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# “Not with Sword and Spear”: The Evolution and Disintegration of the Anglo-Powhatan Economy, 1622-1646

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**“Not with Sword and Spear”:**

**The Evolution and Disintegration of the Anglo-Powhatan Economy, 1622-1646**

by

Steven John Schroeder

A Thesis

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### **Abstract**

This paper explores the economic developments in colonial Virginia between 1622 and 1646 and argues that various economic developments within colonial Virginia pushed the colony toward greater integration with the larger Atlantic economy and that these developments altered the nature of trade between the English colonists and the Powhatan in such a way that formal separation per the 1646 treaty was an attractive option to both parties. During this time frame, which encompassed both the Second and Third Anglo-Powhatan Wars, economic interactions between the English colonists and the Powhatan chiefdom became less frequent and focused largely on small-scale exchange of high-value goods. The treaty ending the Third Anglo-Powhatan War in 1646 formalized the growing divide between the English colony and the Powhatan chiefdom by establishing clear geographic boundaries and restricting trade to two border forts. Although both the Second and Third Anglo-Powhatan Wars began with a large massacre of English colonists by the Powhatan, followed by violent reprisals from the English, the former dragged on for ten years and ended without serious reorganization of the political situation. The latter conflict was over within two years and resulted in the formal separation of the two societies. It was the economic developments that occurred throughout this period that led to the vastly different outcomes for these two conflicts that began in such similar fashion.

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## CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

In 1646, the General Assembly of the Virginia Colony enacted a treaty with Necotowance, the ostensible leader of the Powhatan people following the death of Opechancanough, which specified boundaries between English and Powhatan territory.<sup>1</sup> This treaty represented not only the official end of the Third Anglo-Powhatan War, but also formalized what had been an ongoing trend toward diminished cross-cultural interaction between English colonists and the Powhatan. It also coincided with the end of the Powhatan chiefdom as a meaningful political entity, its political structures having been damaged by long-term economic developments and the military losses of the Third Anglo-Powhatan War.<sup>2</sup> Powhatan leadership can thus be seen as attempting to repair some of this damage in the terms of the treaty.

Though it is frequently given brief mention as being an important point in Virginia history, the treaty itself has not been the object of any intensive study. Anthropologist Helen Rountree has probably given the treaty as thorough a treatment as anyone. However, Rountree's focus was limited to a brief overview of the treaty terms and a discussion of how the English never actually intended to uphold the northern boundary that they establish at the York River. Referencing an act passed later in the same Assembly session as the treaty, Rountree wrote, "we

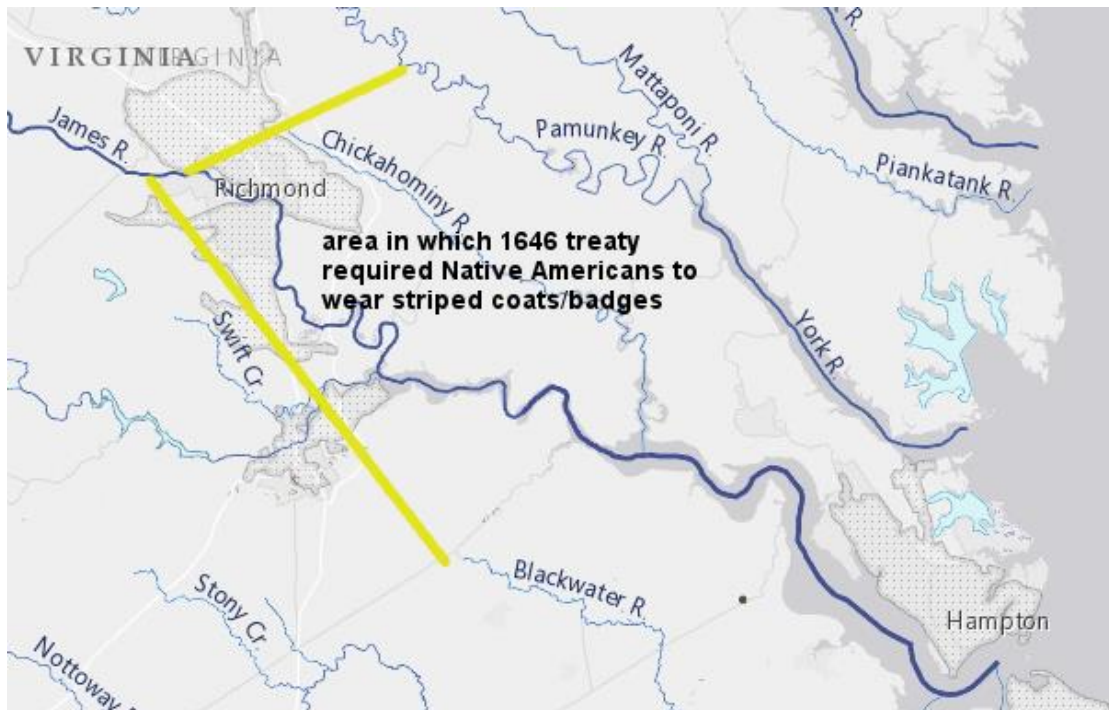
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<sup>1</sup> Note on use of "Powhatan" and "Indian": I am predominantly examining the relationship between the Powhatan Indians and the English. For purposes of larger economic analysis, and a lack of specificity in many sources (which often, though not always, use nothing more specific than "Indians" or "Savage"), "Powhatan" in this context will refer to the larger Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom/Confederacy, rather than the specific tribe of the same name. When other tribes are mentioned specifically, I have tried to explain briefly the relationship between this tribe, the Powhatan, and the English.

<sup>2</sup> John Salmon. "Tsenacomoco (Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom)." *Encyclopedia Virginia*. Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, last edited May 30, 2014, accessed March 6, 2016 [http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Tsenacomoco\\_Powhatan\\_Paramount\\_Chiefdom#its7](http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Tsenacomoco_Powhatan_Paramount_Chiefdom#its7).

can conclude only that the settlement law was, in effect, an agreement among the English that they would move northward again when Indian rancor over the recent war had diminished, and that any protests made later by the nonliterate Powhatans would be pushed aside.”<sup>3</sup>

### Boundaries of the 1646 Treaty



Map 1.1.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Helen Rountree, *Pocahantas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia through Four Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 88.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Grymes, “Key Treaties Defining the Boundaries Separating English and Native American Territories,” *Virginia Places* accessed March 6, 2016, <http://viriniaplaces.org/settleland/treaties.html>.

Another anthropologist, Frederic Gleach, recognized the 1646 treaty as a major turning point in Anglo-Powhatan relations. However, Gleach did not imply that the treaty had any economic significance, instead attributing the Powhatan's agreement to the terms as being due to "the effects of disease, warfare, and the appropriation of their lands."<sup>5</sup> The treaty has thus been viewed by those who have examined it as uniquely beneficial to the English colonists and exploitative of the Powhatan. This is in line with much historical literature on political agreements between Europeans and American Indians, but such an interpretation strips Indian actors of agency and ignores the complexities of the relationships that led to such agreements.

It does not appear that anyone has explored the idea that the treaty represented an economic agreement. But, by applying an economic analysis to the patterns of exchange and production in the Chesapeake economy around the time of the 1646 Anglo-Powhatan treaty, the terms of the treaty appear to have made economic sense to both the English and the Powhatan. Such an analysis moves the historical understanding of the treaty beyond the obvious political and military considerations that led to its creation. Looking beyond this work, an economic analysis of this period can provide insight into the larger economic developments that ultimately led to English domination of the Chesapeake region by the late seventeenth century.

In the second chapter, I argue that the 1646 treaty, while certainly a reaction to violent conflict, was also strongly influenced by the economic developments that occurred between 1622 and 1646. Although the 1621/2 massacre of Virginia colonists by the Powhatan strained

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<sup>5</sup> Frederic Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 183.



relations between the groups, it did not completely sever their economic ties.<sup>6</sup> The economic development of Virginia between 1622 and 1646 significantly affected the relationship between the English colony and the Powhatan polity, irrespective of the Second and Third Anglo-Powhatan wars. Viewed in the context of these economic developments, the clear boundary and limitations on trade and travel established by the 1646 treaty ending the Third Anglo-Powhatan represented an advantageous agreement for both Virginia and the Powhatans in that a clear boundary provided some semblance of territorial and political stability. By 1646, neither group had compelling economic reasons to maintain extensive trade with the other as Virginia was able to develop its grain production beyond self-sufficiency and the exchange of high-value goods was carried out at a low volume, and the Powhatan were interested only in consumer goods that provided useful substitutes for items that already fit with their cultural preferences. This selectivity on the part of the Powhatan illustrates a high level of agency and awareness of larger economic and cultural contexts.

To continue with the idea of agency, Frederick Fausz argued that historians largely ignored the First Anglo-Powhatan War (1609-1614) and that the resulting ambiguous truce “prevented a rational, bilateral consensus on either the causes or effects of that ... war.”<sup>7</sup> The relevance of Fausz’s argument actually extends further temporally and I argue that it was not until the end of the Third Anglo-Powhatan War in 1646 that the two sides fully appreciated what

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<sup>6</sup> Note on Dates: English records prior to September 14, 1752 were dated according to the Julian calendar, which recognized 25 March as the first day of a new year. Events occurring between 1 January and 24 March are thus given with two years listed (i.e. 1633/4), with the former being the year of the event per the Julian calendar, and the latter being the year corrected to fit the Gregorian calendar.

<sup>7</sup> J. Frederick Fausz, “An Abundance of Blood Shed on Both Sides”: England’s First Indian War, 1609-1614,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 98 (1990): 50.

caused conflict between them and reached a rational, bilateral consensus on not only the causes of conflict, but how to mitigate them in a potentially lasting manner.

In 1646, neither side was in a position to simply impose its preferred solution, and the factors that caused conflict were political, cultural, economic, and social. These factors caused division within English and Powhatan societies, not simply between them. Rather than viewing the English colonists and the Powhatan as two opposed entities, one must see them as dynamic societies dealing with each other while also dealing with their own internal issues. The economic and demographic changes that occurred within just a few decades meant that the context in which the English colonists and the Powhatan hammered out a formal treaty in 1646 was vastly different from that in which they muddled to a truce in 1614. They were arguably not even the same societies. I attempt to show how and why these changes occurred in order to demonstrate why the terms that constituted an acceptable agreement changed.

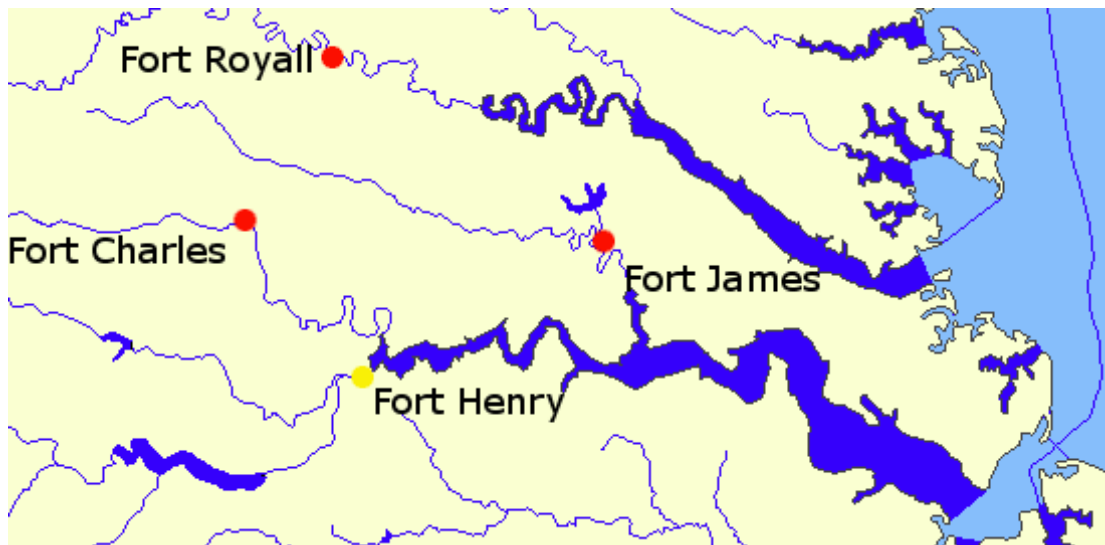
Such a view is useful not only to the present study, but must also be considered whenever one is examining cross-cultural relationships. As a brief point of comparison, the Pequot War (1636-38) in New England and Kieft's War (c.1640-1645) in New Netherland both ended with the near-obliteration of the colonists' indigenous rivals, and created lingering negative consequences, politically, economically, and psychologically.<sup>8</sup> The relatively peaceful resolution to conflict in Virginia in 1646 demonstrates that colonial contexts were unique and events were driven by local circumstances.

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<sup>8</sup> Katherine J. Grandjean, "The Long Wake of the Pequot War," *Early American Studies* 9 (2011): 379-411.

Along with a fixed geographic boundary, the treaty laid out restrictions on cross-cultural interaction and several forts were designated as the only authorized entry and exit points for those wishing to cross the boundary. These restrictions were obviously an effort to establish clear jurisdictional boundaries for the Virginia colony, as they restricted the movement of people and goods to only those who had the sanction of the colonial authorities. While the terms implied a decreased reliance on cross-cultural trade for both parties, they also demonstrated that some trade and political interaction was still desirable, so long as the authorities on either side regulated it.

#### Forts in Virginia, 1646



Map 1.2.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Map from Charles Grymes, "Frontier Forts in Virginia," *Virginia Places* accessed March 6, 2016, <http://virginiaplaces.org/military/frontierforts.html>.

Chapter three explores the demographics of the region, how these changed over time, and how these changes were influenced by economic circumstances. In the two decades preceding the treaty, Virginia's English population increased vastly and the colony became more involved in the wider Atlantic markets. Both factors led to internal economic developments in Virginia that displaced indigenous actors in many colonial economic roles. However, displacement of certain indigenous economic roles did not mean a complete end to Anglo-Powhatan economic interaction. Rather, the nature of cross-cultural exchange adjusted to meet changing economic circumstances. If the closure of all economic interaction had been the goal of the treaty, then it would not have included provisions specifying rules under which trade would yet be allowed.<sup>10</sup> When examining the treaty, one must treat the terms as more or less genuine (at least at the time of their writing). Had the treaty been merely a sop, it would not have included provisions for enforcing rules against English colonists trespassing on what was designated Powhatan land.<sup>11</sup> This was not a provision to prevent runaway servants escaping (which was addressed separately), but a ban on conducting unauthorized activity in the Powhatan domain.

In chapter four, I argue that the massacre of 1621/2 represents a logical starting point for the evaluation of Virginia's economic development, both due to the massive demographic impact of the event, and the shift in the archaeological record around this time that indicates an alteration of patterns of exchange between the Powhatan and the English colonists. While

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<sup>10</sup> William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619* (New York: R. & W. & G. Bartow, 1823), Vol. I, 324-326. See articles 3, 7, 8, and 11.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 325. Article 4 of the treaty reads "That in case any English shall repaire contrary to the articles agreed vpon, to the said north side of Yorke river, such person soe offending, being lawfully convicted, be adjudged as felons."

violence was a fact of colonial life and shaped perceptions and interactions, it cannot be the sole lens through which colonial history is examined.<sup>12</sup>

In chapter five, I attempt to reconstruct some major economic developments within Virginia to demonstrate the colony's increasing focus on the broader Atlantic marketplace and increased ability to provide its own sustenance. I argue that these developments reduced the need for sustained interaction between the colony and the Powhatan chiefdom. In chapter six, I explore the markets for various goods that were exchanged between the English colonists and the Powhatan and conclude that by the time of the 1646 treaty, only high-value goods were being exchanged between the two groups, and thus the restrictions imposed by the treaty did not represent any significant economic loss. This made the benefits of the treaty all the more attractive since they came with small opportunity costs.

Taken in total, the evidence here examined leads to two conclusions, one general to the period, and the other specific to the treaty. First, both the English colonists and the Powhatans were behaving in an economically rational manner. That is, all the actors here involved recognized what their interests were and acted in a manner consistent with maximizing their utility. Second, and stemming from the previous point, the treaty in 1646 was negotiated in good faith. That is, the treaty genuinely represented what both parties believed to be a legitimate and binding agreement. Post-treaty developments should not be read as evidence that the treaty itself was never intended to be legitimate.

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<sup>12</sup> See Bernard Bailyn, *The Barbarous Years* (New York: Vintage, 2013) for fuller examination of violence in colonial North America.

Written records describing cross-cultural interactions between the English and Powhatan are rare for the period between the 1622 massacre and the treaty of 1646. This seems to be in part due to the increased mutual suspicion and hostility simply limiting such interactions. However, there is evidence that such exchanges did continue to occur, even during time of war. If the statutes passed by the Virginia Assembly were largely reactionary to local circumstances, rather than preemptive – and the previously discussed evidence seems to support this view – then these statutes might provide evidence for the types of interactions that were occurring between English and Powhatan individuals by way of the actions that they sought to ban or regulate.

To this end, Walter Hening's collection of Virginia's extant legislative records has proved invaluable.<sup>13</sup> Susan Kingsbury's collection of records from the Virginia Company, Susie Ames' collection of court records from Accomack/Northampton County, H.R. McIlwaine's edited collection of Council minutes and Warren Billings' documentary history of Virginia provided useful primary source material, as well.<sup>14</sup> However, the availability of source material for much of the period, and especially the 1630s, is quite limited.

County court records provide wonderful fine-grained details of life in the colony, but many county record collections in eastern Virginia were destroyed during the U.S. Civil War, or

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<sup>13</sup> William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619* (New York: R. & W. & G. Bartow, 1823).

<sup>14</sup> See Susan Kingsbury, ed., *The Records of the Virginia Company of London, 1606-1626* (Washington D.C.: Government Press Office, 1906-35).

See Susie M. Ames, ed., *County Court Records of Accomack-Northampton, Virginia, 1640-1645* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1973).

See H.R. McIlwaine, ed., *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia, 1622-1632, 1670-1676* (Richmond: Virginia State Library Board, 1924).

See Warren M. Billings, *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: A Documentary History of Virginia, 1606-1689* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975).

in other building-damaging events.<sup>15</sup> Further, the Virginia Company records end in 1626, the Company having been dissolved in 1624. McIlwaine's minutes cover the period of 1622-1632, but do not pick up again until 1670. The statutes are sparse throughout much of the 1620s and none appear to exist after 1633 and before 1639. Some correspondence is available from the 1630s, especially letters between the Privy Council in London, Governor John Harvey, and Virginia planters, but economic information is limited, as these are largely focused on the political struggles that Harvey faced.<sup>16</sup>

One reason that the treaty and the period more generally have received little attention is probably the paucity of source material, especially with regard to quantitative data. There are certain questions that simply cannot be answered by the existing source material. Hard numbers are rare and much of the economic data must be inferred from clues and key phrases in the documents. However, by aggregating what references are available, I was able to uncover some general economic trends during a period that has otherwise been unexamined from an economic perspective. These economic trends help to explain political decisions and reiterate the importance of avoiding monocausal explanations. I stress the point that an economic interpretation of the 1646 Anglo-Powhatan treaty does not replace any military, political, or cultural interpretations, but rather draws on and informs these other perspectives. At the very least, an economic interpretation such as this sheds light on a dimly lit period, especially when contrasted with the massive amount of scholarship on the earliest years of the Virginia colony,

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<sup>15</sup> For a complete list of the damaged collections, see "Lost Records Localities" document available via the Library of Virginia at <https://www.lva.virginia.gov/>

<sup>16</sup> See "Virginia in 1632-33-34." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 8 (1900): 147-161.

See "Virginia in 1636. The Administration of Wast and Return of Harvey," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 8 (1901): 34-43.

and the period following the English Civil War (c.1650 on). I also hope that this interpretation offers a challenge to those who would rely on anachronistic and overly-general invocations of racism or colonialism (in a pejorative, purely exploitative sense) to explain developments in this period. The evidence instead supports the idea that individual actors, English, Powhatan, and otherwise, tended to make rational decisions and possessed a degree agency in pursuing their goals. The constraints on agency that these individuals did face were just as likely to be self-imposed due to culturally-driven preferences as they were to come from external authorities.



## **Chapter II. THE 1646 TREATY AS AN ECONOMIC AGREEMENT**

The concerns related to cross-cultural violence in the Chesapeake region cannot be overlooked in any interpretation of the treaty. During both the 1622 and 1644 massacres, it was the relative freedom of cross-cultural movement and interaction that made carrying out the massacres possible. By 1644, some restrictions on interactions were in place, but no clear, enforceable boundaries existed. This fact was almost certainly instrumental in the tightened Anglo-Powhatan trade restrictions set out in the 1646 treaty. However, the terms of the 1646 treaty should not be read only as an effort to prevent violence; they also reflected the changing economic realities in the Chesapeake region.

The treaty can thus also be understood as an economic agreement between the English and Powhatan. If one views the 1646 agreement through the economic lens of a utility possibilities frontier, the terms of the agreement represent a Pareto efficient point in terms of the utility derived by each party. That is, given the economic situation in 1646, it was not possible to improve the treaty terms with regard to the economic utility of one party without making the terms worse for the other. Simply put, a formal political and geographic division with limited allowance for trade and diplomacy was the best deal that either side could hope for.

The idea of regulating trade and granting privileged status or monopoly rights to companies or countries was standard practice at this time. The Virginia Company of London was granted an exclusive charter to found the Jamestown colony in 1606, and while the Company did not survive, the practice of regulating and licensing trade carried on in the colony. In 1600, Queen Elizabeth I granted a charter to the East India Company, giving it exclusive rights to trade in the Far East. In 1604, the English government agreed the Treaty of London

with Spain, which ended the Anglo-Spanish War and granted Spain trading privileges in the English Channel, access to certain ports, and also contained English promises to cut off trade with Dutch rebels.<sup>17</sup> King James I renewed and expanded the charter of the Levant Company in 1605, and in 1613, he granted a whaling monopoly around the island of Spitsbergen to the Muscovy Company.<sup>18</sup> The practice of regulating trade via formal procedures and specified locations that occurred in Virginia were entirely in line with broader trends in English economic thought and diplomacy. Free from corporate oversight, the government of Virginia was essentially acting like a miniature version on the government in London.

Economic and political agreements did have to reflect reality, rather than the whims of the political authorities, if they were to be sustainable. In 1622, and still by 1632, both the English and Powhatan could not conceive of a resolution to violent conflict that resulted in a nearly complete separation of their polities and societies. In contrast to the suddenness of the massacre and reprisal, the level of economic integration that had existed prior to 1622 disappeared slowly. Over time, the changes in Virginia between the 1621/2 massacre and the 1646 treaty worked to disintegrate the Anglo-Powhatan economy to a point where the benefits - both politically and territorially - of a clear boundary greatly outweighed the economic costs of any lost trade due to formal disintegration. The trade that was occurring at this point was largely limited to high-value goods, the exchange of which would not have been greatly disrupted by the treaty regulations.

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<sup>17</sup> For text of this treaty, see S.W. *A General Collection of Treatys* (London: J.J. and P. Knapton, 1732).

<sup>18</sup> Esther C. Mohr, "The Development of the Fisheries under the Reign of James I, and Their Effect upon American Civilization" (Unpublished thesis, University of Wisconsin – Madison, 1910), 23.  
Mortimer Epstein, *The Early History of the Levant Company* (London: G. Routledge, 1908), 67.

Such a view requires an understanding of the shifts in the Virginia economy that took place over the preceding two and one half decades. In March 1621/2 the Powhatan massacred a substantial portion of the English population. The subsequent war lasted ten years, but did not lead to the establishment of any clear boundaries between the two peoples. In 1644, the Powhatan again massacred a substantial portion of the English population, but the resulting war lasted barely two years and ended with a clearly defined and strictly enforced boundary. The similarities in how each war started make the differences in how each played out revealing. It was not the wars that changed the nature of the economy, but the economic developments that changed the impacts of the respective wars.

Several pieces of evidence support the idea that the 1646 treaty marked an important shift in patterns of cross-cultural exchange and patterns of production. First, as historian James Bradley has pointed out in his article on colonial wampum trade and production, beads produced in the Chesapeake quite abruptly reappear in the archaeological record at more northern sites in 1646.<sup>19</sup> This implies either a reestablishment of previously disrupted indigenous trade networks, or at least a change to pre-1646 exchange patterns, which could plausibly have been a response to the restrictions on interaction with the English colonists in Virginia. However, it seems unlikely that production of shell beads and long-range trade could have picked up so quickly. The reappearance of Chesapeake shell beads in other locations around 1646 was more likely the culmination of a shift that began at some earlier point, perhaps in 1644 at the start of the Third Anglo-Powhatan War, or even earlier.

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<sup>19</sup> James Bradley, "Re-visiting Wampum and other Seventeenth-Century Shell Games," *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 39 (2011): 34.

Second, the proportion of locally-made tobacco pipes found at various English archaeological sites in the Chesapeake region drops noticeably around roughly 1650, and becomes negligible after 1670.<sup>20</sup> The drop in local production by English colonists around 1650 implies that something happened around this time that made importation of European-made pipes more attractive to the Virginia colonists. The archeological evidence indicated that several Indian groups did utilize European-made tobacco pipes, so it is entirely plausible that the Powhatan also constituted part of the market for locally-made pipes.<sup>21</sup> When taken together with the increased opportunity costs of local pipe production, the restrictions on cross-cultural exchange per the treaty could reflect the shift away from local production and the decreased marginal benefits of exchanging these goods. If this pattern held for local production of other consumer goods, this would support the idea that hopes of diversification (though prominently advocated) were largely misplaced. Further, this pattern would support the conclusion that the treaty restrictions were in part the result of increased competition for consumer goods between the English and Powhatan.

Third, the appointment of William Berkeley as governor of Virginia in 1641 coincided with a stated, if not implemented, policy of agricultural diversification.<sup>22</sup> Tobacco production had expanded steadily since the 1610s, and continued to be the predominant crop in Virginia long beyond 1646, so true diversification of the Virginia economy was never realized. However, the idea of pursuing more varied agricultural production almost certainly influenced the Virginia

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<sup>20</sup> C. Jane Cox, Al Luckenbach, Dave Gadsby, with contribution by Shawn Sharpe, "Locally-made Tobacco Pipes in the Colonial Chesapeake" (paper presented at the 2005 Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, York, England).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* See discussion of Camden and Posey sites.

<sup>22</sup> See Warren M. Billings, "Sir William Berkeley and the Diversification of the Virginia Economy," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 104 (1996): 439-440.

Governor's thoughts about the value of continued trade with the neighboring Indian tribes at the time of the treaty.

Finally, the start of the English Civil War in the early 1640s greatly increased the Virginia tobacco trade with the Dutch, which brought more income and trade goods to Virginia.<sup>23</sup> All of these developments helped to create a situation wherein English trade with indigenous peoples became generally less frequent and less important, and increasingly focused on fewer items. These economic factors, when combined with the legitimate concerns about cross-cultural violence and clear boundaries of English jurisdiction, help to explain why the 1646 Anglo-Powhatan treaty laid out such stringent controls on cross-cultural interactions.

### **Changing Patterns of Governance**

The clarification of the boundaries of English jurisdiction in the 1646 treaty was particularly important to the colonial authorities with regard to controlling the movement of people and goods. The colonial authorities had been trying to exert increased control over such movement for over a decade prior to the treaty, but the agreement to end the conflict meant that the colonial authorities could effectively enlist the Powhatan in policing the newly created border. The territory that fell under English control per the treaty was effectively already under English control prior to the Third Anglo-Powhatan War, and the English actually agreed to withdraw settlers from north of the York River, so the Powhatan were not ceding any of their currently occupied land and were gaining a mutually enforceable boundary. The Powhatan, in agreeing to the boundary in the treaty, were sacrificing freedom of movement within their former

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<sup>23</sup> See John Pagan, "Dutch Maritime and Commercial Activity in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 90 (1982): 485-501.

territory of English Virginia in exchange for a clear boundary that, presumably via English enforcement, they hoped would help to maintain their existing territory.

In Article Six of the treaty, the Assembly made it a felony punishable by death for any English to “entertain ... or doe conceale any Indian or Indians that shall come within the said limits.”<sup>24</sup> In Article Nine, it was required that Necotowance return to the English any prisoners, negroes, and guns that were still in possession of the Powhatan, as well as all Indian servants who might flee to Powhatan territory in the future.<sup>25</sup>

In Articles Seven and Eight, the treaty specified that all trading between the Powhatan and the English be conducted at either Fort Royal or Fort Henry.<sup>26</sup> In order for any Powhatan to enter English territory, it was required for them to obtain a special badge and shirt from one of the two specified forts. Only sanctioned traders or messengers between Powhatan leaders and the Governor of Virginia were granted these tokens of safe passage. Any Indians found in Virginia without the requisite badges or shirt could be killed without legal penalty.<sup>27</sup> Such an agreement reduced the opportunities for exchange among independent actors, while increasing the benefits for those actors best able to obtain official sanction, English or Powhatan, for engaging in economic exchange. This arrangement further reduced the potential for violent interactions, as well.

In this sense, the boundaries and restrictions established by the treaty represented a move toward controlled economic exchange that both English and Powhatan authorities would have

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<sup>24</sup> Hening, Vol. I, 325.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 325-6.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. See footnote 8 for map with locations of these forts.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 324-5. See Article 3 of treaty.

preferred to a free-flow of goods. That is, a regulated boundary meant that economic control rested with those who controlled the border. In this view, the Powhatan leadership can be seen as having used the treaty to consolidate their political control via constrained movement of people and goods.

### **Increasing Governmental Authority in Virginia**

Virginia became a royal colony in 1624 when King James I dissolved the Virginia Company. However, Virginia's implied right to self-government was not formally addressed, the House of Burgesses continued to meet and legislate, and the Company governor was simply replaced by a royal appointee.<sup>28</sup> In keeping with the prevailing mercantilist economic policies of the period, the government of Virginia regulated trade quite strictly and required traders to obtain licenses. Thus, the economic aspects of the 1646 treaty should be seen in part as benefitting the political patrons of traders, as well as the traders themselves.

In 1634, the colony of Virginia was divided into eight shires, "governed as the shires in England...And Lieuten'ts to be appointed the same as in England, and in a more especial manner to take care of the warr against Indians."<sup>29</sup> From 29 April 1635, there was an explanation "that during the vacancy of the Governor, the Secretary should sign commissions, and passes, and manage the affairs of the Indians."<sup>30</sup> The references are quite brief, but the pattern of governance was one that placed military logistics largely in the hands of local authority while keeping economic matters under the authority of the governor's office.

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<sup>28</sup> See Charles E. Hatch, *The First Seventeen Years: Virginia, 1607-1624* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1979).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, 224.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, 223.

In January 1639/40, the Assembly passed an act regulating the purchase of corn from neighboring colonies or Indians, and also repealed a 1637 act that made bartering with Indians a felony. The latter was replaced by a ban on trading for arms and ammunition, and left punishment for trading in other commodities to the “discretion of the Governor and Council.”<sup>31</sup> Again, these statutes are probably evidence that such trade occurred between Indians and English colonists, though to what extent the prohibitions of trading weaponry were a response to actual trade as opposed to (a perhaps understandable) paranoia is not clear. The power of the colonial government to regulate trade was here again asserted and the implication of leaving decisions on licenses to trade with the Governor and Council supports the idea that it was politically connected traders who stood to benefit from any continued cross-cultural exchange. All of this was consistent with the more general trend toward mercantilism in the seventeenth century, wherein merchants received government protection and support.

Governor Berkeley’s instructions upon his appointment in 1641 included an article that forbade any Virginian from receiving into his home, conversing with, or trading with the Indians without special license.<sup>32</sup> This particular prohibition is of interest for two reasons. First, it was issued by the government in London, not the Assembly in Virginia. The fact that it was issued to Berkeley, who was a proponent of diversifying the Virginia economy for the sake of self-sufficiency and who recognized that strict controls were essential to fulfilling this goal, was unlikely to have been a coincidence. Second, it did allow trade via license from the proper authority. While regulation of trade had been a feature of colonial government since 1607, the

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid, 227. Acts XV and XVII, “Laws of Virginia, January 1639/40.” The 1637 acts are not in the extant records, so this reference in the later acts is the only information available as to the details.

<sup>32</sup> Warren M. Billings, *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: A Documentary History of Virginia, 1606-1689* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 54.



formal regulation of all trade with the Indians at this time seemed to deliberately coincide with the arrival of a regime committed to diversification consistent with emerging mercantile ideas.

Such restrictions effectively left economic power with the colonial government and traders who could receive its blessing. It was rare to find traders who lacked explicit connections to the colonial government. At the same time, planters who were interested in producing tobacco for export, though they required government sanction to trade (legally, at least), would not have been much interested in cross-cultural exchange with the Powhatan by 1646, as they needed buyers for their tobacco. Indentured laborers would not have had the material means nor freedom of movement to carry on sustained profitable trade, even if they were allowed to try.

In April 1642, the Assembly issued a remonstrance to articulate its accomplishments to date to the colonists. The seventh item on the list was “the settling of peace and friendship with the Indians by mutual capitulation.”<sup>33</sup> While it is tempting to interpret the phrase “mutual capitulation” as a platitude to cover up English exploitation of the Powhatan, such a reading would here be cynical. Given the inability of the English to consistently carry on the war and the almost immediate restoration of official Anglo-Powhatan trade at the war’s end in 1632, it appeared that both sides did genuinely benefit from ending formal hostilities. Those desiring to engage in legally sanctioned trade were again able to do so. Even those colonists who were not trading with the Powhatan still received peace (both politically and of mind).

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<sup>33</sup> Hening, 237. “A Remonstrance of the Grand Assembly.”

## **Powhatan Political Structure**

Though the Powhatan polity has been historically referred to as a confederacy, some have challenged the use of the term, claiming instead that “complex chiefdom” is a more accurate description. Debra Gold explored the semantics and explained that “a confederacy is voluntary and limited in scope... Complex chiefdoms and states by definition include strict economic control on the part of the authority system and so supersede confederacies.”<sup>34</sup> Hence, the Powhatan polity that the English encountered in 1607 was really a complex chiefdom dominated by the eponymous Powhatan.

By 1646, the Powhatan polity could probably be more accurately described as a confederacy, as English settlement physically divided member tribes. The development over time of the Powhatan polity from a tightly regulated complex chiefdom to a looser confederacy was the opposite of the development in English Virginia. Although, even after 1646, the Powhatan were never reduced to a position of dependency comparable to that of the original Jamestown colonists, they did lose their ability to dictate the terms of their relationship with the English colony. Virginia, especially after the arrival of Governor William Berkeley in 1641, moved rapidly toward a model of tight governmental control of economic affairs. These models of governmental organization and control over economic affairs are instructive in interpreting the terms of the 1646 treaty.

By this time, the Powhatan political structure had been seriously undermined by the loss of land to English settlement and by the devaluation of goods traditionally associated with

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<sup>34</sup> Debra Gold, *The Bioarchaeology of Virginia Burial Mounds* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), 68.

political and spiritual power. The treaty recognized Necotowance as the overall leader of the Powhatan, and while in many cases of negotiating treaties with indigenous peoples colonial powers found it expedient to recognize a single political leader, it is useful to consider how the Powhatan leader was able to use the agreement with the English to maintain a higher level of control. By nominally taking the role of paramount leader in the treaty negotiation, Necotowance could claim credit for any benefits the terms provided. Also, the boundaries laid out in the treaty would be largely enforced by the English, but would benefit the Powhatan leadership by providing tighter control over the movement of people and goods.

### Chapter III. LABOR AND DEMOGRAPHICS

#### Populations

The population of the Powhatan confederacy at the time of English settlement is not known, though anthropologist Helen Rountree, who has studied the Powhatan extensively, estimated it to be around 15,000. Historian James Rice has estimate that the total indigenous population of the Chesapeake region at the time was just over 30,000.<sup>35</sup> Despite the uncertainty over the exact numbers, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Powhatan polity represented roughly half of the indigenous population in the Chesapeake region, and was the primary indigenous population with whom the English in Virginia interacted.

The non-indigenous population of Virginia was recorded at 350 in 1610, and had grown to about 18,700 by 1650. The total non-indigenous population of the Chesapeake in 1650 was roughly 23,200 when the 4,500 residents of Maryland are included.<sup>36</sup> Given this colonial population growth and without accurate numbers on the indigenous population, the populations of English Virginia and the Powhatan confederacy were probably close to equal, with the former being slightly larger right around the mid-1640s. Hence, one should resist any interpretation of the 1646 treaty as the dictate of some sweeping demographic force. Real diplomacy was still necessary at this time.

As a final note on the population, there were only 405 people of African origin in Virginia by 1650 and another 300 in Maryland, representing 2.2 percent and 6.7 percent of the

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<sup>35</sup> Salmon. Cites both Rountree and Rice in a summary of the topic.

<sup>36</sup> <sup>36</sup>“Chapter Z: Colonial and Pre-Federal Statistics,” *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington D.C.: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1975), 1168-9.

populations of their respective colonies.<sup>37</sup> Thus, any consideration of labor at this time cannot rely on the idea that African slaves represented a ready substitute for Indian labor.<sup>38</sup> Instead, indentured labor filled this role. The resistance to an integrated Anglo-Powhatan labor force was both a cultural and practical issue.

### **Indentured Labor**

Indentured servitude was a feature of the Virginian economy from its earliest days, but it was not until the session of March 1642/3 that the Assembly addressed the practice in meticulous detail.<sup>39</sup> In these statutes, the Assembly covered such behavior as servants marrying in secret, running away to live with Indians or to work for another planter, arriving in Virginia without indenture, and disregarding the Sabbath. Masters were also admonished to observe and uphold the terms of indenture.<sup>40</sup>

Taken together, these statutes represent an official effort to commoditize indentured labor. Though indentures were typically for set periods of time, it was expected that this time would be maximally filled with productive work. Potential laboring time lost due to personal matters or attempts to escape had to be repaid. It is perhaps notable that such statutes appeared not long after the arrival of William Berkeley as governor. Though Berkeley strongly favored diversification, he also recognized the need for the requisite human capital to sustain a diverse economy. Unskilled, indentured labor possessed little in terms of knowledge or ability to

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid. Calculations are my own using numbers from the Colonial Census data.

<sup>38</sup> See Alden T. Vaughn, "The Origins Debate: Slavery and Racism in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 97 (1989): 311-354 for further discussion of the development of racial slavery in Virginia.

<sup>39</sup> The full statutes from 1642 are not extant, so it is possible that such matters were first addressed in the year prior.

<sup>40</sup> Hening, 252-5, 257-8, 261. Acts XX-XXII, XXVI, and XXXV in "Laws of Virginia, March 1642/3."

perform specialized trades. The massive influx of labor thus did little to improve the level of human capital in the colony.

In *A Discourse and View of Virginia*, published in 1663, Berkeley reflected on the state of the colony in between his two terms as its governor. Though writing two decades after these statutes were initially passed, Berkeley's observations appear to be applicable to much of what he experienced during his first term in office and offered some hints as to why he might have favored more stringent controls on the behavior of indentured servants. First praising the upper-class of planters as "men of as good Families as any Subjects in England," Berkeley then acknowledged "that there is with us a great scarcity of good men; that is, of able Workmen...for onely such servants as have been brought up to no Art of Trade, hunger and fear of prisons bring to us."<sup>41</sup>

It seems that with regard to the servants coming to Virginia, the change was only one of quantity, not quality. In order to keep the economy functioning, the colony had to proscribe the behavior and terms of employment for indentured servants. The Assembly attempted to achieve this by commodifying indentured labor so as to afford the owners of this labor some semblance of property rights. Unskilled indentures thus did not constitute a workforce with which Virginia could successfully diversify its production of goods along the lines Berkeley imagined. Indentured servants were plentiful and necessary, but they were also greatly limited in the scope of productive work that they could perform and required much oversight.

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<sup>41</sup> William Berkeley, *A Discourse and View of Virginia* (Norwalk: William H. Smith, Jr, 1914), 3-4.

Further concerns about the labor supply were addressed in a statute of March 1642/3 when the Assembly suspended legal actions against people residing in Virginia who had fled debt in England. The major concern that the Assembly cited to justify this action was that allowing suits to collect said debts “might hazard the deserting of a great part of the country.”<sup>42</sup> Such a protection would have also provided some encouragement to immigrate to precisely the sort of workers about whom Berkeley expressed reservations. However, it also demonstrated the dire need for labor of any sort in Virginia.

The treaty requirement that the Powhatan return runaway laborers of any background showed that maintaining the labor supply and having an enforceable boundary could go hand in hand. Despite the reservations of Berkeley and his class, they recognized the value of labor provided by even the most base of their social inferiors. As long as this supply of labor was forthcoming from across the Atlantic, there was never any incentive to coerce any significant amount of indigenous labor. Thus, the most likely source of economic integration and the most compelling argument against established boundaries and restrictions on movement were never realized.

### **Indian Labor**

Indian labor seemed to have been used by the English, though sparingly and in informal capacities, prior to the March 1621/2 massacre. John Martin’s evaluation of the benefits of the Powhatan to the English included a discussion on the use of indigenous labor.<sup>43</sup> Whether

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<sup>42</sup> Hening, 256. Act XXIV in “Laws of Virginia, March 1642/3.”

<sup>43</sup> Susan Kingsbury, ed., *The Records of the Virginia Company of London, 1606-1626* (Washington D.C.: Government Press Office, 1906-35), Vol. 3, 705-6.

Martin's point was purely speculative or was built on the prior existence of such a pattern is unclear in the writing. However, if the Powhatan did not work for the English directly, they were certainly well acquainted with English economic activities.

Edward Waterhouse, a Virginia colonist whose narrative of the massacre served as the Virginia Company's official report, referred to the "daily familiarity" that the Powhatan had with the English due to "trading and other negotiations." It was this familiarity that allowed the Powhatan to utterly surprise the English colonists, many of whom were killed "with their owne tooles and weapons."<sup>44</sup> The presence of the Powhatan in their homes and fields was not at all odd or alarming to the English prior to the massacre. Even if the Powhatan had not worked directly for the English, Martin's comments on employing them were probably based on an intimate knowledge of their abilities. However, it is highly unlikely that the Powhatan would have ever provided significant labor to the English. The English largely required agricultural labor, seen as women's work by Powhatan men, and enslavement was not a viable proposition given the circumstances. Indentured servants fulfilled this purpose with less risk and greater willingness.

Apparently a small-scale wartime trade in Powhatan slaves existed, though it seems to have been short-lived. In 1626, the Council of Virginia granted member William Claiborne a

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<sup>44</sup> Edward Waterhouse, "A Declaration of the state of the Colonie and Affaires in Virginia. With a Relation of the barbarous Massacre ..." in Billings, *Old Dominion*, 221.



monopoly on captured Powhatan prisoners.<sup>45</sup> The implication was clearly that he was going to sell these prisoners, or at least their labor, to someone.

There was also curious reference in the statutes of October 1629 to three Indians residing in Jamestown who were to be considered under the charge of the colony.<sup>46</sup> There was no elaboration on who these three Indians were, but their presence in the midst of war is noteworthy. The English were not at war with all Indian groups in the region, and it is possible that these three individuals were from a tribe that was on friendly terms with the English. It is also not explained for how long they had lived in the colony, either. What is evident from their presence, though, is that the English recognized clear distinctions between Indian peoples and individuals. The distinctions drawn were ethnic and political, and not racial in the modern-day sense. While this did not preclude a sense of “otherness,” it did mean that there was not racial motivation to enslave, reeducate, or exterminate Indian groups. Such impetuses typically came later and for religious or cultural reasons.

There was also a reference to the transfer of ownership of two servants in Accomack/Northampton County in 1645; “one Negro by name Domingo and one Indian boy by name Thomas Bian.”<sup>47</sup> The terms of the 1646 treaty also noted “that such Indian children as shall or will freely and voluntarily come in and live with the English, may remain without breach of the articles of peace provided they be not above twelve yeares old.”<sup>48</sup> These references

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<sup>45</sup> J. Frederick Fausz, “To Draw Thither the Trade of Beavers: The Strategic Significance of the English Fur Trade in the Chesapeake, 1620-1660,” in *“Le Castor Fait Tout”: Selected Papers of the Fifth North American Fur Trade Conference, 1985*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger, et al. (Montreal: Lake St. Louis Historical Society, 1987), 54.

<sup>46</sup> Hening, 143. Act VI in “Laws of Virginia, October 1629.”

<sup>47</sup> Susie M. Ames, ed., *County Court Records of Accomack-Northampton, Virginia, 1640-1645* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1973), 459.

<sup>48</sup> Hening, 326. Article 10 of the treaty.

strongly imply that there were some Indian children living and working within the boundaries of Virginia.

Records thus show that Indian servitude and possibly slavery existed by the 1640s, and possibly earlier. The majority of indigenous people living and working with the English, though, appear to have been children or teenagers.<sup>49</sup> This would be consistent with the specifics offered in the aforementioned court record and the treaty itself. Consistent, large scale use of adult Indian labor by the English did not occur at this time.

Indians had been employed by the English as guides and hunters, and were seen by the English as particularly useful with regard to keeping down the population of wolves, bears, cougars, and other predators that could harm livestock.<sup>50</sup> In 1638, Thomas Savage appears to have hired some Indians to help him round up cattle, but these types of jobs did not represent a source of consistent employment.<sup>51</sup> Indian labor was a small and auxiliary segment of the colonial economy within Virginia, which meant that the treaty boundaries did not significantly impact the labor market in Virginia.

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<sup>49</sup> Helen C. Rountree and Thomas E. Davidson, *Eastern Shore Indians of Maryland* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1997), 76.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* By 1650, the Assembly was offering bounties on wolves and it appears that many Indians collected this.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

#### Chapter IV. IMPACTS OF THE 1622 MASSACRE

Archaeologists working at and around Jamestown divide the site's timeline between the Early Fort Period (1607-1623) and the Post-Fort Period (1624-1660). This divide, so near to the 1621/2 massacre, corresponded with "a pattern in which material culture [indigenously-produced goods such as beads, pottery, stone tools and weapons] associated with Native communities was at first pervasive in the Fort. Subsequently, exchange relations that had been bilateral became unidirectional. Food apparently moved from Native communities into the Fort while fewer trade goods moved in the opposite direction."<sup>52</sup>

For the first several years after the initial settlement of Jamestown in 1607, the English survived in large part due to the generosity of the Powhatan, receiving food, sometimes in exchange for metal tools, copper, or glass beads; sometimes as a gift.<sup>53</sup> The Powhatan were the dominant party in the Anglo-Powhatan relationship for much of the Early Fort period and apart from the First Anglo-Powhatan War (1609-1614), the two societies engaged in a great deal of economic exchange. This exchange was driven by English need and Powhatan exploitation thereof. The Virginia Company perpetuated this situation by encouraging the local council to give the Powhatan whatever they wanted in order to maintain peace and save the costs of shipping grain.<sup>54</sup> The vacillations of both the English and Powhatan during this early period created a state of ambiguity regarding either side's ultimate intentions.

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<sup>52</sup> Martin D. Gallivan, et al., *The Werowocomoco (44GL32) Research Project: Background and 2003 Archaeological Field Season Results* (Williamsburg: College of William and Mary Department of Anthropology, 2006), 31.

<sup>53</sup> See Gallivan, et al., 9-17 for a summary of John Smith's narratives. See Seth Mallios, *The Deadly Politics of Giving: Exchange and Violence at Ajacan, Roanoke, and Jamestown* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006) for in-depth discussion of the gift exchange economy of the Powhatan and how this was misinterpreted by the English with dire results.

<sup>54</sup> Fausz, "An Abundance of Blood Shed on Both Sides," 19.

The Powhatan finally made a decisive move, carrying out a massacre of English colonists. The surprise attack, under the leadership of Opechancanough, launched on 22 March 1621/2 had wide-reaching implications for the economic development of Virginia. The 1621/2 massacre thus makes a logical starting point for an analysis of economic developments that led to the 1646 treaty.

The most immediate effect of the massacre was the demographic impact on the colonial population. The non-indigenous population of Virginia in 1620, less than two years prior to the attack, was roughly 2,200, and in the first census taken under royal control of the colony in 1624/1625, the population had fallen to 1,227.<sup>55</sup> The attack itself caused 347 deaths, but clearly impacted the decisions of many Virginians regarding their continued residency. Due to these population losses, the geographic extent of Virginia effectively contracted, as well.

A second, only slightly less immediate effect of the massacre was the dissolution of the Virginia Company of London and the transfer of the Virginia colony to royal control. This meant that all governmental matters would now go through the local authorities, rather than the company in London. Though the King was ostensibly in charge of the now royal colony, factors of time, distance, and local knowledge left real power in the hands of local leaders, who arguably reaped the greatest benefits from the 1646 treaty via their control of any trade.

The massacre also had psychological impacts that would profoundly affect Anglo-Powhatan interactions between 1622 and 1646. Shortly after the massacre, English retaliatory attacks on Powhatan food supplies forced Opechancanough to negotiate. The meeting set for

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<sup>55</sup>Colonial and Pre-Federal Statistics, 1168-9.

this purpose was a ruse concocted by the English and their Patawomeke allies, however, as poisoned liquor was served to the Powhatan, followed by a surprise attack. Roughly 200 Powhatan were killed, including several important *werowances*.<sup>56</sup>

While these events did not lead to a complete severing of Anglo-Powhatan economic interactions, the mutual suspicion with which each group viewed the other following these events precluded any chance of an integrated Anglo-Powhatan economy such as existed to a certain extent prior to the attack. However, trade and other interactions continued, albeit more cautiously, even during the Second Anglo-Powhatan War (1622-1632). The economies were thus still integrated during this conflict, though now more out of the English need for Powhatan corn than consensual exchange.

In March 1623/4, the Assembly decreed “that the 22d of March be yeerly solemnized as holliday.”<sup>57</sup> This was the date of the massacre two years prior. On its surface, this would appear to be simply matter of commemorating a horrific event during which hundreds of colonists died. However, given the massive turnover in Virginia’s population due to high death rates and a constant influx of new colonists, this commemoration was probably also meant to inform new arrivals of why the colony was at war with the Powhatan. Given that just a few years after the event, the majority of the population living in Virginia would have consisted of people who would not have been present in the colony at the time of the massacre, such a remembrance made political sense as a means of reinforcing English solidarity. It also meant that most of the animosity from the English toward the Powhatan was in large part manufactured, rather than a

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<sup>56</sup> J. Frederick Fausz, “Middlemen in Peace and War: Virginia’s Earliest Indian Interpreters, 1608-1632,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 95 (1987): 58.

<sup>57</sup> Hening, 123. “Laws and Orders Concluded on by the General Assembly, March the 5<sup>th</sup>; 1623/4.”

visceral reaction to experiencing the event firsthand. This meant that when economic opportunities presented themselves, many colonists would not have had the previous violence in the backs of their minds. Contrast this to the colonists who would have been living in Virginia when the treaty was agreed in 1646. Almost all of these colonists would have been present for the 1644 massacre, which, although largely limited to the periphery of English settlement and killing a smaller percentage of the colonial population, actually resulted in a greater total number of deaths than the attack in 1621/2.

### **John Martin's Evaluation of English War Aims**

John Martin, one of the original Jamestown councilmen and, in 1622, a plantation owner, articulated the war aims with an apparent eye toward the post-war future. Martin's discussion is worth examining at length, as it provides perhaps the most comprehensive account of the economic situation at the start of the Second Anglo-Powhatan War in the records.

In the preface to his December 1622 tract, "The Manner Howe to Bringe the Indians into Subiection," Martin followed the title with the caveat, "w<sup>th</sup>out making an vtter extirpation of them together w<sup>th</sup> the reasons."<sup>58</sup> Martin cited both his religious convictions and the potential benefits that the Powhatan provided to the English as reasons for not wiping out the entire population (Martin did not explore whether this was even a realistic possibility). The benefits provided to the English by living in close proximity to the Powhatan were, in Martin's view, the fact that the Powhatan kept the populations of wolves, bears, and other beasts low, thus

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<sup>58</sup> Kingsbury, Vol. 3, 704.

protecting the English and their cattle, and also that the Powhatan could provide useful labor in a variety of fields.<sup>59</sup>

Martin further explained the economics of the Chesapeake in his suggestions for crippling the Powhatan war effort. Along with sending raiding parties to destroy Powhatan corn fields right before harvest time, Martin insisted that ships must be employed to patrol the bay and thus cut off any Powhatan trade with Indians on the Eastern Shore. The Powhatan relied on trading skins and other commodities with the Accomack - only nominally members of the Powhatan chiefdom - who lived on the Eastern Shore in exchange for corn. By blockading this trade, the English would both cut off a vital food supply to the Powhatan, and could gain a monopoly on trade with the Eastern Shore tribes, who, now deprived of animal skins, would require cloth that only the English could provide.<sup>60</sup>

Another piece of Martin's plan involved cutting off all trade with the Powhatan and their allies. Martin was convinced that the trade between the Powhatan and the English throughout the years prior to the war had enabled the Powhatan leader, Opechancanough, to amass enough wealth to hire auxiliary warriors. Martin also believed that by depriving the Powhatan of most of their trade, the necessity of good relations with the English would quickly become apparent to them.<sup>61</sup>

Two points of comparison stand out with regard to the 1646 treaty. First, the English were still reliant on trade for corn at this point and were seeking it via indigenous sources. It is

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid, 705-6.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, 705.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 707.

notable that it was the Accomack on the Eastern Shore, and not the Powhatan, from whom they sought this trade in cloth for corn. As opposed to 1646, when the English had sufficient quantity of corn to export it and were even dabbling in wheat production, the colonists in 1622 had to carefully consider how their interactions with indigenous peoples would impact their food supply.

Second, Martin was clearly looking beyond the war and foresaw a somewhat integrated economy as had existed previously, with Powhatan laborers working for the English and tighter English control over the Powhatan economy. By 1646, the economic developments within Virginia led both the English and the Powhatan to conclude a treaty that effectively separated their economies.

### **Second Anglo-Powhatan War**

In March 1629/30, eight years after the massacre that began it, the Assembly ordered “that the war begun upon the Indians bee effectually followed, and that noe peace bee concluded with them. And likewise that all marches which shall hereafter bee ordered and appointed against them, be prosecuted and followed with all diligence.”<sup>62</sup>

The statute implied that previously ordered marches were not carried out to the Assembly’s satisfaction. The reasons as to why previously ordered marches were not sufficiently executed were probably due to economic or logistical considerations rather than any sense of compassion on the part of the English colonists, but it would seem that prosecuting the war against the Powhatan was not a pressing matter for many of them.

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<sup>62</sup> Hening, Vol. I, 153. Act VIII in “Laws of Virginia, March 1629/30.”



The lack of zeal with which the colonists pursued the war with the Powhatan was likely due to the colony's manpower already being fully employed in more profitable agricultural tasks. In a letter dated 6 April 1626, the authorities in Virginia explained to the Privy Council in London that fully prosecuting the war with the Powhatan "will require no less numbers then five hundred soldiers to be yearly sent over for certen yeeres, w<sup>th</sup> a full yeers pvisione of victuals, apparell, armes, munitions, toole, & all necessryes."<sup>63</sup>

The request was quite stunning, as five hundred soldiers would have increased the English population in Virginia by nearly forty percent.<sup>64</sup> Whether the request was made in earnest, or inflated to convey a sense of urgency, it spoke to the enormity of the task of effectively waging war against the Powhatan. There simply was not enough local manpower to spare for the job. Assurances to those who fought that they would be taken care of in the event of injury were apparently required to ensure compliance, as well. An earlier statute from March 1623/4 declared that "those that shall be hurte upon service to be cured at the publique charge; in case any be lamed to be maintained by the country according to his person and quality."<sup>65</sup>

The Assembly again addressed matters of Anglo-Indian interactions in the February 1631/2 session, ordering "that no person or persons shall dare to speake or parlie with any Indians either in the woods or in any plantation, yf he can possibly avoyd it by any meanes, but as soone as he can, to bringe them to the commander, or give the commander notice thereof uppon penalty of a mounthes service for any free man offendinge and twenty stripes to any

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<sup>63</sup> Kingsbury, Vol. IV, 572.

<sup>64</sup> Colonial and Pre-Federal Statistics, 1168-9. The non-indigenous population of Virginia per the 1624/5 census was just under 1300.

<sup>65</sup> Hening, Vol. I, 128. Act XXXII in "Laws of Virginia, March 1623/4."

servant.”<sup>66</sup> The implications of this statute were that English colonists were, in fact, meeting with Indians on something akin to friendly terms and outside the scope of official colonial authority. While there is no clear reference to trade, it seems plausible that such meetings were more than just social interactions. Otherwise, why would anyone have taken the risk?

A later statute reiterates the prohibition on trading with Indians in nearly identical language to the March 1623/4 statutes.<sup>67</sup> Given that this is followed by a list of the same statutes regarding interactions with the Indians that also appear in the March 1623/4 statutes, it appears that the Assembly simply recycled most of the regulations.

The Second Anglo-Powhatan War ended in late 1632, though aside from a few larger engagements there was never much sustained or substantial conflict. After the initial massacre and retaliatory actions that began the conflict, most military action consisted of brief raids designed to destroy or capture enemy food supplies. From the exhortations in the statutes, it would appear that these raids were not always carried out in the manner desired by the Assembly, if they occurred at all. Further, the repetition of prohibitions on trade with Indians, and the specific threat of punishment for speaking with Indians strongly imply that such interactions were taking place despite the prohibitions.

Even in a time of formal conflict, then, the colonists and the Powhatan had reasons for engaging in economic interactions. Clearly, the Powhatan were supplying grain to the English, though not always willingly. Also, the individual interactions, though they did not drastically alter the economic development of the colony, probably did serve to undermine the political

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid, 167. Act XXIX in “Laws of Virginia, February 1631/2.”

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, 173. Act XLVI.

authority of colonial and Powhatan leadership, especially if some individuals were trading weapons to the Powhatan. By 1646, having fought another, albeit shorter, war, political authorities recognized that the economic developments since the prior conflict meant the two sides no longer relied on one another for any essential items. Formal disintegration represented very little economic losses for either side as a whole, and offered territorial and political integrity to both. Those individuals well-positioned to gain from trade had little to fear as they were still allowed to carry on exchange via the designated forts.

## Chapter V. INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS IN ENGLISH VIRGINIA, 1622-1646

### Tobacco

Virginia's was a specialized economy. By the 1640s, the best way to make money in Virginia was to grow tobacco, and not only because of the ready market for export. Having relied on tobacco since the late 1610s, the entire infrastructure of Virginia was built to support tobacco production. The indentured labor system insured a steady supply of workers, who did not need to be well-educated or especially skilled. There was a fairly stable regulatory structure in place and links with European merchants were well established.

To understand the reluctance to diversify away from tobacco, one must appreciate that several decades of path-dependent development toward a tobacco-centered economy created huge start-up and opportunity costs to anyone desiring to move into new industries. As will be discussed below, the eventual development of a secondary industry based on grain production for export did develop, but this was largely because the infrastructure for tobacco production was easily adapted to this pursuit.

Given the propensity of tobacco to quickly deplete the soil, continued geographic expansion was required to sustain an economy built on tobacco. The 1646 treaty's clear bounding of English settlement could thus be read in part as an effort by those favoring diversification to curb the spread of tobacco agriculture. Diversification supporters would have been buoyed by the fact that the tobacco "economy was severely depressed until at least 1643," and the subsequent rise in prices in 1644 was offset by the small size of the crop that year.<sup>68</sup> The

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<sup>68</sup> Russell Menard, "A Note on Chesapeake Tobacco Prices, 1618-1660," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 84 (1976): 402.

massacre in 1644 and the ongoing war with the Powhatan until late 1646 would likely have limited tobacco production in these years, as well. Again, increased diversity of production was never fully realized, but the notion of putting tobacco land to other productive uses may not have been as far-fetched at this specific time as it would have seemed at most other times.

Increased population in the Chesapeake could have facilitated economic diversification by adding to the pool of labor and human capital resources that could be employed in a wider array of specialized economic roles. Despite significant population growth between 1624 and 1640 – the non-indigenous population rose by 751 percent, from 1,227 to 10,442, in this span – much of the additional labor went toward expanding tobacco production, which required little in the way of specialized skills and required huge amounts of labor. Thus the increased labor came with little of the additional human capital required for diversification. Physical capital was also limited as much of the imported goods exchanged for Virginia tobacco were finished consumer goods.

John McCusker and Russell Menard's analysis of the Chesapeake tobacco industry, while admittedly somewhat speculative given large gaps in the data, nevertheless was able to identify two important trends between roughly the 1620s and 1680s: 1) Chesapeake tobacco production grew quite significantly, and 2) farm prices received by tobacco growers dropped.<sup>69</sup> While the trends that McCusker and Menard identified were broad, they do seem to indicate that the Atlantic tobacco market responded to an increased supply with lower prices as growing demand was outpaced by even faster growing production. What is less obvious is why planters continued

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<sup>69</sup> John McCusker and Russell Menard, *The Economy of British North America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 120.

to produce tobacco as the prices fell. McCusker and Menard pointed to productivity gains, including “smaller risks, cheaper credit, falling prices for manufactured goods and foodstuffs, greater output per worker, savings in distribution costs, and lower customs charges.” The fact that Virginia’s infrastructure and regulatory system were already established for tobacco production helped keep start-up and expansion costs low, as well.

This trend lasted well beyond the 1646 treaty, until roughly 1660, when planters and merchants were no longer able to pass on cost reductions to consumers.<sup>70</sup> That is, the marginal revenue from tobacco was still higher than the marginal costs of production during the period leading up to the treaty. This was simply not the case for most other goods that Virginians could produce during this time.<sup>71</sup> Between about 1620 and 1660, people looking to profit in the Chesapeake quite reasonably saw tobacco as the best investment opportunity in the mid-seventeenth century Chesapeake.

Though it was largely grown for export, the intense focus on tobacco did have important impacts on the local Chesapeake economy. This should be an obvious point, but it bears emphasis: heavy investment of time and resources in tobacco production meant that the English in Virginia relied on trade to fulfill many of their material needs. A well-diversified local economy would theoretically have promoted greater endogenous exchange and thus would have reduced reliance on exogenous trade.

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid, 122-123.

<sup>71</sup> See later discussion in this paper of William Claiborne’s fur trading enterprise for one example. Claiborne was unable to obtain sufficient quantities of consumer goods to acquire the whole supply of furs on offer by the Susquehannock.

The English in Virginia recognized that their reliance on tobacco necessitated trade, so rather than abandon what was more often than not a profitable crop for which the requisite infrastructure already existed, they chose to pursue what had become their comparative advantage. Trade with Dutch merchants had been ongoing for decades and picked up with the start of the English Civil War.<sup>72</sup> This provided a ready outlet for surplus tobacco while also bringing in consumer goods.

Despite the strict boundary drawn between English and Powhatan territory in 1646, trade between these groups was still permitted, even if now more tightly regulated.<sup>73</sup> However, finding profitable items to exchange became much more difficult. Besides the fact that, by 1646, the Virginians produced little locally that the Powhatan desired, the effect of increasing trade with other colonies and countries was that the Powhatan had little that the Virginians wanted that they could not obtain from other sources. Instead, the heavy reliance on imported consumer goods placed the Powhatan and English in competing roles as consumers of the same supply of goods. This was significantly different from the situation during and at the end of the Second Anglo-Powhatan War in 1632, when both parties still saw potential benefits from exchange.

### **The Failure of Diversification**

Despite the economic importance of Virginia tobacco, not everyone viewed tobacco monoculture as desirable or sustainable. The English government made frequent efforts to introduce other industries to the colony, though nothing ever seriously threatened to supplant tobacco agriculture as the predominant economic activity.

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<sup>72</sup> Pagan, "Dutch Commercial Activity"

<sup>73</sup> See treaty text in Hening, 323-326.

On 24 July 1621, the Virginia Company of London laid out its instructions to Governor Francis Wyatt in his initial commission. In these instructions, there was a clear desire for economic diversification in the following admonishments:

To take care of every plantation ... not to plant above one hundred pounds of tobacco per head; to sow great quantities of corn for their own use ... to inclose lands; to keep cows, swine, poultry, etc, and particularly kyne [pl. cow], which are not to be killed yet: Next to corn, plant mulberry trees, and make silk ... plant abundance of vine ... to put prentices to trades, and not let them forsake their trades for planting tobacco, or any such useless commodity: to take care of the Dutch sent to build saw-mills ... To make salt, pitch, tar, soap, ashes, etc., so often recommended, and for which materials had been sent; to make oyl of walnuts, and employ apothecaries in distilling lees [yeast particulates] of beer, and searching after minerals, dyes, gums, and drugs, etc. and to send small quantities home.<sup>74</sup>

The same advice was again given to the colony when it fell under royal control upon the dissolution of the Virginia Company. In a letter dated 26 March 1628, the Virginia assembly replied to a letter from King Charles I that had put forth certain restrictions on tobacco production and evidently reiterated the economic policies in Governor Wyatt's instructions of 1621.<sup>75</sup> The Assembly opposed measures to drastically reduce tobacco production and trade in Virginia, and went on to address the problems with the other suggested economic activities:

As to pitch and tar, the country abounded in pine trees, from which it could be produced; but owing to the want of horses and carriages, and the danger of sending the people into the woods, on account of the Indians, it was deemed inexpedient at that time, to attempt to make those articles for exportation. Pot-ashes has formerly been made, but the planters were not acquainted with the process. Pipe-staves, barrel-boards, and clapp-boards, could be had in great abundance, but the freight was too dear to render it an object to export them.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Hening, Vol. I, 115-116. From "Instructions to Governor Wyatt."

<sup>75</sup> The King's letter is not in the records, but the similarity of its contents can be inferred by the specific responses of the Virginia Assembly to the same set of economic activities.

<sup>76</sup> Hening, Vol. I, 135-136. From a letter from the General Assembly to King Charles I, dated 26 March 1628.



In the case of the more practical industries, the colony was hampered by a lack of resources, by the ongoing war with the Powhatan, and simple economic calculations. The colonists recognized that they possessed no comparative advantage in the production of practical goods with small profit margins, especially when shipping costs were factored. The Powhatan did not have any great demand for most of the items that the Virginia colony could have produced locally. Thus the lack of an indigenous market that could have negated the prohibitive shipping costs combined with the intense focus on a mercantilist policy of production for export to England hindered these efforts.

The establishment of an iron works was actually a reality, albeit short-lived. As noted here, the works were built, but soon after destroyed in the 1621/2 massacre. This capital investment could have produced goods for which the Powhatan would have readily traded, thus making it a potentially profitable effort. The biggest obstacle to rebuilding appears to have been a lack of physical and human capital to rebuild and sustain it.

The iron ore at Falling Creek was esteemed of good quality, and considerable progress had been made in erecting a furnace, when the settlement and most of the workmen were cut off by the Indians, at the massacre, and the tools thrown into the river; and that the work could not be resumed without a fresh supply of workmen, money, tools, etc.<sup>77</sup>

The letter continued “as to mines of gold, silver, copper, etc. they have great hopes that the mountains are very rich ... but they have not the means of transporting the ore.”<sup>78</sup> The references to gold and silver were wishful thinking, and while there were copper deposits in the Piedmont regions, these were under the control of the Monacans, not the Powhatan. Thus obtaining this

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

copper would have required geographic expansion beyond Virginia's capabilities, and the colony could import it, if need be. Further, given the collapse of the local copper market, the usefulness of this copper would have been in making alloy for tools. However, the English do not appear to have found the requisite local supplies of zinc for making such alloys, so this industry would quickly have run into the same profitability problems as the earlier dismissed clapboard and stave-making trades.<sup>79</sup>

The most promising economic pursuit besides tobacco appeared to be the fishing industry, but the greatest potential gains in that field were far north of Virginia in Canada – not exactly a boon to local diversification. Those sent to establish a wine industry saw little profit when compared to fishing:

With respect to the planting of vines, they [government officials in London] have great hope, that it will prove a beneficial commodity; but the vigners sent here either did not understand the business, or concealed their skill; for they spent their time to little purpose. They expect great benefit from fishing in the bay, and upon the coast of Canada, where some trial had been made.”<sup>80</sup>

It is highly probable that some Virginians did pursue this opportunity since in February of 1631/2, the Assembly passed a statute regulating the size and type of ships that could legally travel to Canada.<sup>81</sup> Before Virginia could seriously consider any meaningful program of economic diversification, it required an influx of highly specialized human capital and

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<sup>79</sup> See Carter C. Hudgins, “Articles of Exchange or Ingredients of New World Metallurgy? An Examination of the Industrial Origins and Metallurgical Functions of Scrap Copper at Early Jamestown (c. 1607-1617),” *Early American Studies* 3 (2005): 32-64.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 175. Act LX in “Laws of Virginia, February 1631/2.”

inducements, economic or otherwise, for colonists to actually engage in these diverse economic activities.

The Assembly's reply indicated that little progress had been made in the seven years since the initial instructions were given. Progress was arrested not only due to the better economic return that one could expect from tobacco, but also due to very real material limitations in Virginia and the ongoing Second Anglo-Powhatan War (1622-1632). An account of the 1621/2 massacre offered some hints as to what the routine economic activities of the colonists were, citing "planting Corne and Tobacco ... gardening ... making Bricke, building, sawing, and other kindes of husbandry" as typical daily work.<sup>82</sup> All of these activities were required simply for subsistence in Virginia, with tobacco being the only reliable source of profit. It would seem that little changed in the following decade.

Nearly four years after the Assembly articulated the problems with pursuing diversification, it passed a series of statutes in February 1631/2 that attempted to control the supply and quality of tobacco in Virginia. In effect, the colony was going all-in on tobacco and decided to clamp down on the quality of the product it produced. All goods shipping to and from Virginia were required to pass through Jamestown in order that colonial authorities could monitor and tax all trade. Limits were placed on the amount of tobacco any one person could plant and tend, penalties for trading in poor quality tobacco and deadlines for harvesting the yearly tobacco crop were imposed, and "every man working in the ground" was required to plant and tend a minimum of two acres of corn.<sup>83</sup> The specific details of the policies were slightly

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<sup>82</sup> Waterhouse, in Billings, *Old Dominion*, 221.

<sup>83</sup> Hening, Vol. I, 163-166. Acts XX-XXVII in "Laws of Virginia, February 1631/2." This was a reiteration of a 1630 statute.

revised in February of 1632/3, but the general restrictions on excessive tobacco production remained largely intact.

Several other statutes that the Assembly passed in September of 1632 and February of 1632/3 stand out with regards to the matters of economic diversification and retention of human capital. First, in September 1632 the Assembly required anyone leaving the colony to give advance notice and made any ship captain who transported any person who had failed to give such notice responsible for the evacuee's debts.<sup>84</sup> The statute does not specify that this applied only to indentured servants and their contracts, so it is probable that some planters who had accumulated large debts attempted to flee the colony, as well. Second, in February of 1632/3, the Assembly required "that all gunsmiths and naylers, brickmakers, carpenters, joyners, sawyers, and turners, be compelled to worke at theire trades and not suffered to plant tobacco or corne or doe any other worke in the ground."<sup>85</sup>

The Assembly clearly recognized the need to hold onto the capital – human and animal - and labor required to promote a more diversified local economy. However, the effort to maintain the labor supply did not do much to increase the amount of capital. This meant that the Virginia economy continued to grow, allowing for greater specialization and economies of scale as both physical infrastructure and regulatory systems evolved with the expanding tobacco industry. But, the growth of other industries did not occur on any significant scale. With regard to separating the English and Powhatan labor pools, the treaty was simply formalizing the status quo that existed due to economic and cultural realities. However, the jurisdictional boundaries

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid, 200. Acts LV and LVI in "Laws of Virginia, September 1632."

<sup>85</sup> Ibid, 208. Act V in "Laws of Virginia, February 1632/3."

added an enforcement mechanism that allowed the political authorities on both sides to more tightly control the movement of their respective populations and of trade goods.

### **William Berkeley's Hope of Economic Diversification**

Sir William Berkeley was appointed governor of Virginia in 1641 and “was the first royal governor who understood diversification, who believed in it, and who stayed in Virginia long enough to give it a chance of succeeding.”<sup>86</sup> Agricultural diversification was also an ostensible priority of the previous governor, John Harvey, but his ongoing conflicts with the assembly meant that his plans were never executed. Berkeley was governor when the 1646 treaty was enacted and it seems plausible that his views would have influenced the treaty’s contents.

Even so ardent an advocate of diversification as William Berkeley recognized that Virginia could not abandon all exogenous trade. In fact, he welcomed trade as a way to support a diverse Virginia economy. In evaluating Berkeley’s advocacy of diversification, historian Warren Billings wrote, “Berkeley always understood that success in diversification was tied to establishing outlets for his produce...He therefore used the powers of his office to encourage a Virginia-Dutch trade as well as to extend commercial relations with other colonies on the North American mainland and in the Caribbean.”<sup>87</sup> All of this was very much in line with the prevailing mercantilist sentiments of the period.

Berkeley’s belief in diversification was inspired by the commonly held view in the 17<sup>th</sup> century that domestic production of otherwise imported goods would increase the prosperity of

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<sup>86</sup> Billings, “Sir William Berkeley and the Diversification of the Virginia Economy,” 439-440.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid, 443.

that country.<sup>88</sup> By many in England, including King Charles I, Virginia was seen as a potentially fruitful colony, if only it could diversify its agriculture production beyond tobacco.<sup>89</sup> Berkeley did break with the prevailing mercantile view that all colonial production be for the good of the mother country and advocated for free trade for Virginians on several occasions, though without much success.<sup>90</sup> Thus his views on diversification were not wholly driven by a commitment to English mercantilism, although he did not reject the custom of controlling trade via the sale of trading licenses.

This view had important implications for Anglo-Powhatan trade, as the Powhatan did not provide a suitable outlet for Virginia's products (i.e. tobacco, cattle, and grain). Rather, the goods demanded by the Powhatan were the same goods that the colonists desired and often had to be imported from Europe.<sup>91</sup> As the colonists became more secure in producing their own sustenance, the role of the Powhatan as producers of corn was rendered even less significant, and there was not a ready alternative that the Powhatan were willing or able to produce.

From 1607 on, the most important commodity that the Powhatan had supplied to the English was corn. By the mid-1630s, though, the English were producing surplus quantities of corn and other grain. Labor was always in high demand in English Virginia, but the Powhatan were not employed in the agricultural labor that was essential to Virginia's economy. The English planters had both economic and cultural reasons for preferring indentured labor from

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid, 433.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid, 438.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, 443.

<sup>91</sup> See King, et al. Mention of tile, glassware, and ceramics. See Cox, et al. Mention of tobacco pipes. See Ames, 286. Mention of cloth, knives, and drill bits. See Fausz, "To Draw Thither the Trade of Beavers," 57. Mention of Dutch duffels and Spanish axes.

Europe to Powhatan labor. Corn thus lost much of its value as a trade good in the local market, and the Powhatan were unwilling to supply the type or quantity of labor increasingly demanded by the English. Virginia's increased integration with the larger Atlantic marketplace meant disintegration of the Anglo-Powhatan economy in Virginia.

### **Tobacco Pipes**

A 2005 paper by C. Jane Cox, et al summarized the archaeological record on locally-produced tobacco pipes in the Chesapeake region. Several of the conclusions in this paper are useful in understanding the economic relevance of the 1646 treaty ending the Third Anglo-Powhatan War. First, Cox, et al wrote that “the overwhelming majority of Chesapeake pipes pre-date 1670, with the larger assemblages occurring in pre-1650 contexts.”<sup>92</sup> The early sites that lacked locally-produced pipes were occupied by traders who would have had access to European-made pipes early on. The implication is that while tobacco pipes were clearly a desirable commodity, considerations of cost, quality, and availability drove consumers' decisions regarding the pipes that they obtained. Most colonists who desired pipes had to obtain cheaper, locally-made versions, while the upper class was able to purchase more expensive, high-quality European imports. Over time, imports increased in quantity and dropped in price while local production declined.

The authors also pointed out that production of tobacco pipes was both labor and capital intensive, concluding that production of tobacco pipes was not simply a pastime.<sup>93</sup> It required an intensive investment of time and capital. The decision to produce tobacco pipes at any scale,

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<sup>92</sup> Cox, et al.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

then, would have required long-term planning and substantial capital investment. Thus once European imports became cheaper than locally-produced pipes, colonial consumers made the switch.

The ultimate drop in local pipe production seemed to be tied to larger market forces. Though some colonists clung to the industry, it was simply not possible to compete with the efficiencies and economies of scale that European producers could exploit.<sup>94</sup> The efficiency of large-scale production in Europe meant that would-be colonial pipe makers saw little advantage in trying to compete. This further reduced incentives for colonists to pursue production of consumer goods, driving them instead toward more profitable pursuits like tobacco.

The temporal proximity of the 1646 Anglo-Powhatan treaty to the 1650 threshold for the end of large-scale local tobacco pipe production in the Chesapeake does not, of course, directly link the two events. That the English in Virginia saw fit to impose stringent controls on cross-cultural trade at the same time that local patterns of production were changing does, however, speak to the importance of the economic shifts that were occurring in the 1640s in Virginia. Further, there is evidence via the archaeological record that local production of tobacco pipes in the Chesapeake did continue beyond the mid-seventeenth century, but almost entirely in Native American contexts.<sup>95</sup> This implies that indigenous access to European pipes declined after the treaty, stimulating more indigenous production, which in turn lowered indigenous demand for European pipes further.

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<sup>94</sup> Cox, et al, "Conclusions."

<sup>95</sup> Cox, et al. Archaeological digs at the Camden and Posey sites, which were occupied by American Indian populations, show evidence of small-scale local production beyond 1650.



In shifting from producers to consumers, the Virginians effectively eliminated the local supply of pipes in Virginia, and created a large enough shift in demand that English and Dutch shippers were willing to supply the pipes in large quantities to the Virginia market. The increased demand amongst Virginians who had abandoned local production drove the equilibrium price higher. In order for trade in pipes to be profitable once local production effectively disappeared, one had to have access to both large quantities of cheap European-made pipes, and an indigenous market that could provide profitable trade goods, such as furs, in return. Both conditions were not always fulfilled and such a situation favored those who were able to obtain and transport large quantities of goods and who had legal access to lucrative indigenous markets. Especially after the 1646 treaty was agreed, this would have been pertinent only to established traders with the requisite political connections.

### **Dutch Trade**

The first recorded trade with Dutch ships at Jamestown occurred in 1619 and continued as an ever-present, if insignificant, segment of the colonial Virginia economy until the late 1630s.<sup>96</sup> By the late 1630s, the English empire was in an economic depression.<sup>97</sup> The vast increases in Virginia tobacco production outstripped English shipping capacity and demand, opening opportunities for Dutch ships to take up the surplus.

The outbreak of Civil War in England in 1642 disrupted English trade, opening even more opportunities to enterprising Dutch shippers.<sup>98</sup> Dutch shipping was thus a major

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<sup>96</sup> Pagan, 485-486.

<sup>97</sup> McCusker and Menard, 95.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, 486.

component of the Virginia economy until the passage of an act by Parliament in 1650 that prohibited any English colonies from trading until they formally submitted to Parliament's authority, King Charles I having been executed the previous year.<sup>99</sup> The Navigation Act of 1651 officially shut down all colonial trade not done via English vessels and ended all (legal) Dutch trade in Virginia.<sup>100</sup>

During the 1640s when the Anglo-Dutch trade in Virginia was at its peak, tobacco was the main export leaving the colony on Dutch ships. Though the first recorded Dutch trade in Virginia included several Africans who were sold into servitude, the Dutch trade into Virginia in the mid-seventeenth century was not predominantly in African workers. By 1650, there were only about 400 persons of African origin in English Virginia, constituting only 2.2% of the non-indigenous population.<sup>101</sup> In 1650, then, Virginia's economy was not yet operating primarily via slave labor and the legal status of most Africans was ambiguous, though probably in many cases it was about the same as that of white indentured servants.<sup>102</sup> The importation of slave labor as a major component of the colonial economy was still several decades in the future.

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid, 493-494.

<sup>100</sup> There is archaeological evidence that Dutch traders continued to exchange their goods in the Chesapeake despite the 1651 prohibition. The English government had little means to enforce the act, and the colonists in the Chesapeake were largely indifferent as to who provided them with goods. See Julia King, et al. and John Pagan.

<sup>101</sup> Colonial and Pre-Federal Statistics, 1168. There were 405 Africans in a total non-indigenous population of 18,731. Calculation of percentage is my own.

<sup>102</sup> The 1640 sentencing of runaway African servant John Punch to lifetime servitude was the first clear reference to slavery, though it is almost certain that there were some slaves prior to this date. See Alden T. Vaughn, "The Origins Debate: Slavery and Racism in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 97 (1989): 311-354. The Virginia Assembly did not formally address the matter of racial divisions in servants' status until 1661. See Hening, Vol. 2, 26. The formal creation of Slave Codes did not occur until 1705. See Hening, Vol. 3, 271.

What the Dutch did bring to Virginia can be guessed at by the existence of Dutch wares found in archaeological digs throughout the Chesapeake. In the case of tobacco pipes, artifacts can be identified by their markings, and in some cases by the presence of the manufacturer's name. It is clear in the archaeological record that many Dutch-made tobacco pipes ended up in Virginia.<sup>103</sup> Further, there are references to Dutch tin- and lead-glazed roofing tiles, ceramics, and glassware.<sup>104</sup> There is also a court record that dealt with the trade of tobacco to a Dutch ship for cloth, knives, and piercer bits.<sup>105</sup> The piercer bits were probably used for mortise and tenon joining, so they were almost certainly shipped for English consumption. The cloth and knives would have had value for both the colonial and indigenous populations.

The contents of Dutch ships did not appear to be unique when compared to the goods coming to Virginia on English ships. However, Dutch ships were able to trade for surplus tobacco that otherwise lacked buyers, or were able to offer better prices than their English counterparts while still providing the same bundle of goods for which the colonists were already trading. Trading with the Dutch thus created a market for surplus tobacco, driving the industry at a time when it otherwise could have contracted.<sup>106</sup> Also, the Dutch were not beholden to any of the contracts agreed between English merchants and Virginia planters, which allowed for a freer market. The Dutch were more likely to pay market value, which when higher than the English contract prices created a substitution effect for the English colonists.

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<sup>103</sup> See Cox, et al. Dutch pipes appeared in both colonial and indigenous contexts.

<sup>104</sup> Julia A. King, ed. *A Comparative Archaeological Study of Colonial Chesapeake Culture, Final Report* (Washington, DC: Report submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities, 2006.)

<sup>105</sup> Ames, 286.

<sup>106</sup> Edmund Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1975), 147.

The increased reliance on the Dutch trade at the start of the English Civil War in 1642, and the even more pressing need for trade with the outbreak of the Third Anglo-Powhatan War in 1644, solidified the essential role of the Dutch trade to Virginia's economy. In 1642/3, the Virginia Assembly enacted a statute declaring, "it shall be free and lawfull for any merchant, factors, or others of the Dutch nation to import wares and merchandizes and to trade or traffique for the commoditys of the collony in any shipp or shippes of their own or belonging to the Netherlands."<sup>107</sup> Despite no mention of the Dutch trade being made in the 1646 treaty, it almost certainly played into the thinking of the Assembly when it restricted Anglo-Powhatan trade to two forts.

Thanks to the Dutch trade, Virginians were able to maintain their specialized focus on tobacco. As mentioned previously, specialization necessitated trade. However, compared to the 1620s, by the 1640s, the production of cattle and corn within Virginia meant that the colony was no longer reliant on outside food sources – a role previously filled by the Powhatan and other neighboring Indian groups. Whereas in the 1620s Virginians had to produce or trade for consumer goods, which they then would trade for food, the Dutch provided desirable consumer goods in exchange for tobacco that Virginians were already growing.

An increased population and several decades of experience made agricultural production in Virginia a viable and stable industry. Indian labor in production of surplus grain was made redundant by imported indentured labor. With no corresponding shift in production in the Powhatan economy, the grain trade - once vital – was rendered obsolete. In 1646, the leadership

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<sup>107</sup> Hening, Vol. I, 258. Act XXVII in "Laws of Virginia, March 1642/3."

of Virginia saw no compelling reason to maintain widespread exchange with the Powhatan, given that English, and now Dutch, shipping provided outlets for Virginia's production and a steady supply of consumer goods. From the Powhatan perspective, anything that they could get from the English colonists, they could also get from the Dutch, and probably at a lower cost if they traded with the Dutch directly.

### **Cattle**

After the 1621/2 massacre, Edward Waterhouse estimated that there were roughly 1,500, or roughly one head per person, cattle in Virginia.<sup>108</sup> In August 1633, a statute forbidding the export of "cows, heifers, or female catle" was enacted in order to further increase the cattle population, which had "inritch this colony."<sup>109</sup> By January 1639/40, the Assembly had loosened this restriction, declaring that "any person may export to New England or other neighboring colony the 7<sup>th</sup> head of neat cattle and no more."<sup>110</sup> Cattle would have provided numerous benefits to the Virginia colony, although cattle ultimately became so numerous to be a nuisance, as demonstrated by the statutes requiring the fencing of fields in 1642/3 and 1646.<sup>111</sup>

One benefit that cattle probably did not provide in abundance, however, was labor. Tobacco cultivation as practiced in early Virginia did not require plowing as would have cereal crops, and it was not recommended practice to manure tobacco fields.<sup>112</sup> Cattle were little

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<sup>108</sup> Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 103. Anderson suggests that this estimate was high.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid, 218. Act IX in "Laws of Virginia, August 1633."

<sup>110</sup> Ibid, 227. Act XIV in "Laws of Virginia, January 1639/40."

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, 245. Act V in "Laws of Virginia, March 1642/3."

Ibid, 332. Act XV in "Laws of Virginia, October 1646."

<sup>112</sup> Billings, *Old Dominion*, 182-184. Excerpts from "How to Plant Tobacco, 1615." The consensus was that the manure impacted the flavor of the smoke.

discussed outside of a handful of statutes, though they appear in many probate records, but it seems plausible that an increased cattle population would have fit a diversification agenda that desired an increase in the cultivation of cereal crops, as well as a stable supply of meat, leather, and perhaps milk. The statute forbidding export of female cattle in August 1633 certainly would fit with the chronology of the statutes of 1631 and 1633 attempting to encourage more diverse economic activity.

The explicit reference to New England in the 1639/40 Virginia statute allowing a small proportion of cattle to be exported would seem to indicate that such trade was, in fact, occurring. Further evidence of this trade could be inferred from cattle prices in the Plymouth colony in modern-day Massachusetts at the time. Data from the Plymouth Archaeological Research Project indicated that cattle prices in the Plymouth colony spiked around 1638, then dropped substantially in the early 1640s.<sup>113</sup> It seems plausible that the statute in Virginia was at least in part a response to high cattle prices in New England, especially given the local prices in Virginia remained quite stable throughout the 1640s and 1650s.<sup>114</sup> There is also reference to “live Cattle, Beef and Tobacco” being sent from Virginia to Barbados, where “an Ox of 5£ pound price at Virginia, will yield 25£.”<sup>115</sup>

What this indicates is that the Virginia colony was aware of and responsive to larger economic trends beyond the tobacco market. Raising cattle required little in the way of

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<sup>113</sup> See Craig S. Chartier, “Plymouth Colony Livestock,” Report submitted to the Plymouth Archaeological Research Project.

<sup>114</sup> Morgan, 140. Morgan makes this claim based on the lack of serious fluctuation in the valuation of cows in county inventories during these decades.

<sup>115</sup> Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados* (London: Parker, 1673), 113.

infrastructure and the supply was substantial, partially feral, and largely self-sustaining. The cattle population of Virginia was estimated at about 20,000, or roughly two head per person, in 1649 and newcomers to Virginia by this time “were advised that they could purchase cattle in the colony to stock their plantations.”<sup>116</sup> The increase in cattle population and the opening of a small-scale export trade did little to interfere with tobacco production or to increase economic diversification at the start of the 1640s, however.

The 1646 treaty included a provision allowing the English to cross the northern boundary of the York River until March of the following year in order to kill or collect whatever cattle and hogs they could.<sup>117</sup> This showed that the English deemed the cattle valuable enough to recover in this instance. Although there is not clear connection between the treaty and the statute that finally lifted the ban on exporting hides from Virginia several months prior, this could have been another reason for attempting to collect the errant livestock.<sup>118</sup>

A major reason that the growth of the cattle population and cattle trade worked to disintegrate the Anglo-Powhatan economy was that the deer on which the Powhatan relied were an effective substitute for English cattle. Even if the Powhatan did turn to cattle to supplement a diminished deer population, it would not have been difficult to obtain beef via hunting. Though killing English cattle carried some risk of retribution, the Powhatan most likely could have culled a few members of a semi-feral herd without having to interact directly with the colonists. Either

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<sup>116</sup> Wesley N. Laing, “Cattle in Seventeenth-Century Virginia,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 67 (1959): 151.

<sup>117</sup> Hening, Vol. I, 324-5. Article 4. The English had vacated land north of the York River per the treaty. Although, this was probably largely driven by the fact that many English living north of the York had been killed or fled in the 1644 massacre.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid*, 307. There was a long-standing ban on exporting hides that was lifted in March 1645/6. The statute does not specify any types of hides, so it appears to be a blanket restriction on any animal hides.

way, it does not appear that the deer population had been drastically reduced by the time of treaty.<sup>119</sup>

Cattle exports to New England and the West Indies, as previously noted, provided opportunities for large profits margins. This had the effect of increasing Virginia's economic ties with other English colonies. At the same time, the Powhatan had little demand for English cattle, which they saw largely as a destructive nuisance. The almost lackadaisical manner of cattle husbandry practiced by the English colonists did not divert many resources from tobacco production, but potential profits from the cattle trade did divert English attention and resources to other markets. The vastly increased cattle population can help to explain the treaty in that it further directed Virginia's economic activity away from the Powhatan while simultaneously providing a reason for the Powhatan to separate themselves from the colony.

### **Indians and Livestock**

There is no clear evidence that the Powhatan attempted to raise domesticated livestock prior to the 1646 treaty. In 1656, the Assembly offered a bounty of one cow to an Indian leader in exchange for eight wolf heads.<sup>120</sup> This was probably truly a bounty to protect livestock, as the requisite proof was the head, rather than the pelt, of the wolf. That is, the benefits derived from the service of killing the wolf was the object of value in this exchange. The more insidious idea was that providing Indians with cattle specifically would be a step toward civilizing them, as the

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<sup>119</sup> See Heather Lapham, "'Their Complement of Deer-skins and Furs': Changing Patterns of White-tailed Deer Exploitation in the Seventeenth-century Southern Chesapeake and Virginia Hinterlands," in *Indian and European Contact in Context: The Mid-Atlantic Region*, edited by Dennis B. Blanton and Julia A. King, 172-192. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004). The pattern of more intensive deer harvest was just picking up around the time of the treaty, so significant impact on the population outside the region of English settlement seems unlikely.

<sup>120</sup> Hening, Vol. I, 395. Act I in "Laws of Virginia, March 1655/6."



English viewed cattle husbandry as uniquely civilized given the relatively high level of tending cattle required as opposed to other types of livestock.<sup>121</sup> While this was revealing of English attitudes about the role of livestock, it also showed that the Powhatan had not adopted husbandry in any European sense even ten years after the treaty. This supports the idea that further economic integration was not attractive in 1646 if it required serious cultural shifts. Although hunting feral livestock would not have been a serious cultural breach for the Powhatan, and there is reference in the statutes to Indians attacking livestock, to what purpose is unclear.<sup>122</sup> This could have been a matter of acquiring food, or of protecting agricultural resources. Archaeological analysis of two late-seventeenth century sites north of Virginia (Camden and Posey) which were occupied by indigenous populations showed that English-introduced livestock still made up a very small proportion of faunal sustenance as late as the 1670s.<sup>123</sup>

In his work on the impact of agriculture in the New England colonies, William Cronon found evidence that some Indians there had started raising European livestock by the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>124</sup> Virginia Anderson explored this issue in *Creatures of Empire*, and found that some Chesapeake-area tribes had acquired pigs by the 1650s and 1660s.<sup>125</sup> In choosing pigs over other English livestock, Indians were opting for the least amount of marginal maintenance cost in return for meat. There is also evidence of domesticated animals becoming substitutes for

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<sup>121</sup> Anderson, 107-8.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid, 176. Act LXI.

<sup>123</sup> See Benjamin J. Porter, "The Camden and Posey Archaeological Sites: A Question of Native American Identity in the late 17<sup>th</sup>-century Chesapeake," in *A Comparative Archaeological Study of Colonial Chesapeake Culture, Final Report*, edited by Julia A. King, 68-72. Washington, DC: Report submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities, 2006.

<sup>124</sup> William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983, 2003), 103.

<sup>125</sup> Anderson, 212.

increasing scarce wildlife in New England, and this pattern could plausibly transfer to Virginia. This indicates that Indians were perfectly capable of making economic calculations, but the instances of livestock as a desirable commodity to the Powhatan postdate the 1646 treaty.

The spread of feral livestock populations clearly impacted English agriculture, as demonstrated in the aforementioned fencing statutes, and it seems likely that these animals would have threatened indigenous agricultural plots, as well. In 1660 in Accomack/Northampton County, there is a formal complaint in the court records from the Gingaskin Indians that the English livestock were damaging their crops.<sup>126</sup> There is also the possibility that Indians killed livestock simply because they knew that the English valued it and it was wartime. Most likely it was some combination of these factors dependent on the specific circumstances.

The takeaway is that while the English increasingly relied on livestock as a food source, the indigenous population had not made this shift as of 1646. The enlarged populations of cattle, pigs, and to a lesser extent horses, goats, and sheep posed problems for the English, who dealt with them by erecting fencing, as well as for Indians, who did not erect fencing both because it was costly in time and resources, and because to do so would have acknowledged the English property rights to livestock. Further, the alien livestock would have displaced to some degree the indigenous fauna on which Indian populations continued to rely, potentially causing changes in hunting patterns and food production more generally.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Rountree and Davidson, 63.

<sup>127</sup> See Cronon. In New England, the general pattern was one of English livestock displacing indigenous deer populations, leading to problems with wolves attacking livestock, which in turn led to bounties on wolves. This pattern seems applicable to Virginia, given the wolf bounties that appeared there around 1650, as well.

The treaty specified that colonists could collect livestock north of the York, but it was not clear if this was to allow colonists to recover property, a courtesy to the Indians, or both. What is clear is that in 1646, the Powhatan did not regard livestock as a valuable commodity in the sense that the English did. The English, despite their apparent ambivalence toward their roving herds of cattle and swine, did believe that the animals were their property and attempted to recover damages if they were killed. While it seems plausible that the livestock killed by Indians was eaten, it does appear that domesticated animals had supplanted indigenous fauna in Powhatan diets or minds. Cattle and swine were more likely to cause conflict than provide a basis trade at this time, and it is possible that the Powhatan saw a clear boundary as a way to prevent further encroachment of English livestock.

Anderson noted that issues of animal trespass that involved colonists and Indians often became public matters. Indian leaders who could extract compensation from the English for damage caused by English livestock gained both political prestige and material goods.<sup>128</sup> The treaty terms stipulating that only messengers from Powhatan leaders could gain safe passage to conduct diplomacy in Virginia could be connected to this. However, there were few barriers to prevent semi-feral livestock from crossing what was now a clearly defined and mutually-agreed boundary. If Powhatan leaders saw an opportunity to consolidate their power via extracting compensatory payments for damage caused by English livestock, then a clear boundary and a monopoly over who could cross it was an attractive proposition.

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<sup>128</sup> Anderson, 191.

## **Conclusions on Production within Virginia**

The pattern of production within Virginia from 1622 until the 1640s never diversified in any meaningful way, and certainly fell well short of the hopes that had initially been present in the 1621 instructions given to Governor Wyatt. Virginians ultimately invested much of their time and energy in tobacco production, and much of the remaining resources were devoted to food production, at least when mandated by the Assembly. In the 1630s and 1640s, trade in agricultural products occurred with New England and the West Indies, but surplus cattle and grain were hardly the products of a diversified colony. The English government's desire that Virginia produce a wider variety of goods for export remained unfulfilled.

Per the Assembly's reply to King Charles I in 1628, there were obvious logistical issues with setting up and maintaining the recommended industries. The difficulties of obtaining skilled workers and then keeping them in Virginia was one difficulty. The massive start-up costs of building an industry from scratch would have been prohibitive even for skilled and experienced workers, who were always few.<sup>129</sup> In contrast, raising what were essentially free-range cattle and other livestock was not labor- or capital-intensive. Cultivating tobacco was land and labor intensive, but required few specialized skills and all of these could be learned relatively quickly upon arrival in Virginia. The land and infrastructure to support tobacco cultivation was readily available. When forced to do so, Virginians could also produce plentiful quantities of food.

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<sup>129</sup> See previous section of this paper on tobacco pipe production for one example. Also, the inability to rebuild the nascent ironworks decades after they were destroyed in 1622 massacre speaks to difficulties inherent in such endeavors.

While a specialized economy necessitated trade, several other factors worked against a return to a more integrated Anglo-Powhatan economy. The Powhatan's potential role as a supplier of grain became largely moot once Virginia's production of corn stabilized sometime in the early 1630s, and trade with England and the Netherlands provided many of the consumer goods desired by English colonists. This created a situation where the Powhatan and the English were now competing consumers for the same supplies of consumer goods. The only real items of value that the Powhatan could offer were labor and high-value goods, such as furs and skins. As of 1646, the latter do not appear to have been exchanged in large quantities between the English and Powhatan. The fact that almost all of the Indian indentures were children, and that those who ran away in the future were to be returned per the terms of the treaty indicate that laboring as an indentured servant for the English was not a desirable condition. The boundary set by the treaty thus served to contain laborers in Virginia, and possibly to prevent direct access by the Powhatan to the consumer goods that the colonists increasingly demanded.

## Chapter VI. ANGLO-POWHATAN ECONOMIC INTERACTIONS, 1622-1646

### Subjective Value and Shifting Comparative Advantage

Subjective value refers to the fact that different individuals value goods and services at different levels. In concrete terms, subjective value represents the minimum price that a buyer would pay for an item. It is a simple concept that has profound implications for economic exchange – especially across cultures with radically different values-systems. Within the context of Anglo-Powhatan interaction between 1622 and 1646, the values of particular goods fluctuated due to the changing socio-political circumstances, as well.<sup>130</sup>

Comparative advantage refers to the ability of a given party to produce a good or service at a lower opportunity cost relative to another party. Opportunity cost refers to the next best alternative that is given up when an individual makes a decision. Practically speaking, opportunity cost is the minimum price that a seller will accept for a given item. Comparative advantage is thus relative and changeable depending on the parties involved in any given exchange and on circumstances. To further complicate matters, subjective value means that opportunity costs can be calculated in very different terms by different parties in an exchange. The role of shifting opportunity costs in the production and exchange of particular goods, and thus shifting comparative advantages associated with each good, provide a useful structure for evaluating the economic shifts that shaped the terms of the 1646 Anglo-Powhatan treaty.

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<sup>130</sup> See section on copper below.

## Overview of Goods Exchanged

The Powhatan traded copper (both goods and raw), glass and metal beads, and iron tools prior to the massacre in 1621/2, however, the specific goods that they desired during and at the end of the Second Anglo-Powhatan War must be inferred, as the records are sparse.

Archaeological digs can offer some clues, though one is forced to generalize about broader patterns from a sample of sites. It is also probable that the goods that the Powhatan desired previously were still in demand, with the possible exception of raw copper.<sup>131</sup>

Prior to the settlement of Jamestown, the Powhatan had an economy that was based on a combination of agriculture, hunting, and foraging. Powhatan agriculture focused on the cultivation of maize, squash, and beans, which, while an important source of sustenance, were heavily supplemented by wild plants and animals. For the chiefs and warriors, there was also a healthy trade in status goods, including copper, shell beads and ornaments, and puccoon (used for red dye).<sup>132</sup>

The arrival of the English in 1607 did not suddenly and drastically alter the Powhatan economy. Instead, changes occurred piecemeal over time. The most notable English introductions in terms of utility were metal tools and cloth. The former provided a significant upgrade in terms of quality over stone tools, the latter over animal skins. Glass beads provided a substitute for shell and stone beads, which took significant time and effort to produce. The

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<sup>131</sup> See Hantman. The essential point is that a flood of English imports disrupted the indigenous copper trade by collapsing the copper market and fundamentally stripping copper of most of its spiritual and political value. This trade previously had been the preserve of elites due to the metal's rarity and spiritual connotations.

<sup>132</sup> Gold, 11-12.

English imported significant amounts of copper, which, while not a new good, greatly altered the value of the metal and seriously undermined the authority of chiefs who had used control of the precious metal to maintain their political power.<sup>133</sup> Firearms and metal weapons were also novel to and much desired by the Powhatan, though the English were understandably reluctant to trade these items. The changes that resulted from the introduction of these goods played out in different ways over extended periods of time.

## Copper

Copper occurred naturally in North America and was used for a variety of purposes by indigenous people before Europeans arrived. In pre-contact societies, the copper supply was controlled by political and spiritual elites and was used to demonstrate and gain status.<sup>134</sup> When the English arrived at Jamestown, they understood that copper could be a valuable trade good, though they also probably hoped to utilize copper in the production of brass if they could find supplies of zinc in North America.<sup>135</sup> The latter point is more than trivial as it demonstrates that: 1) the English were genuinely interested in establishing some productive industry beyond simply extracting resources, and 2) the collapse of the indigenous valuation of copper and the subsequent fall in political power that accompanied it was a by-product of mutually-acceptable exchange rather than a deliberate effort by the English to destroy indigenous political structures.

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<sup>133</sup> Jeffrey L. Hantman, "Between Powhatan and Quirank: Reconstructing Monacan Culture and History in the Context of Jamestown," *American Anthropologist* 92 (1990): 685.

<sup>134</sup> Seth Mallios and Shane Emmett, "Demand, Supply, and Elasticity in the Copper Trade at Early Jamestown," *The Journal of the Jamestown Rediscovery Center* 2 (2004).

<sup>135</sup> See Carter C. Hudgins, "Articles of Exchange or Ingredients of New World Metallurgy? An Examination of the Industrial Origins and Metallurgical Functions of Scrap Copper at Early Jamestown (c. 1607-1617)," *Early American Studies* 3 (2005): 32-64.



The major impact of the copper trade was the undermining of chiefly authority in the Powhatan political structure. Jeffrey Hantmann argued that the Powhatan leaders had previously obtained copper via trade with the Monacans to the west, and that the arrival of the English provided an alternative source of the metal with better goods, such as metal tools and cloth, on offer for exchange. However, within several years of their arrival, English traders managed to exchange copper through unofficial channels and effectively flooded the market.<sup>136</sup> It is estimated that by about 1620 the value of copper had reached a low point from which it never really recovered.<sup>137</sup>

It seems that after about 1620, copper had lost a significant amount of its non-material power due to its prevalence. Copper still appeared in various contexts, such as ornaments in burials, and often in trade goods that contained copper-alloy.<sup>138</sup> The latter context is consistent with a scenario wherein the value of copper was largely practical. Further, once copper was most valued in a largely practical role in making alloy, it would have in many cases been an inferior substitute for iron tools, further lowering its value.

Once copper was reduced to simply another material good, trade in the metal was no longer lucrative. Both the English and Powhatan had access to copper, but the flooded market eliminated opportunities for arbitrage that had initially existed when the Powhatan subjectively valued copper highly. It is notable that the record of Robert Poole's 1624 trading expedition

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<sup>136</sup> Hantmann, 685.

<sup>137</sup> See Mallios and Emmett, "Figure 2."

Gallivan et al, 29. The authors cite widespread copper usage in non-chiefly burial contexts as far north as the Potomac neck by c. 1630 as evidence that copper was no longer monopolized by the elite.

<sup>138</sup> Gallivan, et al, 40-41. Items found in burials included skillets, utensils, beads, and tokens.

made no mention of exchanging copper for corn or any other goods. Later in the minutes for the same day's session, there is a reference to a seemingly practical copper furnace and coverings.<sup>139</sup> Despite its huge initial importance, by 1646 the copper trade had been a non-factor in Anglo-Powhatan relations for roughly two decades. To emphasize the dearth of raw copper in Virginia by the 1640s, in November 1645, the Assembly enacted a statute to provide for the importation of 10,000 pounds of copper to make into coins.<sup>140</sup> This also represented a move toward a monetary system within Virginia, which would have made access to the colonial economy even more difficult for the Powhatan.

While copper did not play a role in the terms of the 1646 treaty, it did demonstrate the influence of trade in altering the local economy. It also served as an example to both the English and Powhatan authorities of the dangers of unregulated economic exchange to the political power structures. The economic exchange of copper had dire consequences for Powhatan political structures, and the subsequent collapse of its value ended the massive arbitrage opportunities that culturally-driven subjective valuation had initially created. The copper trade thus illustrated why exchange in goods that had disproportionately significant value for one of the parties was unsustainable, at least in a largely unregulated market.

To the Powhatan leadership, then, a clear boundary and strict regulation of trade may have offered hope of restoring authority. By restricting trade with the English, the influx of goods could be better controlled and wild fluctuations of value avoided. Further, all trade would

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<sup>139</sup> H.R. McIlwaine, ed., *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia, 1622-1632, 1670-1676* (Richmond: Virginia State Library Board, 1924), 30.

<sup>140</sup> Hening, Vol. I, 308. Act XX in "Laws of Virginia, November 1645."

be regulated by Powhatan leaders, potentially restoring their monopoly of high-value status goods.

## **Maize**

From the beginning of the Jamestown settlement in 1607, the English relied heavily on the Powhatan for food. However, in the Post-Fort Period after 1624, evidence for a highly integrated economy largely disappears as domesticated animals became the predominant source of meat and “exchange relations that had been bilateral became unidirectional.”<sup>141</sup> That is, much of flow of goods was from the Powhatan to the English, especially with the deliberate policy of raiding Powhatan cornfields during the Second Anglo-Powhatan War. As the previously discussed statutes through the mid-1630s have shown, Powhatan-grown maize was still a desirable commodity to the English, but the means of obtaining it often required violence for the duration of the Second Anglo-Powhatan War.

Some of the orders to facilitate the ongoing conflict with the Powhatan included admonishments to palisade all dwellings, not to travel or work alone or unarmed, not to waste shot or powder, to keep weapons in serviceable condition, and for all able colonists to participate in a coordinated attack on the Powhatan in July 1623/4.<sup>142</sup> Despite all this, a preceding order noted “that all trade for corn with the salvages [savages] as well publick as private after June next shall be prohibited.”<sup>143</sup> What this implies is that trade for corn was occurring, despite the ongoing war, and that the timing of the prohibition must have been coordinated with the July

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<sup>141</sup> Gallivan, et al, 31.

<sup>142</sup> Hening, Vol.1, 127-128.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid, 126.

attacks prescribed in the orders. Thus economic exchange and military conflict coexisted without apparent contradiction.

What is particularly notable about the exchange (mutually agreed, or otherwise) of corn is that the necessity of this food source gave corn the potential to be a staple of exchange between the Powhatan and the English. The English were committed to tobacco production, and frequently had to be induced by their government to plant corn. Further, the English often had to resort to long-range trading expeditions and violent expropriation via government ordered attacks to obtain sufficient quantities of corn during the Second Anglo-Powhatan War (1622-1632). Clearly corn's value was great, but it never became the basis for a mutually beneficial Anglo-Powhatan trade partnership.

By the summer of 1634, two years after the end of the Second Anglo-Powhatan War, Governor John Harvey was able to write "every family hath now corn to spare," citing the statutes requiring the planting of corn as the cause of this surplus.<sup>144</sup> Harvey also noted that some of this corn was "for the relief of New England."<sup>145</sup> Harvey did not explain whether the corn was sent out of charity or if it was traded, but this reference hinted at agricultural exchange between the two regions. New England ship captain, Thomas Yong, was in the Chesapeake in 1634 for purposes of exploration, and confirmed that a corn trade did exist between Virginia and New England. Upon encountering a ship in the Chesapeake, his first impression was "we

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<sup>144</sup> "Virginia in 1632-33-34," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 8 (1900): 157. "Letter from Governor John Harvey to Secretary Windebanke, 14 July 1634."

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*

thought she had bene some vessal bound from Virginia to New England, whither the Inhabitants of Virginia drive a great trade for Indian Corne.”<sup>146</sup>

The county court records for Accomack/Northampton contain a reference to corn bound for New England in a dispute heard in July 1641.<sup>147</sup> In March 1641/2, the records show that there was an attempt to build a windmill, though it fell through due to the millwright’s death.<sup>148</sup> Grain production and processing did expand in Virginia, as by 1649, “there were five water-mills...four windmills, and a great number of horse and hand mills.”<sup>149</sup> Dutchman David Pietersz De Vries noted during a 1643 visit that “lands which had been exhausted by tobacco-planting, were now sown with fine wheat, and some of them with flax.”<sup>150</sup>

While it easy to account for the failure of the Powhatan to develop their corn production as a product of ongoing war and the loss of land, another important part of the answer lies in the gender roles and social structure of Powhatan society. The Powhatan seem to have followed a pattern of agriculture common among indigenous people in what is now the southeastern United States. Small family groups operated as both social and economic units, and crops were tended and stored at both a household and community level.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> Thomas Aspinwall, ed., *Aspinwall Papers* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1871), 98-9. Specifically “Captain Thomas Yong’s Voyage to Virginia and Delaware Bay and River in 1634.”

<sup>147</sup> Ames, 96.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid, 154-5.

<sup>149</sup> Philip Alexander Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: MacMillan and Company, 1896), Vol. II, 488.

<sup>150</sup> David Pietersz de Vries, *Voyages from Holland to America, A.D. 1632 to 1644*, trans. Henry C. Murphy (New York: Billin and Brothers, 1853), 183.

<sup>151</sup>C. Margaret Scarry and John F. Scarry, “Native American ‘Garden Agriculture’ in Southeastern North America,” *World Archaeology* 37 (2005): 262.

As paramount chief prior to and during the initial English settlement of Virginia, Powhatan commanded a wide-ranging tribute system that probably encouraged some level of surplus production in order to fulfill tributary requirements. However, the loss of land and diminished authority of Powhatan leaders would have made this less possible over time. When individual groups are considered, the small scale production practices of Powhatan agriculture were never going to allow for large surpluses from any single group.

Also, Powhatan agriculture was almost exclusively a female activity. As Helen Rountree has examined, the tasks associated with agricultural production along with the other activities that Powhatan women had to complete left little time for leisure.<sup>152</sup> The economic and social spheres of Powhatan men and women were largely separate, so while both sexes had complementary roles, they operated independently.<sup>153</sup>

This mattered to any potential shifts in corn production because even if Powhatan women wanted to increase output, they would have been unable to do so without sacrificing other important tasks. Powhatan men, and especially leaders, who probably reaped more immediate benefits of the corn trade, were not potential agricultural laborers within the Powhatan social context, creating a sort of principal-agent problem. While the political power of chiefs was sufficient to command some tribute, gender roles were not sufficiently hierarchical that Powhatan men could have simply forced women to produce more.<sup>154</sup> Given these social constraints, there was no way to reallocate resources to increase corn production that did not

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<sup>152</sup> See Helen C. Rountree, "Powhatan Indian Women: The People Captain John Smith Barely Saw," *Ethnohistory* 45 (1998): 1-29.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>154</sup> See Gallivan, et al., 8 for overview of political structure. See Helen C. Rountree, "Powhatan Indian Women: The People Captain John Smith Barely Saw," *Ethnohistory* 45 (1998): 1-29 for gender roles and division of labor.

involve substantial non-material opportunity costs, despite the potential economic benefits that such specialization could have created.

By the time of the 1646 treaty, English Virginia was producing grain surpluses for export. Given that the Powhatan were able to continue growing their own food, they did not provide an export market for English grain. Rather, as with cattle, the English in Virginia found markets for their produce in other English colonies that lacked the ability to produce sufficient quantities of grain on their own. This further increased economic ties between Virginia and other colonies, while cutting off another potential source of economic exchange between the English and Powhatan. The exchange of grain (both willing and coerced) that was so important that it continued to occur even during the Second Anglo-Powhatan was unnecessary by 1646. The idea of pursuing agriculture practices that were well-established in cultural traditions was more appealing to the English and Powhatan than significantly changing these practices in order to sustain economic exchange, making the formal separation of the two societies a rationale choice in terms of non-material opportunity costs.

### **Shell Beads**

Shell beads had a long history as indigenous objects of exchange prior to European contact, so the idea of using these beads as a medium of exchange was not a European introduction. Evidence for the economic impact of the Virginia colony on indigenous trade networks is present in the shift in shell bead production and distribution, however. James Bradley, in his 2011 article, “Re-visiting Wampum and other Seventeenth-Century Shell Games,” focused on shifts in wampum production in the New England and mid-Atlantic regions, and especially on the Dutch trade in New Amsterdam. However, Bradley offered some brief

hints as to the impact of events in Virginia on the larger shell bead economy, noting that until the early seventeenth century, Chesapeake shell beads were exchanged widely on the east coast.<sup>155</sup>

Bradley then speculated that observed drops in the quantity of shell beads at Iroquois sites during the First Anglo-Powhatan War (1609-1614) were potential evidence of a disruption in shell bead production in the Chesapeake region.<sup>156</sup>

The period of the Second Anglo-Powhatan War (1622-1632) saw wampum “established as a medium for cross-cultural exchange in the Northeast,” and also saw production centers of shell beads established at indigenous sites north of the Chesapeake. This production was spurred in part by local increases in demand, but the lack of incoming shell beads from the Chesapeake region would seem to imply that the Chesapeake beads were either not being produced, or that they were being used in other markets.

Bradley wrote “after the end of the last Powhatan War in 1646, marine shell objects from the Chesapeake, and farther south, once again begin to occur on Five Nations sites.”<sup>157</sup>

Changing circumstances to the Northeast of the Chesapeake with regard to relationships between indigenous peoples and Dutch, French, and English settlers and traders explain some of the shifts in trade patterns. However, the timing of the reappearance of Chesapeake-produced shell beads strongly implies that events in Virginia were responsible for this particular shift in 1646. What remains unclear is whether the Chesapeake shell objects found at Iroquois sites were coming

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<sup>155</sup> Bradley, 31.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 33-34.



directly from trade with the Powhatan and other indigenous groups in the Chesapeake region, or via European (if so, most likely Dutch) trade in the Chesapeake.

From Bradley's observations, several important points about the Chesapeake economy can be inferred. First, production of goods for exchange was well-established among indigenous people long before the English arrived in the Chesapeake region. Second, indigenous patterns of production and trade responded to changing circumstances, economic and otherwise. Finally, the reappearance of Chesapeake-produced shell beads at Iroquois sites at the end of the Third Anglo-Powhatan War suggests that either the conflict and the resulting treaty, economic changes prior to the conflict, or both had a significant impact on patterns of trade between the English and the Powhatan in the Chesapeake.

Contrasted with the lack of change in maize production, the alterations in shell bead production and exchange are useful in explaining the clear boundary in the 1646 treaty within an economic context. While maize production was highly dependent on geography, requiring a long-term commitment to a specific location, bead production was less so. Further, while producing a surplus of maize for trade would have required some drastic restructuring of Powhatan social norms, changing patterns of bead production would have been, at most, mildly disruptive. The Powhatan probably deemed the cultural opportunity costs of altering maize production to maintain economic ties with the English too great, while reverting to production of beads would have represented a shift away from English influence and produced a good that was readily tradable with any other indigenous people.<sup>158</sup> Bead production also appears to have been

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<sup>158</sup> Bradley, 34. Referred to the "long established tradition of making beads from marine shell and the high cultural value placed on shell by Native people regardless of ethnic or linguistic affiliation."

performed by both men and women, so there was greater flexibility in this field as opposed to agriculture.<sup>159</sup> By agreeing to the boundary and restrictions in the treaty, the Powhatan were able to maintain cultural practices and limit external influences.

### **Glass Beads**

The glass beads that the English and other Europeans brought to North America were not a new item to indigenous people. As discussed above, bead production was a well-established indigenous industry. The glass beads simply offered a substitute to shell or stone beads. The appeal of the glass beads was a combination of spiritual association with particular colorations and the fact that producing shell beads was a time and labor intensive task.<sup>160</sup> The decision to trade for glass beads was somewhat similar to the decision by the Powhatan to trade for copper in that the good's value was largely driven by culturally-based subjective valuation.

From a Powhatan perspective, the glass beads that the English so readily traded represented an attractive substitute for indigenous shell beads. To the English, the beads were really only valuable as an item of exchange. As was the case with copper, the vastly different subjective valuations of these beads led to minimal opportunity costs for both parties when these beads were exchanged. While the connections between copper and elite status in Powhatan society were well-established, it is less clear to what extent beads may have represented a status good. The value of glass beads, at least in the early exchanges between the English and

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<sup>159</sup> Rountree, "Powhatan Indian Women," 18.

<sup>160</sup> For discussion of symbolism of color, see Frederic Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures*. For explanation of the bead production process, see Rountree, "Powhatan Indian Women," 18.

Powhatan, came from the associations between particular colors and Powhatan spiritual beliefs.<sup>161</sup>

Excavations of Jamestown and surrounding sites have yielded results that suggest a change in the pattern of bead-types exchanged around the 1624 cut-off between the Fort Period and the Post-Fort Period. From 1624 on, archaeologists found an increase in beads of the robin's-egg blue, round white, and gooseberry type and a drop in nueva cadiz-type beads of blue and turquoise as well as cone-shaped yellow beads. Other types of beads more strongly associated with sixteenth-century sites disappear from the Post-Fort assemblage entirely.<sup>162</sup>

Whether these shifts represented a change on the demand or the supply side is less clear. In the article summarizing these findings, Heather Lapham discussed the evidence for the earlier beads most likely coming from Venetian suppliers, but also noted that glass bead production had started in the Netherlands by the late sixteenth-century.<sup>163</sup> While there is clear evidence that the Jamestown colony attempted glassmaking around 1608 and again in the early 1620s, it is not clear how long this venture lasted, nor the quantity or quality of the products.<sup>164</sup> While the success of a local glassmaking industry could plausibly explain a shift in the types of beads produced, so too could economic shifts in the European glass industry. If the change did represent a shift on the supply side, it is not clear whether the drivers of this were local or global.

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<sup>161</sup> See Gallivan, et al, 27 for an overview of the likely color associations.

<sup>162</sup> Heather Lapham, "More Than 'A Few Blew Beads': The Glass and Stone Beads from *Jamestown Rediscovery's* 1994-1997 Excavations," *The Journal of the Jamestown Rediscovery Center* 1 (2001).

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>164</sup> For full discussion, see Charles E. Hatch, Jr., "Glassmaking in Virginia, 1607-1625," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 21 (1941): 227-238.

On the demand side, the Powhatan were particularly interested in blue beads, which “likely figured into Powhatan color symbolism as a color akin to black.”<sup>165</sup> These blue beads appear in abundance in the Fort Period (pre-1624), but effectively disappear after this.<sup>166</sup> It is not clear whether this was due to a reduction of trade after the 1621/2 massacre, or whether it reflected changing preferences on the part of the Powhatan or other tribes with whom they traded. There is also evidence that beads simply became less prominent in the Post-Fort Period more generally.<sup>167</sup> The reduction in the quantity of beads found, regardless of the cause, indicates a lower volume of bead trade, which, given the English valued beads for little else besides trade, is consistent with diminished Anglo-Powhatan exchange.

One possible explanation that would connect the 1621/2 massacre and the shift in bead assemblages is that the English were forced to look beyond the Powhatan for trade in corn after the massacre and subsequent English retaliation soured relations. In December 1624, there was a record of a Robert Poole who had returned from a trading expedition where he had traded twenty three “armes length of some beads” for two “tubbs of Corne.”<sup>168</sup> Poole did not specify the type of beads he traded here, but later in his testimony, he explicitly mentioned blue beads that another captain had traded for other goods.

There is no way to be certain, but it is possible that the blue beads to which Poole referred were of the robin’s egg blue variety that increased in prominence during the Post-Fort

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<sup>165</sup> Gallivan, et al, 27. References research by Frederic Gleach, *Powhatan’s World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures*.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid, 41.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid, 31.

<sup>168</sup> McIlwaine, 29.

Period (1624 on), and not the nueva cadiz blue beads so uniquely popular with the Powhatan during the Fort Period. Given that the English expeditions were trading with indigenous groups beyond the Powhatan chiefdom,<sup>169</sup> the robin's egg blue bead (which were probably closer to turquoise in color due to the copper used as a colorant) would have been recognized and accepted as a tradable good, irrespectively of any specific spiritual association. Lapham pointed out that these beads "have been found in archaeological contexts from the late 16<sup>th</sup>- through the middle 17<sup>th</sup>-centuries, from as far north as Ontario, Canada, to as far south as Florida."<sup>170</sup> The increased presence of these robin's egg blue beads very likely indicated that they had become a medium of exchange on the Eastern seaboard. The value of these beads came from their ability to serve as a form of money.

Ultimately, the bead trade did not drastically alter Anglo-Powhatan economic relations. However, the beads – both glass and shell - do provide an example of a substitution. That is, when glass beads were readily available via trade with the English in the Chesapeake, shell beads from this region are less prominent. With the reduction of Anglo-Powhatan trade, Chesapeake-produced shell beads reappeared. What this demonstrates is that, in this context, the Powhatan opted to pursue their comparative advantage, which, so long as they were actively trading with the English, was not in bead-making. The reappearance of Chesapeake shell beads in northern contexts right around 1646 strongly suggests that the Powhatan supply of European-made glass substitutes had dried up. If the Powhatan valued their political and territorial integrity highly and recognized that replacing glass beads with shell beads was a relatively simple substitution that

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<sup>169</sup> Ibid, 30. The text references "*Potuxfone*," which is probably the Patuxent River.

<sup>170</sup> Lapham, Section 2.11.

actually reinforced cultural integrity by refocusing effort and resources on production of a pre-contact item, then the terms of treaty can again seem to represent an economic and political calculation on the part of the Powhatan.

### **Furs and Skins**

In article one of the 1646 treaty, it is stipulated that “Necotowance and his successors are to pay unto the King’s Govern’r. the number of twenty beaver skins att the goieing away of Geese yearely.”<sup>171</sup> It is significant that this is the only material tribute required in the treaty because it represents merely a nominal sum paid in a commodity that the English were not actively seeking prior to the agreement. If the English had sought to use the treaty as a means to economically exploit the Powhatan, the terms would have called for significantly greater tribute, and would have sought something with more immediate value.

The most likely source of profitable trade based on extracting natural resources would have been deerskins. Deer were much utilized by the Powhatan and appear frequently in the historical and archaeological records.<sup>172</sup> Later in the seventeenth century, the deerskin trade was a source of great profit in the southern colonies and did lead to greatly altered behavior on the part of Indian hunters.<sup>173</sup> However, the idea of exporting them in large quantities for profit did

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<sup>171</sup> Hening, Vol. I, 323.

<sup>172</sup> On uses of deer among Powhatan, see Rountree, “Powhatan Indian Women.” On the widespread hunting of deer by the Powhatan, see Gregory Waselkov, “Evolution of Deer Hunting in the Eastern Woodlands,” *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 3 (1978): 15-34.

<sup>173</sup> See Lapham, “Their Complement of Deer-skins and Furs.”

not seem to be a priority at the time of the treaty. In February 1631/2, the Assembly passed a statute prohibiting the export of any hides or skins from Virginia.<sup>174</sup>

This did not preclude a deerskin trade within Virginia, and evidence suggests that such trade did take place fairly early. Robert Poole's 1624 expedition traded for corn and also obtained several animal skins, obtaining a total of nine bear, six deer, two wildcat, twenty-nine muskrats, and one [presumably mountain] lion. It also made a point of saying that they did not obtain any black fox skins, though why these were of importance is not explained.<sup>175</sup> However, this expedition was far north of Powhatan influence in the region of the Patuxent River. It is also notable that the skins were not the primary object of the expedition, and what it did obtain was not anywhere near enough to form the base for a profitable enterprise. References in the statutes to hiring Indians as guides and hunters, and a direct reference to a dispute involving deerskins in Accomack/Northampton County also attest to a small scale localized trade.<sup>176</sup>

Another reference from later the same year mentions that while it was illegal to kill wild swine, "it is thought convenient that any man be permitted to kill deare or other wild beasts or fowle...that thereby the inhabitants may be trained in the use of their armes."<sup>177</sup> Deer were seemingly more valued for target practice and a source of meat than as an exploitable and exportable commodity.<sup>178</sup> The prohibition on exporting hides was again listed in the November

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<sup>174</sup> Hening, Vol. I, 174. Act LIV in "Laws of Virginia, February 1631/2." The same prohibition was repeated in the September 1632 statutes.

<sup>175</sup> McIlwaine, 30.

<sup>176</sup> Ames, 406-7.

<sup>177</sup> Hening, Vol. I, 199. Act XLIX in "Laws of Virginia, September 1632."

<sup>178</sup> Anderson, 58. Anderson mentioned that the English saw venison as something of a luxury food. This would not have been the case had they already been extracting great quantities of deer.

1645 statutes, and finally lifted in March 1645/6.<sup>179</sup> While the statute is not specific regarding types of animals, it appears to have been a blanket restriction on the export of any animal skins.<sup>180</sup>

Beaver pelts did have the potential to form the basis of a profitable colonial industry in Virginia, as was the case in other regions of North America. Henry Fleet was one of the first Virginians to seriously pursue the beaver trade in the Chesapeake, but his lackluster returns, his 1632 arrest for trading without a license, and his failure to connect with the right power brokers hampered his career. Fleet did reappear in the record, trading under license from the newly established Maryland colony in 1637 and managing to obtain thirty beaver skins for his efforts.<sup>181</sup>

That one trading voyage in the northern Chesapeake could obtain half again as many beaver pelts as the Virginians demanded in tribute yearly implies that either the English were not in a terribly strong bargaining position, that there just were not many high quality beaver in the Powhatan domain, or that traders who stood benefit from the restricted trade with Powhatan wanted to ensure that there would be plenty of pelts for which to trade. Given that no traders appear to have seriously attempted to establish a fur trade directly with the Powhatan, the latter possibility seems unlikely. The treaty article was more likely influenced by a combination of the first two factors.

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid, 307. Act XIX in “Laws of Virginia, November 1645.”

Ibid, 314. Act XII in “Laws of Virginia, March 1645/6.”

<sup>180</sup> Lapham also discussed evidence of shifting deer harvest patterns at indigenous sites around roughly the mid-seventeenth century that would suggest the collection of hides for large scale exchange. The timeframes given by the archaeological record are imprecise, but they do seem to line up with the timing of the statutes and the treaty fairly well.

<sup>181</sup> Rountree and Davidson, 87.



William Claiborne received a royal license to trade in May 1631, presumably allowing him and his business partners to preempt the local ban on export of hides that occurred the next year. Like Fleet and other small time traders before him, Claiborne's ambitious trading venture was not with the Powhatan, but with the Susquehannock on the northern end of the Chesapeake. Claiborne's plan was to utilize the Chesapeake as an outlet for furs from locations farther north and thus undercut the French trade in Canada. His plan was then to ship the pelts to London and also to make a profit shipping corn and tobacco to New England.<sup>182</sup>

Kent Island in the northern Chesapeake was Claiborne's base of operations, and he established what he hoped would be a self-sustaining colony there in 1631. The operation managed to survive until February 1637/8, when Claiborne's quarrel with the new colony of Maryland over access to the beaver trade became violent and made his position untenable. Claiborne and his associates also made sure that his Maryland competitors never established a large scale trade, either, effectively ending the potential for a Virginia-dominated Chesapeake beaver trade barely a decade after it began.<sup>183</sup>

Two factors besides the conflict with the fledging Maryland colony also contributed to Claiborne's failure. First, Claiborne's London-based partners did not send him nearly enough trade goods (he specifically mentioned Dutch duffels and Spanish axes), which meant that he was unable to obtain the full supply of pelts that the Susquehannock had on offer. To try to make up the shortfall, Claiborne attempted to purchase more of the tools desired by the

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<sup>182</sup> Fausz, "To Draw Thither the Trade of Beavers," 57.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

Susquehannock in Virginia, but the prices there were prohibitively high due to the relative scarcity of these goods in the colony.<sup>184</sup>

Second, even though Claiborne was able to obtain huge amounts of pelts in a relatively short time – 7,500 pounds between 1631 and 1638 – he was not able to turn a profit. His venture ended up about £2,500 in the red.<sup>185</sup> Two later references to beaver pelts as payment of debt appear in the 1643 court records for Accomack/Northampton County. In one case, the amount is twenty pounds, in the other, ten pounds. In the former, the debtor had been part of Claiborne’s Kent Island venture.<sup>186</sup> While beaver pelts were clearly still traded, the volume was too low to constitute the basis for a large-scale export industry, and those pelts that did come out of Virginia were not coming from the Powhatan.

In 1651, the Accomack/Northampton County court outlawed fur trading by the Dutch (probably in conjunction with the Navigation Acts), which does suggest that there was some fur trading still occurring on the northeastern fringe of Virginia.<sup>187</sup> Several individuals did continue to trade successfully for furs after the collapse of Claiborne’s Kent Island venture, but again this trade occurred outside the realm of Anglo-Powhatan relations.

These problems are instructive with regard to the potential for any fur trade with the Powhatan. Claiborne was able to obtain 7,500 pounds of beaver pelts in roughly seven years and he could not sustain his business. The twenty pelts that Virginia obtained via tribute each year were not going to greatly enrich anyone and probably indicated that there were simply not a lot

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<sup>184</sup> Ibid, 58.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid, 60. “Balance Sheet of the Kent Island Enterprise.”

<sup>186</sup> Ames, 307, 315.

<sup>187</sup> Rountree and Davidson, 68.

of beavers whose pelts were worth taking in Powhatan territory. Also, the scarcity of trade goods in Virginia that hampered Claiborne's venture would have also meant that in the 1630s, Virginia had little to spare in the way of tools and other practical items for which the Powhatan would have been willing to trade.

With regard to the treaty, the beaver skins required as tribute were probably as much symbolic as material, and while the deerskin trade would later be a source of profit, it is not clear that the English recognized its full potential by 1646. While furs and skins were valuable, forming the economic basis of many colonial ventures, they do not appear to have been a significant driver of Anglo-Powhatan exchange in 1640s Virginia. This scenario is consistent with the treaty restrictions that, de facto, made only high-value goods worthwhile to exchange. That is, furs and skins were still valuable, but the volume of this exchange was too low to justify maintaining a high level of Anglo-Powhatan economic integration in 1646. The treaty would thus have not stymied this particular trade, and probably facilitated it by concentrating any trade that did occur at the two prescribed forts.

### **Cloth and Tools**

As Claiborne's complaints about his London partners showed, the Indians with whom the fur traders dealt desired specific goods, in this case duffels and axes. During Fleet's 1637 trip, despite carrying a wide array of trade goods, he was only able to barter cloth.<sup>188</sup> It does seem that cloth was the most desirable commodity that the English could offer, which makes sense

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<sup>188</sup> Ibid, 87.

given that the Indians had no comparable material and no means of producing a viable substitute that would be as lightweight and easy to work.

It is notable that the Assembly restricted trade of cloth in 1633 because there was concern that the English colonists were unable to obtain sufficient quantities. The act began:

WHEREAS there hath beene great quantities of cloath, bayes [baize], and cotton, bought upp out of the stores of this colony, by such as have traded the same with the Indians, at such tyme when as the inhabitants have beene in great want and neede. Now although all trade with the natives is to be cherished for many respects, yett it is thought fitt that the necessitie of our present want, be first to be supplied.<sup>189</sup>

The statement that “all trade with the natives is to be cherished for many respects” is a curious qualification. It is not clear why this clause was inserted, other than to perhaps assuage any fears among traders that this act could bring greater restrictions on trade. The act certainly implied that the previous wartime prohibitions on trading with the Indians were no longer in effect.

Although the act previous to this one did explicitly ban trading any “gunns, powder, shott, or any armes or ammunition unto any Indian,” no other restrictions appear in the 1633 records.<sup>190</sup> The act continued:

And therefore it is ordered, That no person or persons, doe trade or trucke any such cloath, cotton or bayes, unto any Indians which is or shall be brought into this colony, as marchandize intended to be sould to the planters here, upon penaltie and forfeiture of double the value of such cloath, cotton or bayes, as any such person or persons shall trade or trucke unlesse the Governor uppon veiwe taken in the stores that there is such cloath, cotton or bayes doe give leave and lycense to trade and trucke such cloaths, cotton or bayes to the Indians.<sup>191</sup>

The move toward official government oversight per the necessity of obtaining license from the governor represented a shift toward tighter controls of colonial jurisdiction. This precedent was

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<sup>189</sup> Hening, Vol. I, 219. Act XI, “Laws of Virginia, August 1633.”

<sup>190</sup> Ibid. Act X.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid.

important to the 1646 treaty, which specified that only the colonial government was allowed to license traders coming or going from Virginia.

The fact that such items as cloth, baize, and cotton were being traded with the Indians when there were English colonists in need of them would strongly suggest that the Indians were able to offer better prices for the goods. This meant that considerations of racial solidarity with regard to resource distribution were trumped by market considerations, at least in this particular case. Unfortunately, what these traders received in exchange for this cloth is not recorded. Although it is clear that some cloth was being traded with groups other than the Powhatan, the proximity of the Powhatan to the majority of Virginians and the fact that this statute appeared so soon after the end of the Second Anglo-Powhatan War make it plausible that at least some of this cloth was being traded with them.

This episode could foreshadow one reason for restricted trade in the 1646 treaty. English traders who sought out the best price for their wares could leave English consumers wanting. Traders were driven by their own profits, while the governmental authorities in Virginia stood to gain financially from regulating trade, they also had political and military issues to consider. Per the Assembly's choice of language in the statute, the fact that some were trading cloth with Indians when English consumers were in need of it looked bad. Licensing traders dealt with this problem by allowing the colonial government to control the supply and type of goods that entered and left the Virginia economy.

The treaty restrictions would thus have not been onerous to traders who were working under government license already. Nor would it have drastically altered the availability of cloth to Powhatan consumers, who were probably dealing with these traders prior to the treaty,

anyway. Cloth thus represented a high value good, the trade pattern of which was already in line with what the treaty terms made viable.

Indians also desired metal tools, and the records of traders frequently show items such as hoes, axes, and knives.<sup>192</sup> Like cloth, metal tools offered a vastly superior substitute for indigenous goods. These items were both functional and familiar to indigenous traders, as these tools existed in indigenous cultures simply in more rudimentary and less efficient forms. To swap out a stone knife or axe for one made of iron was not a difficult choice, nor did it undermine any sense of cultural continuity in the way that integrating oneself into English society would have. It was not the act of trading for a good, but rather the impacts of adopting a particular good that drove indigenous decisions about what was worth trading for.

However, as previously discussed, by 1646 the English and Powhatan were competing consumers for many of the same imported goods. Again, this situation favored traders who could take advantage of economic and political connections. To trade tools that were valuable to English consumers instead to the Powhatan meant that the good obtained in exchange had to be even more valuable than what Virginia's residents could offer. This was much more likely for a trader taking advantage of bulk purchase, storage, and transport to lower the costs of supplying these items. The market for these goods consisted of both English and Powhatan consumers, which probably drove their value higher at the same time that traders could supply them more cheaply. The benefits of regulated trade to established traders were clear and, as with cloth, the pattern of exchange would have already followed what the treaty encouraged. The impacts on

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<sup>192</sup> Rountree and Davidson, 87.

the consumers, both English and Powhatan, were likely negligible, while the other terms of the treaty provided them peace of mind.

### **Firearms**

The 1646 treaty included a provision that the Powhatan relinquish any guns in their possession to the English.<sup>193</sup> How this would be enforced was not explained. Like many of the consumer goods available to seventeenth-century consumers, firearms were desirable to both the English and the Powhatan. However, technological constraints prevented American Indians from producing gunpowder weapons. Further, a history of violence meant that many English were constantly fearful of anything that might give the Powhatan a military advantage. The frequent reiterations in the Virginia colonial statutes banning both the actual trade in firearms, ammunition, and gunpowder and the offering of instruction in the use thereof attest to this fear.

In March 1642/3, the Assembly again addressed the matter of providing weapons to Indians, making it a crime punishable by death for runaway servants to carry weapons to the Indians. The Assembly further commented on the practice among some colonists of furnishing Indians with guns to hunt deer and other game, which endangered the colony by providing both firearms, and the knowledge of their effective use, to said Indians.<sup>194</sup> Though the efficacy of the idea was questionable, authorities in Virginia most likely saw the border as another means of restricting the flow of weapons to the Powhatan.

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<sup>193</sup> Ibid, 325. Article 9.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid, 255-256. Acts XXII and XXIII, "Laws of Virginia, March 1642/3."

The Powhatan had reasons, both military and otherwise, for desiring firearms and the only way to obtain them was via exchange with the English, or through intermediaries who could obtain weapons from other Europeans further north.<sup>195</sup> Collectively, the English had little reason beyond economic profit to trade in firearms, and the potential marginal gains to the colony from such a trade were far outweighed by the potential costs of another massacre. However, for an enterprising individual who had access to firearms and to interested Powhatan buyers, such collective considerations were of little importance. In fact, the prohibitions on trading weapons would have increased their value by effectively inducing constant artificial shortages.

The fact that the Powhatan did obtain firearms despite the statutory prohibition designed to prevent this means that the prohibitions were not wholly effective. By 1659, the Assembly abandoned the prohibitions, noting that the Indians were getting weapons anyway and that Virginians might as well profit from trading guns, too.<sup>196</sup> Probably because they would be terribly incriminating, there are not any explicit records of English traders selling firearms to the Powhatan. However, it seems probable given the regulatory environment that firearms and the requisite accoutrements operated as black market goods. If this was the case, the treaty terms, while nominally addressing concerns regarding the exchange of weapons, would have done little to tangibly impact the firearm trade. The treaty allowed both sides to publicly agree to the politically acceptable position, while never seriously threatening the economic reality.

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<sup>195</sup> Rountree and Davidson, 87. By this time, Dutch and Swedish traders in the Delaware Bay were offering firearms in exchange and these weapons could have easily filtered southward to the Powhatan.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*



## Chapter VII: CONCLUSION

Prior to 1622, it appeared that the Anglo-Powhatan economy was highly integrated, especially in that the English were heavily reliant on the Powhatan for food. With the massacre that began the Second Anglo-Powhatan War, trust between the two groups was shaken. However, though interactions diminished, there was still a fair degree of cross-cultural exchange. In 1644, another massacre of English colonists began the Third Anglo-Powhatan War. By the end of this conflict two years later, both sides saw fit to establish a clear boundary and to greatly restrict economic interactions.

While the wars were impactful events that caused mutual suspicion, damaged infrastructure, and depleted populations, they were not the ultimate cause of the 1646 boundary. Instead, economic developments in Virginia, only partly driven by the conflicts, made the boundary and restrictions of 1646 attractive to both sides.

From an economic perspective, the supply of labor in Virginia was never able to meet the demand. Incoming workers were either already attached to a planter via indenture, or were quickly assigned one. The opportunity costs of putting an unskilled worker to uses other than tobacco production or essential tasks were high due to the lost time in training and the fact that there was little other profitable means of employing this labor. The labor market in Virginia was thus in a constant state of shortage, drawing ever more unskilled workers to the colony.

This imbalance continued to draw more people to Virginia, but as much of this new labor was put to work in the expanding tobacco industry, the economy of Virginia made little progress toward diversification. Instead, a specialized tobacco-focused economy simply grew larger in

scale. While the increased population and matters of necessity did ultimately lead to higher levels of grain production, this only worked to disintegrate the Anglo-Powhatan economy, as the Powhatan role as food suppliers was rendered unnecessary.

Efforts at diversification, while having limited impact, did shape the views of the Virginia administration under William Berkeley. The increased trade with other English colonies and the Netherlands pulled Virginia into the larger Atlantic economy. Further, if the pattern of diminishing local production of consumer goods in Virginia is more broadly applicable, the fact that pipe-making only continued in indigenous contexts is particularly telling. As local production of consumer goods in Virginia decreased, Virginians increasingly relied on imports from Europe, which could be traded for tobacco. In order for Virginians to make profitable exchanges with the Powhatan, they had to find trade goods, such as high-quality furs, that were more valuable than the commodities desired by the Powhatan.

The restrictions on trading and crossing the new boundary meant that only those who were politically connected could obtain permission to trade. This was probably a moot point, though, since only those wealthy enough to take advantage of economies of scale in purchasing and transporting trade goods could make it profitable, and anyone wealthy enough to do so was already politically connected.

For the Powhatan, the commodities that they still desired by 1646, such as cloth and iron tools, were not necessities, but rather more durable and effective substitutes for things that they already possessed. Further, the Powhatan polity suffered a significant blow with the death of Opechancanough in 1646 and would have been looking for a means to consolidate and reaffirm its authority. Thus, from the Powhatan perspective, a clearly defined boundary would end the

conflict, and potentially reinforce the political authority of the new chief, Necotowance, through the successful negotiation of the treaty. The assistance of the English government in maintaining the established boundary, and the withdrawal (though probably incomplete) of livestock from north of the York, also provided the very attractive prospect of limited English encroachment on Powhatan land. The restrictions on trade were not onerous, since by this time, only high-value goods were desirable trade items and these paled in value compared to preserving territorial, cultural, and political integrity.

Ultimately, the terms of the 1646 eroded, English settlement continued to expand, and what was left of the Powhatan polity dwindled.<sup>197</sup> Just several years after the treaty, English colonists were settling north of the York River and by 1650, tribal chiefs were required to petition the colonial government for patents to their own land.<sup>198</sup> As noted previously, some tribes did begin to adopt livestock in the 1650s, and the Virginia government abandoned its efforts to restrict trade in firearms.<sup>199</sup> Throughout the several decades following the treaty, many indigenous leaders had to deal with the Virginia legal system, defending claims to land, answering charges of livestock theft, and reassuring the colony that they had nothing to do with any hostile actions taken by non-Powhatans.<sup>200</sup> In March 1655/6, the Assembly forbade the sale of any Powhatan land to individual Englishmen without the Assembly's approval, thus effectively declaring itself the guarantor of Powhatan property rights.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> Gary B. Nash, *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early North America* (Boston: Prentice Hall, 2010), 61. A 1669 census estimated the indigenous population at 2,900. How accurate such a measure could have been is open to scrutiny, but the general decline is undeniable.

<sup>198</sup> Rountree, *Pocahantas's People*, 91.

<sup>199</sup> See Anderson for livestock. See Rountree and Davidson for firearms.

<sup>200</sup> Rountree, *Pocahantas's People*, 92-3.

<sup>201</sup> Hening, Vol. I, 396. Act I in "Laws of Virginia, March 1655/6."

While the 1646 treaty did provide some protections to the Powhatan in terms of property and cultural integrity, the unforeseen costs were much greater entanglement in the colonial judicial system. In order to maintain the guarantees of property rights and freedom from English encroachment, the Powhatan's only defense was to call on the government of Virginia to enforce their agreement. The danger to the Powhatan was that accepting Virginia's authority on matters of property rights could be seen as tacit agreement to other elements of colonial authority, as well. For the Powhatan, the cost of maintaining cultural and territorial integrity was the loss of political autonomy.

One could read these post-treaty developments cynically and argue that they demonstrated that the colonial government never intended to uphold the terms; that the treaty was merely a convenience until the colony was in position to gain from breaking it. However, the legal entanglements that arose from the treaty were more likely the result of an honest attempt by the Virginia colony to maintain the terms of the treaty. Through modern eyes, the land patents for which the chiefs applied look suspiciously like the beginnings of the reservation system (which in hindsight, they were). At the time, granting these patents was the best method of which the colonial government could conceive to acknowledge and protect Powhatan property rights. Further, this approach probably was the best way for Powhatan tribes to maintain some semblance of cultural integrity as it allowed space (albeit limited) to continue those traditional practices that they chose to maintain. It is unlikely that either side could have predicted these developments when they agreed to the treaty. Rather, these post-treaty developments provide further examples of the continually changing nature of cross-cultural interactions in colonial Virginia.

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## Appendix

### Text of 1646 Treaty

**Source:** William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619* (New York: R. & W. & G. Bartow, 1823), Vol. I, 323-326.

Art. 1. BE it enacted by this Grand Assembly, That the articles of peace foll: between the inhabitants of this collony, and Necotowance King of the Indians bee duely & inviolably observed upon the penaltie within mentioned as followeth:

Imp. That Necotowance do acknowledge to hold his kingdome from the King's Ma'tie of England, and that his successors be appointed or confirmed by the King's Governours from time to time, And on the other side, This Assembly on the behalfe of the collony, doth, undertake to protect him or them against any rebells or other enemies whatsoever, and as an acknowledgment and tribute for such protection, the said Necotowance and his successors are to pay unto the King's Govern'r. the number of twenty beaver skins att the goeing away of Geese yearely.

Art. 2. That it shall be free for the said Necotowance and his people, to inhabit and hunt on the north-

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side of Yorke River, without any interruption from the English. Provided that if hereafter, it shall be thought fitt by the Governor and Council to permitt any English to inhabitt from Poropotanke downwards, that first Necotowance be acquainted therewith.

Art. 3. That Necotowance and his people leave free that tract of land betweene Yorke river and James river, from the falls of both the rivers to Kequotan, to the English to inhabitt on, and that neither he the said Necotowance nor any Indians do repaire to or make any abode upon the said tract of land, upon paine of death, and it shall be lawfull for any person to kill any such Indian, And in case any such Indian or Indians being seen upon the said tract of land shall make an escape, That the said Necotowance shall upon demand deliver the said Indian or Indians to the Englishmen, upon knowledge had of him or them, unles such Indian or Indians be sent upon a message from the said Necotowance.

And to the intent to avoid all injury to such a messenger, and that no ignorance may be pretended to such as shall offer any outrage, It is thought fitt and hereby enacted, That the badge worne by a messenger, or, in case there shall be more than one, by one of the company, be a coate of striped stuffe which is to be left by the messenger from time to time so often as he shall returne at the places appointed for coming in.

Art. 4. And it is further enacted, That in case any English shall repaire contrary to the articles agreed upon, to the said north side of Yorke river, such persons soe offending, being lawfully convicted, be adjudged as felons; Provided that this article shall not extend to such persons who by stresse of weather are forced upon the said land, Provided alsoe and it is agreed by the said Necotowance, that it may be lawfull for any Englishman to goe over to the said north side haveing occasion to fall timber trees or cut sedge, soe as the said persons have warr't for theyre soe doing under the hand of the Gov. Provided alsoe notwithstandinge any thing in this act to the contrary, That it shall bee free and lawfull for any English whatsoever between this present day and the first of March next to kill and bring away what cattle or hogs that they can by any

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meanes kill or take upon the said north side of the said river.

Art. 5. And it is further enacted that neither for the said Necotowance nor any of his people, do frequent come in to hunt or make any abode nearer the English plantations then the lymits of Yapin the black water, and from the head of the black water upon a strait line to the old Monakin Towne, upon such paine and penaltie as aforesaid.

Art. 6. And it is further ordered enacted that if any English do entertain any Indian or Indians or doe conceale any Indian or Indians that shall come within the said limits, such persons being lawfully convicted thereof shall suffer death as in case of felony, without benefit of clergy, excepted such as shall be authorized thereto by vertue of this act.

Art. 7. And it is further enacted that the said Necotowance and his people upon all occasions of message to the Gov'r. for trade, doe repaire unto the ffort Royall onely on the north side, at which place they are to receive the aforesaid badges, which shall shew them to be messengers, and therefore to be freed from all injury in their passage to the Governor, upon payne of death to any person or persons whatsoever that shall kill them, the badge being worn by one of the company, And in case of any other affront, the offence to be punished according to the quality thereof, and the trade admitted as aforesaid to the said Necotowance and his people with the commander of the said ffort onely on the north side.

Art. 8. And it is further thought fitt and enacted, that upon any occasion of message to the Gov'r. or trade, The said Necotowance and his people the Indians doe repair to fforte Henery alias Appamattucke fforte, or to the house of Capt. John ffloud, and to no other place or places of the south side of the river, att which places the aforesayd badges of striped stuff are to be and remaine.

Art. 9. And it is further thought fitt and enacted, That Necotowance doe with all convenience bring in the English prisoners, And all such negroes and guns which are yet remaining either in the possession of

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himselpe or any Indians, and that here deliver upon demand such Indian servants as have been taken prisoners and shall hereafter run away, In case such Indian or Indians shall be found within the limitts of his dominions; provided that such Indian or Indians be under the age of twelve years at their running away.

Art. 10. and it is further enacted & consented, That such Indian children as shall or will freely and voluntarily come in and live with the English, may remain without breach of the articles of peace provided they be not above twelve yeares old.

Art. 11. And it is further thought fitt and enacted That the several commanders of the fforts and places as aforesaid unto which the said Indians as aforesaid are admitted to repaire, In case of trade or Message doe forthwith provide the said coats in manner striped as aforesaid.