" as they are mentioned and described within the patents. The location of these Indian fields will be compared to the location of Native villages, specifically chief's villages as found on John

Smith's 1608 *Map of Virginia*. This map depicts the location of Indian groups and villages as well as the political importance of these villages. Smith designated political importance by noting a "King's house" or "Ordinary house", a King's house being a village with a resident chief and an Ordinary house being the location of commoners' dwellings without a resident chief. Assuming that areas with many Indian fields produced large amounts of corn, a comparison of these areas with locations of political importance may yield information useful in determining whether chiefs had direct control over locations with high corn yields. Furthermore, this comparison may confirm or refute the hypothesis that the paramount chief and his sub-chiefs had differential control over corn producing areas and, consequently, the surplus of corn being traded to the English. As outlined below, analysis of land patents reveals a Native political landscape of disproportionate control of the means of production (the corn producing fields) during the early seventeenth century in the Virginia Tidewater region.

The English colonists quickly expanded the territory they occupied in the Chesapeake. In 1618, the "Great Charter" opened public lands and laid the foundation of private property in America (Haile 1998:37). The extant evidence of this phenomenon exists in the early Virginia land patents. After examining the abstracts of the land patents from 1621-1695 (earlier patents were destroyed) I found 73 uses of the term "Indian fields"(Nugent 1963; Nugent and Grundman 1977). Fifty-six of these instances fall within the core of Powhatan's domain, locations reaching from the northern shore of the York River, the southern shore of the James River, east to the Chesapeake Bay, and west to the fall line (See Appendix A).

Before considering the implications of the locations of these "Indian fields" on a modern map of this study area, my use of "Indian fields" found in seventeenth century land patents deserves discussion. This discussion is necessary because such an analysis of land patents has not previously occurred and in order to support my argument, one must understand my assumptions and methods. I will suggest that 1) the term "Indian field" refers to agricultural fields, 2) these Indian fields correspond to the spatial layout of Indian agricultural fields and not solely to colonial settlement patterns, and 3) the lack of early land patents and the large time span of the land patents does not invalidate their use or my findings. I believe one only has to examine the patterns found in the data recovered to realize the validity and importance of land patents in reconstructing the political landscape. The land patents are full of pertinent locational information as well as social and cultural data that, when sufficiently explored and interpreted, can be useful in addressing various research questions.

This first issue raised by my approach to the land patents involves the meaning of an "Indian field" as used by the English versus how these Indian fields were actually used by Algonquian farmers. This study assumes that the term "Indian field," as found in English land patents, refers specifically to agricultural fields producing primarily corn. Algonquian farmers of Virginia often kept two types of fields: a small garden area located next to their houses and large communal plots situated around the community (Hurt 1987:31; Potter 1989). The English colonists' use of space was somewhat similar, with small vegetable gardens located next to dwellings and larger crop fields located farther away. The colonial terminology defined "field" as a larger crop field or cleared area (12th century origin) and "garden" primarily as an area where herbs, flowers, fruits,

or vegetables were cultivated (13th century origin) (*Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* 1993:433, 480). An early English observer even reported that the Indian gardens were "kept 'as neat and cleane as we doe our gardein bedds,'" (quoted in: Hurt 1978:31). Thus the colonists viewed the term "Indian field" to refer distinctly to larger cleared fields used for cultivation.

To confirm this conclusion that the term "Indian field" does refer specifically to agricultural fields, one would expect to find other terms used for a village site or other natural or cultural artifacts associated with Indians and Indians living on the landscape. The land patents are full of many such references including the following terms: Indian Bridge, Indian Cabins, Indian Creeks, Indian Ferry, Indian Habitations, Indian Patent, Indian Paths, Indian Point, Indian Snares, Indian Springs, Indian Stone, Indian Thicketts, Indian Towes, Indian towne, Indian tree, Indian Weire, and Indian's Land (see index: Nugent 1963; Nugent and Grundman 1977). "Indian fields" may not always accurately describe the historical use of the landscape, but the term does appear to refer primarily to cultivated fields rather than habitations.

The repetition of the term "Indian field" in the land patents shows the importance of the presence of an Indian field on the landscape. Whether this importance relates primarily to 1) the desirability of more fertile agricultural land, 2) the usefulness of cleared land, or 3) the importance of distinctive landmarks, is unclear. After studying the colonial documents, I suggest that Indian fields appear to be valuable for all of the aforementioned reasons. Modern scholars have researched the English use of the Indian landscape and have found ample evidence of the early colonists utilizing Indian fields because these fields were already cleared and ready for planting (Potter and Waselkov

1994; Potter 1989). Stephen Potter and Gregory Waselkov have shown, through a surface survey, archaeological excavation, and perusal of historic documents, that the English did search out Indian cleared fields to settle on. As well, Potter and Waselkov's research has shown how land patents can be used. Their research has found that the information these patents contain is locationally accurate and representative of what is on the landscape. They assume "Indian field" refers specifically to a cleared agricultural field identified and reused by the English. Though Potter and Waselkov do not use a specific analysis of land patents they do use land patents as additional evidence to confirm their hypothesis that the English did settle on cleared Indian fields: "one of the earliest English farmsteads, Nominy Plantation, was described in 1659 as situated near the side of an Indian field commonly known as the Pipemaker's field (Westmoreland County 1653-1659: I:111-112 [a land patent]) and next to an extensive Late Woodland-early historic village site (44WM13)" (Potter and Waselkov 1994:29).

Potter and Waselkov used land patent information to help them locate where Indian fields may have been, particularly in reference to known Indian village locations and archaeological sites. These authors use patent and Indian field locational information from historic documents in the same way this study does by assuming this is meaningful information that refers to agricultural fields in specific locations near village sites.

Now that it has been established that an "Indian field" found in historic documents likely does refer to an agricultural field in a specific location, a further assumption concerning these data must be addressed. This supposition involves how land patents from the mid to latter seventeenth century can be used to identify Indian field locations that can then be applied to Powhatan political landscapes from initial

English settlement through the later portion of the seventeenth century. If the land patents, and thus the "Indian fields", are separated into three time periods (1635-1650: an average of 1.13 land patents per year, 1651-1675: an average of 1.41 land patents per year, and 1676-1694: an average of .39 land patents per year) the patents show general trends in location. Over time the English moved inland and northward from Jamestown. The mentions of Indian fields are frequent in the first time period, increase in the second, and taper off in the last time period. The location of the Indian fields over time follows English settlement patterns, while the change in the number of Indian fields follows the diminishing presence of the Powhatan Chiefdom. Fewer Indian fields were encountered over time, most likely due to the displacement of Indian groups in and around English settlements. Though these land patents span the mid to latter portions of the seventeenth century, it appears that they represent the landscape history of the early seventeenth century given their clear association with early Indian political centers (see below) and their concordance with the displacement of Powhatan people.

As Potter and Waselkov have shown, it is not a coincidence that Indian fields correspond to known locations of Indian habitations and political centers, since these are the areas around which the Powhatans concentrated much of their corn production. Though many Indian groups were displaced by 1635 (date of the first land patent mentioning an "Indian field" (Nugent 1963:21)), the "Indian fields" found in the land patents still represented Indian field locations in the first third of the century, the years prior to 1635. Not yet displaced were the Chickahominies, Nansemonds, Pamunkeys, and Mattaponis (see Figure 3 below). Subsequently, the locations of these groups are the areas where later patents mentioning Indian fields tend to appear.

Place names are often perpetuated and this seems to be the case for Indian fields, as many patents mention an "ould Indian field" or a named field such as Potter and Waselkov's aforementioned "Pipmaker's field." These names no longer describe what is visible on the landscape but rather an identification of a place with a specific name that has been perpetuated over time. Though the "great Indian field", for example, wasn't mentioned in a land patent until 1640, it likely acquired its name prior to this. The following paragraph will further validate and explain this assumption that older patents are still representative of earlier times given the perpetuated use of place names and additional ecological data.

At the time of contact, Native Americans in Virginia used slash and burn methods of farming. Virginia Indians did not appear to use farming techniques that added to soil fertility and longevity, although ash, a byproduct of slash and burn farming, added nutrients to the soil. According to E. Randolph Turner (1976:192-95), after only two to three years of planting, these fields required a fallow period of 21-42 years. While their fields lay fallow, Algonquian farmers allowed secondary growth to return. For a natively cultivated field to return to its natural forested state and become unrecognizable, a period of twenty years was needed (Neumann and Sanford 2001:133). Fields left fallow in 1607 would have lost their visibility at the latest in 1627, before the first land patent mentioning an Indian field appears. Private lands for Englishmen opened up in 1624. After the initial influx of Englishmen coming for land, approximately around 1634, Indian fields left fallow would have lost their visibility in the study area by 1654. Given this sequence, how can land patents from 1635 through 1695 illustrate the political landscape from 1607 throughout the seventeenth century?

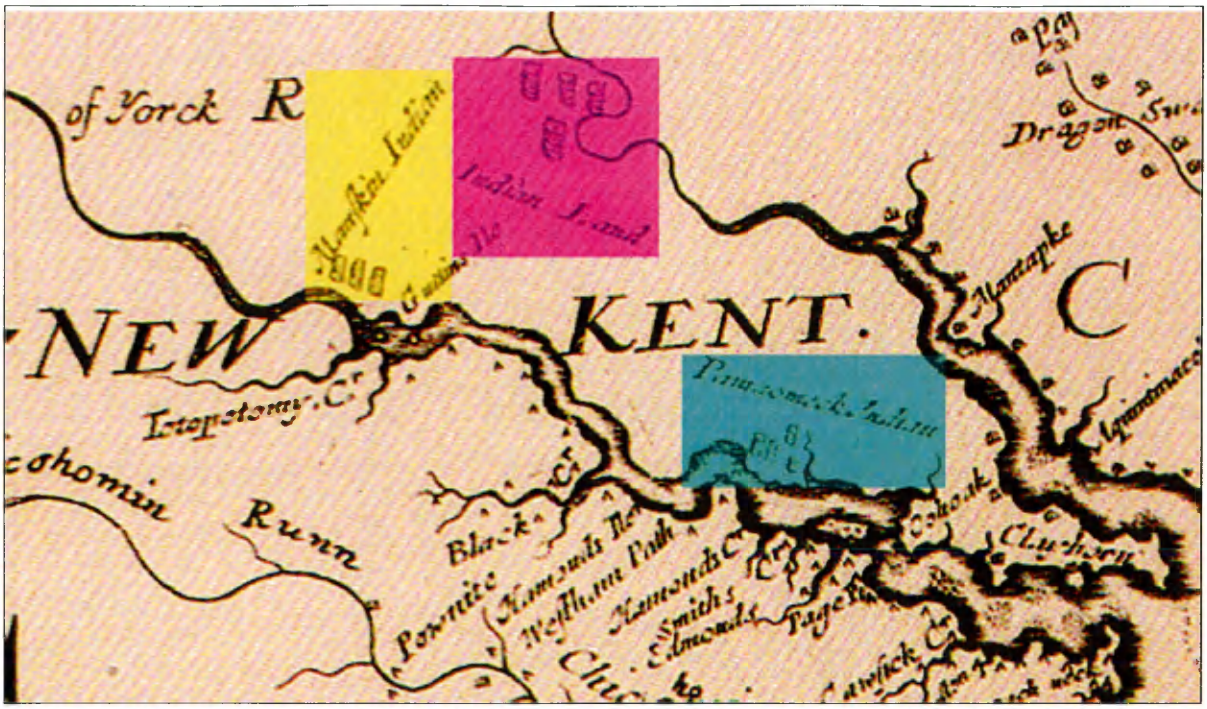

Figure 3 **A portion of the Augustin Herrman Map of Virginia (1670). Indian settlements within the Pamunkey Neck are highlighted showing consistent Indian occupation in this area up to 1670.**

Swidden farming involves moving fields every few years, so to say "old Indian field" implies that these fields were abandoned completely and available for English settlement. In all likelihood, many of these patents denote locations recently occupied and probably still occupied, though certain fields may have appeared uninhabited. Though colonists settled and patented tracts of land, Native Americans did not necessarily leave. Augustin Herrman's map of 1670 (portion shown below) documents Indian land still being inhabited within the Pamunkey neck, between the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Rivers.

Like Algonquian farmers, swidden farmers in South America constantly moved their fields for better fertility (Barreiro 1992:30). As they moved and replanted, South American swidden farmers always replanted fruit trees along with regular crops. These fruit trees took many years to produce a substantial yield, so the farmers often returned to old fields to harvest the mature fruit from trees planted in previous years (often along with other crops with continued longevity). Although one field may seem abandoned and out of use, it could be very much in use and part of the swidden farmer's subsistence strategies. English colonists and Algonquians in Virginia probably coexisted, at least for a time, after initial settlement due to similar subsistence and settlement patterns. To exemplify this possibility, the following story from 1687 coastal Virginia provides an example of interaction between Native Americans and colonists.

> ...the next day we went to Portabago, as they call Monsieur Wormeley's fine plantation... three of these savages came to visit him as soon as we had arrived. They brought him two wild turkeys & a domestic one. The wild turkeys surely weighed 40 pounds each. We could see their village on the opposite bank of the river, so the next day, having expressed a wish to see them at home, Monsieur Wormeley had three horses taken across the river, & ordered an early dinner... I counted six houses & saw a great abundance of wild grapevines tailing along the ground & so many peach trees ... When we left they gave Monsieur Wormeley a dozen deer skins as a present, & Monsieur Parker & myself a handful of pipes each . . .
>
> ...We were delayed a few moments in starting because as we were about to take horse all those savages, men, women & little children, came to return our visit... They had taken to adorn themselves, some kind of pure white fishbones, slipping a strand of hair through a bone, & so on all around their head. They also wore necklaces & bracelets made of small grains which are found in the country. Beads of which rosaries are made in France were also brought over for them, & the cleanest & wealthiest took away as many as they could slip upon their necks & arms, from elbow to hand, for these are their treasures.
>
> ...We left soon after, & they were sorry to see us go, for I felt they had taken great pleasure in our company . . .
>
> (Dauphine 1934: 150-158).

Virginia Algonquians did not simply visit English settlements, some also lived with colonists as laborers. Just before the 1622 "massacre" or Powhatan uprising Chanco, one colonist's live-in Indian laborer, warned some of the colonists of the impending attack. This situation, an Indian working and interacting with a colonist on a day to day basis, does not appear to have been unusual, especially in the early years of initial settlement. As other scholars have noted (Deetz 1993; Ferguson 1992), strict social boundaries between the English and the Indians had not yet been established at this time. The social and physical worlds blurred as colonists relied greatly on the work of various laborers to settle Virginia.

The land patents of the 1600s depict many visible "Indian fields," in both states of use and fallowness. Though no land patents in this analysis are from the early 1600s, Native Americans were not entirely removed from their original locations, thus later patents are not completely unrepresentative of the early seventeenth century. Their alignment with early political centers furthers this conviction if one assumes that political centers were populated areas where agricultural fields could be found.

John Smith's 1612 *Map of Virginia* is crucial to this analysis of land patents. As a frozen image of Powhatan settlement circa 1607, the *Map* provides a baseline for comparison with land patent records, allowing one to determine if the land patents' term "Indian fields" really denotes agricultural fields similar to those present on the early seventeenth century landscape.

Expected results include identification of concentrations of agricultural fields (patents with the term "Indian Field") corresponding well with political centers. Far from being a map containing only locational information, John Smith's map illustrates

political centers versus less important Indian settlements. This is exhibited cartographically within the map through "ordinary houses" (denoted by a circle) which are used to represent locations of less importance due to the lack of a resident chief and "kings houses" (denoted by a pictographic house) which are used to represent a village location with a resident chief (Smith 1612). John Smith's map recorded information important for those back in England by informing the English government what they were likely to encounter during further settlement. The English needed to identify Native people's settlement locations and the spatial dimensions of the political structure. Undoubtedly the English planned on using this information to manipulate and negotiate the Native political world.

In the figure below, I have recreated a portion of John Smith's map and added the locations of "Indian fields," designated by black numbers. Williamsburg, Hampton, and Richmond provide locational reference points. Only those Indian fields located within the core of Powhatan's domain appear on this map. Those that do appear correspond well with political centers, suggesting that these locations represent areas of high corn production. Across the map, Indian fields are widespread, yet also concentrated in certain areas. The concentrations appear differentially around King's Houses, suggesting disproportionate corn production at political centers. The remainder of this chapter will interpret the map with regard to corn producing areas and political centers. The use of seventeenth century land patents has proven useful in the first steps toward identifying the Powhatan political landscape.

The focus of this map centers on what is considered the Powhatan "core" (Rountree and Turner 1994). This area, which surrounds the confluence of the

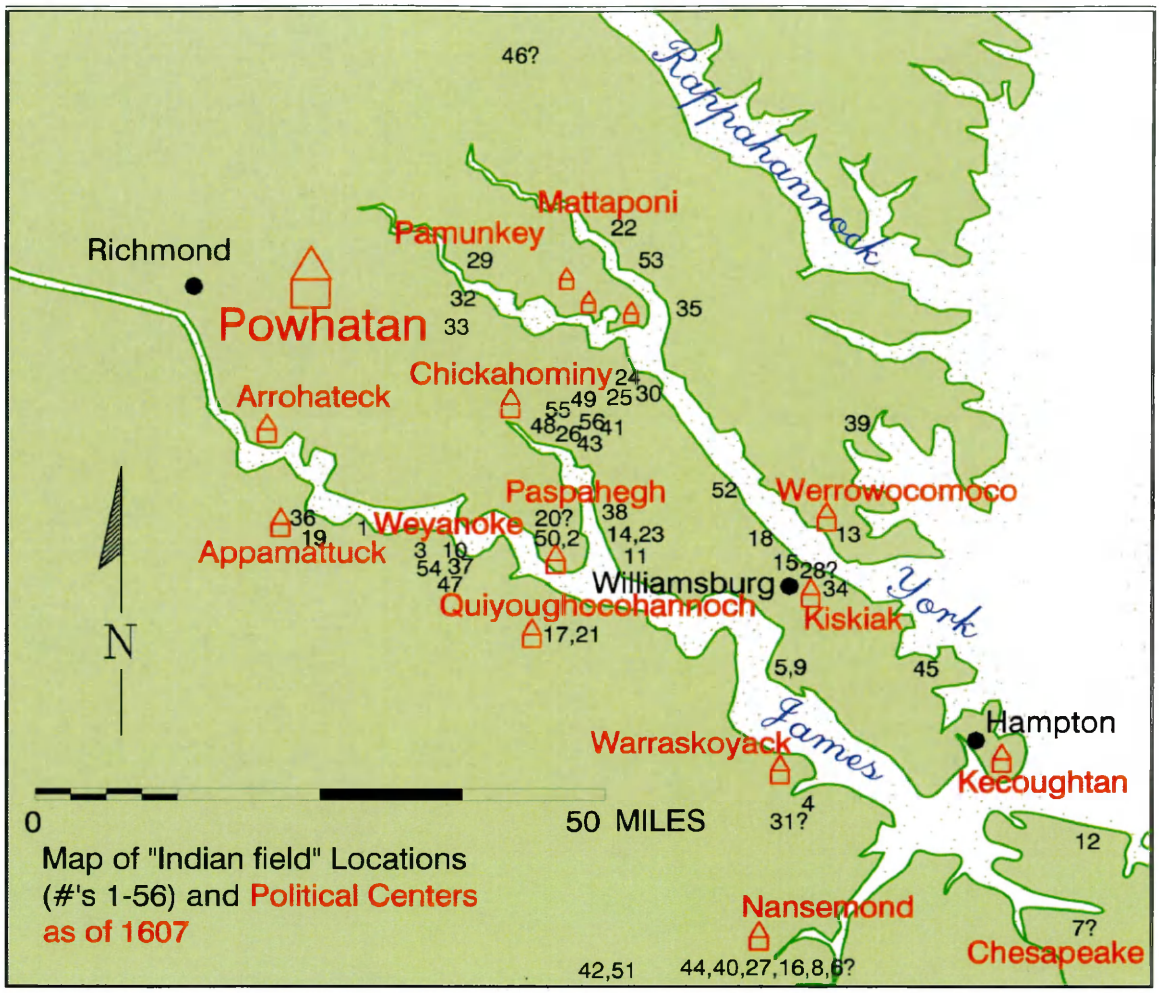

Figure 4 **A map of proposed "Indian field" locations (#'s 1-56) overlaid with political centers derived from Indian villages with Kings houses as found on John Smith's 1607 map.**

Pamunkey and Mattaponi Rivers, includes the Powhatan political centers with which early colonists frequently interacted. From 1-56, the Indian field locations are in relative chronological order (1621-1695), as they appear in the land patents (see Appendix *A*). Not plotted on this map are seventeen "Indian fields" located outside the study area, along the Rappahannock River to the north. As well, several of the same Indian fields are mentioned more than once, in several different patents. After checking for repeated information, such as the same owner and the same locational information for the various

patents represented, no more than 44 unique Indian fields exist within the 56 listed. For example, an area commonly called "the great Indian field of Margaret Barrett" is referred to four times in the land patents and represents four Indian fields designated on this map (#s 14, 23, 26, and 38) (Nugent 1963:138, 306, 378, and 513). Number 14 is the original patent for Francis Barrett, Margaret's father. The original description of this "great Indian field of Margaret Barrett", as found in Francis Barrett's patent is "certain Indian fields," thus it appears one Indian field location can be mentioned in more than one patent.

As expected, Indian field concentrations are not spread evenly across the region, and many correspond to political centers where kings' houses are located. Initial perusal of the map, though, indicates an unexpected pattern. Not all political centers with kings houses have a consistent number of Indian fields associated with them. Prominent political centers without large concentrations of "Indian fields" include Pamunkey and Werowocomoco. Whereas, Chickahominy, Paspahegh, Weyanoke, and Nansemond have large concentrations of Indian fields (5 Indian fields or more). The prominent political centers of Werowocomoco and the Pamunkey neck (the neck of land between the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Rivers) do not have as many Indian fields as one would assume. Werowocomoco was Powhatan's principle residence while the Pamunkey neck lay at the heart of the Powhatan chiefdom and near one of the original six groups inherited by Powhatan (the Pamunkey). As well, Werowocomoco was depicted more prominently than other villages on some early maps because of its importance as Powhatan's home and center of the political world (the Zuniga and Tyndall 1608 maps).

At first glance the lack of "Indian fields" in these areas seems to be a result of later English settlement and longer occupation by Native Americans, meaning that if Native Americans were still occupying the area then Indian fields in that location would not be mentioned in English land patents from the seventeenth century. This was not the case for Werowocomoco. English patents for the area surrounding Werrowocomoco began at least as early as 1639 (Nugent 1963: 15,120), shortly after Powhatan removed himself from this seat of residence following the initial settlement of colonists, early in the seventeenth century (Haile 1998:615). Werrowocomoco was not the most populated of the villages under Powhatan's control (Haile 1998:621-628) and now we can surmise, due to the absence of Indian fields, that this political center also did not cultivate a large quantity of corn. The Pamunkey neck, on the other hand, appears heavily populated when looking at John Smith's map (several King's houses depicted) (also see Haile 1998:627). So why are so few Indian fields located in this area? This is probably a result of the consistent Native American occupation throughout the seventeenth century and lack of intense English settlement in the area that would have mentioned Indian fields in land patents (see Figure 3).

The greatest numbers of Indian fields are located within the territory of the Chickahominy Indians (10 Indian fields), the only group not directly under Powhatan's control. At one point, John Smith filled two ships full of corn while trading with the Chickahominies (Rountree 1990:36). In their struggle to remain independent from Powhatan, the Chickahominies most likely found it beneficial to create a relation of alliance with the newcomers. Indeed, the Chickahominies may have been seeking allies to counter Powhatan's effort to expand his influence in this core area. Possibly, the

Chickahominy Indians, who were led by a council of elders and not a chief, were able to keep Powhatan at bay due to their large number of warriors (Strachey 1953:61-62). Now, with the additional information concerning the plethora of Indian fields in the area, it appears the Chickahominies may have retained their independence due to their large number of warriors and the economic leverage that resulted from their control of large corn producing fields. According to an historical account (Haile 1998:627), Powhatan was able to call upon the surplus of Chickahominy warriors for military actions. The number of Indian fields within Chickahominy territory suggests Powhatan may also have called upon the Chickahominy as corn producers as well. Chickahominy independence may have been beneficial to both the Chickahominies and the Powhatans, each using the other as a form of leverage.

In summary, concentrations of Indian fields and corn production appear at Weyanoke (5 fields), Paspahegh (7 fields), Nansemond (6 fields), and Chickahominy (10 fields), while other districts within the Powhatan Chiefdom are associated with few references to such landscape features. Further evidence considered in Chapters V and VI should clarify the significance of these patterns. As the following discussions will demonstrate, many of the political centers shown on the map above were visited by the English on various trading expeditions. By comparing the locations of prominent corn producing areas with information on trade, it may be possible to determine whether corn was traded from these centralized locations and whether these central locations can be characterized as areas of intensive corn production for exchange with the colonists. If indeed Native practices changed so as to include werowances' manipulation of corn production and exchange in the face of the English presence, it may be appropriate to

frame the role of corn, during the early colonial era, according to its exchange value rather that its use value. This suggests that corn was becoming a pseudo commodity, taking on characteristics likened to a true commodity found within a market economy.

CHAPTER V

A CONSIDERATION OF SOIL SURVEYS

The next form of evidence to be discussed entails soil survey maps. Previously, researchers have evaluated soil patterns in the Chesapeake in order to understand important parameters of Native settlement locations (e.g., Turner 1976; Potter 1989; Potter and Waselkov 1994; Rountree 1996). Various scholars have noted the presence of Native settlements along the floodplains of major rivers and tributaries, as well as the initial movement to these locations by Native peoples when agriculture became a prominent source of subsistence (Turner 1976; Potter 1989; Potter and Waselkov 1994; Rountree 1989, 1990, 1996, Egloff 1992, Gallivan 1999, 2002). Productive soils have been considered a major ecological factor shaping this phenomenon.

My evaluation of soil distributions using county soil surveys reveals further information related to considerably more than settlement patterns. Class I soils, which refer to fertility capabilities assigned by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, are the most fertile. Soil productivity is specific to crop type (corn versus wheat, etc.) and it is difficult to determine the fecundity of large areas due to the variability of soil. This variability must be kept in mind when making generalizations about the role of soils in settlement histories. Due to this variability and the biases of historical documents, it seems advisable to use soil survey maps and historical land patents in tandem to substantiate the locations of early seventeenth century maize production.

The following compares the distribution of soils appropriate for high-yield maize agriculture to the political landscape depicted in John Smith's *Map of Virginia*. As outlined in Chapter II, this comparison is focused on two hypotheses:

1) Corn production was concentrated around only some of the Powhatan political centers, such that these political centers had greater control over corn production.

2) This differential control contributed greatly to the political landscape of the Powhatan Chiefdom during initial English settlement and into the seventeenth century, when the exchange of corn played a consequential role in defining the relationship between these two societies.

The following soil survey maps correspond to six political centers of primary importance in this discussion, Kiskiak, Chickahominy, Paspehegh, Kecoughtan, Werowocomoco, and Pamunkey. These maps allow evaluation of the hypothesis concerning locations of corn production through comparison with areas of highly fertile soils where corn yields would have been greater. As noted earlier, Native production of corn did not include techniques that intentionally enhanced soil fertility, thus Native farmers were likely drawn to particularly productive soils. Though soil fertility does not directly indicate where concentrations of Indian fields were situated, it does provide evidence of ecological constraints and potential productivity levels that may be compared with land patents mentioning Indian field locations. To the extent that such locations correspond with areas of highly productive soils, we can evaluate Native economic practices that may be tied to strategies of surplus maize production.

For this analysis it is necessary to examine soil distributions on a micro level through examination of county-level soil maps. I focus this analysis on areas directly

surrounding particular political centers depicted on Smith's (1612) *Map of Virginia* (the afore mentioned Kiskiak, Chickahominy, Paspehegh, Kecoughtan, Werowocomoco, and Pamunkey) and identified in the early colonial accounts since these areas are most relevant for understanding the evolving Powhatan political landscape. Soil surveys offer information on ecological parameters that, together with documentary evidence of Indian field locations, provide data relevant to Native corn production. The soil classifications listed by the USDA demonstrate locations where intensive corn production was possible. Indian fields found within the land patents and located on highly productive soils were likely greater producers of corn. Thus the usefulness of soil surveys within this analysis becomes clear. As others have stated (e.g., Potter and Waselkov 1994), early colonists generally seized the most fertile lands first, following previous colonization practices in this regard. As will become apparent, those Native communities residing on particularly fertile ground were generally the primary producers of corn during the early colonial era. Subsequent chapters will explore evidence of exchange relations involving corn, leading us toward a fuller understanding of the locations from which the colonists actually acquired their stores of corn and how this contrasts with where the corn was produced.

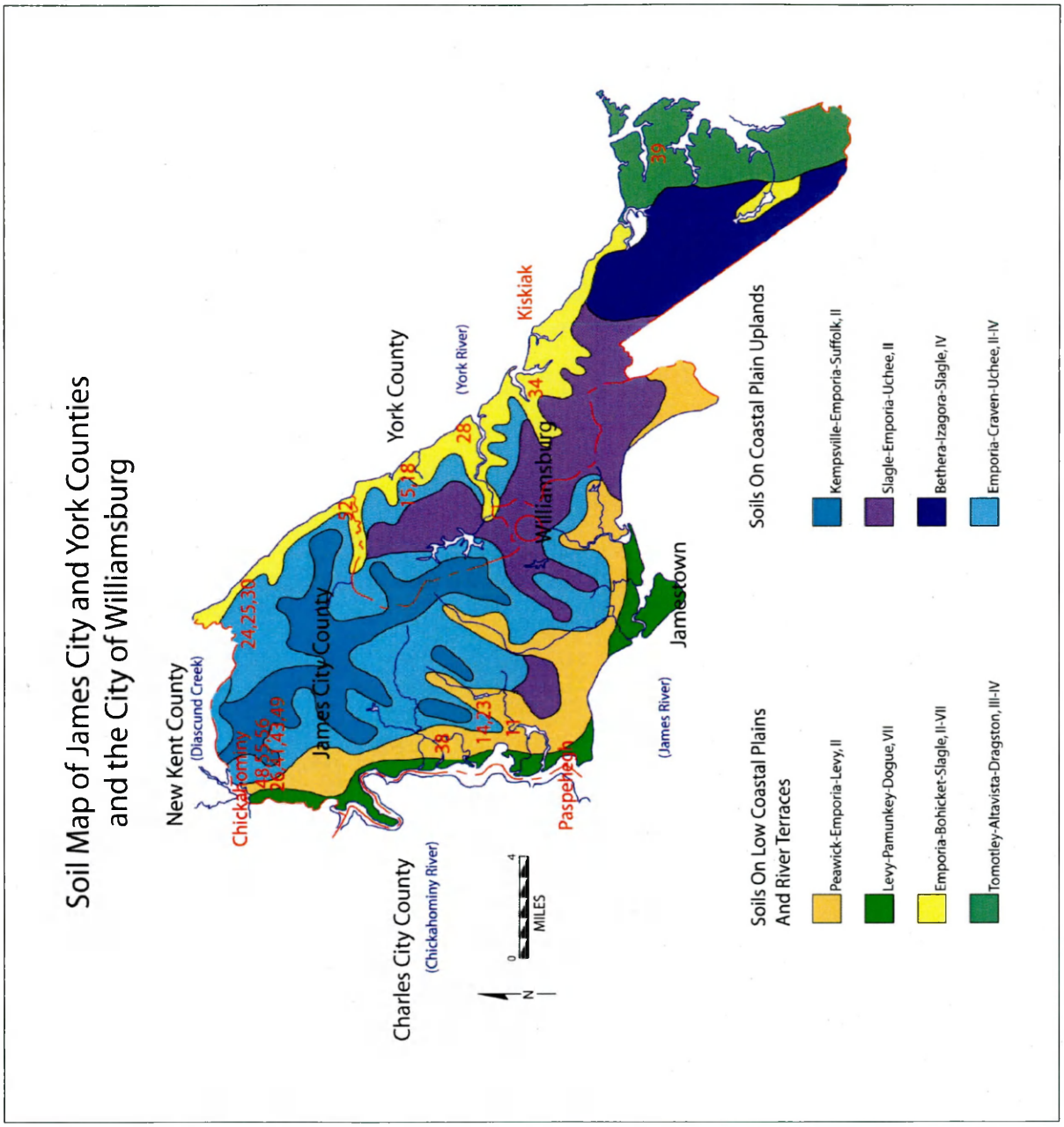

Figure 5 **Soil Map of James City and York Counties and the City of Williamsburg.**

The USDA places soils within a "land-capability" classification of I - VIII, I being the most suitable for cultivation. This classification records soils' suitability for most kinds of field crops (USDA 1985), taking into account limitations for field crops, risks of damage if used for crops, and management possibilities. Information needed to classify soils includes slope, depth, erosion, drainage, and soil type (loam, sand, etc.) (See Appendix B). The climate and many of the soils shown on the James City and York Counties and the City of Williamsburg soil survey map shown in Figure 5 above (JYW map) are well suited to vegetables, small fruits, melons, and ornamental plants (USDA 1985). Deep, well-drained soils are especially good for growing vegetables and small fruits because they become warm in early spring. For example Kenansville, Suffolk, and Kempsville are particularly fertile upland soils, and Pamunkey and Bojac soils on terraces are also particularly productive soils (USDA 1985). Soils in low-lying areas that are susceptible to frost are particularly bad for growing early vegetables, small fruits, and orchards. Soil fertility is generally low in the JYW map area due to the acidity of the soil, though ash, a byproduct from swidden farming, did help slightly to combat this (Potter 1993:34).

For the James City and York Counties and the City of Williamsburg, the most productive zones for growing vegetable crops are Levy-Pamunkey-Dogue area (for the low Costal Plain and river terraces) and the Kempsville-Emporia-Suffolk area for the Coastal Plain Uplands, with the Kempsville-Emporia-Suffolk the best (USDA 1985). The Levy-Pamunkey-Dogue area is represented by pockets of Pamunkey and Dogue soils, which are especially well-suited for the growing of corn (USDA 1985).

These two soil types are found in areas where two critical political centers are located, Paspahegh and Chickahominy. Chickahominy is herein described as a critical political center due to the large population reported to be located there (Haile 1998:627) and the significance of their political detachment from Powhatan's chiefdom. Paspahegh is also described as a critical political center due to John Smith's depiction of a king's house in the vicinity. The Chickahominies resided in an area with the greatest concentration of Indian fields (see Chapter IV), near the current-day boundary between James City County and New Kent County and along Diascund Creek. This concentration may partially be the result of longer Native occupation immediately prior to initial English settlement of the area (resulting in more references to "Indian fields" in plat descriptions), though according to the soil survey map, the Chickahominies did have particularly productive soils on which to grow corn. These data support the evidence drawn from colonists' mentions of "Indian fields" in the land patents that the Chickahominies may have been producers of substantial volumes of corn.

Along the York River the soils are generally less suited to the growing of crops. This is also consistent with the paucity of Indian fields located in the vicinity of the Kiskiaks' settlement, suggesting that the Kiskiak Indians were not large producers of corn.

For the New Kent County soils as seen on the county soil survey map found below (Figure 6), the Kempsville-Emporia-Suffolk areas and the Altavista-Dogue-Pamunkey areas are probably the best areas for growing crops (USDA 1988). The Caroline-Emporia areas and the Slagle-Craven-Emporia are also moderately well suited

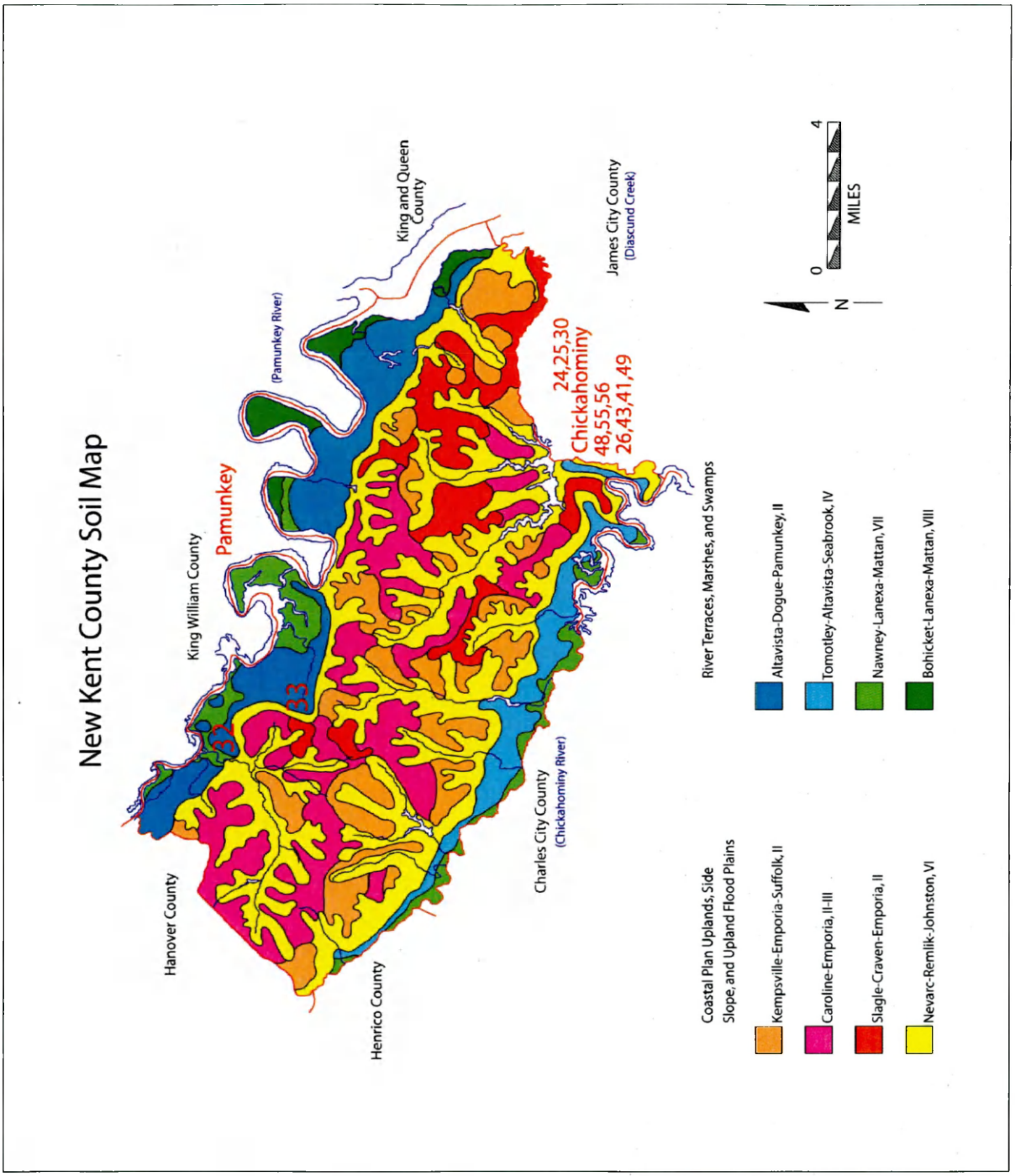

Figure 6 **Soil Map of New Kent County.**

to the growing of vegetables (USDA 1988). The Kempsville-Emporia-Suffolk, Caroline-Emporia, and the Slagle-Craven-Emporia areas are found throughout the upland areas, some of which are adjacent to the Diascund and Ware Creeks, where the Chickahominies resided. Thus, once again my hypothesis can be affirmed: the soil conditions in the Chesapeake region indicate that Chickahominies did indeed possess the capacity to produce large quantities of corn.

Additionally, the analysis identified a large zone of productive soils along the Pamunkey River where the Altavista-Dogue-Pamunkey areas are located. This offers indications that the Pamunkey Indians were also large producers of corn. Perhaps this was the source of much of the corn received by Powhatan as tribute, corn that he used in trading with the early colonists. The Pamunkey Indians were led by Opichapam, Opechancanough, and Kekataugh, all brothers of Powhatan (Rountree 1990:10). Opechancanough, second successor of Powhatan, took a prominent place in the political world and led the attacks on the English in 1622 and 1644 (Gleach 1997:140-158, 174-178).

Opechancanough's role as werowance of the Pamunkeys afforded him considerable prestige and wealth, likely due partly to his access to surplus production through the productive cornfields of the Pamunkey. Opechancanough, no doubt, was able to create relationships and alliances that solidified his prominent place within the political sphere. Opechancanough was apparently both "able and charismatic" (Rountree 1990:10), though he also held a status that allowed him to intervene in the production, distribution, and exchange of maize within a highly productive area of the Coastal Plain. This access likely enhanced his political prominence by allowing him to leverage his

access to surplus corn production to fund the establishment of political alliances. In the future it will be of interest to examine soils located within the Pamunkey Neck given that Native Americans were able to reside in this area long after other areas fell to English control and occupation.

The Gloucester County Soil Survey map below reveals that the location Powhatan chose for his seat of power, the site of Werowocomoco, was located on very poor soils. Suffolk-Eunola-Kenansville and Kempsville-Hapludults-Eunola are the best soils located in the area, though on the whole the soils are rather poor for crop production in the lower York (USDA 1980). Much if not all of the soils need intervention for minimal productivity (USDA 1980). Some have suggested that, the lower Middle Peninsula may have been left void of other villages for use as a game reserve (Rountree 1989:15). This may be true, but if other groups had wanted to inhabit this area their corn yields would have been rather poor. Due to the poor soils and Powhatan's early withdrawal from the area, it is not surprising that no Indian fields appeared in this area.

One area that should receive further study with regard to soil fertility, to better establish the possibly of a high corn yield, is the Nansemonds' home region. Upon initial inspection of this area (using the Suffolk County Soil Survey), it appears that the Nansemonds may have rivaled the Pamunkey neck in their access to highly-productive soils ("60% of the City of Suffolk meets the soil requirements for prime farmland") (USDA 1980:28), raising the possibility that the region represented the breadbasket of the Powhatan chiefdom.

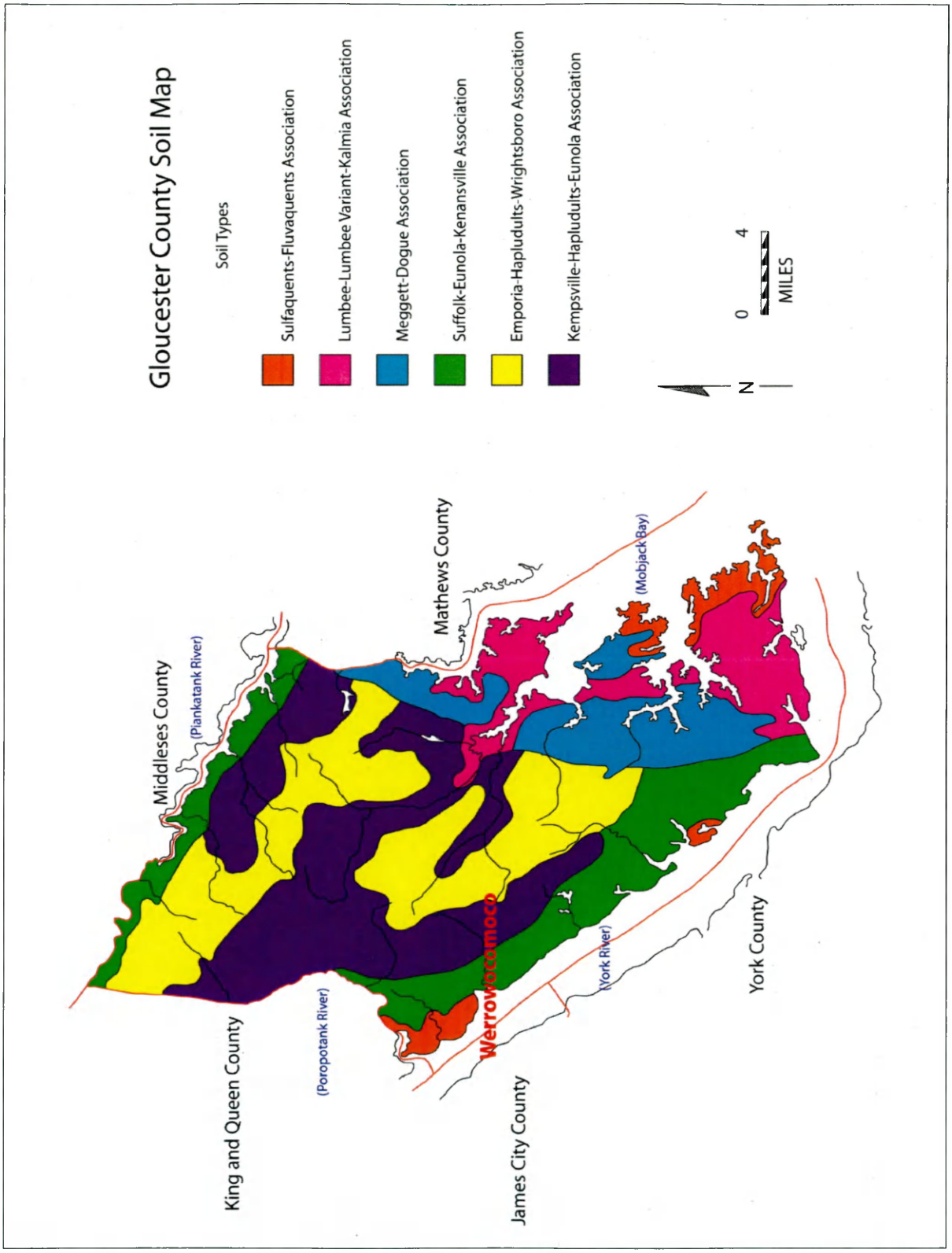

Figure 7 **Soil Map of Gloucester County.**

To summarize, this analysis of soil productivity in the Chesapeake started with the hypothesis that the locations of highly fertile soils would correspond with large political centers on John Smith's map. Though only a select few soil survey maps were thoroughly analyzed, productive soils do appear to correspond well with some political centers. However, as seen with Indian field concentrations, not all political centers are equally endowed with productive soils. Chickahominy, Pamunkey, and Nansemond are all centers located on highly productive soils while Kiskiak, Werowocomoco, and Kecoughtan are located on poor soils. Paspehegh appears to be located on sufficient to good soils.

According to the land patent analysis discussed in Chapter IV, Nansemond, Chickahominy, Paspahegh, and Weyanoke were all large corn producing political centers (with five or more Indian fields noted). The present review of soil surveys, which includes the locations of the Nansemond, Chickahominy, Pamunkey, and Paspahegh, has revealed the presence of fertile soils in the vicinity of these political centers. Poorer soils appear in other locations containing political centers, specifically Kiskiak, Werrowocomoco, and Kecoughtan, which also lacked concentrations of Indian fields. These patterns raise the possibility that the Nansemond and the Pamunkey may have served as the breadbaskets of the Powhatan Chiefdom as evidenced by the exceptional soil fertility in these areas. This analysis, showing that soil fertility does correspond to political centers associated with concentrations of Indian fields, supports the notion that the locations of Indian fields and Indian field concentrations truly do represent some of

the most productive agricultural lands. The map of Indian field locations likely does correspond with areas where corn was being produced in large quantities.

CHAPTER VI

NATIVE CORN IN ENGLISH HANDS

The following chapter considers evidence of early seventeenth century trade relations involving Jamestown colonists and Powhatan Indians. The objective is to add these accounts to evidence of "Indian field" locations and soil fertility patterns to better understand the Powhatan political landscape. As noted previously, I will evaluate this evidence in order to determine where and from whom the English acquired Native-grown corn. It is my hypothesis that Wahunsenacawh (Powhatan) attempted to centralize this commodity for trade, ensuring his own personal status and thus control of the Powhatan Chiefdom and its various constituents. However, English insertion into Native life and settlement of Native lands may have precluded any lasting influence by Powhatan and his control of the corn trade, specifically if he did not directly control the corn-producing fields. Powhatan's werowances appear to have had more direct control over corn-producing fields (i.e. the sub-chiefdoms of Nansemond, Paspahegh, Weyanoke, and Pamunkey) and possibly, over time, more influence on the trade of corn. As well, Powhatan's intentions of establishing a monopoly of the corn trade may have been interrupted by the Chickahominies, who were not officially part of Powhatan's Paramount Chiefdom.

Central to evaluating the hypothesis are documentary accounts of expeditions undertaken by the colonists to particular Native villages to trade for corn. These expeditions span the Virginia Company Period (1607-1624), when the Virginia Company of London, a group of shareholders, set out to establish commercial ventures in Virginia.

The chart below (Table 1) summarizes transactions involving the Jamestown colonists and Native communities. The chart does not record all episodes of trade between the colonists and Native American groups in the area. Rather, the data on exchange events compiled for this study represent trading events recorded in published sources that are easily accessible (e.g., letters, publications about Virginia by colonials, and Virginia Company of London Records). Specifically, I perused all trading events found within the Virginia Company of London Records, which are published in three volumes, as well as Edward Haile's compilation of colonial Virginia texts. I then studied these references to weed out any duplication (i.e., when one trading event was mentioned in more than one text). The chart below lists only trading expeditions which involved only identified Indian groups, as this is the information required for the investigation undertaken within this chapter. These instances of trade comprise the majority of the identified references, providing information on actual events in which trade between English settlers and Virginia Indians occurred. No doubt these records do not represent a comprehensive illustration of all occasions of trade. The observed patterns are, however, likely illustrative of historical interaction during the early seventeenth century.

These documented trading expeditions record a period during which corn obtained by the colonists from the Indians comprised a main source of subsistence. Of course many instances of Powhatan-Anglo trade and the English acquisition of Powhatan corn have gone undocumented. These may include individual/small scale trade, unlawful trading, trading of which documentation has been lost, and simply non-documented cases. Nevertheless, meaningful conclusions may be drawn from what is documented in this chart, especially when this information is combined with the other forms of evidence

gathered in this study. Included as instances of trade within this chart are eight commissions to trade or take corn within the Chesapeake Bay and its waterways given by the Governor of Virginia to certain individuals. These eight commissions direct individuals to go to particular places to trade (the Patewomecks (two separate commissions), the Pamunkeys, along the Chickahominy River, the Tanx Powhatans, the Nansemonds (two visits mentioned), the Wariscoyacks, and the Weyanocks). For example:

> CCCLXXX. Governor Wyatt. Commissions To Captain Pierce, To Captain Samuell Mathews, And To Others
>
> July 17, 23, 1623
>
> To all to whom these presente shall come, I Sr Francis Wyatt Lt Governor and Capt generall of Virginia, sendeth greeting in or Lord God everlastinge. Whereas there is no meanes so probable to worke the ruine, and destruccon of our Salvage & treacherous enemies, as cutting downe theire Corne in the fitt season, seeing they have so many lurkeing places to escape the execucon of the Sword by flight: Out of the assured confidence I conceave of the valor and circumspection of my trustie, and welbeloved frend, Capt William Peirce, I have made choise of him, And hereby do Comand & athorise him to choose both out of the Plantation of the other side the River oposite against James Cittie, and the Corporation thereof, such and so many as he in his discretion shall think fittest for service, and a Competent number to pforme it (leaving the Plantatione in the meane while able to subsist and defend themselves against the enemy) together with theire Armes and Munition, and such Shallope (belonging to any of theire Plantation) as he shall think necessarie: And so provided to go up Chickohuomini River to the Plantatione of the Salvages there, or to any other places adioyning (where conveniently they may) and to pursue the Salvages with fire and Sword, especially to employ himself & his Company in cutting down and destroying theire Corne, And the better to enable the said Capt William Peirce, to manage this accon, I do here by give him full power and authority to punish all such of his Company as shall offend either in neglect of wach and ward, or generally in not obeyinge the Comand of the said Capt William Peirce, with all the punishmente (life only exepted) wich are usuall in services of that nature and necessarie for upholding the discipline of warr: Straightly chargeing and Comanding as well the Comanders of the above said Plantatione, to be aiding

> and assistinge to the said Capt William Pierce, in the levy of such men, as he shall choose, if any (wich we doubt not) shall refuse so generall and necessarie a service; and likewise all those that shall accompany him in this expedition, readily and diligently to execute the Comand of the said Capt Willm Peirce, as they will answer ye contrary att theire further perille. In Wyttnes whereof I have hereunto putt my hand Colony Seale, this 17th day of July, in the yeares of the Raigne of or Soveraigne Lord James by the grace of God, of England, Frannce, Ireland King, defendor of the faith etc the xxjth, And of Scotland the Lvj 1623 The 17th yeare of this Plantation.
>
> Francis Wyatt
>
> The like Comission (mutatis mutandis) was graunted to Capt Samuell Mathews to go uppon the Tanx Powhatans.
> To Capt Nath: West uppon the Apomatacks, and Tanx Weyonaques.
> To Capt Willm Tucker uppon the Nansamums, & Wariscoyacks.
> All wich fell uppon them on the same day namely the 23th of July 1623. A week after Capt Isack Maddison marched against the Great Weyonaques and Capt Tucker the second time to Nansamum.
>
> (Kingsbury 1935 IV (II): 250-251)

Five other commissions were also recorded, though these were general commissions to trade or take corn within the Chesapeake Bay and its waterways and are therefore not included in the chart due to their general nature. In total, thirteen commissions were given to individuals to trade or take corn by force. Though these commissions provide documentation that corn *was* to be acquired, they are not evidence that corn was actually received. There are several letters sent sometime after the commissions were given in which the acquisition of corn is mentioned, thus these commissions are each treated as one expedition that necessarily acquired corn. Below is an example of one letter in which the attainment of corn is mentioned, helping to confirm one commission as an actual excursion that did acquire corn.

CDXXIX. Council in Virginia. A Letter To The Virginia Company of London

January 30, 1623/24

Right Honobl &.

Wee receaved your Letters by the Bonny Besse and the George, wherunto (though divers shipps have since retorned) wee have been enforced through the absence of the Govnor To defer our replie, as also owt of our desire to enforme you of other accidents and pceedings.

Wee have to our uttermost abilities revenged ourselves uppone the Salvages havinge uppon this river, Cut downe theire Corne in all places with was planted in great abundance uppon hope of a fraudulent peace, with intent to provide them selves, for a future warr, and to sustaine their confederates, burninge down the howses they had reedified, and with the slaughter of many enforced them to abandone theire plantations, and had soe served the rest, yf in yt tyme of our gretest scarcitie, & noe reliefe to be founde amoungste ye Enemyes) want of meanes to feede the souldiers had not Constrayned us to desiste.

Not withstandinge ye Gournor as soone as our Corne was ripe, sett forwarde to the River of Patomak to settle the trade wth our freends, and to revenge the trecherie of ye Pascoticons and theire assocyates, beinge the greatest people in those ptes of Virginia, Who had cutt of Capt Spillman and mr Pountis his Pynnace, In wch expeditione he putt many to the swoorde, burnt theire Howses, with a marvelous quantetie of Corne carryed by them into the woodes, as it was nott possible to bringe it to our boates,

The maine reasone yt invited the Gounor into that river, was an agrement made the last yeere by mr Threasurer with the Patomakcs, our ancyent alies, of whome greate numbers were murthered by those nations, not only to asiste us in that revenge, but to accompeny us and bee our guides in a warr against the Pomunkeys, wich would have been very Advantagious unto us, The unsesonablenes of the weather havinge longer detayned him then the necessitie of the Countrey, could consent to, enforced him to leave of his Chief intentione for Ponunka, . . .

(Kingsbury, Vol. IV: 450-451)

These expeditions most likely "visited" various places mentioned in the chart and others not mentioned in the chart, but only where a specific place was mentioned was it included. Also, one should keep in mind that the "Chickahominy" and "Pamunkey" may consist of various different villages along those rivers of the same name. These villages may all identify under that one identity or not. The English most likely combined these

under the river names. Thus the listings under Chickahominy, Mamanahunt, Matapamient, Morinogh, Ascacap, Moysenock, Righkahauk, Neckanichock, Mattahunt, and Attamuspincke that John Smith reported to have visited along the Chickahominy River may later have been mentioned solely under the name "Chickahominy". Consequently, when speaking about the prominence of the Chickahominy in trading, one should keep in mind that this term "Chickahominy" may represent several "villages" or "towns" located along the Chickahominy River. This of course does not mean that these different towns did not identify themselves as a cohesive group. An appendix at the end of this thesis lists each account recorded and its location within the documents (see Appendix C).

Table 1 English Expeditions to Acquire Indian Corn

Village	Expeditions	Time Span
Patawomeck	6	1610-1624
Kegquoahtan	1	1607
Warraskoyack	3	1607-1623
Paspahegh	3	1607
Chickahominy	5	1607-1623
Mamanahunt*	2	1607
Matapamient*	1	1607
Morinogh*	1	1607
Ascacap*	1	1607
Moysenock*	1	1607
Righkahauck*	1	1607
Nechanichock*	1	1607
Mattahunt*	1	1607
Attamuspincke*	1	1607
Werramocomoca	3	1608
Kiskiak	1	1608
Nansemond	6	1608-1623
Pamunkey	3	1620-1623
Wyanokes	2	1623
Tapahatonahs	1	1623

Village	Expeditions	Time Span
Tanx Powhatans	2	1623
Necochincos	1	1623

*Visited by John Smith while on a trading expedition along the Chickahominy River

Of the 52 instances of trading or stealing taking place, 22 took place after the 1622 Powhatan uprising so that 42% of documented instances of exchange over 17 years took place in the final 3 years. These latter encounters are most likely forced exchanges taking place and not the result of Indian solicitation. These references provide insight as to where the English sought corn and who most likely possessed it. Of the exchanges listed in the chart, this analysis will pay special attention to those places that were visited three times or more by the English for the purpose of obtaining corn. The assumption is that these places were more prominent places for obtaining corn for various reasons and at various times. These places, in order of frequency, include: Patawomeck (6), Nansemond (6), Chickahominy (5), Paspahegh (3), Werrowocomoco (3), Warraskoyack (3), and Pamunkey (3).

Patawomeck, located on the Patomac River, is considered to be a "fringe" of the Powhatan Chiefdom (Rountree 1990:13-14). So far removed in location from direct control by Powhatan, the Patawomeck were probably not part of the "core" of the Powhatan polity, but rather allied themselves with the Powhatans when the need arose. The Patawomecks were the group that helped the English capture Pocahontas in 1613 (Haile 1998:52). Necessarily, they were not always in league with Powhatan. Their high involvement in trade relations with the English involving corn comes as no surprise. Their location, removed from the area directly surrounding Jamestown, may imply that

their supplies were not always exhausted from constant trade with the English. The English first traveled to Patawomeck after happening upon the king of Pastancie, the brother to the king of Patawomeck, as he hunted along the Nansemond River. The king of Pastancie invited the English to trade for a large amount of corn (Haile 1998: 753). The Patawomeck king, no doubt, had learned of the prestige items the English had to offer and probably sought to make an ally of the English, possibly so that he could use the distance from Powhatan and the English to manipulate both groups as well as obtain prestige goods. Rountree drew similar conclusions regarding the Patawomecks' desire to remain aloof to both the English and Powhatan's Chiefdom (Rountree 1990:70). From the beginning, the English set out to make alliances with groups far removed from the Powhatan core, thus adding to possible allies who could become useful enemies against Powhatan's Chiefdom when the time arose, such as in the case of Pocahontas' abduction (Haile 1998:24).

The Chickahominies (a term, as used by the English, probably referring to many different locations along the Chickahominy River) as has already been mentioned, were the only group not directly under Powhatan's control. It is not surprising that the Chickahominies were prominent traders of corn. They too sought to create relationships with the English that were both political and economic. The Chickahominies were likely concerned about the possibility of being swallowed up by Powhatan's "empire" if they were not allied to the English, who now controlled the influx of prestige items. Also, the Chickahominies' location on productive soils and ownership of numerous Indian fields put them in an advantageous position to be prime producers of corn and to have the available surplus to trade to the English.

The Nansemonds, who consistently traded with the English, resided within a large political center located on prime farming soil. The following is John Smith's relation of the first trip to the Nansemonds to trade:

> [...] we discovered the River of Nausamd [Nansemond], a proud, warlike nation, [...]
> The king at our arrival sent for me to come unto him. I sent him word what commodities I had to exchange for wheat, and if he would as had the rest of his neighbors conclude a peace, we were contented. [...]
>
> This river [Nansemond River] is a musket-shot broad, each side being shoal bays, a narrow channel but three fadom, his course for eighteen miles almost directly south and by west, where beginneth the first inhabitants. For a mile it turneth directly east, towards the west a great bay and a white chalky island convenient for a fort; his next course south, where within a quarter of a mile, the river divideth in two, the neck a plain high cornfield, the wester bought a high plain likewise, the northeast answerable in all respects. In these plains are planted abundance of houses and people. They may contain 1000 acres of most excellent fertile ground, so sweet, so pleasant, so beautiful, and so strong a prospect for an invincible strong city with so many commodities, that I know as yet I have not seen. This is within one day's journey of Chawwonocke. The river falleth into the Kings River within twelve miles of Cape Hendicke [Henry].
>
> (Haile 1998: 173-174)

As John Smith's "kind oration" demonstrates, the English recognized that the area contained prime soils for farming. The colonists returned several times seeking to obtain corn from the rich Nansemond harvest. On one of these occasions the Nansemonds were forced to give the English half of their store of winter corn (Haile1998:293). It was at this time that the Nansemonds promised to plant more corn specifically for the English during the next planting season. When the English returned they stole all of the Nansemond's corn and destroyed their homes (Haile 1998: 778, 829). The Nansemonds, therefore, did not trade willingly but were forced to produce corn specifically for the English.

The Paspagheghs were the Native group closest to the Jamestown settlement. Consequently there were several encounters between the Paspagheghs and Jamestown colonists during the first year the colonists arrived (Rountree 1990:30-36). Soon after, though, the Paspaheghs abandoned the area due to constant conflict with the English (Rountree 1990:55). The Paspaheghs played a somewhat prominent role in the corn trade only during the early days of the Colony primarily due to their close proximity, and, as demonstrated in the chart below, they did not trade large amounts of corn with the English.

Warraskoyack, with three mentions of trade encounters in the above chart, was also not far from Jamestown. As revealed in Chapter IV, Warraskoyack did not have a large number of Indian fields. Though this group was visited by the English in 1607 - 1623, they do not appear to have been a primary corn producer or relied upon as such by the English. It is more likely their close proximity and accessibility resulted in the three visits by the English.

Werowocomoco was also visited three times by the English to obtain corn. As Werowocomoco represented Powhatan's seat of power, this comes as no surprise. One would expect storage of corn at the settlement from which Powhatan received tribute. There were probably some cornfields located in the vicinity, though, as the map of Indian field locations and soil fertility demonstrates, these were likely scarce in number. Thus, much of the corn present at Werowocomoco was probably brought to Powhatan as tribute. Trade at Werowocomoco was not long-lived; soon (in 1609) Powhatan removed himself from the village for fear of the English threat (Haile 1998:301-300). Direct trade with the Pamunkeys finally appears in 1620, when the English seem to have decided to

go directly to the source, and no longer through Powhatan. Some trade with the Pamunkeys most likely occurred earlier, though not on such a large scale as to be documented. The Pamunkeys were located on prime farming soil and most likely produced an abundance of corn. The consistent (though later) interaction between the English and the Pamunkeys involving English acquisition of corn demonstrates that the Pamunkeys either produced substantial surpluses of corn or dominated those who did.

Table 2 is a list of documented quantities of corn as they appear in the documents in chronological order from 1607-1623. It is clear from the chart that there is a dramatic increase over time in the quantity of corn acquired. Many of the final amounts were ultimately stolen from the Indians, though occasionally the English colonists made some effort to compensate the Indians:

> *An order of the General Assembly touching a clause in Captain Martin's Patent at James Citty, July 30, 1619*
>
> ... Then came there in a complainte against Captain Martin, that having sente his Shallop to trade for corne into the baye, under the commaunde of one Ensigne Harrison, the saide Ensigne should affirme to one Thomas Davis, of Paspaheighe, Gent. (as the said Thomas Davis deposed upon oathe,) that they had made a harde voiage, had they not mett with a canoa coming out of a creeke where their shallop could not goe. For the Indians refusing to sell their Corne, those of the shallop entered the Canoa with their armes and tooke it by force, measuring out the corne with a baskett they had into the Shallop and (as the said Ensigne Harrison saith) giving them satisfaction in copper beades and other trucking stuffe.
>
> (Kingsbury, Vol. III: 157)

Table 2 Amounts of Corn Acquired by the English

Villages From Which Corn Was Acquired	Quantity	Date
Kegquouhtan	16 bushels	1607
Warraskoyack	15 bushels	1607

Villages From Which Corn Was Acquired	Quantity	Date
Paspahegh	10-12 bushels	1607
Paspahegh	8-10 bushels	1607
Paspahegh	8-10 bushels	1607
Mamanahunt	7 hogsheads*	1607
Mamanahunt	300-400 baskets (7-8 hogsheads*)	1607
Kiskiak (and probably Werrowocomoco)	250 bushels	1608
Werrowocomoco	7-8 bushels plus much more	1608
Chickahamania	100 bushels	1608
Werrowocomoco	3-4 hogsheads*	1608
Nansemund	100 bushels	1608
Patawomeck	1100 bushels	1613
Nansamond	2100 bushels	1613/1612
Patawomeck	800 bushels	1620
Nansemond, Warescoyke, Pamunkie, Wyanokes	1000 bushels	1623
Tapahatonahs, Tanx Powhatan, Chickahominy, Patowomecks, and Necochincos	3000 bushels	1623

*1 Hogshead = 6.75 – 15 bushels
(The above values are not considered accurate, just representative of a general trend and relative to one another)

The table suggests that, over time, the Indians produced more corn to exchange with the English or to be appropriated by the English. On various occasions Native American groups hid their cornfields from the English while promising the English that they would plant more for them (Kingsbury 1906-1935: Vol. IV: 99, 508). The evidence of exchange, as discussed in this chapter, confirms that the Pamunkeys, Chickahominies, and the Nansemonds served as primary producers of corn, ultimately controlling this staple.

The evidence of trade relations also highlights Native practices aimed at centralizing control of surplus production. Powhatan initially tried to centralize corn surpluses (through tribute) and to control its trade as seen in the higher frequency of trade from Werrowocomoco combined with the previous analysis confirming the lack of Indian fields in the area. As has also become clear in the present analysis of trade, Powhatan was unable to maintain control of corn as a commodity to be traded. The English apparently found it more beneficial to go straight to the corn-producing areas themselves, which appear to have been controlled locally by individual groups or subchiefdoms such as the Pamunkeys, Chickahominies, and the Nansemonds, as can be seen from the number of times the English visited these locations and the large amounts of corn acquired.

In the end, the English still demanded corn from the Indians, inducing increased corn production for the purpose of exchange. The analysis within this chapter offers evidence that corn became a centralized "commodity" produced in surplus for exchange, a development that apparently departed from traditional Powhatan practices. The following chapter evaluates this development in greater detail. Ultimately, by the mid seventeenth century what the English typically seized from Virginia Indians was no longer corn but land on which to produce tobacco, the new cash crop.

CHAPTER VII

A DISCUSSION OF THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

During the early seventeenth century in the Chesapeake region, corn played a dynamic role within Native societies as a staple produced for consumption, a surplus produced for tribute, and ultimately as a pseudo commodity produced for exchange. Due to these prominent roles in social relations before and after the contact period, corn is central to understanding the political landscape of the Powhatan Chiefdom. Evidence presented in the preceding chapters concerning the spatial dynamics of this landscape demonstrates how political actors, notably Algonquian werowances, appear to have manipulated corn production and distribution across space and over time. This manipulation was carried out by individual actions guided by historical and traditional practices of the Virginia Algonquians, which also improvised on these traditions in the novel circumstances presented by the colonial encounter.

The analyses conducted within the preceding chapters involved identifying every occurrence of the term "Indian field" from seventeenth century land patents (property deeds of ownership) and locating them on a map of the immediate area surrounding Jamestown. This area includes the early counties of Lower Norfolk, Upper Norfolk, Isle of Wight, James City, Charles City, Warwick River, Elizabeth City, Charles River (York), New Kent, Gloucester, and Nansemond (Upper Norfolk). These locations were then compared to Native political centers located on John Smith's 1608 map to see how Indian fields and Native political centers corresponded to one another.

After finding that concentrations of Indian fields did indeed correspond to several Native political centers, these locations were then compared with soil fertility, as identified on soil survey maps. The locations of Indian field concentrations also corresponded to areas of high soil fertility confirming their high productivity of crop yields.

Next, I used historic documents to discover the locations from which the English were obtaining their corn. Some of these locations corresponded to the primary locations from which corn was being produced and some did not. It appears that this difference is the result of politicized control of corn distribution early in the colonial era.

Critical to this study of the spatial organization of maize production and exchange has been the application of a landscape approach, looking at both the physical/ecological and cultural makeup of the Algonquian landscape. The principles of both economic theory and practice theory used in conjunction with this landscape approach have allowed for the spatial visibility of Powhatan political dynamics. Economic theory and practice theory have both allowed for inferences to be made concerning the cultural reasoning illustrated by the trends observed within the spatial analyses of corn production and exchange of the Powhatan Chiefdom during initial English settlement of Virginia.

Traditionally, the sub-chiefs, one of whom was Powhatan's brother, Opecancanough, paid tribute to Powhatan and belonged to the larger paramount chiefdom. From this practice they retained control within their village and a larger status within the rest of the chiefdom. With the influx of prestige items accompanying the English presence, the sub-chiefs found a new way to gain status and power. Assuming a large role in the English trade would not have gone against the traditional norms, as the

sub-chiefs were still trying to retain control within their village and within the larger world which now included trade with the English. The change within the political system and the alteration of what constituted status and control with the initial settlement of the English was not a result of non-traditional practices but was the result of varying practices with constraints. In the face of English colonization, in which the people of the Powhatan Chiefdom first thought the English were just "visiting," (Rountree 1990) practice theory becomes useful for understanding Native reactions to the English, which were various; traditional, untraditional, "new," and historical.

The actions of Native individuals were made in response to the changing role of corn within the Powhatan world. Corn was now an exchange item that was produced in surplus quantities. When the chief placed constraints on a crop, forcing those under his domain to produce a surplus, he altered subsistence patterns and forced further constraints on his own precarious position. As well, the new exchange value of corn provided this staple with a new identity not unlike a commodity, as found in a market economy. The exchange of corn lacked the debt attached to tribute items that were given with only expectations received in return. For this reason corn became an alienable item in the face of a traditionally non-commodity (gift) economy, where items given are inalienable. The economy and as a result the political landscape of the Powhatan chiefdom were in a state of flux. Those who controlled the mode of production ultimately gained greater control over the "market", the commodity, and the exchange transaction.

The documentary accounts indicate that Powhatan elites brought corn, possibly in the form of tribute, to central locations from which it was traded to the English, though

this consolidation did not persist. Powhatan initially attempted to control this exchange by centralizing trade with the English at Werowocomoco, his seat of power. As time wore on and Powhatan removed himself from this seat of residence, political prominence shifted to his brother, Opecancanough, who was a prominent individual throughout the early historical documents. At one point competition between the brothers even becomes apparent to the English observers:

> This day we spent in trading, dancing, and much mirth. The King of Pamaunke sent his messenger – as yet not knowing Captain Nuport – to come unto him who had long expected me, desiring also my father to visit him. The messenger stayed to conduct us, but Powhatan, understanding that we had hatchets lately come from Paspahegh, desired the next day to trade with us and [for us] not to go further
>
> This new trick he cunningly put upon him, but only to have what he listed, and to try whether we would go or stay. Opechankenough's messenger returned [to say] that we would not come. The next day his daughter came to entreat me, showing her father had hurt his leg, and much sorrowed he could not see me.
>
> Captain Nuport, being not to be persuaded to go, in that Powhatan had desired us to stay, sent her away with the like answer. Yet the next day, upon better consideration, entreaty prevailed and we anchored at Cinquoateck, the first town above the parting of the river, where dwelled two kings of Pamaunke, brothers to Powhatan, the one called Opitchapam, the other Katatough. To these I went ashore, who kindly entreated me and Master Scrivener, sending some presents aboard to Captain Nuport whilst we were trucking with these kings.
>
> Opechankanough, his wife, women, and children came to meet me with a natural kind affection; he seemed to rejoice to see me.
>
> (Haile 1998:171-172)

It appears that Opecancanough and Powhatan both tried to compete for access to English trade. After Powhatan removed himself from Werowocomoco, the English began to visit Opecancanough and the Pamunkeys directly to acquire corn (see Chapter V). One researcher has even suggested that Opecancanough coordinated the 1622 and 1644 attacks, not soley as an expression of his prowess as a leader, but in response to

violent and unreciprocated acts of exchange with the English (Mallios 1998). These acts include the theft of corn by the English from the Pamunkeys and other Native groups.

Prior to 1622 the English traded glass beads, copper, and iron tools for corn. The English were well aware that the influx of these prestige goods into the Native world had to be kept under control in order to retain their value (Kingsbury 1906-1935: Vol. III: 495). According to John Smith "those at the fort [Jamestown] so glutted the savages with their commodities as they became not regarded," (Haile 1998: 232). Indeed, archaeological studies suggest that the spread of prestige items initiated the decentralization of power within the Paramount Chiefdom (Potter 1989, 1993). There appears to have been many other contributing factors to this decentralization, including the spread of disease, starvation, and relocation. Ultimately the loss of central control over the mode of production, the corn producing fields, dealt a final blow to the Powhatan polity.

The emergence of Powhatan's Paramount Chiefdom was a recent occurrence in 1607, one in which different groups with various identities took on what was supposed to be a cohesive whole maintained through a tributary system. With the appearance of the English and a new "market" for trade in "commodities" produced for the purpose of exchange, Powhatan was forced into a new role, one that responded to a new set of economic and political circumstances. Powhatan tried to control the corn trade and the new exchange value which corn had now acquired, but what Powhatan did not control was the local mode of production, the corn producing fields. These fields appear to have been controlled locally at the village level by various subchiefs (i.e. werowances) of the Powhatan chiefdom rather than at the chiefdom level by Powhatan himself. The

werowances, Powhatan's commanders, retained direct control over their village(s), the actual locality of corn production. Thus the primary corn producing areas were directly controlled by the werowances giving them political and economic prominence, even if not social and traditional prominence as was Powhatan's domain. Ultimately the switch from a use value to an exchange value for corn, the localized mode of production, and werowances' traditional roles are what structured the political landscape and its development with the appearance of the English.

The Chickahominies maintained their autonomy from Powhatan due to their large population and their colonial role as suppliers of corn. It is likely no coincidence that Chickahominy autonomy went hand in hand with a large number of Indian fields or that the Chickahominies traded large amounts of corn with the English. The Chickahominies appear to have competed with Powhatan for English trade in an effort to counter Powhatan's authority. The Pamunkeys, led by Powhatan's brothers, who were also his successors and much invested in the Powhatan Chiefdom, were large suppliers of corn, possibly in the form of tribute for trade and redistribution. Powhatan's brother, Opecancanough, soon became the leader of the Pamunkeys. His political prominence grew as the Pamunkeys' corn producing fields became the direct focus of English attentions. The Nansemonds were also large producers of corn and were consistently harassed by the English for their larger than average quantities of corn.

The political landscape of the Powhatan chiefdom changed drastically with the advent of English intrusion. The new economic situation created by the trade of maize challenged traditional leadership roles. Powhatan's newly formed paramount chiefdom was unable to perpetuate itself partially due to this lack of economic and political control

over the movement of maize. The political landscape of the Powhatan chiefdom was indeed comprised of a conglomerate of political centers and political actors who struggled to maintain their own status and control, while at the same time negotiating the new political, economic, and social situation created by the English.

This study has focused on the movement of maize as this process helped shape and define the political landscape within Powhatan's Chiefdom at the time of initial English settlement and into the seventeenth century. Exchange brought the colonists into the realm of the Native American political world, sometimes as subordinates, other times as equal allies. This relationship was redefined several times during the seventeenth century, and ultimately the colonists prevailed, allowing the English to define the terms of colonial discourse.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Land Patents (1635-1694) With the Term "Indian Field"

Case #	Year	Use of the Term	County	Patent Holder	Acres	Pg. #	Waterways and Land Marks
1	1635	In the Indian field	Charles Citty	Thomas Causey	150	21	N. Upon Jordan's Journey, Chaplin's Choice
2	1635	Unto an old Indian field	James Citty	Thomas Phillips	600	26	Chichahominy and Main River
3	1635	N. Side of the Indian field	Charles Citty	Edward Sparsshott	450	34	Merchants Hope Creek
4	1636	Old Indian field belonging to the land	Warrisquick	Christopher Reynolds	450	47	Main Creek, Creek
5	1636	The great Indian field	Warwicksq	Richard Young	350	51	Up the river S. Of great Indian field
6	1637	Upon two small Indian fields	Upper New Norfolk	Thomas Hampton	700	56	Nansamund River, Powells Creek
7	1637	The great Indian field	Lower New Norfolk	Thomas Allen	550	57	The first baye, the long creek, Chrisopeiack River
8	1637	An old Indian field	Upper New Norfolk	Thomas Hampton	100	71	Nansamund River Small Creek
9	1637	Thomas Jordan's great Indian field N.	NA	Richard Preston	100	76	Brooke (Indian snare)
10	1638	A small Indian field some 2 mi.	Charles City	Edward Sparshott	400	86	Merchants Hope Creek
11	1638	A little Indian field	NA	William Morgan	816	91	Chichahominy River
12	1638	Above an Indian field about ...a mile	Lower New Norfolk	Thomas Todd	250	92	Little Creek, Fresh water pond
13	1639	The Indian fields	Charles River	George Minifye	3000	120	Queens Creek, Timberneck Creek, Charles River, the creek

Case #	Year	Use of the Term	County	Patent Holder	Acres	Pg. #	Waterways and Land Marks
14	1642	Certain Indian fields	NA	Francis Barrett	600	138	Chickahominy River
15	1643	The Indian Field	NA	Joseph Croshawe	350	152	See patent
16	1643	Being the Indian town in an Indian field	Upper Norfolk	William Brooke	250	153	Swd. Or mayne branch of Nasimond River
17	1647	The Indian Fields	NA	Edward Bland	1300	171	S. Side of James, Upper Chipoaks, Swann Bay
—	1649	An old Indian field	North Hampton	Edward Scarburgh	2000	183	Occahanniche Creek, maine bay, Craddockes Creek
—	1650	And ould Indian field	Northumber-land	Hugh Lee	100	205	See patent
18	1651	The Indian field	York	Joseph Croshaw	1000	222	York River, poplar neck, St. Andrews Creek, Croshaw Creek
19	1652	An Indian field, Mr. Mathews field	Charles Citty	James Warradine	1070	273	S. Side James River
20	1653	A small Indian field	NA	William Fry	750	276	Head of chichamony River Fleets quarter
21	1652	The Indian Fields	James Citty	Jane bland	3000	277	Head of upper chipoaks swann Bay
22	1653	An Indian field	NA	Robert Arball	1010	282	Mattapony, mouth of Apostoquo Creek
23	1655	Near the great Indian field, of M. Barrett	James Citty	John Lynge	300	306	N. Side of Chichahominy head of Tyascond
24	1655	The Indian fields	New Kent	William Hoccaday	640	311	S. Side of York, Warreny main branch, Hoccadies
—	1656	An old Indian field	Northumber-land	Hugh Lee	388	319	A swamp of Kings Creek

Case #	Year	Use of the Term	County	Patent Holder	Acres	Pg. #	Waterways and Land Marks
—	1658	A small Indian field	Rappahanock	James Baughan	250	366	See patent
—	1658	An Indian field	Westmore-land	William Strouder	500	371	Herring Creek or Nominy River
25	1658	Including all Indian fields SW of Warrany	New Kent	William Hoccaday	1280	376	S. Side of York, Warrany main branch
26	1658	Neere the great Indian field of Margaret Barrett	James city	John Linge	300	378	N. Side of Chickahominy, Tyascond
27	1658	Including two Indian fields	Isle of Wight	Thomas Harris	1000	386	Nansamond River
28	1658	Including certain Indian fields	New Kent	Mr. W. M. Blackey	1400	387	Little Queens Creek
29	1662	By an Indian field	New Kent	W. M. Pullam	580	396	S. Side of Narrows of York Mattedecum Creek
30	1660	Of a great Indian field	New Kent	James Hurd	1770	404	S. side of York, Old Warraney Town, Brushes
—	1660	By an Indian field side	Rappahanock	Samuel Griffin	1155	408	N. of Rappahanock, head of Farnham Creek, Morrattaquond
31	1663	Nigh an Indian field	NA	William West	2500	427	E. Side Pequimmin River, Curraticke
—	1663	Unto an Indian field	Rappahanock	James Samford	400	433	Totoskey Creek, Richards Creek
—	1662	To an Indian field	Westmore-land	William Strouder	500	435	Herring Creek or Nominy River
—	1664	Near an Indian field	Rappahanock	Thomas Griffith	350	441	N. Side of Rappahanock, Farneham Creek, Moratticoe Creek

Case #	Year	Use of the Term	County	Patent Holder	Acres	Pg. #	Waterways and Land Marks
32	1664	Below an Indian field called Rockahocaw	New Kent	Susan Austin	50	457	See patent
33	1663	Running nigh an Indian field	New Kent	John Horsington	1750	479	Black Creek, by Westover path
34	1662	By the Indian field	Hampton Parish, Yorke	William Barber	596	480	SW. side Yorke, Felgates marsh, Barbers Creek
35	1662	An Indian field	NA	Robert Arball	1010	485	Mattapony River, Apotosque Creek, Acquintimack Creek
36	1662	Cross an Indian field Mr. Matthews Indian Field	Charles City	James Warradine	1070	494	James River
—	1663	To an Indian field	Rappahanock	Thomas Robinson	700	497	N. side of Rappahanock River, Totoskey Creek
37	1663	Includes a small Indian field	James City	William Peawde (& G. S.)	1000	502	SW. side Chickahominy, Mattahancks N., Muskowt
—	1663	By Indian fields, land of the Indians	Rappahanock	John Shurlocke	410	505	Totoskey Creek
—	1663	In an Indian field	Rappahanock	Robert Balis	153	508	Rappahanock River, Totoskey, Richards his Creek
—	1664	Upon an Indian field	Northumber-land	Mathew Rhodam	393	510	Kings Creek
38	1662	Neere the great Indian field, Margaret Barrett	James City	John Ling	370	513	Chickhomeny River, Tyascum
39	1664	Neck of land, most of it Indian fields	Gloucester	Gilbert Metcalfe	810	523	Peancketancke

Case #	Year	Use of the Term	County	Patent Holder	Acres	Pg. #	Waterways and Land Marks
40	1665	Butting on an Indian field of Titus Carly (?)	Nancimond	William Wright	100	543	See patent
41	1665	A small Indian field	Charles City	William Hunt	346	545	The river
—	1665	SE. to an Indian field, to an Indian field	Westmore-land	William Overett	590	547	Nomany River
42	1667	An old Indian field called Mountsack	Isle of Wight or Nansemond	Thomas Woodward	1100	13	Blackwater, Chawon or Chawonock River
43	1668	Nere an Indian field	James City	Thomas Maples (& W. H.)	536	44	See patent
44	1668	Including two Indian fields	Isle of Wight	Joseph Bridges	1000	53	Nazemond River
45	1670	An Indian field	Warwick	Humphry Harwood	2644	78	Skeaths Creek, neare the Mill Motte's Poynt
—	1667	By an Indian field	Rappahanock	Ambros Cleare	1155	78	Rappahanock River, Fernanan Creek, Marratecoe
—	1673	An old Indian field	North-hampton	Edmund Scarbrough	2350	125	Occohanock Creek, Craddocke Creek
—	1673	An old Indian field	North-hampton	Edmond Scarbrough	2350	130	Occahanock Creek, Craddocke Creek, Nondue
46	NA	To an Indian field	Rappahanock & New Kent	George Morris	2100	148	See patent
47	1674	Nigh a small Indian field	Charles Citty	Edward Richards	1528	154	S. side of James River, Wards Creek
48	1675	By an Indian field	James Citty	Theodore Hone Jr.	736	170	Warrany Creek
49	1679	Neare an Indian field	James Citty	Henry Hartwell	736	200	Warrany Creek

Case #	Year	Use of the Term	County	Patent Holder	Acres	Pg. #	Waterways and Land Marks
50	1682	A small Indian field	James Citty	William Peawde	1000	229	Chickohominy River, Toakins Creek, Mattahancks N., Musk.
51	1682	An old Indian Field called Mountsack	Isle of Wight or Nanzemond	John Giles	1100	229	Black Water, Chawen or Chawanock River
52	1682	By an Indian field	New Kent	Thomas Mitchell	2436	253	Skimino, Towwink
53	1683	By an Indian field	New Kent	Richard Johnson and John Pigg	1150	259	Mattopany River, Holly Point Creek
54	1686	Near an old Indian field	Charles City	George Blighton	1010	304	Southern Run
55	1690	Near an Indian field	James City	William Edwards	736	354	Warany Creek
56	1694	Neare an Indian Field	James City	Henry Duke	736	387	Warrany Creek, Birchin Sw.

* Page number of abstract in Nell Nugent's compilations (1963, 1977).

APPENDIX B

Soil Descriptions for James City and York Counties and The City of Williamsburg

Soils On Low Coastal Plains and River Terraces

Tomotley-Altavista-Dragston: Deep, poorly drained, moderately well drained, and somewhat poorly drained soils that dominantly are loamy and are nearly level; on low flats and terraces.

Levy-Pamundey-Dogue: Deep, very poorly drained, well drained, and moderately well drained soils that dominantly are clayey or loamy and are nearly level or gently sloping; in freshwater marshes and on low terraces.

Emporia-Bohicket-Slagle: Deep, well drained, very poorly drained, and moderately well drained soils that dominantly are loamy or clayey and are nearly level to very steep; on escarpments and side slopes and in saline or brackish water marshes.

Peawick-Emporia-Levy: Deep, moderately well drained, well drained, and very poorly drained soils that dominantly are clayey or loamy and are nearly level to very steep; on high terraces, escarpments, and side slopes and in freshwater marshes.

Soils On Coastal Plain Uplands

Bethera-Izagora-Slagle: Deep, poorly drained and moderately well drained soils that dominantly are clayey or loamy and are nearly level to gently sloping; on flats and in depressions on uplands.

Slagle-Emporia-Uchee: Deep, moderately well drained and well drained soils that dominantly are loamy and are gently sloping to very steep; on uplands.

Emporia-Craven-Uchee: Deep, well drained and moderately well drained soils that dominantly are loamy or clayey and are gently sloping to very steep; on uplands ridges and side slopes.

Kempsville-Emporia-Suffolk: Deep, well drained soils that dominantly are loamy and are gently sloping to very steep; on upland ridges and side slopes.

Soil Descriptions for New Kent County

Coastal Plain Uplands, Side Slopes, and Upland Flood Plains

Kempsville-Emporia-Suffolk: Very deep, well drained, gently sloping soils that dominantly have a loamy subsoil; on narrow to broad ridges.

Caroline-Emporia: Very deep, well drained, gently sloping soils that dominantly have a clayey and loamy subsoil; on narrow to broad ridges.

Slagle-Craven-Emporia: Very deep, moderately well drained and well drained, gently sloping, undulating soils that have a loamy and clayey subsoil; in depressions.

Nevarc-Remlik-Johnston: Very deep, moderately well drained and well drained, moderately steep to very steep soils that have a clayey and loamy subsoil - on side slopes; very deep, very poorly drained, nearly level soils - on flood plains.

River Terraces, Marshes, and Swamps

Altavista-Dogue-Pamunkey: Very deep, moderately well drained and well drained, nearly level and gently sloping soils that have a loamy and clayey subsoil; on river terraces mainly along the Pamunkey and York Rivers.

Tomotley-Altavista-Seabrook: Very deep, poorly drained and moderately well drained, nearly level souls that have a loamy and sandy subsoil and substratum; on river terraces mainly along the Chickahominy River.

Nawney-Lanexa-Mattan: Very deep, very poorly drained, nearly level soils formed in mineral and organic deposits; in marshes and swamps and on flood plains and low terraces.

Bohicket-Lanexa-Mattan: Very deep, very poorly drained, nearly level soils formed in mineral material and organic matter; in marshes and swamps that are flooded daily.

Soil Descriptions for Gloucester County

Sulfaquents-Fluvaquents: Deep, poorly drained and very poorly drained soils that are flooded by tides and that have a mixed sandy, loamy, and clayey substratum; on saltwater marshes.

Lumbee-Lumbee Variant-Kalmia: Deep, poorly drained and well drained soils that have a dominantly loamy subsoil; at elevations of less than 20 feet.

Meggett-Dogue: Deep, poorly drained and moderately well drained soils that have a dominantly clayey subsoil; at elevations of less than 20 feet.

Suffolk-Eunola-Kenansville: Deep, well drained and moderately well drained soils that have a dominantly loamy subsoil; at elevations of 30 to 50 feet.

Emporia-Hapludults-Wrightsboro: Deep, well drained and moderately well drained soils that have a dominantly loamy or clayey subsoil; at elevations mainly above 50 feet.

Kempsville-Hapludults-Eunola: Deep, well drained and moderately well drained soils that have a dominantly loamy or clayey subsoil; at all elevations.

APPENDIX C

Trading Expeditions

Date	English Trader	Indian Group	Amount of Corn	Document
1609	Francis West	Patawomeck	"Ship loaded with corn"	Haile's comments (Haile 1998:31)
1607	John Smith	Indians	"Great store"	John Smith's True Relation (Haile 1998:149)
1607	John Smith	Kegquouhtan	"16 bushels"	John Smith's True Relation (Haile 1998:150)
1607	John Smith	Waraskoyack	c. "15 bushels"	John Smith's True Relation (Haile 1998:150)
1607	John Smith	Paspahegh	"10-12 bushels"	John Smith's True Relation (Haile 1998:150)
1607	Captain Martin	Paspahegh	"8-10 bushels"	John Smith's True Relation (Haile 1998:151)
1607	Captain Martin	Paspahegh	"8-10 bushels"	John Smith's True Relation (Haile 1998:151)
1607	John Smith	Chikhamania		John Smith's True Relation (Haile 1998:151)
1607	John Smith	Mamanahunt	"an abundance," "7 hogsheads"	John Smith's True Relation (Haile 1998:154)
1607	John Smith	Mamanahunt	"300-400 baskets," "7-8 hogsheads"	John Smith's True Relation (Haile 1998:154)
1607	John Smith	Matapamient, Morinogh, Sscacap, Moysenock, Righkahauck, Nechanichock, Mattahunt, Attamuspincke	"lading the barge"	John Smith's True Relation (Haile 1998:155)
1608	John Smith	Weramocomoca (pg. 169) and Kiskiak (pg. 173)	"a barge full," (pg. 169) "250 bushels" (pg. 173)	John Smith's True Relation (Haile 1998:169, 173)
1608	John Smith	Nansamd		John Smith's True Relation (Haile 1998:169, 174)

Date	English Trader	Indian Group	Amount of Corn	Document
1608	John Smith and Captain Newport	Werowocomoco	"7-8 bushels plus much more"	John Smith's General History, Book 3, Chapter 7 (Haile 1998:282)
1608	John Smith	Chickahamania	"100 bushels"	John Smith's General History, Book 3, Chapter 7 (Haile 1998:285)
1608	John Smith and Lt. Percie	Chickahamania	"loaded boat"	John Smith's General History, Book 3, Chapter 7 (Haile 1998:285)
1608	Master Scrivener	Werowocomoco	"3-4 hogsheads"	John Smith's General History, Book 3, Chapter 7 (Haile 1998:287)
1608	John Smith, Captain Winne, and Master Scrivener	Nansamund	"100 bushels"	John Smith's General History, Book 3, Chapter 7 (Haile 1998:293)
1613	Samuel Argall	Pastancie (Patawomeck?)	"1100 bushels"	Samuel Argall's letter to Hawes (Haile 1998:753)
1612	Thomas Dale and Samuel Argall	Nansamond	2100 bushels*	Accounts of 1613 (Haile 1998:753, 778, 829)
1619	Captain Martin	Group of Indians in a canoa		An order against Captain Martin (Kingsbury 1933:157)
1619/20	Captain Ward	Patawamacke	"800 bushells," "great store"	A Letter to Sir Edwin Sandys (Kingsbury 1933:244-245)
1619/20	John Rolf, William Powell	Pamunkey River		A Letter to Sir Edwin Sandys (Kingsbury 1933:244-245)
1621	William Tucker			Commission to trade for corn (Kingsbury 1933:535-536)
1622	Captain Raph Hamor			Commisssion to trade or take corn (Kingsbury 1933:622)
1622	Captain Raph Hamor	Patomack River (Patowomeck)		Commission to trade of take corn (Kingsbury 1933:696)

Date	English Trader	Indian Group	Amount of Corn	Document
1622	Captain William Eden, Alias Sampson			Commission to trade or take corn (Kingsbury 1933:698)
1622	Captain Isack Maddison and Robert Bennet			Commission to trade or take corn (Kingsbury 1933:700)
1622/23	George Yeardley	Nancemunds, Warescoyke, Pamunkie, (Wyanokes?)	"1000 bushels"	Letter to the Virginia Company of London (Kingsbury 1935:9-10)
1622/23	Mr. Trevr, Captain John West, William Powell, and Captain Hamor	Tapahatonahs, Tanx Powhatans, Chicahominy, Patomecks, Necochincos (?)	"3000 bushels"	Letter to the Virginia Company of London (Kingsbury 1935:9-10)
1623	Gilbert Peppet			Commission to go for corn (Kingsbury 1935:189)
1623	William Tucker	Pamunkeys		Commission to go for corn (Kingsbury 1935:190)
1623	Captain Pierce, Captain Smuell Mathews, William Tucker, and Isack Maddison	Chickahominy River, Tanx Powhatans (Mathews), Nansamums (Tucker two trips), Wariscoyacks (Tucker), Weyonaques (Maddison)		Commissions to cut down corn (Kingsbury 1935:250-251)
1623/24	Captain Raph Hamor	Possibly Patomeck		Commission to trade for corn (Kingsbury 1935:447-448)
1623	Rawleigh Croshaw			Commission to trade for corn (Kingsbury 1935:470)

*This amount is an approximation figured both from the total amount of corn brought to the settlement by Captain Argall, as mention by Ralph Hamor (Haile 1998: 829), subtracted by the amount Captain Argall took from the Pastancie (possibly a Patawomeck group).

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