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In the Crucible of the Frontier: The Emergence and Decline of a Trading Site in Early Colonial Virginia

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IN THE CRUCIBLE OF THE FRONTIER:

The Emergence and Decline of a Trading Site in Early Colonial Virginia

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

by

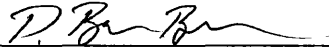
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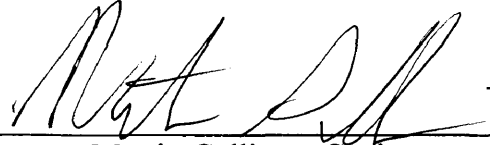
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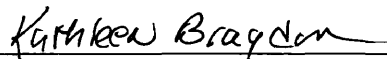


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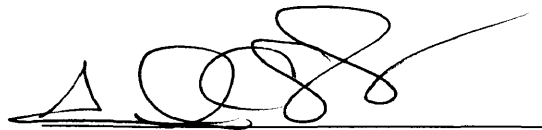
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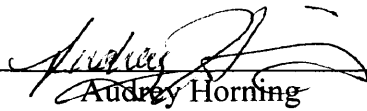
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ABSTRACT

Understanding Anglo-Powhatan trade throughout the early colonial Chesapeake has been largely left to historians and archaeologists' interpretations from scant original documentation. Here I identify a site, Cypress Banks, as a locus of trade during the 1635-1660 period. This site, located on the Chickahominy River, was likely to have been heavily engaged in local and non-local trade through its situation on a colonial frontier as well as being near a major trading route, Necotowance Path. An attempt has been made here to examine why a site like this flourished and what the implications were for European colonists and Powhatan natives. Certain artifacts interpreted as trade goods are used to reconstruct this early landscape and situate the actors involved into a regional, yet potent, economy. It is advocated here that understanding these trade relationships is vital in order to construct a more inclusive and comprehensive view of seventeenth century colonial expansion and native politics.

IN THE CRUCIBLE OF THE FRONTIER

INTRODUCTION

English colonial occupation of the Chesapeake Bay region began at the outset of the seventeenth century. Prior to this intrusion the bay was ringed by indigenous groups who had, for thousands of years, occupied this place and knew it well. On the lower western portion of the Chesapeake an Algonquian linguistic tradition was shared by a group who had, prior to European onslaught, developed a political system as complex and diverse as any in Europe. This group was primarily led by a man we know as Powhatan, or by his traditional name as Wahunsonacock. As the Powhatans and English colonists met, myriad objects and ideas were passed back and forth. Food, disease, weapons, tools, concepts, languages were all items of trade, items loaded with particular cultural meaning that helped to forge a new world. The following considers an archaeological site in the Virginia Tidewater that witnessed such exchanges of material and ideas during the seventeenth century. Though often overlooked by historical studies reliant upon documentary sources, such exchanges brought social entanglements fundamental to the English colonial experience in North America.

Interpretations of Anglo-Powhatan relationships and their attendant meanings have largely been dealt with by historians using written sources to glimpse the past. During the 20th century, and now into the 21st century, archaeologists have rediscovered a number of seventeenth-century sites and generated interpretations that often address central issues concerning this first century of culture contact, slavery, and other elements

of colonialism. The narratives produced by historical archaeologists have included analyses that avoid simplistic views of colonialism as a large-scale force with an inevitable ending that is devoid of diverse actors. Instead, we now know a great deal more about early colonialism in English America due to the excavations at places such as Kingsmill, Martin's Hundred, the Jamestown settlement, Flowerdew Hundred, and may more. Concepts of historical architecture, foodways, early industrialization efforts, and agrarian landscapes have all benefited from these studies.

Anglo-Powhatan relations are included in these discussions, though these have focused almost exclusively on trade items as a means of identifying Anglo-Powhatan interaction. These items and the things they represent are largely fetishized unwittingly by archaeologists and historians alike, with a few exceptions (Fausz 1985, Gallivan 2006, Gleach 1997, Rountree 1998). Studies of trade have commonly emphasized the most obvious material evidence of item exchange (Deetz 1993, Eddins et al 2000, Kelso 1997). Copper scraps and glass beads make up the key ingredients cited as evidence of trade at early seventeenth-century sites. Later sites where evidence of trade is recognized by a researcher are often linked to historical evidence denoting a trading post or a location tied to cross-ethnic interaction, such as a fort or labor center (Lightfoot 1995, Silliman 2005). We may look outside the Chesapeake towards other analyses of Euro-Amerindian interaction and begin to fill gaps left in the archaeological and historical record. Sites such as Fort Ross (Lightfoot 1997) and Rancho Petaluma (Silliman 2004) offer new interpretations of colliding cultures framed within both colonial and native worlds. Recent interpretations of these sites have reevaluated material culture meanings and resulted in more inclusive histories. However, more inclusion of original actors is simply

not enough, nor do these sites leave it at that. Instead, through newfound meanings in old artifacts the authors are able to craft a tale that tells a more complete story, a human story.

The following study interprets artifacts and features from an early colonial site in the Chesapeake, Cypress Banks (44CC34). The site was excavated by Professor Norman Barka of the College of William and Mary. First, I will place Cypress Banks in its historical setting by presenting evidence indicating that the site represented a trading location during the seventeenth century. Secondly, I will interpret the site's archaeological record by comparing it with historical patterns of English and Indian movement throughout the early Virginia landscape. The evidence suggests that Cypress Banks and similar trading sites were integral in the transition from a native-controlled landscape to one of colonization. I will argue that Cypress Bank's archaeological record allows us to witness a transition in the organization of inter-cultural exchange, both across the landscape and materially. Finally I believe that the interpretation of the site offered here may be of benefit to future archaeological investigations in that formerly mundane material culture groups may have new potential as exciting entrées to hidden lives.

Cypress Banks is situated along the Chickahominy River, a major tributary of the James River (see Figure 1). It has been intermittently occupied for several thousand years. Cypress Banks' archaeological evidence dating to the period between approximately 1635 to 1660 is the focus of this study. This was the era in which a transfer took place, a transfer between native inhabitants of the region and intruders from a continent away.

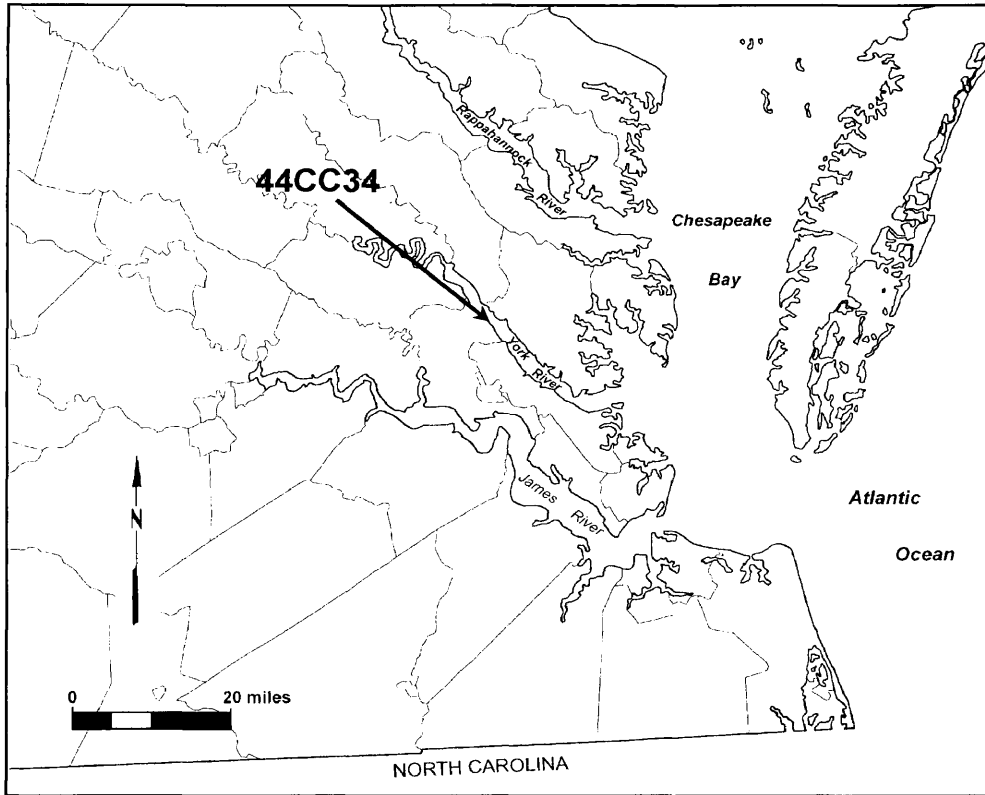


Figure 1. Map of the lower Chesapeake region. Arrow indicates the location of 44CC34 (Image courtesy of WMCAR).

3. *Towards a Discussion*

To flesh-out the historical storyline, we must back up and establish ourselves within an interpretive framework. Chapter II accomplishes this by discussing how human boundaries are created and subsequently maintained, something which must be understood prior to delving into a colonial world. One perspective offered here to help put things into place is based on world systems analysis, an approach typically applied to European colonists due to its inherent awkwardness in dealing with the ‘other’ (Bragdon 1996:*xiii*). Using Wallerstein’s (1974) work on world systems theory we can understand how those on the frontier/periphery were able to act in both predictable and unpredictable

ways. World systems theory offers a framework within which to place the English actors, their counterparts within the colony, and greater colonial powers across the Atlantic. Early English colonists acted in unpredictable ways that included unsanctioned meetings, trade, and even cohabitation with their Indian contemporaries. These types of interaction, while common throughout the colonial world, have been the subject of intrigue and frustration for historical archaeologists. The Cypress Banks site offers evidence of how such interaction occurred and who participated.

To properly contextualize the indigenous actors, likely Chickahominy Indians and members of various Powhatan communities, we cannot rely on a rich ethnohistoric record for the period and the location. I do hope to identify some of the more ephemeral aspects of Chickahominy and Powhatan culture through particular attention to material culture changes. I believe the changes witnessed during the middle seventeenth century at this site and perhaps others exhibit phenomenological changes to indigenous cultural patterns that have dramatic historical conclusions, mainly the encroachment of mercantile capitalism through the mechanism of colonialization. Through an examination of certain categories of artifacts left behind, common trade goods, native ceramics, and non traditional trade items we shall be able see how these transitions took place.

Chapter III introduces the concept of frontiers and their attendant meanings. This chapter summarizes historians' thoughts on frontiers. Here I take note of how frontiers have been conceptualized in popular terms, and limited the definition of frontiers to something largely based on myth and romance. It is my goal to bring the frontier back to the early colonial period and discuss it as it was during its early stages in English North America. This chapter also delves into the creation and maintenance of

early Virginia frontiers, moving through rudimentary frontier formation across a native landscape. An attempt has been made to discuss the frontier on both temporal sides of the Cypress Banks site's existence to provide context.

Chapter IV also provides a historical narrative of the region during the mid-seventeenth century. Special attention has been placed on the political machinations of the colonial English and their native counterparts so that we may be able to see how trading sites such as Cypress Banks flourished then withered. Since no documentary sources provide the Powhatan's interpretation of this history, I have chosen to draw upon accounts from John Lederer (1670 [1958]) John Smith (1623 [1966]) and others to glimpse Indian activity and political postures.

With a timeline established, Chapter V discusses the archaeology at Cypress Banks. This section outlines the methods used to examine a set of features coinciding with the seventeenth-century occupation of the site. The artifacts which make up the trading site at Cypress Banks are explained in a way that offers new light on old artifact types. Iron spikes from colonial wheels become potential trade items. Known trade item categories are also discussed in a manner that, as we will later see, can reorient traditional assumptions as to *who* was negotiating and effecting change to the size of the English colony.

Chapter VI discusses a recent archaeological survey of the area to assess the landscape, topography, and riverine resources. This survey was performed to acquaint the author with the site and its environs. Since context is what we seek, the survey helped to place the site within its larger world as well as redefine the site boundaries and proximity to the Chickahominy River.

Chapter VII ties the anthropological, historical, and material culture analyses together to discuss broader issues of trading sites and their significance. The evidence of trade relations at Cypress Banks allows us to recognize the power of trade to convey cultural ideas that negotiate and establish cultural boundaries. This attempt to bring the local to the regional is also discussed in a way that I believe offers something to the archaeology of the Chesapeake.

Cypress Banks may be used as an example in which much comes from little. No particular historical person can be connected to this place nor is there a documented motive for the site's existence. Rather, the meaning of this site comes from a reassessment of its most delicate and discarded items, the artifacts. No architectural features have been identified at, so we may never know what sort of dwellings occupied the place. The faunal remains from the site are currently awaiting study. These may accentuate an interpretation of this site as well as generate new knowledge of foodways of the seventeenth century. More commonly, seventeenth-century sites are discovered and excavated in a way that generates a paucity of artifacts and few features. The constraints of cultural resource management archaeology combined with site destruction due to environmental and human factors limit what we have to analyze. Thus, interpreting artifacts as freely yet historically and anthropologically soundly as possible may help us make the best of what we have and may encounter. In the following I hope to provide such an example by examining a portion of a site which containing data that may help redefine the cultural clashes of early Virginia.

CHAPTER I

INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORK

The following chapter establishes an interpretive framework for my analysis of the Cypress Banks site. I consider concepts useful for understanding the collision of two cultural entities. A complex mix of colonial processes is considered here amidst the mosaic of people, places, and things present at the Cypress Banks site. Trade and trade goods are central themes in this interpretation as they relate to the Indian and English actors of the early to middle seventeenth century in Virginia/Tsenacommacah.

To make sense of trade and its material and human components I propose to use two sets of anthropological viewpoints which, while each distinct, relate to the same issues. These two viewpoints are primarily based on world systems theory and a historical particularistic view which each address the two main sets of actors and their perceived intents.

However, before bringing these viewpoints to bear, I will begin with the concept of boundary and boundary maintenance. The term frontier here is used almost synonymously with boundary but has been chosen to represent a certain *feeling* of the early colonial boundary. This feeling is one which may stem from the ambiguity of the frontier setting, a setting in which definition has been debated over and is still not at rest.

1. Anthropology and Frontiers

As noted by Stanton and Perlman (1985) in their article “Frontiers, Boundaries, and Open Social Systems”, frontier studies are complementary of boundary studies. They go on to note the distinction between the frontier and the boundary as “frontier studies direct their attention to the peripheries or edges of particular societies...boundary studies examine the interactions that occur at these societal edges.”(1985:4). The question may then be asked, does the study of boundaries preclude that of frontiers? That being said, can one really investigate cultural edges vis-à-vis the frontier without looking beyond it? Simply said, boundaries and frontiers are double sided. If we learn from Frontier Thesis historians of Frederick Jackson Turner’s ilk (Billington 1977, Turner 1893 [1977]) and even his greatest detractors such as Shannon (1945) and Pierson (1940), it is not possible to do this without excluding great amounts of causal influences that exist at cultural boundaries. Anthropologists have long been aware of this necessity to integrate boundary concepts into frontier studies. Only recently has this concept been publicly acknowledged by historians (Limerick 1987:35). Using a collaborative model, as suggested most concisely by Lightfoot and Martinez (1995), the myopic vision of frontier studies as a titular enterprise can be avoided. We see the results of this in the failure of history to distinguish the American west as a place but instead, a process thickly nuanced by mythology. Furthermore, until fairly recently the concept of frontier studies along the Atlantic coast was largely avoided.

Anthropology has not only offered a more diversified theoretical understanding of boundaries/frontiers but has called for widespread reanalysis of them (Lamar and

Thompson 1981; Parker and Rodseth 2005; Green and Perlman 1985; Wyman and Kroeber 1957). In studies of colonial settings anthropologists have paid great attention to the ways in which the colonizers encroach, expand, absorb, and obliterate indigenous groups.

World systems theorists, largely led and influenced by Immanuel Wallerstein (1974), have developed conceptual models that incorporate the various processes of colonization and systematize them into a readily distinguishable format (e.g., Alexander 1999; Urban and Schortman 1999). The core/periphery framework allows us to understand the various nodes of colonial involvement and their subsequent interrelationships. From this, we may move to the edge, the periphery, where distinctions are easily blurred by situational differentiation. In other words, what may affect the periphery in one area may be different from another. Widespread analysis of these peripheral settings, using the world systems set of definitions, allows researchers to compare regional differences while cross-referencing the overarching themes of the colonial venture.

2. World Systems Theory and English Colonialism

To quote sociologist Thomas D. Hall “world-systemic processes have shaped the formation, transformation, fossilization, and obliteration of frontiers since ancient times.” (2000:237). We may see this in action when we look towards the works Wilma Dunaway in her analysis of the levels of interaction with the larger world economy of the early Appalachian area from 1700-1860. In her erroneously titled *The First American Frontier*

(1996) Dunaway outlines how a seemingly backward frontier community was, in actuality, heavily engaged with a more global colonial world. She correctly asserts that even the local indigenous population, the Cherokees, were directly involved as well. Purportedly, they were acting as a protective buffer between the colonists and other more aggressive Indian polities. This trait was widespread in the colonial and post-colonial world and its implications in seventeenth century Virginia will be discussed later.

However, we must situate the Cypress Banks site within the sphere of rising European dominance in global markets so described by Wallerstein (1974). The frontier of Virginia acted as one of the earliest English colonial boundaries in North America. Within its semi-peripheral center was Jamestown, the home of policymakers, bureaucrats, and merchants eager to accrue great wealth from burgeoning tobacco market. From Jamestown, and later from other early colonial ports, settlers, entrepreneurs, and indentured servants spread across the landscape. Jamestown's retained tenuous political ties with Whitehall, the seat of England's royalty and political spheres. Virginia was an economic venture and for it to work it required capital, provided by shareholders, as well as labor. For the growing tide of colonialism to work, some of this labor and capital had to be spent in expanding the colony. Whether this was a recognized factor in early colonists' thoughts is less relevant than the fact that it did indeed take place. The result was the settlement of outposts such as Wolstenhome Town, the Citie of Henricus, Bermuda Hundred, and other such public/private ventures. A less visible effect was the creation of dispersed sites which sprang up based on not only because of the direct economic needs of tobacco production and European market access, but sites that inserted themselves into the indigenous trade networks. As we will see in Chapter 4,

some of the commodities that were the output of English/Indian trade were second only to tobacco at times and acted to buffer economic downturns.

The spatial implications of the Cypress Banks site and its situation within an early colonial landscape can be understood in terms of the settlement acting as a periphery to its own sub-core, Jamestown. The initial remoteness of the site meant that residents there were heavily reliant on interaction with native groups. However, as trade increased, the site was transformed into a location along the economic thoroughfare between Indigenous and English consumers. Simply stated, the actual edge of the periphery, as represented by the frontier, subsumed the site, provided for a temporary economic fluorescence, and then left it to wither.

When considering a history such as this we must be careful to avoid the limitations of acculturation models (Rubertone 2000:428). Rountree (1990) alludes to this in what she calls the “Powhatan Fringe”, a group of seemingly semi-Europeanized Powhatans. Rather, Rubertone (2000:440) offers a more inclusive model that allows historical archaeologists to “link strands of evidence in creative ways, and ultimately expose the silences and distortions that fill the pages of historical narratives about the colonial experience in North America”.

Archaeologists studying settlement patterns of the seventeenth-century Chesapeake have long been aided by the works of social historians such as Frederick Fausz (1971) and Kenneth Lewis (1975). These two works contributed much to the understanding of how colonialization spread across a landscape. In their article on archaeology’s contributions to settlement patterns, Edwards and Brown (1993) outline how the introduction of predictive modeling, locational analyses, and the conjunctive

approach have enriched archaeology's understanding of the issue and led to important contributions on the history of the seventeenth-century Chesapeake. While they are correct in stating the progress made by historical archaeology in the region towards a better understanding of English colonialization, they raise another salient point:

“Archaeologists may reasonably expect to play an important role in the study of early Chesapeake colonial history by contributing important material insights into how that history was affected by the British colonial system and the world system as a whole. But that role will remain largely unappreciated by a larger audience of scholars until archaeologists move beyond the site and individual focus, and the ‘composite plan’ view of settlement patterning it has encouraged.” (Edwards and Brown 1993:303-304)

This effort to compile comparative databases, still largely in its infancy, has largely overlooked how frontier economies were linked to colonial advances. Intrinsic in understanding these economies is the knowledge that historical works can provide but limited insight in the Chesapeake as to smaller trading sites and other sites of Euro-Powhatan interaction. The task is then left to historical archaeology to, as Rubertone (2000:426) promotes, “revisit bodies of evidence and categorical choices that have underwritten the marginalization of Native peoples in colonial North America.”.

3. Overcoming Limitations of World Systems Theory

A difficulty in applying world systems analysis to the frontier is that of western/non-western interaction. While it may be beneficial to use the understandings of Euro-derived cultural traditions in analyzing the actions and interactions of colonizers, non-European actors developed differently and held “internally developed motivations, structural relations, and cultural perceptions” (Bragdon 1996:xiii). So here we recognize the care in which distinctions should be made. World systems analysis delivers us to the

periphery, and then further to the external areas. From there we can consider the boundary dynamic from both sides, visualizing the frontier as an area rather than a distinct line of contact. To understand the indigenous side, in this case the Indian groups of the upper Chickahominy region and other local groups, we have to consider social interactions that often went unrecorded in documentary sources. Given the relative paucity of historical records of such interaction from the early to middle seventeenth century, I will rely primarily on the material remains which from the Cypress Banks site and others like it. In support of this, the documentary evidence which does exist can be used to verify or discount perceived values of such material culture, including the values placed on trade items by both the English colonists and their native counterparts. I also seek to track any changes or fluctuations within the values of these goods, such as with the discarding of devalued trade items and absence of other common and expected items.

4. Trade Values

Stability in trading patterns along the frontier is not expected during the period studied here, approximately 1635-1660. The nature of the early Virginia frontier provides for fluctuations not yet understood by historians and anthropological archaeologists alike, including those influenced by environmental forces. To understand this fluid condition I suggest an approach that takes into consideration the motives of the actors .

What we know of the value of trade items in early colonial Virginia is gathered from ethnographic data, historical research largely gathered from original documentation, and

a relatively scant amount of archaeological data. Anthropological discussions of trade in seventeenth-century Virginia have been limited as well, mainly focused on either the earliest colonial interaction at Jamestown (Kelso 1996) or the period of vigorous fur trade during the first and second quarters of the century (Fausz 1987, Lapham 2005). Hatfield (2005) outlines preexisting trade routes and how these came to impact, and be impacted by, English colonial domination within the region while Gleach (1997:125) further defines trade networks and expands upon the early acts of individuals who created and simultaneously disrupted colonial trade patterns. His work also begins to define trade in terms of Powhatan and English conceptions of trading values and expectations (1997:54-70).

5. Interpreting Trade and Powhatan Agency

Defining trade in Powhatan terms, and drawing from other known evidence of trade in other contemporary regions, Gleach (1997) acknowledges the differentiation in cultural expectations on either side of the economic relationship. The ways in which Indians viewed trade items as compared to the English is apparently what set them apart. Values of trade items were inherent in the items themselves, and not solely in the gathering or hoarding of them. English views of hoards witnessed at Werowocomoco were that Powhatan had the power to accumulate, and not that the hoarded items may have had particular values in themselves (Gleach 1997:54-55). The value of trade items began to take on meaning within the Powhatan world that were at first unknown to the English. John Smith, during his captive stay at Werowocomoco, may have been one of

the first to see and understand cosmological implications placed on not only trade items but the myriad indigenous material culture. His subsequent negotiations with Powhatan, more successful than those of other English leaders, may have reflected a more nuanced understanding (Gleach 1997:55).

Powhatan cosmology has been investigated by a few modern scholars (Gallivan 2006, Gleach 1997, Rountree 1988; 1990, Williamson 2003). To flesh out the trade possibilities at Cypress Banks we need an understanding of the belief system that drove behavioral and cognitive processes for the Powhatans. As part of understanding the Powhatan cosmology the interpretation of space must be considered. Traditional views of Tsenacommacah were not expressed in terms that we now see presented in map form, or even in the engraved maps of the early seventeenth century. Powhatans viewed the space around them as not bounded so much by environmental limitations or landmarks but the cultural implications of a particular region or place. This conceptual map, one requiring a preexisting mental model of understanding, put into place all things directly and indirectly concerning members of the Powhatan groups. Not only was this model of landscape interpretation carried out in symbolic ritual, such as a demonstration in which Smith took place in 1608 that lay out representations of the Powhatan world and outer world in maize kernels, meal, and sticks, but villages were also planned accordingly.

Those who dealt with trade items, especially items of particular value such as copper, were in touch with this outer world. Not only was the value of the item in its rarity or exchange value, it was a physical and symbolic link to an exterior world. Geometric design, color, and material all played into this value system as well. Copper items or colored beads representing the traditional red, white, and black of the Powhatan

had added value (Gallivan 2005:6-7). Interior trade, as with the tribute system much engaged in by eastern groups, also tied individuals to the symbolic structure of place.

The villages outside of the central node of power were represented by exterior circles, rather than a specific distance and bearing from each other. It was the economic relationship between the two, although not the only factor, that helped to define their relationship. Systems of trade good value, as seen through their representation and subsequent relationship to an outside world, helped to maintain the Powhatans as a distinct culture-bearing group. While similar to other bordering native groups such as the Monacans to the west and Susquehannocks to the north, the distinction remained. Partially supported by the valuation of trade items, this system was to be dramatically challenged with the onslaught of European cultural traditions carried by colonial actors.

Space as a Powhatan concept was also radically challenged as the seventeenth century wore on. Challenges arose from the expanding English colony and its encroachments on Indian land. Through treaty and war traditional Powhatan lands were steadily eroded away, as was the potency of their political structure. A prime example in this is the 1608 moving of Wahunsonacock's chief residency. Werowocomoco, a place that had been the center of attention for both Indian and European actors, ceased to exist as a political center. Instead, Orapax, on the headwaters of the Chickahominy, became his new residency until 1618, when Chief Powhatan died.

This very move is worthy of discussion for two reasons. One is that Powhatan was from outside of the Tidewater region and was likely assimilated into its political life partly through his well-connected upbringing but largely through strategic marriage. A move back to his fall-line home area was a move back to familiarity. Secondly, by 1618

the Chickahominies had reestablished a tribute system to Opechancanough after several years of independence (Woodard 2006:9). This was prior to their moving out of the river basin and north towards the Pamunkey River where John Lederer was to encounter them in 1670 at Shickehamany (Cumming 1958). The period between 1608 and 1617 had proven to be tempestuous for the Chickahominy and their relationship with the Powhatans, their alliances and amicable relationship with Jamestown may have conflicted with Powhatan's political machinations concerning the English. Ensuing bad feelings between the two may have given rise to their independent stance as to tribute payment and thus corrupted Precontact relationship. Certainly by the 1620s the Chickahominies' space was altered to the point that they were more mobile than earlier years and were quickly becoming enemies of Jamestown, perhaps realigning their own perceptions of space as they adjusted to combat with the colonists.

By the 1630s and into the 1640s the central node of local Indian power remained in the area of Pamunkey Neck, near modern day West Point. Dramatic realignments in the early indigenous power structure had allowed the English to take advantage of this and move into lands formerly occupied solely by Indians. English perceptions of space were dramatically different and allowed for the exploitation of seemingly 'abandoned' or unused land. Similar to the attitude upon landing at Jamestown, English colonists were apt to graze, timber, clear, plant, patent and even occupy land that was clearly not within accepted colonial boundaries. While certain attempts were made to stem this uncontrolled development, something Jamestown had to worry about defending and controlling, the frontier was continually expanding. One aspect of the English boundary that may have significantly contributed to their expansionist mindset was that of religion.

The “salvages” of Tsenacommacah were not yet subjected to racist connotations by the colonists, as would develop later, but were looked down upon due to their non-Christian status. Their “devil” worshipping was not only a sorely misunderstood belief system but was wrongly juxtaposed to Christianity by direct comparison. Clearly, the colonists’ unwillingness to investigate, understand, or accept the wholly different belief system of the Powhatans caused them to flounder in their attempts to live peaceably alongside, and perhaps with, any native population. Of course, some of the same can be said for the Powhatans, Chickahominies, Paspahegh, Monacans, and other groups who met and dealt with the English during the early historic period.

6. Preface to a Conclusion

It has been my goal here to outline an interpretive framework for the following chapters. First, the concept of culture boundary must be understood as a negotiable and intangible idea maintained through action and language (Gupta and Ferguson 1997, Nugent 2002, see Alvarez 1995 for more on conceptual/literal boundaries). The boundary in question in early colonial Virginia, and for a while at Cypress Banks, was shared by the English and the natives of Tsenacommacah. However, it was not seen in the same way by both sides (Bashkow 2004). To understand how each side viewed and treated it I have proposed to analyze the colonial perspective using a model constructed by and for a colonial world, world systems analysis. To make an attempt at understanding the Indian perspective an analytical lens has been chosen here to reflect the perceived phenomenological, behavioral, and cognitive actions of those actors. Such an

effort to draw from a historical particularistic model allows a deeper understanding of culture history (Bragdon 1996).

To further explore the culture history of the Chickahominies and Powhatans, as well as the English, we must define how trade will be treated here. I treat all items viewed as potential trade goods with two lenses, one English and one Indian. Both perspectives emphasize the values placed on material goods, including the perishable items we lack in the archaeological record and those items which made their way elsewhere.

A key element to viewing artifacts from the indigenous perspective is understanding what we know about Powhatan concepts of space and cosmological meaning behind color and material. Similarly, several scholars (Fausz 1989, Gleach 1997, Rountree 1988) have provided insight as to native beliefs behind negotiation and property. These ideas will lay the groundwork for nuanced understanding of trade items, material containing duplicate meaning.

CHAPTER II

FRONTIERS

From the center of the colony at Jamestown, English-occupied land extended tenuously into territory formerly controlled by native groups. The Weyanoke, Chickahominy, Powhatans, Nansemond, Mattaponi, Pamunkey, Appomatox, and other Native American tribes surrounded the English like a necklace. What separated them was a zone we now call the frontier.

The frontier is an oft-used term which has multiple definitions. Most commonly, a frontier is the edge of an area at which human expansion is taking place, often into another zone of human habitation. It has been considered a place of movement, trade, conflict, culture contact, and overall a phenomena that disappears as soon as it appeared. Frontiers can spring up in colonial settings, within the sciences as boundaries meant to be broken, as a romanticized concept within American history, anywhere where two distinctly different things collide. What concerns us most with the frontier here is that of culture contact. Before discussing that, however, I will discuss scholars' approaches to frontier studies from a historical perspective. Historians and anthropologists have developed changing approaches to frontiers that have impacted their cultural interpretations. The concept of frontier will be defined here for the purposes of developing a frontier model for the mid-seventeenth century Virginia region. This model

will place into context the actors, places, and events which make the Cypress Banks location relevant to that particular period.

1. A Historical Perspective: Turner and the Frontier

Anthropologists and historians alike have dealt with frontier issues since the late 19th century (Curti 1959; Green and Perlman 1985; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Pierson 1940; Pomeroy 1955; Shannon 1945). Frederick Jackson Turner, in his famous 1893 World Columbian Exposition speech, declared the American frontier as closed (1966 [1893]). His ideas, which became known as the Frontier Thesis, presented a model of the frontier as a westward encroaching entity whose past effectively chartered the course of American culture. More importantly, the closing of the frontier was also the closing of the first American chapter of history. Turner's demographic analysis, based on population density estimates, defined areas that were within the frontier. This positivist approach introduced the concept of the frontier as the clash of urban/civilized with rural/uncivilized. For centuries this mindset had persisted in the ideas known as Manifest Destiny. What lay before the frontier boundary was America's "howling wilderness". Eurocentric ideas of civilization had been transported with each wave of emigrants from the seventeenth century and had been successfully nurtured to exclude the complex political structures existing across the New World. More importantly, Turner focused on the frontier as a mechanism for becoming American, the device that brought in European immigrants and spat out a new American.

Turner's evolutionary principles of 'becoming' American were predicated on the frontier region. Not a distinct line, but an area in which European-influenced individuals became less European. By this, the rugged individualism of the settler, distrust of authority, increasingly violent behavioral patterns, and other characteristics unbecoming of traditional Europeans had begun to develop early on in English colonialism. Only the first few colonists had acted thoroughly European, from then on the Americanization process would take over. Interestingly enough, modern Canadian thought on frontier evolution, guided primarily by Charles Blattberg (2003), also relies on a frontier line that steadily moved west, having civilized everything to its east. The geographic qualities of this principle lacked the complexities of Turner's Frontier Thesis but have held on in popular concepts of frontiers.

Despite the differences in these two thinkers their ideas were solidly based in the concept of social evolution. The ideas put forth by Lewis Henry Morgan (1965 [1877]) in his savagery to civilization scheme sustained such frontier models. While Morgan's writings did not focus on American expansionism towards the west his social evolutionary principles buttressed concepts of the civilizing frontier primarily through the technological differentiation between the actors within the frontier setting. However, Turner's thesis was not solely based on technological innovation or cultural sophistication. The basis of his theory lay in the amount of innovation brought on by frontier life, hence his definition of the frontier as "the meeting point between savagery and civilization" (Turner 1977[1920]:23). This innovation was primarily in the building of the rugged individual and subsequently a less-European and more Americanized citizen. Turner's first frontier was the Atlantic coast and as it moved westward "the

frontier became more and more American.” (1977 [1893]:11). The first actors on the frontier stage are the Indian and the hunter, quickly followed by the trader, whose influence disintegrates native lifestyles. From there further elements of frontier settling take place, culminating with the city and the factory system. It is with the trader as interlocutor between Indian and non-Indian that the emphasis here is placed.

There exist two weaknesses in Turner’s Thesis, the ideas advanced by its critics in the 1920s-40s, and then the resulting Thesis defenders of the 1950s-60s. One is that the frontier’s origin is hardly mentioned in their analyses, nor is its origins brought to bear as a significant factor in the dynamics of the American frontier. The other is that the frontier exists as an exclusively white enterprise, one filled with brave white men and absent of the myriads of other actors within this broad landscape. Thus, argumentation on both sides is not only slanted towards the latter days of the frontier but focuses on the pioneer as a lone individual braving into a ‘howling wilderness’, devoid of humanity and filled with all things wild. It is here that Turner briefly confronts the native elements of the frontier. He casually mentions, and in passing, the savagery extinguished by settlers’ progression.

If the discussion of Turnerian frontier principles is then considered to be well hashed-over and the dust of discourse long settled, then we do so by willfully eliminating two profound forces on the frontier. As a research subject, the frontier was new and fresh to Dr. Turner. Only having been “closed” for three years when he published his first paper on the subject, the frontier was far from being history. The last generations of settlers were still alive as were their Indian counterparts, whose memories of the frontier closing were filled with images from the Sand Creek and the Marias massacres. Why

then, do Turner, his followers, and detractors eliminate these direct and bloody elements of frontier negotiation? After all, one of the most bloody and ruthless murders of Indian people, that at Wounded Knee, took place the very year the frontier “closed”.

It was widely agreed that the violence brought on by the rugged individualism on the frontier most often was acted out in lynch mobs, and other forms of vigilantism (Billington 1977: 2, Turner 1977 [1920]: 23). Supposedly, this violence acted as more of a social release valve to self-govern rather than the primary battleaxe use to clear away Indians and justify their genocide.

Also missed by these scholars was the litany of treaties between the U.S. Government and tribal entities in creating white zones of settlement. Each treaty and formal agreement between territories, the U.S. Government, and Indian tribes left a record of where the frontier was officially anchored. Yale historian George Pierson (1940) makes the distinction that the early states created a federal government and the latter, post-colonial states were created *by* the federal government. While this basic assumption is correct, it ceases to go further and accept the ramifications of federally mandated boundary lines; lines established more by the compass and sextant than following the natural cultural or ecological boundaries as did many colonial frontiers. Had they been more accepting of the early eastern frontier, that to the east of the Appalachians, they may have been able to more thoroughly examine the frontier as existing in a colonial setting versus the post-Revolutionary, Jeffersonian expansionist’s dream.

2. The Virginia Frontier: Early Beginnings

The European frontier in Virginia was not English. A Spanish ship, anchored in the Powhatan River, now the James and not far from where Jamestown Island would eventually be settled, was the first recorded European incursion into the Chesapeake. Consisting of eight Jesuit missionaries, the Spanish party of colonizers made landfall at the mouth of College Creek in September of 1570 (Rountree 1987:7). They had with them Paquiquino, who had been captured from the area by another group of Spanish explorers in 1561. Paquiquino acted as translator and introduced his captors to the region. By the spring of the following year, he had exacted revenge on the Spanish by killing them with the aid of his fellow Algonquians. With the exception of one boy, the traces of Spain's establishment in what was to become Virginia were erased. It was with that one boy that in 1571, not long after the killings, another Spanish ship came into the Chesapeake. Having discovered the fate of the Jesuits, revenge again was the motivator in the deaths of some forty Indians, seven of which were hung from the ship's mast to act as a deterrent against further reprisal (Sturtevant 1962).

Over a ten-year period the Indians of the lower Chesapeake had sporadic direct contact with Europeans; contact that would seal within them an idea of what the people in large ships wanted. Without a doubt, news of these events traveled afar, possibly reaching north to New England and south to the lower Atlantic seaboard. Perhaps these stories had little novelty considering the significant Spanish incursions into the southeast during the middle sixteenth century. In any event, in the 1580s when English settlers decided to establish themselves along North Carolina's Outer Banks, chagrin may have

been the overwhelming reaction by the native inhabitants. The Roanoke settlement in 1586 also acted in much the way earlier Spanish incursions had. It awakened the indigenous population to the intent, means, and methods of Europeans. While the English certainly differed from the Spanish in their colonization methodology they alerted the coastal Indian population to their presence and intent to become permanent.

That permanence would come in 1607 with the venture of the Virginia Company. Choosing the Powhatan River to make leave from the Chesapeake, a small island became their camp. The Jamestown settlement was situated within a complex native political structure. Multiple groups under various names operated within a polity that largely led by one man, Powhatan. Having been the son of an influential man, Powhatan capitalized on his position and had garnered significant attention in the Chesapeake region. From his home at Werowocomoco he controlled to some extent a region that encompassed much of Virginia's Tidewater region, what historian Gregory Nobles calls "by far the most powerful political force in the region" (2004:38). Jamestown was in the center of this all.

The first frontier in the region began at the edge of this tenuous camp. Negotiations immediately began so the English could procure supplies from the local population. Inadequately prepared in foodstuffs and farming skills, English colonists had to rely on their skills as negotiators to trade and seize corn and wild game from Indian traders. Quickly the English began to survey their surroundings. A map created by Captain John Smith in 1608, one of the most savvy colonists, goes into great detail about what the Chesapeake had to offer. Over his 1,600 mile circuitous route around the bay, he created the first on-paper interpretation of the land now known as Virginia. While the

cartographic accuracy of the map is astounding, the real value lay in its cultural information.

The 1608 Smith map as well as a Spanish map (see Figures 2 and 3) of the period have recently garnered attention from ethnohistorians and anthropologists. In reanalyzing the complexities of contact period native life it has been shown that considerable attention to detail was used in the creation of these first maps. The detail lay in interpretations of native villages and their subsequent placement within a recognized structure of political hierarchy. Villages such as Werowocomoco, Kiskiack, Appamatuck, Cinquoteck, and others bore imagery denoting a significant presence in the region.

3. Trade in the Hinterlands

Towards the end of the seventeenth century a German by the name of John Lederer came to Virginia. At the ripe age of twenty-six he began to explore beyond the known boundaries of the colony. During the course of three trips he made into the heart of the Piedmont and then into the mountains, he gained significant insight into the native population that until then had largely been known only through aggressive military forays of the armed colonists. What is most valuable about Lederer's experience is what was recorded (Cumming 1958). Much like Smith's movements through early Virginia, the Chesapeake, and the New England area, we can pull from his experiences to see briefly what he encountered.

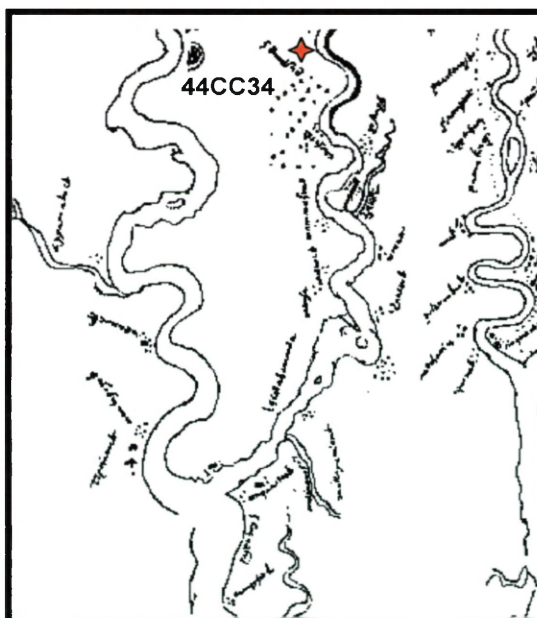
FIGURE 2

John Smith Map of 1608 showing the Chickahominy Region. (Map courtesy of the Chickahominy River Survey)



FIGURE 3

Zuniga Map of 1608 showing the Chickahominy Region. (Map courtesy of the Chickahominy River Survey)



Lederer established a base camp for his first expedition at a Chickahominy village. By this time the Chickahominy had been pushed out of their home range along the Chickahominy River and were now located along the falls of the Pamunkey River, some twenty miles northeast of present-day Richmond. Nonetheless, Lederer reveals later that his experience from all three expeditions introduced him to the nuances of trade between Anglo-Virginians and their native counterparts. Two distinct types of trade existed; trade with local Indians, and trade with non-local Indian populations. To make the distinction he relates:

“If you barely designe a Home-trade with neighbor –Indians, for skins of Deer, Beaver, Otter, Wild-Cat, Fox, Raccoon, &c. your best Truck is a sort of course Trading Cloth, of which a yard and a half makes a Matchcoat or Mantle fit for their wear; as also Axes, Hoes, Knives, Sizars [scissors] and all sorts of edg’d tools. Gun, Powder and Shot, &c. are Commodities they will greedily barter for; but to supply the Indians with Arms and Ammunition, is prohibited in all English Governments. ...To the remoter Indians you must carry other kinds of Truck, as small Looking –glasses, Pictures, Beads and Bracelets of glass, Knives, Sizars, and all manner of gaudy toys and knacks for children, which are light and portable. For they are apt to admire such trinkets, and will purchase them at any rate, either with their currant Coyn of small shells, which they call *Roanock* or *Peack*, or perhaps with Pearl, Vermillion, pieces of Christal.” (Cumming 1958:41-42)

This late seventeenth century imagery hearkens to a form of trade that noted fur trader Captain John Fleet engaged in during the 1620s and well into the 1630s. His maritime trade up and down the Chesapeake Bay managed to capitalize on the vast stores of beaver pelts from more northerly regions. Beaver fur, the first main commodity in the peltry business would soon fall to deer hides by the end of the 1630s and the transition to hinterland trading (Fausz 1987). What Fleet and his men were trading for the beaver furs we do now know. However, we do know he had access to vast stores of trade items. What is of note though, is that he is one of the first to venture into both realms of local and long-distance trade, the types discussed above during the 1670s. However, despite

his engagement in various trade circles the mobility of his business and his leaving fur trade for inter-colonial and international merchant riches kept him from acting in the same capacity as he had in the hinterland trading sites.

The profound effect trading had on Virginia and other colonies is seen through colonial licensing of traders through legislation that attempted to control or eliminate unregulated traders who quickly set up shop and proceeded to engage Indian populations. One result was to upset the balance of more wealthy and established traders. These big men of the trade world acted as lords of their own realm. Captain John Fleet, in close partnership with Governor Harvey, at one point was able to take into possession a captured Maryland vessel, the bark *Warwick* for his private use in trading (Fausz 1987:53). Despite his connections and investment in the Bay trade, Fleet eventually lost out to the hinterland traders who were quickly tapping into the fur business.

When we look towards New England traders, whose records survive more intact, cloth took an early role of importance. Dutch “duffel” (Roberts 1970:52) and other similar coarse English cloth was a staple trade good. Firearms, says Roberts (1970:51), quickly devalued business in trade due to their high value and durability. The introduction of guns to the Powhatans may have had a similar effect and thus required a more distant trade to replace a lost market. However, as inferred by Lederer, firearms were commonly traded in the latter seventeenth century and likely before. Alcohol took a prominent place among trade goods in New England and likely as well in Virginia, although we may gain more from this by substantive analysis of seventeenth century Indian villages who traded with the English. A substance that was easily bought for trade and unlike firearms, alcohol may have been consumed quickly to great soporific and

addictive effect and thus built a reliable market of Indians who became dependant on its availability.

We may see here how the colonial frontier setting was established in the seventeenth century in Virginia and how different it was from Turner's principles of expansion and development. Instead, the English preserve that was at first created by colonists expanded not through might and military will alone, but rather through shrewd economics on the behalf of both Powhatans and Europeans alike. This economic relationship, acted out through the mechanism of trade, creates a cultural environment that is, at least in the Chesapeake, largely misunderstood. To begin understanding this issue we must look towards larger historical context to situate further interpretation of trade, its implications, and finally, how it may have unfolded at one particular site.

CHAPTER III

AN EARLY COLONIAL HISTORY

As early as the late sixteenth century the Indians of Tsenacommacah were aware of European explorers. Incursions of Spanish and English colonizers along the mid-Atlantic seaboard had left indelible marks with contacted groups. Indians along North Carolina's inland coast and within the lower Chesapeake region were familiar with the intent of Europeans and at least one Indian had spent time living within Iberian culture (Rountree 1988: 7). News of these cross-cultural contacts spread quickly along indigenous routes of commerce and primed a long process of interaction that would culminate in the near-destruction of Native American cultural traditions. However, in the new and daunting years of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries one chapter in colonial history would begin to unfold, a chapter that would establish English permanence in the American world.

After an unsuccessful attempt with the Roanoke colony, England would wait almost two decades to try to establish itself in the temperate region called Virginia. The year 1607 brought three ships to Virginia packed with just over one hundred settlers, all men, to build an outpost and begin a frontier. This frontier, as will be discussed later, would be a key element in the new Virginia, one that would become the most dynamic, influential, and powerful part of establishing a successful colony. The initial frontier, or boundary, began at the outskirts of the initial settlement, Jamestown. By June, three

months after dropping anchor, the frontier was limited to the outskirts of a wooden wall, or palisade. Erected to protect the tender young venture, the James Fort began a long period of English encroachment and more importantly established a physical set of parameters as to what was under English control and what was not.

This early boundary did not last long. Life inside the fort became cramped for the ever-swelling numbers of colonists coming to Virginia (Hatch 1957, Southern 2004, Kelso 1994). While the pit-houses and tarp roofs suited the first inhabitants, these functional and shabby dwellings gave way to more traditional English architecture. At first houses appeared within the walls of the fort and then land outside the fort was cleared and built upon. The island on which James Fort was situated offered some degree of protection. Swampy ground to its rear and the river to the front offered natural barriers which an adversary would have to first overcome before mounting a successful attack. Ground was cleared around the fort and a protective 'bawn'-like enclosure was constructed to compartmentalize up the island into protected and unprotected spaces.

A brush with complete failure met the colonists in 1609-10 during a winter they were unprepared for in terms of food or morale. The men living within the fort resorted to means more common aboard shipwreck victims, cannibalism. In May of 1610 a Jamestown colonist penned these words to summarize the past winter's devastating toll, "so great was our famine, that a Salvage we slew and buried, the poorer sort tooke him up againe and eat him" (Arber and Bradley 1910: 498). This event was amidst a tenuous relationship between the Powhatans and Englishmen that was less than three years old. Captain John Smith, a man of note amongst the blunderers of 1607 began Anglo-Powhatan relations in a diplomatic manner. Having visited Werowocomoco twice,

Smith's relationship with Mamanatowick (head man) Powhatan had grown quite comfortable, something that could not be said for the rest of the colonists or Indians. John Smith's most groundbreaking trip to Werowocomoco was, in fact, against his will.

1. Into Chickahamania

In the fall of 1607 Smith was bearing the brunt of dissent within the settlement. On an expedition up the Chickahominy River, one of perhaps three to four trips taken up the river, Smith led a small group of men up the river in a shallow-draft barge, most likely some sort of shallop. His account is filled with both positive and negative sentiments about the journey. The crew, often making offensive comments, left something to be desired. Rampant ill-will had spread over the colony and these sorts of discovery trips seemed to be a way to not only *discover*, but more importantly, take the minds of the colonists off of darker ideas. Nonetheless, Smith wrote some years later about the plethora of opportunities the Chickahominy offered. It seemed to be a whole different country, in fact, one he called 'Chickahamania'.

“finding plenty of Corne in the river of Chickahamania where hundreds of Salvages in divers places stood with baskets expecting his coming. And now the winter approaching, the rivers became so covered with swans, geese, duckes, and cranes, that we daily feasted with good bread, Virginia pease, pumpions, and putchamins, fish, fowle, and divers sorts of wild beasts as fat as we could eat them: so that none of our testy humorists desired to go for England” (Smith 1624 [1966]:46)

John Smith was known to exaggerate and stretch his past occurrences in writing, especially when it made him look valiant and heroic but something of the truth may be in this description. The time of year certainly supported the vast quantities of food he spoke of and the winter migration of various waterfowl had begun. Indeed, pumpkins and

persimmons (*putchamins*) were in season but what leaves us wondering is the imagery of Indians lining the shores, as if expecting company. Perhaps they were. If this trip was the third or fourth voyage to discover the headwaters of the Chickahominy Smith and company had certainly roused the interest of local villages. His map of 1608 does include many Indian settlements along the river, one or two of which may have been of some regional significance.

Once the group's barge came to rest on the shallowest of navigable waterways, only several hundred of yards from Cypress Banks, Smith took off to continue upriver in a canoe (most likely acquired from nearby Indians). As he left the barge he gave specific orders to not venture away from its safety. Anchored to a cypress tree, the vessel had been taken some distance into the upper reaches of the Chickahominy's swamps and moored in an easily defended bay.

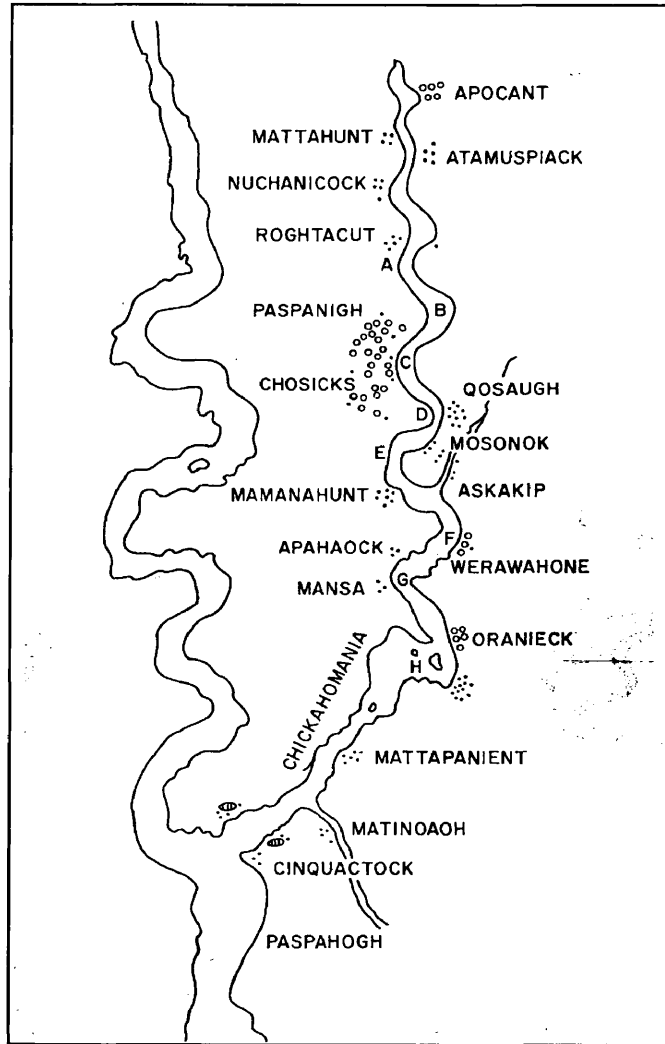
Smith took off in the canoe with an Indian interpreter and two compatriots. Not long after his departure both the barge and Smith were separately attacked. The barge made it back, only losing one man, but Smith and company suffered a worse fate. The two Englishmen accompanying the Captain were killed, leaving Smith alone with his interpreter. As if executing a well-developed tactical plan, an Indian party again attacked Smith twenty miles into the muddy "desert" (ibid. 47). Tying his interpreter to himself to act as a human shield, the captain managed to fend off some two hundred or more attackers for some time until, mired in the morass, he was taken prisoner. This began his long hiatus away from Jamestown and into the realm of Tsenacommacah, Powhatan's world.

It must be said that John Smith, in writing the narratives of Jamestown and his other New World exploits, exaggerated to an extent his successes and tribulations. However, the record he provides does allow us certain insight into how he, as a contemporary Englishman, and one who had traveled the world extensively, saw the ‘new found land of Virginia’. Before we leave the Chickahominy and venture into the Powhatan world of Werowocomoco there are certain points well worth discussing.

If Smith and company had made numerous forays into the Chickahominy the group would have had multiple opportunities to come in contact with a group somewhat outside of Mamanatowick Powhatan’s reign. The people who inhabited the Chickahominy River drainage had for some time maintained a degree of separation between them and other outside groups. While a tribute system of payment was likely in place, as Smith mentions later after better understanding Powhatan’s methods of rule, the Chickahominy Indians were a “nation of holdouts” (Rountree 1988:9). The group, whose name roughly translated was ‘crushed corn’, supposedly had no ‘capitol’ but was made up of at least 250 men (Smith 1624 [1966]). Archaeological evidence, drawn largely from the Chickahominy River Survey of the late 1960s, shows that indeed there were many villages along the river and there had been for several thousands of years (CRS 2004). Better yet, Smith’s map of 1608 depicts no fewer than fourteen towns along the river’s banks and one major tributary, Diascund Creek. The 1608 Zuniga map, lacking the level of engraved detail that Smith chose to include, has been shown by scholars (Gallivan 2006:21, Kelso 1996:17) to have been accurately, if hastily, prepared (see Figure 4).

FIGURE 4

Villages noted on Smith Map of 1608 imposed onto the 1608 Zuniga Map. (Courtesy of CRS)



Archaeological studies at the sites of Werowocomoco and Jamestown have demonstrated that the Smith map and especially the Zuniga map asserted political meaning within their drawings. Not only has the Zuniga map been helpful in locating existing landscape structures but some tentative assertions can be made from it. We can interpret a series of dots towards the headwaters of the Chickahominy, on the south bank, as a location of note. Whether or not this may have represented the regional capital of the Chickahominy, whose existence Smith denied, again we rely on what we do know about the Zuniga map. Interestingly this was not far from where Smith left his barge and where it was summarily attacked. The importance here lies in the fact that Smith and his boat were in Chickahominy territory. Despite Smith's capture by likely non-Chickahominy men, there may have been a tacit agreement between Powhatan and the Chickahominy to secure this English leader for political purposes. Thus, it may be tentatively said that with each paddle stroke, John Smith was playing into the waiting hands of two indigenous groups, both willing to gain from his capture.

The importance of these early events lies with the Chickahominy itself. Since contact, the river has diminished in its importance, save for limited eighteenth- and nineteenth-century commerce and its strategic role during the Civil War in 1862. It was in the seventeenth century that the Chickahominy still carried what indigenous meanings it had held for perhaps centuries, if not millennia. It was also the period when increasing English dominance in the region began the quick and near-complete eradication of native lifeways, cultural traditions, and people.

While John Smith was paraded from village to village and eventually to Powhatan's seat, Werowocomoco, the inhabitants at Jamestown were beginning their

downward spiral into the ignominy that would become “The Starving Time”. There would be no such occurrence at Werowocomoco, rather, the opposite. The town of Werowocomoco, situated on the banks of the adjacent river, the Pamunkey (now the York), may have been the region’s flagship of splendor as well as a place that exuded power. During Smith’s stay at the town he found great stores of corn and other foodstuffs to safely carry the indigenous population through a harsh winter. Diplomatic agreements arranged between Smith and Powhatan allowed for some of this surplus to reach Jamestown that winter and many more seasons, a relationship that became highly profitable for the English and yet managed to only secure a tenuous alliance between the two cultures.

This alliance, if it may be called that, was broken in the violent First Anglo-Powhatan war of 1609-1614. A sporadic conflict, the war consisted of approximately twenty small engagements and resulted in the death of some 350 English and 250 Indians (Fausz 2003:14). Among the bloody encounters the English made one particular retribution raid on a Chickahominy village on the 10th and 11th of August 1610, burning the houses and taking the corn. No evidence remains as to whether the colonists encountered any resistance during this incursion but the method quickly became standard: burn the village and take the corn. As Fausz (2003:38) notes, this first war established “combat [as] the primary method of defending and nurturing cultural identity, but, ironically, that combat also became the principle means of acculturating natives and colonists in Virginia.”

The peace wrought in 1614 would not last, however. In 1616 an English party made their way up the Chickahominy to receive tribute payment. They were rebuffed

and met with taunts to ‘come and fight’ (Woodard 2006:7). Not immediately engaging, the English move further up the river, the whole time being taunted by the Ozinies, a group of the Chickahominy tribe. Eventually Opechancanough, who followed the issue with great interest, interceded to broker a deal with the English. He subsequently brought the Chickahominy into alignment with the Powhatans and the English return with 3 shallops filled with plundered corn. This, as it would be seen later on, was a Pyrrhic victory for the Chickahominy. The next year, Opechancanough gifted Governor Yearly a huge tract of land on the north bank of the James River. This would become the seed for Charles City County, created first as one of four original corporations in the colony.

Violence would befall Tsenacommacah again in 1622 when a massive uprising, led by the testier and more pugilistic Opechancanough, laid waste to much of colonial Virginia. A well-orchestrated event, the 1622 uprising, often erroneously called a “massacre” for the treachery enacted by the Indians, was one of the single-most bloody days in the seventeenth century for English colonists. And too, as with the established tradition of the first war, one good strike deserved a counterstrike. The English fought back without quarter, raiding, burning, and plundering throughout the land to avenge the deaths of their fellow colonists. This was following the 1621 shipment of 16 colonists sent from England equipped with the glass-blowing skills to “make beads for trade with the Indians and glass for other purposes” (Stanard 1928:168). However, no amount of glass trinkets would deter Opechancanough’s efforts to take back what had been stripped from him. The prior year, in 1620, Opechancanough had used a trade item to quell fears harbored by Governor Wyatt. Opechancanough had nailed a brass sheet stamped with symbols of peace on one of the ‘noted oaks’, most likely some improper boundary

marker observed by both sides. Furthermore, the marriage of Pocahontas, Opechancanough's niece, to John Rolfe had supposedly put to rest Anglo-Powhatan differences and caused the relative peace of the 1614-1622 period (Rountree 2005:171). The English used this period to begin serious efforts at converting Indians to Christianity and already, funds for this purpose were flooding in from England (Gleach 1997:68-73).

In August of 1619 an attempt to regulate trade was made by the colonial legislature (Woodard 2006:7). Indian servants were not to be traded with and a continued ban on the trade of guns and ammunition was enforced. Trade on the Chesapeake Bay was expressly forbidden and large hoes and mastiff dogs could not be traded with Indians. Englishmen also had to receive a pass to travel to Indian towns and when there, could not buy canoes while there. This stifling of trade, in effect, represented what had been going on in the colony (Woodard 2006:9). From an early point a vigorous trade in beaver furs and deerskins had allowed Englishmen to develop a complex series of relationships with the Susquehannock of the north portion of the bay. This group, an avowed enemy of the Powhatans, had access to more northern supplies of furs. In comparison the northern furs were of greater quality. The colder climate and longer winter allowed for beaver to develop a thicker coat and reach a larger body size. Local beaver populations in the lower Chesapeake supported a fur trade, but in lesser quantity and quality. The effort required to trap and process beaver, when compared to deer, was much greater. As a result, the quality of the pelt made for a significant difference when gaining acceptance on the English fur market (Tanner: personal communication, March 20, 2006).

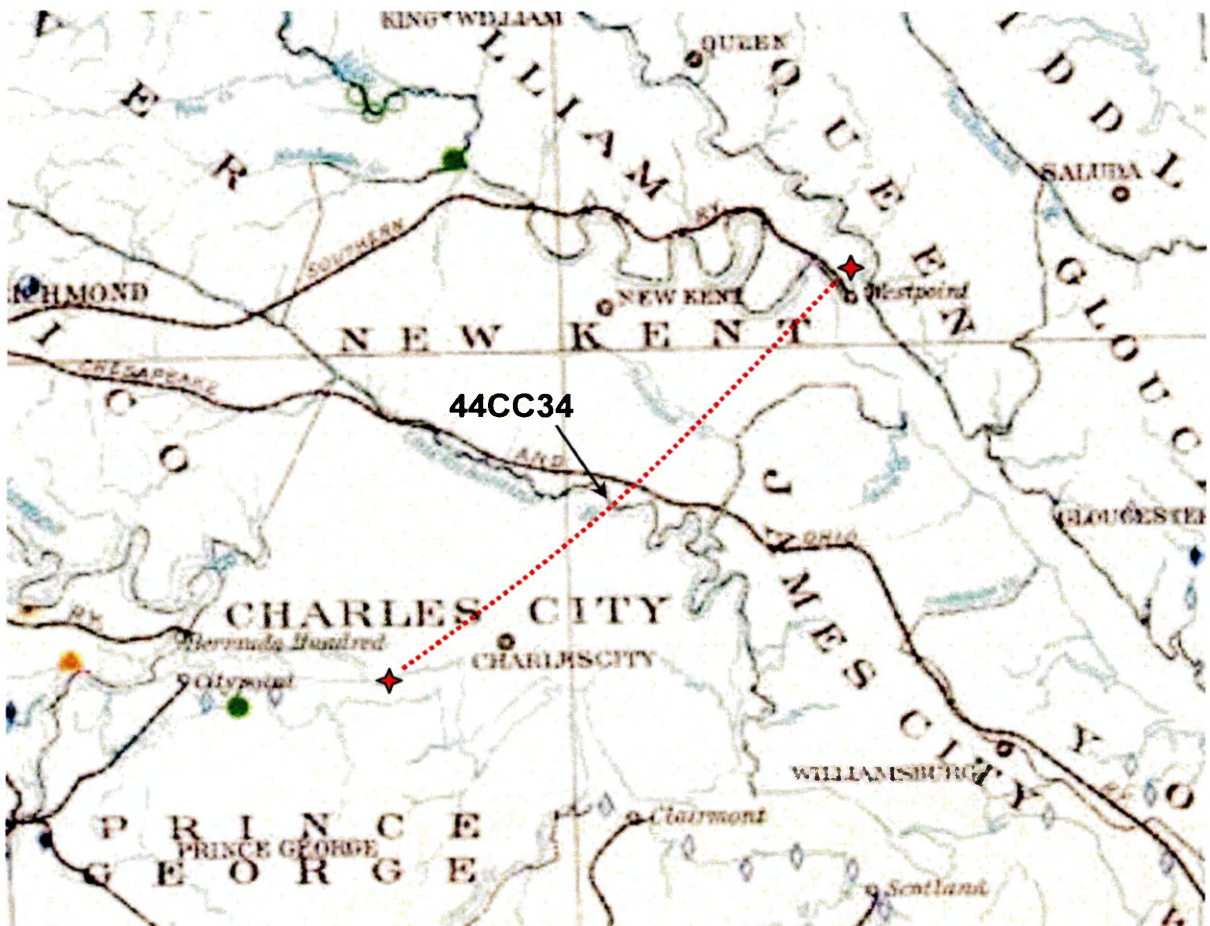
After the 1622 uprising the Chickahominy began to feel the effects of English revenge full force. Captain William Pierce was sent to attack the Chickahominy villages, burn their homes and destroy all fields and stored food (Woodard 2005:9). Similarly, other English militants attacked other native groups, intent on reestablishing colonial dominance and subduing the native population. Until approximately 1630 hostilities remained between the two groups. On the anniversary of each 1622 uprising date, each substantial English outpost was to raid and destroy local Indian villages. Englishmen were, by law, to work in the fields with their arms and by 1624 trade in corn with the Indians was forbidden (Stanard 1928). Cutting off trade in corn was a landmark decision in the burgeoning colonial outpost. Colonists' reliance on Indian-supplied corn to supplant their lack of adequate foodstuffs in a tobacco economy had supported many yeomans' existence (Lewis 1975, Mapp 1957, Stanard 1928).

In the 1620s, despite mutual bad feelings on both the English and Algonquian side, Indians (particularly Weyanoke and Chickahominy) began working for and with Englishmen in their fields, tanneries, forges, and other labor-intensive environments. So, even with all of the documented and undocumented violent hostilities between the two groups, interaction varied significantly, with some groups closely intertwined within the colonial economy.

By the early 1630s trade changed again, reflecting changing colonial realities. Apparently the cloth that had been imported for the colony was more often going directly to Indian populations through trade. Enough of it was going to Indian villages that Jamestown issued a decree in 1633 limiting trade in cloth to those who held a license to do so (Rountree 1993). This followed a restatement in 1633 of the ban on trading

FIGURE 5

Map depicting possible route of Necotowance's Path, running from Westover on the south to the Powhatan capitol on the north. (original map from Watkins 1909)



firearms and ammunition to Indians. We can gather that with this repeated effort to limit trade with native communities, trade in firearms, cloth, and other items flourished throughout the early and mid seventeenth century.

The year 1634 was a landmark year in two ways. First, it was the year in which the shire of Charles City became the county of Charles City. This political incorporation designated the area as officially under the thumb of the English crown and as a political division that could be governed in a more representative manner. The decade between 1620-1630 proved to be a staging ground for colonial expansion, especially after the violent retribution the English enacted on local Indian populations. Certainly one could have found English settlements in such far flung places such as on the Potomac, the Eastern Shore, and towards the fall-line of the James near what is modern-day Richmond, but many of the interior regions and secondary tributaries of the major rivers had yet to be patented.

2. Land Patents

Land patents for Charles City County grew exponentially throughout the 1630s and an interest in the Chickahominy River began to emerge by English land-seekers. By 1637 land along the Chickahominy was patented to “young freemen”, those who could afford to speculate in a remote area (Woodard 2006:12). We do know that by the late 1630s land patents began to encroach upon the upper reaches of the river. In 1639 a man named Edward Oliver patents 1,100 acres at “Mattahanke” (Mattahunk) Neck (Nugent 1939: 640, 668). Mattahunk is just to the east, and downriver, of Cypress Banks and is

currently near Walker's Dam. A spindly tract of land, Mattahunk is much smaller than 1,100 acres. Using modern software to plot out land sizes in acreage measurements and then using data from later patents of Mattahunk which denote particular local creeks and other known landmarks, it is quite likely that any patent of Mattahunk neck encompassed Cypress Banks. The entirety of the peninsula that Cypress Banks occupies is around 20-25 acres in size and therefore may have been a constituent part of any local large patent. Part of the patent extended across the river and included an area "called by the Indians with the name Crestipa" (Parks 1982:216).

Three years later Edward Oliver sold his land to two men, George Braithwaite and Thomas Pyke (Nugent 1939: 812). Oliver may have been getting rid of land at this point since he had accumulated several parcels. In 1636 he is listed as receiving 50 acres near *Pasbyehays*, probably near the mouth of the Chickahominy but on the James at Thompson's Bay (Parks 1982:208). He acquired this land by marrying Ann Cardwell, the former wife of Sir John Harvey. By 1657 350 acres were transferred to him from Jeremiah Clements, of Upper Chippoaks, located in Surry County.

It has been noted (McCartney 2005: personal communication), however, that despite the flourish in land patents along the Chickahominy and other sites in northern Charles City County, much of the patented land may have been absentee-owned. This is evident in the amount of parcels that were being consumed by speculators and investors in this early period and the lack of notation of occupancy. Archaeological evidence of English domestic occupation during the 1630-50 period for the upper Chickahominy is almost nonexistent, with the exception of the Cypress Banks site. Later settlements were established in the region, such as a late seventeenth century farmstead (44CC297) further

upriver than Cypress Banks, though sites these lack evidence of a prior English occupation (Hunter et al 1989). In sum, there is scant evidence for seventeenth century occupation at Mattahunk Neck.

Beyond the Chickahominy, it was the James River that attracted the first and most dense settlement. This pattern largely continued throughout the seventeenth century. However, since riverfront land and acreage along navigable creeks that flowed into the James soon came to be in short supply, settlements patterns encroached on the inland areas as well as spreading up the Chickahominy River.

Young freemen in the 1630s may have avoided settling the upper Chickahominy River for several reasons. A considerable Indian population, a lack of other English settlements to act as a defensive barrier, and other hostile characteristics of the area stymied growth during the 1630-1650 period. Ironically, it may have been some of these very reasons that attracted a few to the area. As early as the 1644, a trail named "Necotowance's Path" ran from the Pamunkey Neck area, the emergent seat of indigenous power in the region, to Westover plantation. Westover, a major settlement owned by the Bland family, would come to be known for its linkage to the Indian community. It was here that Indians 'could repaire to' as well as be hired by local yeomen as servants. Similarly, they could be bought there for indentured servitude, a condition for Indian children similar to enslavement (Moretti-Langholtz 2006).

A straight line drawn from Pamunkey Neck to Westover Plantation directly intersects with Cypress Banks area. There is, however, additional evidence for Necotowance's Path running near or through Cypress Banks. Original documentation takes us to a patent executed by Governor William Berkeley in 1662, designating a tract

of land to the south of Mattahunk Neck as being bounded on the southwest corner by “Nickedewan’s” Path (Parks 1982:249). The patentees, a William Peawde and George Sanders, secured the rights to 1000 acres, a sizeable tract of land. Preliminary patent overlay on a modern map of the area indicates that using the few known landmarks in the patent text, the southwest corner of this plot would have been some degree west of Mattahunk Neck, in the area of Cypress Banks. There is also the substantial landscape evidence that the two most likely sites for the path to cross the river are at Mattahunk Neck and Cypress Banks. Anywhere else, and the path would have had to negotiate significant swampy areas and low-lying marshlands. Even prior to the construction of Walker’s Dam in the late 1930s this area consisted of largely swamp bottom punctuated by a few areas of hard, dry ground like Cypress Banks.

Necotowance’s Path became significant by 1647, and likely had been for centuries before. It had likely been a long-standing route of trade and travel for Indians since its appearance in the seventeenth-century documentary record and does not have any particular novelty. Its significance, however, resulted from political events that transpired during the early second quarter of the seventeenth century.

In 1634 the colony of Maryland was created, effectively shutting-off major trading networks to the north. The great beaver fur highway that the Susquehanna River had provided could no longer be exploited by English Virginians (Fausz 1987:62). The same was true of the vigorous trade that had been going on since approximately 1612 between traders such as Henry Fleet and the Anacostans as well as other Potomac Algonquians (Hatfield 2005:23-26). Fur trading had become such a financially successful venture, second only to tobacco in many instances, that Virginians could not

allow their supply to vanish. Trade shifted towards the west and southwest, towards Siouan speaking peoples of Tsenacommacah's Piedmont. This required the reorganization of transportation routes to access the new areas. Necotowance Path, while not a route that was particularly long, was likely the northern terminus for the Powhatans of a large network of trading paths that extended to the Gulf Coast and to other distant southern points (Fausz 1997, Hatfield 2005, Ledbetter 2005).

3. Violence Returns 1644-1646

As trade shifted in the southerly and westerly directions new meaning came to old trading paths. New meaning also came to Necotowance Path in 1644 with the beginning of the Third Anglo-Powhatan War (1644-46). This war, the shortest and least bloody, led to the establishment of four English forts along the colonial boundary. Fort Henry, on the Appomattox River, was the westernmost of the four while Fort Charles, along the James River was the southernmost. On the Pamunkey River (now called the York River) was Fort Royal and then to the south was Fort James, on the Chickahominy River. The location of Fort James has long been disputed. A state highway marker now stands just south of Rt. 60 near Diascund Creek, at a place once known as Moysonec. Archaeological excavations at Moysonec during the 1970s revealed some seventeenth century occupation at the site (Barka 2004: personal communication). This was interpreted as the remains of the fort and led to the placement of the marker. Subsequent analysis of the site has changed this interpretation and limited the known English

occupation at Mosonec to the very late seventeenth century into the early 18th century (Heinsman, personal communication). Thus, the location of Fort James is still unknown.

Charles City County scholar and historian Judith Ledbetter has done substantial research on Fort James. Through Ledbetter's research it has been determined that Fort James may be located somewhere near Rockahock, a historical location on the north bank of the Chickahominy across from Cypress Banks and to the west of the Mosonec site. While 1644 documentation provides limited information on the locations and armaments of the forts, Fort James was constructed on high ground with a good view of the river. Moysonec, much further down river from Cypress Banks, does offer a high vantage point but conflicts with eighteenth-century patents. Ledbetter's research (2005) found that several documents place an 'old fort site' in the area between Lanexa and Rockahock. One of the other possible sites is just west of Rockahock at a property known as "Fort Farm" from the local oral tradition (Ledbetter, personal communication)

The placement of an English fort adjacent to a known Indian transportation route is significant considering its role in colonial expansion. Forts mitigated Indian access into the colony through the process of giving out passes and 'coats in manner striped' (Hening 1823:326). Frontier military outposts like this also served to contain English yeomen and settlers, defending them from attack as well as enforcing non-encroachments laws.

Fort Royal was to be a prime location for trade between Necotowance, successor to Opechancanough, his people, and the English. The era of fort construction signalled a liberalization of trade relations between the English and Indians since trade had been prohibited during the 1644-46 conflict. However, the adversarial English demeanor

toward the Indians was still apparent in the peace treaty of 1644. The treaty set aside lands exclusive to the English and dictated how Indians could enter and exit these areas. Indians found in this English reserve without proper accompaniment, passes, or identifying garments were subject to be shot for trespassing. Similarly, Englishmen who were living with Indians outside of the protective boundary were to be summarily executed.

4. 'Peace' Resumes

Trade was again officially sanctioned after the last of the Anglo-Powhatan wars in 1646. However, it may be hypothesized that conflict did not effectively shut off trade, for great wealth had been built on Anglo-Indian trade and nothing such as a small, protracted war could stop it. The Bland family (Richard and Theodorick) operating out of Westover during the mid-seventeenth century moved up the James River during the 1690s to the mouth of the Appomattox and reestablished themselves there with the Bolling family at Kippax Plantation. The two families emerged as trade barons and further enriched themselves during the 1690-1730 period (Linebaugh 2005).

By the 1640s the Chickahominy tribe began to bow to the pressure of the English. In 1646 they had moved to the northern banks of the Pamunkey River (Rountree 1990:90). The Chickahominy developed closer ties with the Pamunkey Indians, the home tribe to paramount chiefs Opechancanough and Necotowance. The English "reserve" had now begun to take effect and the solidarity of Indian groups within the region was melting. This was in reaction to the shifting demeanor of English controlled

lands. The “reserve”, by the late 1640s and into the 1650s was quickly becoming the defining feature on the landscape, relegating the Powhatans and others to increasingly smaller cultural islands. Two of these became the present-day Pamunkey and Mattaponi reservations. By 1646 the English flooded Indian lands at a rate and on a scale that, as Edmund Morgan put it, “transforms crime into politics” (Morgan 1975:9).

During the mid-seventeenth century Jamestown saw fit to ‘give’ land to the Indians by disallowing English intrusions as stipulated by the treaties of 1646 and 1677 (Hening 1823). Such policies may have, in effect, represented English efforts to introduce the concept of ownership and private-property rights to local werowances.

Charles City County, and for that matter the rest of English controlled Tsenacommacah, was not exclusively white. Westover Plantation recorded the hiring and bringing in of Indian laborers; these formed what Rountree calls the Powhatan “fringe”, or partially Anglicized Indians who interacted with the English on a consistent basis (Rountree 1990:89). Indian children were also being swept up, many against their will, to be converted to Christianity. It was the solid will of Jamestown, and the later capitol of Williamsburg at Middle Plantation, that any and every Indian child should receive be converted, a fact brought to bear by the creation of a program at the College of William and Mary in 1693 to train Indian youths to become clergy. This program had its roots in an idea conceived and endowed by Englishman Robert Boyle (Godson et al 1994). These efforts were thought to take the “wild” out of the children and thereby tame an unexamined and seemingly “savage” group of people.

A statute issued in 1659 allowed for the trade of firearms and powder, something heretofore unseen (Woodard 2006:14). This may have come about due to the ongoing

hostilities between the Dutch and English, the English wanting any armed allies they could get. The late 1640s and 1650s had been relatively peaceful. It is of no surprise that this period was one of the most successful for English expansion into formerly Indian lands. Patents for land along the Chickahominy flourished although there is little evidence that any of these patents were truly occupied. In 1658 John Bromfield patented 1000 acres on the south side of the Chickahominy beginning at Mattahunk Neck and extending downriver to Webb's Run (Nugent 1939:239). The year 1662 brought more patents in the Cypress Banks area. William Drummond patented 1209 acres at the "next point of land above Warreny Landing Place" (Nugent 1939:240), a place upriver from Cypress Banks. Both of these men also had interests in other areas and may never have even seen all of the land that they successfully patented.

In 1660, the provision for trading guns and ammunition to Indians was revoked. This was accompanied by another attempt at licensing traders (Woodard 2005:14). A likely reason for this revocation of the arms trade was because the Powhatans and Chickahominies were beginning to insert themselves as a barrier between the English traders and more distant Indians. To subvert this effort, the colonists enforced a policy of disarmament and economic sanctions. Debts held by Indians were called and in some cases Indians were imprisoned due to unpaid balances. Thus subjugated, the local Indian population could less easily restrict this new form of more distant trade.

From Woodard (2006) we know that some local Indian individuals saw the long distance trade as a new entrepreneurial opportunity. Acting as guides, a few Weyanoke took English traders to the Meherrin River and introduced them to outlying and untapped trade resources. Certainly the Weyanokes may have benefited from these opportunities

to not only gain financially from the English, but to establish inter-group relationships that heightened status positions and realigned political balances. This was something that European contact and colonization had dramatically catalyzed and now individuals or small groups could reestablish themselves in previously forbidden roles (Lapham 2005:138-140). The destabilization of native power structures atomized and broke-apart the native population to a large degree. This is evident when we learn that even though most Chickahominies had left their traditional lands some remained in the area. Records show that Chickahominies killed wolves in Charles City county as late as the 1660s and appeared at Westover looking for employment (Moretti-Langholtz 2006).

The Chickahominies, as well as other groups such as the Weyanokes, began to show signs of political weakness as group autonomy begins to collapse. The constant succession of tribal realignments seen throughout the mid-century years initiated a stage in which Indians sought the protection of the English from outside attack. While the principle of Indian alliance with the English had long been the tradition in certain instances, such as when Powhatan saw great benefit in allying with Jamestown to better resist and attack the Susquehannock during the earliest years of the colony, the tables had turned. It was largely the English who controlled the landscape militarily and who began to hold dominion over the entire territory east of the fall line. In 1676, Nathaniel Bacon led the final concerted effort to annihilate Indians in the Tidewater area but largely focused his attention on groups further to the west such as the Occannechi, Tutelo, Appomatox, and Saponi (Washburn 1957).

In 1677, the last major treaty of the seventeenth century was signed between the English colonists and the Powhatans, known as the Treaty of Middle Plantation (Gleach

1997:196). Cockacoeske, the Queen of the Pamunkey, was the lead tribal representative on this document, which established the final boundaries for Virginia's, no longer Tsenacommacah's, Indians. The treaty also maintained that the signatory tribes were now subjects of the crown, a designation that dissolved much of their power. The governor of the colony now acted as chief intermediary should a dispute arise between tribes. While Cockacoeske led the Pamunkey, certain groups, such as the Chickahominy, protested being represented by other tribes on such a deciding document. A few years later more western groups such as the Appomatox, Monacan and Saponi joined, as well as the remaining eastern Nansemond and Weyanoke tribes (Woodard 2006:14).

By the end of the century trade systems were well delineated and Anglo-Virginians profited tremendously. Nowhere in original documentation is listed the continued or sustained success of an Indian trader. By 1692, each county was to establish a particular place where trade was to occur, thus regulating it to an extent that may have benefited the biggest traders. What began as an outlet for native political maneuvering and domination over the instable settlement at Jamestown became part of the undoing of the native community. The adoption of European ideologies concerning ownership, commodity valuation, and resource exploitation had corrupted and atomized Tsenacommacah's earliest inhabitants into a people set to disappear from history in less than a century.

CHAPTER IV

ARCHAEOLOGY AT 44CC34

The preceding discussions highlight the importance of locations along the Virginia frontier that witnessed changes in relationships between Indians and English, changes that paralleled the evolving structures of colonialism in the region. The archaeological site of Cypress Banks represents one such location that deserves scrutiny for the ways in which material culture both reflected and shaped the entanglements of the colonial era.

During the summer of 1968 field investigations at Cypress Banks led to the discovery of several archaeological sites. These sites were of distinct importance and each related to a different period of occupation. Evidence from these investigations revealed that humans have been living on, farming, trading, and passing through this region as early as the Middle Archaic period, ca. 8,000-4,500 B.P. Despite significant damage from historic-period plowing and soil manipulation there remained, and remains, large concentrations of artifacts in the soil representing these multiple occupations.

Cypress Banks, located on the Walker's USGS quadrangle, is situated on the south bank of the Chickahominy River. The site is located at what would have been the highest navigable point on the river for shipping traffic of any size. Shaped like a small peninsula, Cypress Banks juts slightly into the river and rises above the mean water level some 10-30 feet. It is flanked on either side by significant marshlands and poorly drained

lowland. The portion of the field closest to the river, Area 1 (see Figure 7) is roughly 10.8 acres in size. This field in its entirety, including the portions back from the river are estimated to be between 90-100 acres in size, and is currently planted in an alternating cotton/peanut regime. Aside from the dramatic riverbank slope, the land at Cypress Banks is gently undulating. The most noticeable areas of topographic change are in two swales in the front field, Area 1, and then towards the southern extent of the main field as it begins a gradual rise out of the flood plain.

1. Site Environment

Cypress Banks is located in Virginia's Coastal Plain. This region is denoted by sandy soils and a paucity of native rock outcrops. Beginning somewhat east of the fall-line, where modern day Richmond and Fredericksburg stand, the Coastal Plain extends east toward the Chesapeake Bay and the Atlantic shoreline. This area is relatively flat with some topographical undulation and is predominated by a mixture of hardwood forests and substantial coniferous growth. Soil drainage tends to be fair to excellent and is only inhibited by areas of clayey soils.

2. Local Animal Populations

The Cypress Banks faunal regime is comparable to those found in surrounding regions, possessing a high density of deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*), raccoon (*Procyon lotor*), opossum (*Didelphis virginiana*), eastern gray squirrel (*Sciurus carolinensis*), and

wild turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo*). Other vertebrate species include, but are not limited to, bobcat (*Felis rufus*), box turtle (*Terrapene carolina*), rabbit (*Silvilagus floridanus*), groundhog (*Marmota monax*), beaver (*Castor canadensis*), and river otter (*Lutra canadensis*). Bird species are plentiful and highly seasonal. The close proximity of the Chesapeake Bay, approximately forty miles to the east, provides migrating waterfowl species a winter haven as well as supporting a dense non-migratory resident population. Species of waterfowl which inhabit the Chickahominy drainage, which may have been hunted by Precontact people, include the Canada goose (*Branta canadensis*) and over five species of duck. Reptiles and amphibians predominate the riverine environments and have long been a source of food for historic and Precontact human populations. Included in this category are numerous species of terrapins, two species of water snake, and bullfrogs.

In the Chickahominy there are plentiful bivalves and gastropods, animal types that are known to have been used as a food source by native and historic populations, including freshwater mussels (*Unionoida*). Not far away, in the James River, there existed at Contact large shoals of Atlantic oyster (*Crassostrea virginica*). Plentiful and easily harvested, oysters have provided a food source for thousands of years until recently with their decline due to over harvesting and pollution. In fact, oyster shells are the one artifact type that seems to dominate all periods of occupation at Cypress Banks.

3. Local Floral Population

As stated before, the forests around the Cypress Banks area are predominated by a mixture of hardwood species (eg: white oak [*Quercus alba*], red oak [*Quercus rubra*], maples [*Acer*], sassafras [*Sassafras albidum*] and shagbark hickory [*Carya ovata*]). Deciduous non-coniferous softwoods include tulip tree (*Liriodendron tulipifera*), sweetgum (*Liquidambar styraciflua*), and poplar (*Populus fastigiata*). Conifers include numerous pine species (*Pinus*), eastern red cedar (*Juniperous virginiana*), and most notably the deciduous bald cypress (*Taxodium distichum*), from which the site takes its name.

Of these plants several are known to have been used in the Proto-Historic period as well as during the early historic era. Cypress trees, known for their rot-resistance may have provided trunks to be turned into canoes for indigenous tribes. In the historic period, roofing material made from cypress was considered superior to other woods. Hickory has been long prized for its nut, a hard-shelled fruit that contains a protein-rich meat. Archaeological data from a nearby Precontact site (44CC37) provides the basis for early agriculture at Cypress banks with maize, beans, and squash being the dominant crops (CRS 2005).

4. 44CC34 Soils

The soil regime at Cypress Banks is comprised largely of alluvial river deposits mixed with a Suffolk fine sandy loam. While highly sandy, the soil does contain varying

amounts of silt which allows for moisture retention. Lower areas of the site are noticeably wetter and prone to being muddy than the higher, sandier areas. While not unexpected, this characteristic seems to define the central occupation areas on higher, drier ground. The first subsoil layer, as demonstrated during the early and deep site excavations overlays a pure light-yellow sand stratum. Similar to a beach sand, this layer is sterile and transitions to a completely white sand stratum at ca. 6 ft. below surface. At this depth stands the water table, which seems to have intruded into these features at some point, causing a mixing of fill layers and possible flooding. While the particular depth of the water table was not tested during the 2005 survey, its presence, accompanied by the highly frangible nature of the surrounding soil is an underlying cause of the collapse of the two pit-features at 44CC34 during their excavation. It has been noted that below this sand layer at a depth of approximately 10-12 ft. below surface there exists a substrate clay layer. While this has not been tested or witnessed by the author, the presence of clay bands at this approximate depth is apparent on river banks throughout the region.

5. 1968-1969 Excavations

The first site visit to Cypress Banks took place in January of 1968. A Mr. A. T. Harwood, of Charles City County, directed Dr. Norma Barka and Dr. Ben McCary to the site. A certain number of sites were discovered from the Chickahominy River since the survey team used a motorboat to view the various embankments and fields along the river. Beginning in January of 1968 the William and Mary team began to take serious

FIGURE 6

Cypress Banks map indicating areas of Native/Precontact occupation (also depicting 44CC34 with dots indicating Pits 1 & 2).

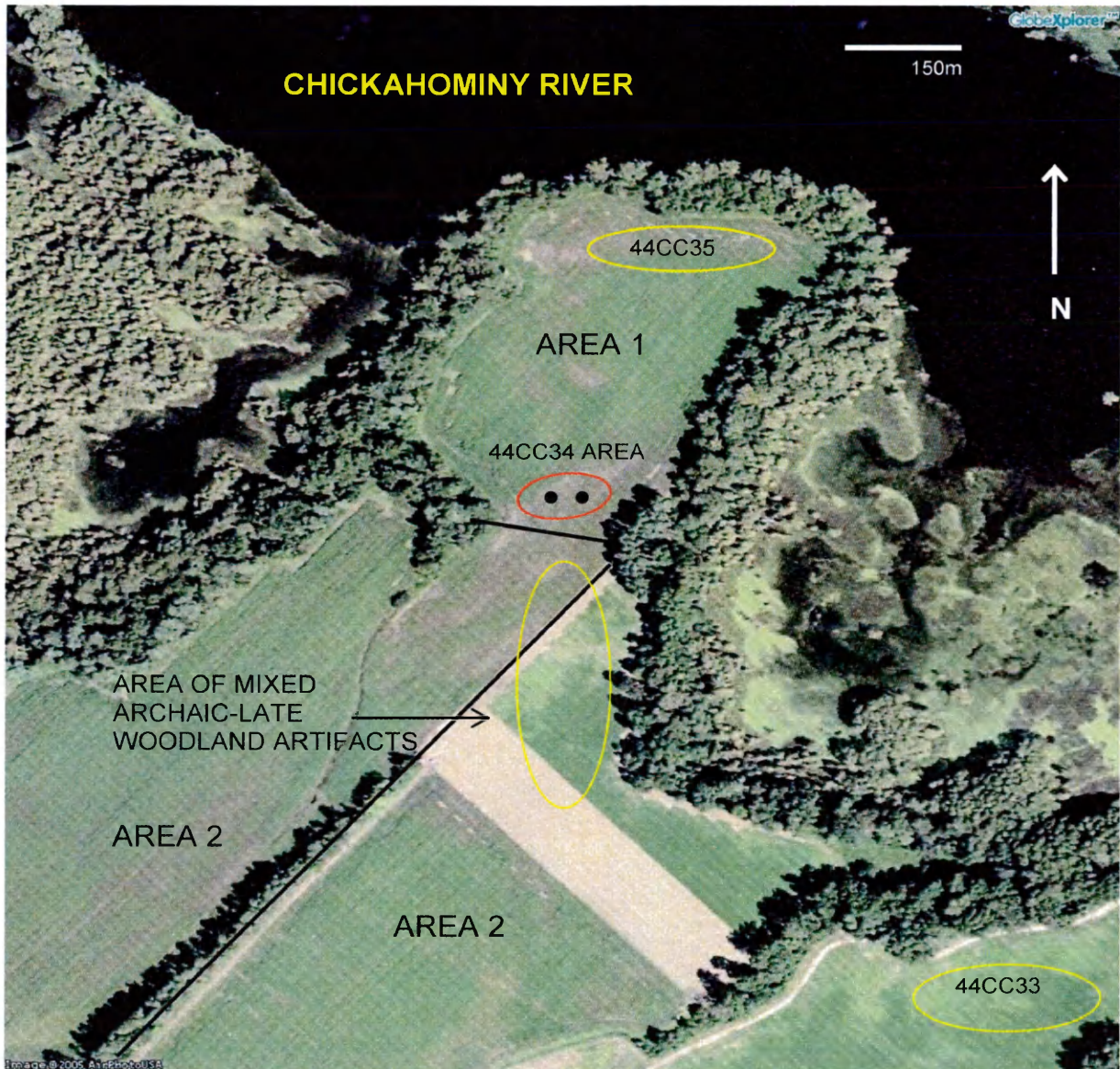
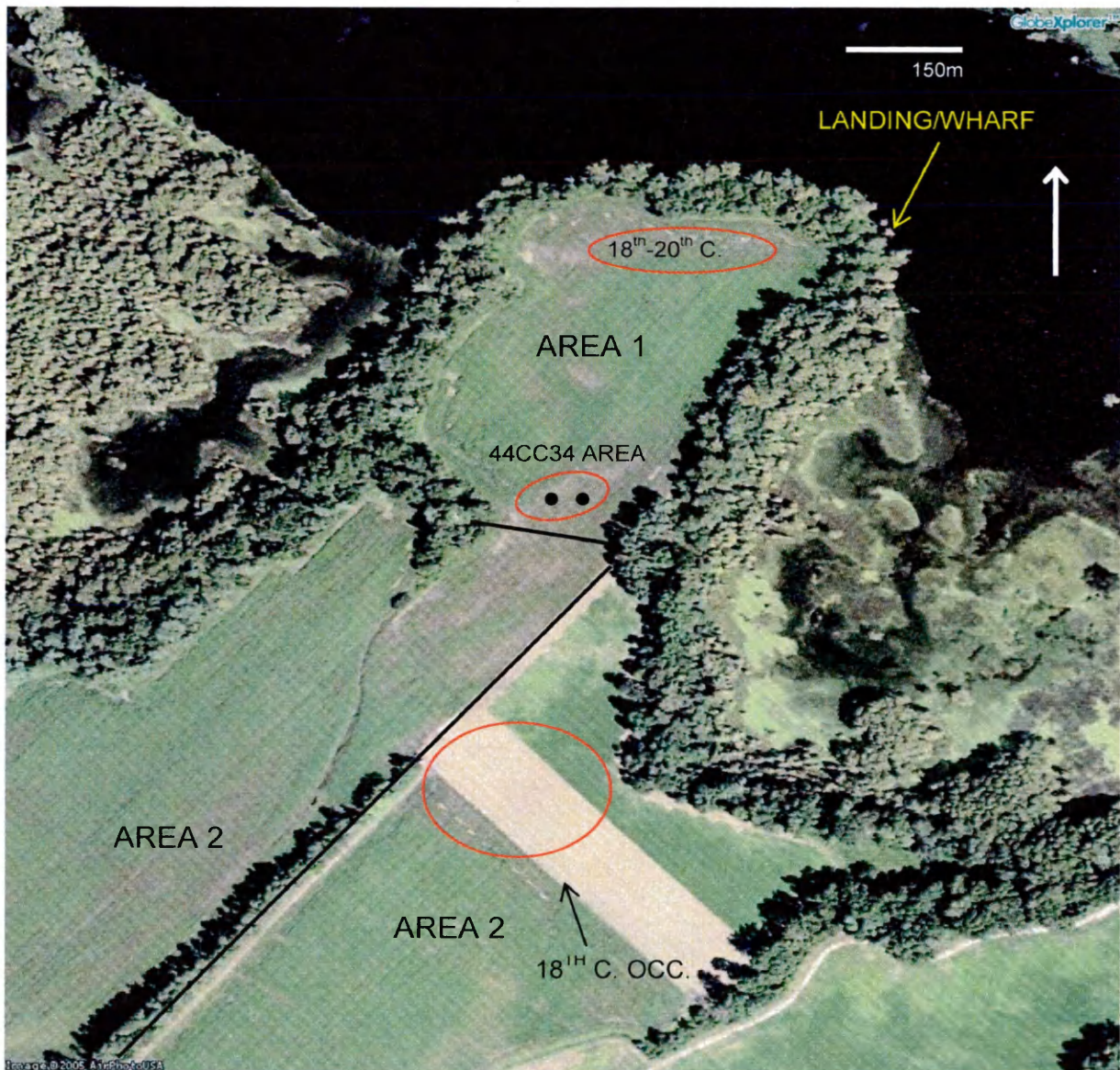


FIGURE 7

Cypress Banks map indicating areas of historic period occupation (Dots within 44CC34 area indicate approximate location of Pits 1 & 2).



interest in Cypress Banks. By the end of their time there, lasting on and off until 1972, three sites had been located, two of which were excavated. Site 44CC35, a precontact site of significant size and preservation, was thoroughly excavated. It contained multiple human burials and many intact pit features filled with artifact regimes dating from the middle-Late Woodland period. Site 44CC33 was only located during pedestrian survey by its surface scatter. Artifacts were sampled from the plowed soil and no subsurface excavations took place.

After intensive walkover of the riverfront fields, Area 1 and the northern extents of Areas 2 and 3, a high site density was noted. The survey team then undertook a trenching exercise to systematically remove strips of plowzone in the effort to reveal underlying features and/or architectural complexes. The full extent of the trenching is not known as detailed maps were not kept of the trenching discoveries. Nonetheless, between heavy plowzone scatter and the revealing efforts of trench excavation site 44CC34 was demarcated as an area containing a heavy historic artifact scatter and multiple features relating to the early and late colonial periods (ca. 1635-1780).

6. A Note About the Archaeology

Before beginning detailing the features present at 44CC34 a few preparatory comments are in order. Since this study focuses on seventeenth century exchange relations, the eighteenth century components at Cypress Banks are described only briefly. The site presents an interesting quandary in that it is a multiple component site with each component seemingly unrelated. Furthermore, of the seventeenth and eighteenth century

feature complexes, neither represents a significant amount of their constituent sites. While a range of features was recorded, including a fence line, a well, and a trash pit, all that can be said of architecture has been drawn from the artifacts.

The faunal assemblage at 44CC34 is large and well preserved. Its analysis has been undertaken by zooarchaeologists at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and is at the time of this writing, awaiting analysis. For the purposes of this study it will not be included.

Lastly, the two features of primary importance to this research were not excavated in full. Due to the depth, width, and the frangible nature of the surrounding soils, both features suffered collapses during the course of excavations. Pit 1, after being excavated to a depth of 10.8 ft below surface, suffered the collapse of its partially excavated southern 1/2. The 1 ft. balks separating the feature quarters also suffered collapse. Similarly, Pit 2 was plagued by collapse during the course of its excavation. Therefore, considerable portions of both pits, and their associated artifacts, are now known only by their association to the overall features and not to the multiple fill lenses which dominated the fill. However, after careful analysis it seems that these two pits, while roughly contemporaneous, can be analyzed for two things: 1) design and function and 2) the artifact groups that they yielded. As will be seen, the loss of the stratigraphic data and the lack of surrounding peripheral data about site size, building type and location, other features present and their associated functions do not preclude archaeological analysis.

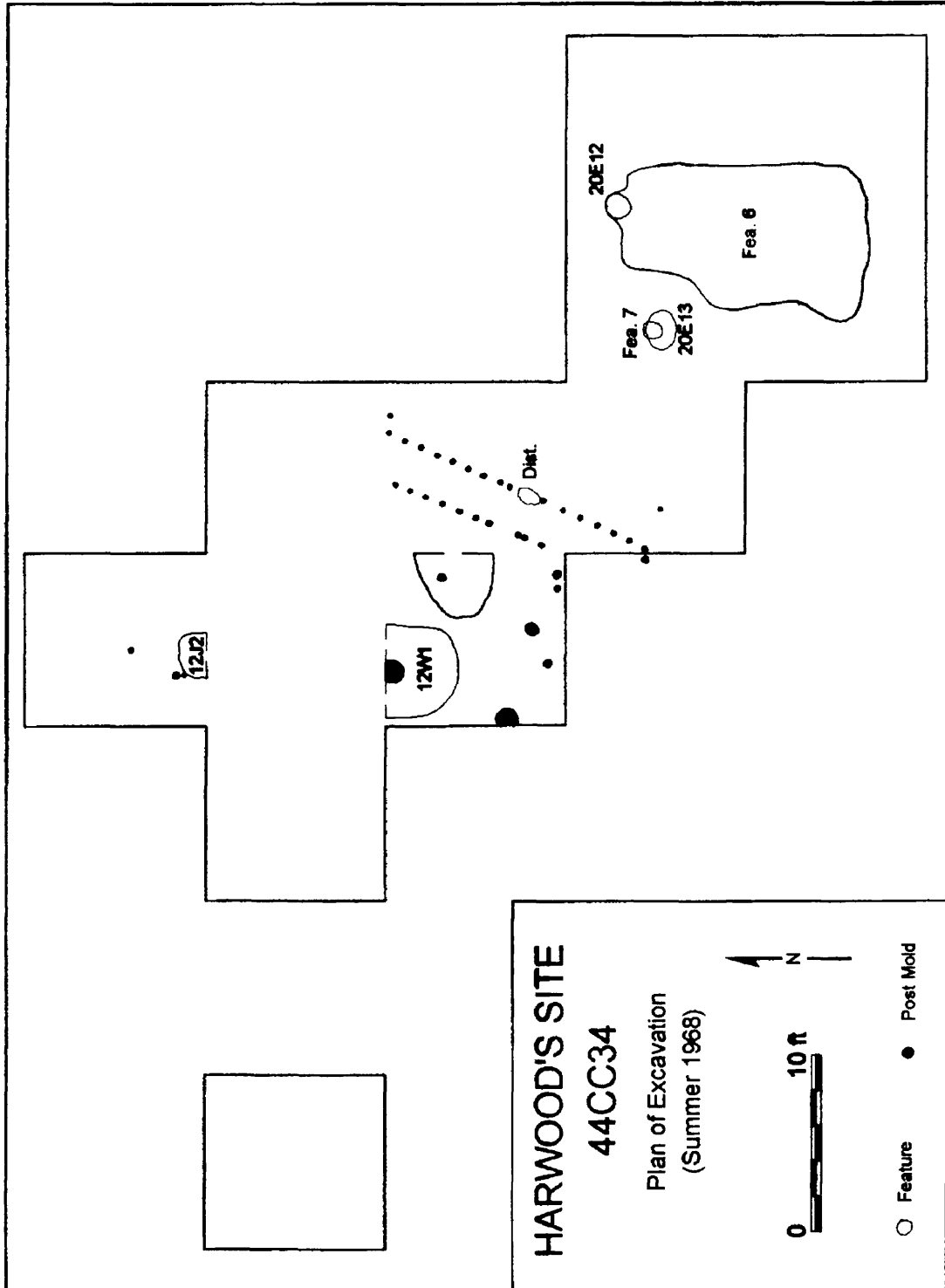
7. Field Excavation Methodology

As with the other sites within the Chickahominy River Survey a grid system established by the team of archaeologists was established to provide a data recordation framework. In establishing the site grid three distinct divisions of the site were created. An operation, a term used to describe an area 40 x 60 ft., running east-west in length, was the largest area in which a site could be divided. Operations were denoted by a number and form the largest blocks that make up the data-recordation grid. Each operation was divided into a number of units. Units are described as 10 x 10 ft. and 24 units fit within an operation. These were designated by a letter, with the exception of the letter I and O to prevent numeral/letter confusion. Within any given unit, stains, artifact clusters, or other anomalies were designated as a feature or context and were numbered, beginning with "1". Thus, the second feature contained within unit C of operation 12 of site 44CC34 would be denoted as 44CC34-12C2. Subsequent stratigraphic or arbitrary layers as well as balks were denoted similarly with a sequential number. Hence, the second layer of the aforementioned feature would be known as 44CC34-12C3 and so on.

This was the standard methodology for general fieldwork within the Chickahominy River Survey with the exception of rare cases of excessively large features. The two seventeenth-century pit features at Cypress Banks fall into this category. Pit 1 was divided into four quarters with a 1 ft. balk separating them. Since neither of these pits was within the standardized operations already in place at 44CC34

FIGURE 8

Site Plan of 44CC34, the area of eighteenth century occupation. Pits 1 and 2 are to the northwest approximately 75 m. (courtesy of CRS)



they were denoted as Pits 1 and 2. The “1” and “2” designations take the place of operation numbers.

8. Pit 1

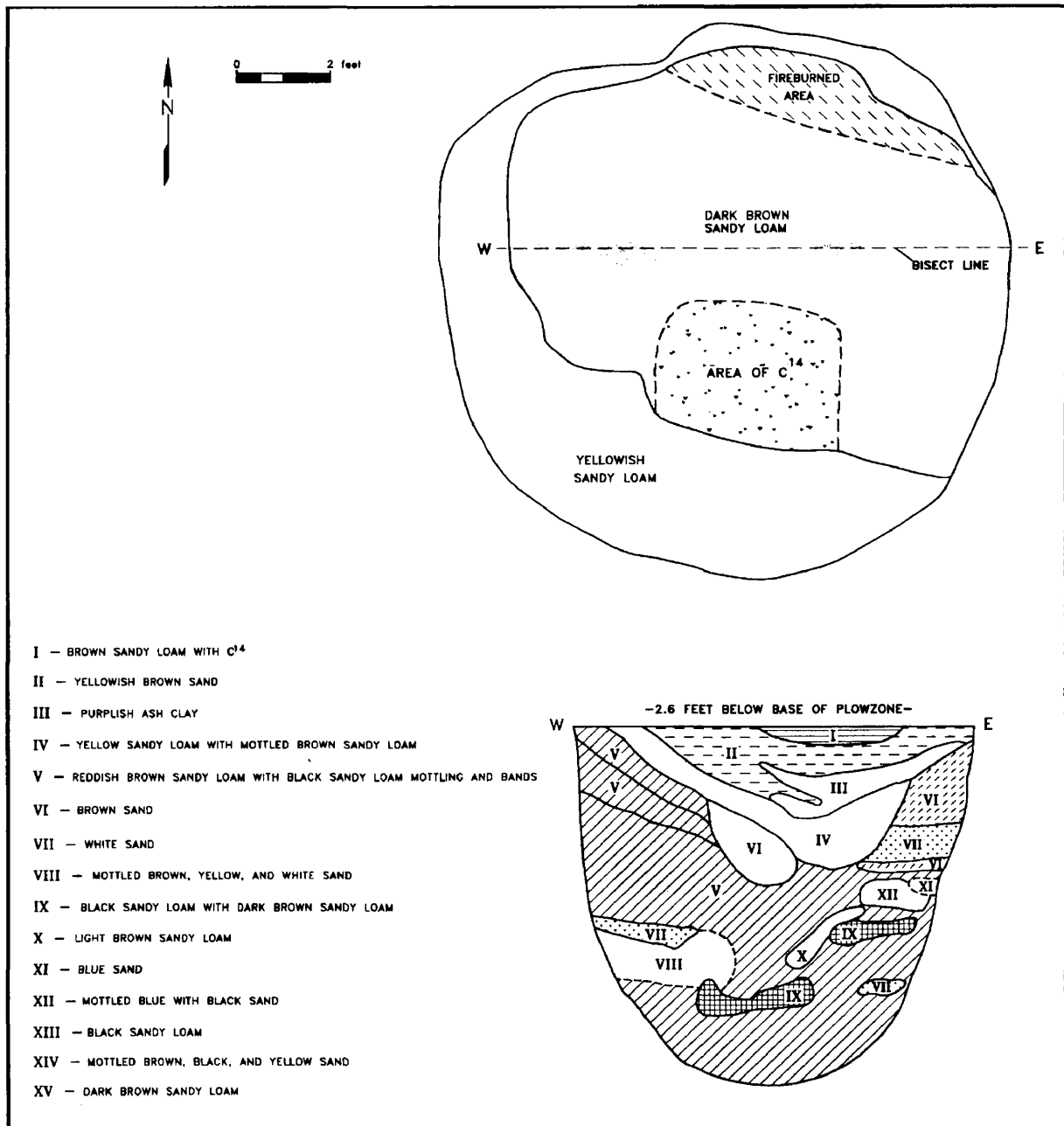
Pit 1 represents the largest feature at Cypress Banks. Its horizontal and vertical extent is larger than expected at most seventeenth century farmstead or other domestic sites. This feature was discovered due to the high density of surface scatter contained within the plowzone. It is not clear from site notes whether trenching or surface collection was responsible for the discovery of this feature.

Located at the interface between plowzone and subsoil, the visible dimensions of Pit 1 were 10.6 ft. (4.64 m) (N/S) and 8.9 ft. (3.90 m) (E/W). Its overall shape is oval with a slightly squared northeast corner. In depth, the feature was excavated to a maximum of 10.6' (4.64 m) below the plowzone/subsoil interface. Including an estimated 1.0 ft. (0.43 m) depth of the plowzone, the excavated extent of the feature was nearly 12 (5.26 m) ft. below the surface of the ground.

The feature's shape in profile (see Figure 9), as viewed from the south, is an upside-down bell. Flaring gently towards the top, the feature's bottom outline is unknown and may extend deeper yet although most likely not considerably much deeper. Toward the top of the feature the fill layers become thinner and more compact. At approximately 2.6 ft. (1.14 m) below pit surface (bps), these fine layers transitioned to thicker fill bands,

FIGURE 9

Plan and profile of Pit 1 (Courtesy of Eric Agin, WMCAR)



including one layer of purplish ash, 1A5. Below the 5.5 ft. (2.41 m) bps line the feature fill became more homogenous and, while still artifact bearing, the fill layers were less numerous and contained a smaller percentage of organic debris. With the exception of one lens of burned soil at a depth of 8.4-8.8 ft. (3.68-3.85 m) bps, these underlying layers contained soil of largely fine reddish sand with a light scatter of artifacts, both pre-contact and historic.

Mean ceramic dates as well as pipe-stem dating methods date this feature to 1630-1660. Establishing a fine internal chronology has been somewhat problematic given the loss of so much of the intact soil during soil collapses. Also, many datable artifacts come from balk contexts which did not retain tight provenience. However, this feature was rich in material culture as well as food remains. A problematic lacuna in the artifacts encountered by the author during the analysis phase of this project was the paucity of wine bottle glass in the globular form, a form that came into popular use around 1650 (Noël Hume 1969:63). All provenienced glass from Pit 1 represents case bottle glass with many neck and basal fragments. Also of note is the lack of any other sort of glass, container or architectural.

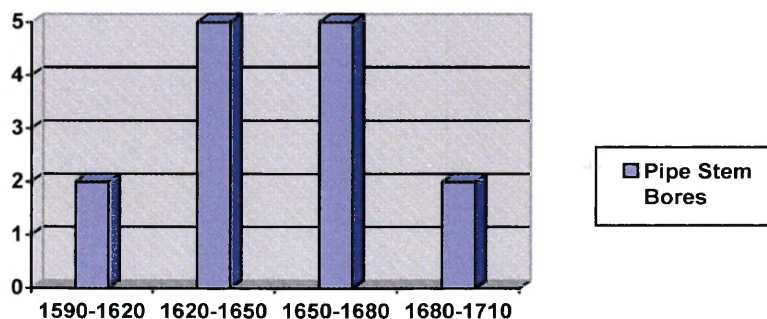
8.1 Smoking Utensils

Pipe stems and bowls were useful in dating the features at Cypress Banks. Both European and locally made (Colono) pipes were present in considerable number with a few examples in relatively intact condition. Pipe stems routinely returned dates from the earlier period of occupation. Dating techniques used on the European, ball-clay manufactured pipes followed the Binford pipe dating formula [$Y=1931.85-38.26x$] (Noël

Hume 1969:299). For the Colono pipes a similar formula [$Y=2073.98-50.59x$] was used from Monroe et. al. (2004:1). The dates returned on discrete contexts from Pit 1 were similar and provided substantial backing to the ball-clay pipe dates. A Harrington histogram (Noël Hume 1969:299) of all ball-clay pipe stems returned a mean date for Pit 1 of approximately 1638 while the Binford formula provided a date of 1627.895*. While these two dates are almost the same I emphasize the limited amount of pipe stem samples used (N=15). However, the dates returned from this method, while earlier than some of the ceramics, as we will see later, are consistent with other sites dating to this era which have slightly lower pipe stem dates than the mean ceramic dates (Noël Hume 1969:301). It has also been successfully argued (Brown and Edwards 2004) that to achieve relatively accurate dates using the Binford regression formula a large number of pipe stems is not necessarily required.

FIGURE 10

Frequency of imported pipe diameters from Pit 1.



* Contexts sampled for this date were: 1A5, 1D2, 1D5, 1E1, 1F3, 1F4. These were determined to be discrete contexts within the pit feature.

Of the ball-clay pipes there are several bowls which exhibit mid-seventeenth century shapes and sizes. This classic shape, the onion bowl, is typically accompanied by a ‘foot’ which extends downward from the bottom of the bowl/stem union. There are no ball-clay pipes from the site with guild or maker’s marks.

Stylistically, the locally made pipes are the most diverse of the pipe assemblage (see Figure 11). Molded out of local clay, these pipes come in varying shades of red, orange, yellow, brown, and gray. Several examples from this site are decorated with roulette or stipple patterns or designs typical of Colono pipes of the Chesapeake region (Cox 2005). Bowl shape and design vary widely with some direct copies of the European-designed onion bowl and one example that has contracting octagonal sides. Other bowls are straight sided and have angular features at the bowl/stem junction. Two examples of the pipes, copies of European bowl shapes, exhibit a “T” stamped into the bottom of the foot. This stamp is most likely designating either the maker of the pipe or the initial of an individual for whom the pipes were made.

Two specific examples from Cypress banks are most likely of Powhatan manufacture. Both pipes are hand molded and are made from local clays and are heavily decorated with stipple and circle designs. The larger and more complete example retains a small amount of white paste forced into the design, a practice known throughout some decorated pipes of the Chesapeake. Adding this white paste highlights the designs and allows for it to be seen more clearly, especially from a distance. Both pipes are hand burnished and have 8/64 or greater bore diameters. One example, being complete, does exhibit the beginnings of a more indigenous bowl form, similar to the “tulip” style of pipe bowl known to have existed well before European contact. The stem bore gradually

FIGURE 11

Locally made pipes with elaborate decoration.



FIGURE 12

Imported ball clay pipes.



widens, as does the exterior of the stem (which is only 5.2 cm long), towards the distal end. A repeating, diamond shaped incised design rings this portion of the bowl with each diamond containing a concentric stippled diamond. At the mouth of the bowl the pipe appears to have a small protruding elbow, somewhat similar to the heel on a European-styled pipe

8.2 Ceramic Regime

The ceramic assemblage from Pit 1 represents quite a diverse range of imported and locally made wares. Tin-glazed earthenwares (Delftware) are represented by pharmaceutical pots (N=2), one of which is datable to the 1590-1640 range (Noël Hume 1969:205). The vessel is decorated with blue stripes around the base and neck area as well as a blue 'chain' design around the midsection of the body. These pots, initially contained types of balm, salve, and other non-liquid/powder remedies. It is also likely that these pots, due to their utilitarian design and pleasing aesthetic, were reused often.

One of the more distinct ceramics in Pit 1 is a shallow tin-glazed bowl. This unique piece has a wavy edge with deep depressions between each wave. It is without any other decoration or polychrome adornment but nonetheless would have been a relatively expensive ware during the early to mid seventeenth century. Unfortunately, establishing a refined date for this piece has been limited to comparing it to the manufacturing techniques of other tin-glazed pieces. The body is rather thick and the glaze is also heavy. Several holes in the glaze, where it separated prior to firing, are present.

Of the locally produced earthenwares, coarse redwares predominate. Three vessels in near-complete status survive from Pit 1. The first is a medium-sized pot with a flat bottom and a heavy paste body. According to ceramicist William Pittman at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Department of Archaeological Research this vessel may have come from a pottery known as the Chalice Site. This unknown potter crafted his wares along the banks of the James River, not far from the mouth of the Chickahominy. According to what is known about the site it was not in operation prior to approximately 1680. However, given the relative paucity of knowledge of seventeenth century kiln sites in the Chesapeake it is possible that this vessel may have been the product of an earlier potter, or even the same potter who ended up working at the Chalice Site prior to the 1680s.

FIGURE 13

Locally produced earthenware.



The other two partially-complete, locally-made vessels are medium to large in size. One has the ceramic ‘feet’ similar to other types found at seventeenth century sites,

most notably Jamestown (Kelso 1996) and Martin's Hundred (Noël Hume 1982, 2004). These wares were produced by numerous potters and are diverse in style and morphology. Their red earthen pastes do not, as yet examined, exhibit distinct differences due to regional clay differences. Until further sourcing techniques evolve that can point towards individual manufacture and clay mining locale differences these wares provide little towards the site's information and chronology. Despite these problems it can be said that locally-made wares gained popularity throughout the seventeenth century and that due to the need for ceramic vessels a potting industry began early in the colonial period.

Traditional interpretations of pots such as these cooking vessels have indicated domesticity and are most often correct. However, given the context of the artifacts here at 44CC34, it is certainly possible that vessels such as these were making their way into Anglo-Powhatan trade networks.

Of stonewares, several portions of a Bellarmine bottle were found. Of the sherds, one had a significant portion of the face that is a common attribute of these seventeenth century wares. Manufactured from the middle-sixteenth century and into the early-eighteenth century, enough intact examples of these have survived to be able to develop a morphology of the face design. The example from Pit 1 resembles the grotesque face impressions on Bellarmines dating to the mid-century period. These jugs, or bottles, were manufactured in Germany and fall into the Rhenish stoneware category.

Other stonewares present include possible Fulham stonewares, although the paste of these is remarkably clean and free of the typical ferrous inclusions of this English type. One sherd from context 1D2 has a hole in the paste that almost pierces clean through to

the interior of the vessel. This flaw may have been part of the reason this particular example made its way to site 44CC34 and was considered to be a 'second' by merchants.

8.3 Native and Contact Era Ceramics

Native ceramics comprise a considerable portion of the types represented in Pit 1. Although the analysis and inclusion of these sherds is potentially of great value when discussing Anglo-Powhatan trade at this site, it must be mentioned that a good portion of the native ceramic assemblage has filtered in to the matrix of Pit 1 and 2 due to its prior existence at the site. Since this site has been occupied during different stages throughout the ceramic-producing eras of Precontact life, many thousands of sherds can still be found in the plowzone over the entire Cypress Banks area.

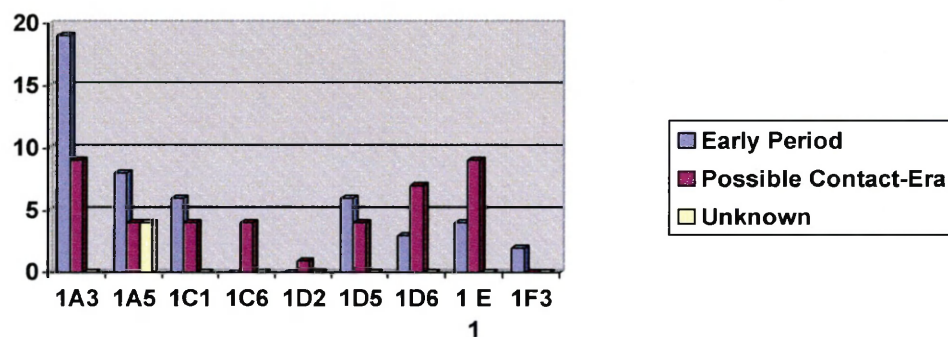
Precontact ceramic types at Cypress Banks represent almost all of the prevalent wares in eastern Virginia. For the analysis of this group of artifacts a selection method was chosen to distinguish Contact-era ceramic typologies. This utilized thickness, temper material, and surface treatment to develop a attribute-based categorization of the native ceramics. These attributes were also linked to dated ceramic typologies that come from the Terminal Late Woodland and Contact Era. To perform this rudimentary analysis, several contexts were sampled from Pit 1 that represent intact and sealed layers from throughout the feature. These selected contexts mirror the contexts used to establish pipe bore dates with the addition of contexts 1C1 and 1D6. These 9 selected contexts represent 21.4% of the 42 overall contexts within Pit 1.

As seen in Figure 14 ceramic sherds can be divided into three categories. First are the early period ceramics that exhibit attributes that typically are found on sites that date

to ca. 2500-500 BP. This represents a period of nineteen centuries, which will be used later to determine percentages of sherds according to century and clarify the inherent inaccuracy of comparing only sherd numbers per period. The second category is Contact Era ceramics. Also analyzed based on the attributes of temper, thickness, and surface treatment, this group is associated with ceramics commonly found on later Precontact- and Contact-period sites (Egloff and Potter 1982). Any ceramics in the sample which were too small to be sufficiently analyzed or fell outside of the limitations of known attribute categorization were placed in a third category, "Unknown".

FIGURE 14

Categorization of Native Sherds by temporal commonality.



The next illustration of the ceramic analysis (see Figure 16) demonstrates the number of each type of sherd per century of its dating period. Therefore, if there are 19 Early Period sherds from context 1A1 and the Early period contains 19 centuries (500 B.C.-1400 A.D.) then there is 1 sherd per century. Likewise if there are 30 sherds from the Contact Era, which is represented by 3 centuries (1400-1700 A.D.), then there are 10

sherds per century, thus demonstrating a preponderance of Contact Era sherds from the feature (Gallivan 2006).

While there are more elegant ways of analyzing and presenting the indigenous ceramic data, this simple method was chosen to illustrate whether or not the Precontact ceramic tradition continued into the Contact period and/or into the proto-historic era. The entire ceramic collection from site 44CC34 has been analyzed by the Chickahominy River Survey, the results of which are currently being prepared for publication (Gallivan 2006).

Before presenting a sherd-per-century (SPC) table the results of the analysis of the selected contexts is presented below. The attributes denoting an early production and age include thick bodies, cord marked surface treatment, certain sand and gravel tempered bodies in conjunction with cord marking, fabric impressed wares, and the singular steatite example.

FIGURE 15

Sampling of native sherds from Cypress Banks



Attributes associated with later dates, as with the Contact Era samples, are thin bodied ceramics, incised surface treatments, simple-stamped surface treatment, shell temper in conjunction with simple-stamping, plain exterior surfaces, refined clay bodies, and some unique examples of smoothed-over simple-stamped sherds. The determination of thick-versus thin ceramics was made on the approximate body thickness of 3-4 mm. Anything over typically represents an earlier vessel form, and vice versa. Careful attention was paid to which portion of the body of the vessel each sherd came from as basal sherds from late pottery may exhibit a thicker body but is not representative of the overall body thickness.

- 1A3- The ceramics falling into the Early category begin with one non-ceramic used to exhibit the earliest vessel form represented at Cypress Banks. It is a small steatite (soapstone) fragment which would have been part of the stone bowls commonly attributed to the Archaic period. Among the other Early sherds are five cord-marked, sand-tempered thicker sherds; two thick sand tempered sherds; five fabric-impressed, sand tempered samples; and two thick unidentified very heavy sherds which are likely basal fragments from an earlier ware type. Contact Period samples include three shell-tempered smooth fragments; four simple-stamped, smoothed over shell tempered sherds; and two incised, smoothed-over very thin sherds. One fragment was of a medium body thickness, had a very sandy body, and was very highly fired and did not fall into any of the known attribute-based Precontact ceramic datasets. This sherd may have been burned in

a fire and subsequently eroded to have lost the majority of its identifying attributes.

- 1A5- Early wares included two cord-marked, shell tempered examples, two cord-marked, smoothed-over sand tempered wares; two cord-marked sand tempered sherds; and two fabric-impressed sand-tempered wares. Contact Era sherds were represented by two simple-stamped, smoothed-over shell tempered wares; one simple-stamped shell-tempered samples; and one very thin plain, shell-tempered ware. Four unidentified examples were very sandy and frangible as well as thick bodied.
- 1C1- This context contained three fabric-impressed gravel tempered examples and one incised, sand tempered sherd to represent the Early collection. Three shell-tempered, simple-stamped sherds and one shell-tempered, simple-stamped, but smoothed-over sherd made up the Contact Era sample.
- 1C6- Contact Era samples were the only representative sherds in this context. Two simple-stamped, smoothed-over, shell-tempered sherds were present with one plain, shell tempered sherd. One very thin possible shell tempered colono-like sherd was present, the only example in the context sampling that exhibited these features.
- 1D2- One sherd made up this entire sample with the Contact Era well represented by a shell-tempered, incised and smoothed-over example.
- 1D5- Four sand tempered, cord-marked and very thick sherds; one cord-marked, smoothed over, sand tempered sherd; and one fabric impressed sand-tempered sherd made up the Early collection. Four shell-tempered, very thin plain samples

made up the Contact Era examples. Three unidentified samples were similar to the other unidentified ceramics in that they were highly sandy as well as highly fired. Two of these samples may be brick fragments.

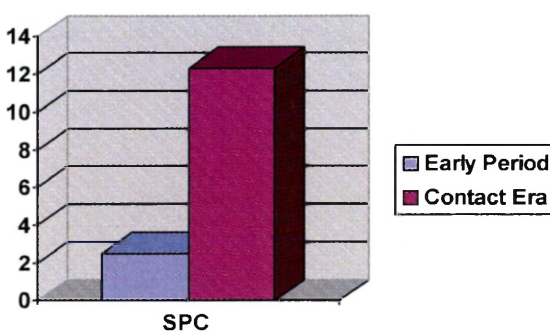
- 1D6- The Early assemblage was made up of one fabric-impressed sand-tempered sherd; and two cord-marked, sand-tempered sherds. The Contact Era ceramics were two simple-stamped, shell-tempered sherds.
- 1E1- Two cord-marked sand-tempered sherds; and two fabric-impressed, sand-tempered sherds comprised the entire Early collection from this context. Contact Era examples were represented by five plain shell-tempered sherds; two simple-stamped, smoothed-over shell tempered sherds, and two simple-stamped shell-tempered sherds.
- 1F3- Only two sherds were found in this context, both exhibiting shell temper and a cord-marked exterior.

The following graph, Figure 16 represents the SPC regime and thus demonstrates the high percentage of Contact Era sherds at Cypress Banks. The SPC number for the Contact-period is 12.333 sherds per-century whereas for the Early period only 2.526 sherds are found per century. While this does preclude sophisticated analysis of the Contact-period sherds, this era is significantly represented by its ceramics. Of further note, the later period sherds tended to be of a larger average size, on the range of 2-4 cm. longer and in length and width than the earlier sherds. At first, this seems all too obvious as the earlier ceramics have had longer to breakdown and become fragmented. However,

the very thin nature of much of the later collection lends itself to be broken down and reach the similar small average sherd sizes as the early material.

FIGURE 16

Ratio of Early Period native sherds to Contact Era.



8.4 Glass Artifacts

As stated earlier, the only glass form present in Pit 1 represents the use and deposition of case bottles of early-mid-seventeenth century manufacture. While the later onion style bottles came into vogue around 1650, there are none present in the assemblage. The lack of these globular bottles is not surprising given the relatively early dates for much of the deposit. Case bottles would have originally come in a wicker box, subdivided into compartments for each bottle. Given the thin and fragile nature of these bottles, plus their inherent geometrical weakness, the wicker box, or case, would have provided a means to store and carry them. Unfortunately the organic caning material used to construct the boxes rarely survives when exposed to the elements. Case bottles would have been stoppered with either a cork or as with some examples, a screw-on lead-alloy cap. All case bottle necks and mouths from site 44CC34 are of the cork stopper type (see Figure 17). Apparently, case bottles are known to have been curated and kept for longer

periods of time as with one particular collection from the Mathews Manor Site in Denbigh. Out of 2,331 bottle fragments 2,034 of the fragments were case bottle and this site dates to the 1660-1670 period (Pittman 2006, personal communication).

FIGURE 17

Case bottle top.



FIGURE 18

Case bottle base



8.5 Metal Artifacts

The metal artifacts from Pit 1 are particularly intriguing. Of particular note is a star-shaped rowel made of brass was excavated from context 1D4 (see Figure 19). It is a large diameter five-point star approximately 5 cm. from point to point and has a stamped design on either side. Trace remains of gilding are present and there is a moderate amount of rust staining around a small hole pierced through the center of the item. This rowel would have been part of an early seventeenth century gentleman's spur, an article of decoration indicating a man's higher status (Pittman, personal communication). The

presence of this artifact is noteworthy as its status as a prestige item would have been significant during the early seventeenth century.

FIGURE 19

Star-shaped rowell. Note remnants of gilding and stipple design.



Numerous copper alloy pins were recovered that also represent higher prestige and social rank. Typically used to hold together multiple pieces of ornate seventeenth century clothing, the symbolic value of these times may have also given them greater currency as trade items. Not in the metal category but included in apparel are several fragments of a bone comb found within the fill of Pit 1. This double-sided comb has coarse bristles on one side and fine on the other. Its remarkable state of preservation is uncommon in the sandy soils of eastern Virginia.

Quite intriguing in the assemblage is a cast and turned device with the remnants of an iron screw. This unique artifact was likely used as a wall hook. It is made of two

separate pieces of cast brass that have likely been turned on a lathe to polish away the casting sprue and mold-lines, and to sharpen the lines of the rough casting. The two pieces were joined by drilling a hole in the larger piece, into which the smaller piece was inserted. The threaded iron screw was then pressed or threaded into the base. The result was an “L” shaped hook that could be affixed to a wall or mantel to hang a lamp or clothing.

Lead was not a common artifact in either feature. Its presence is limited to a few examples. Some small pieces of molten lead were found along with one small cut piece of sheet lead and two small rod-like fragments. These may have been the byproduct of ammunition manufacture (i.e., spilled from a mold while casting musketballs and shot). Window coming was not found at Cypress Banks nor was its most common partner, window glass. One piece of lead was at first mistaken for pewter. Pewterers in business during the seventeenth century in England were all guild members, or at least they were supposed to be. When a brittle pewter plate, spoon, mug, or puncheon handle broke or was badly worn, the owner could take it to a pewterer to have it recast into a replacement piece.

FIGURE 20

Lead jug handle



There were craftsmen who decided to get around the requirements of this elite trade and did so by casting small pewter look-alike pieces out of lead, or a lead alloy (Pittman 2005). Such decoy pieces mimicked pewter in almost every way, except for in durability. Thus, we find the mimicry represented in pieces that were purchased to replicate the status ownership of pewter, but with the lower cost of lead. A jug handle excavated from Pit 1 represents this “fake” pewter and is badly corroded due to its poor quality and likely blend of impure lead parent metal (see Figure 20). Used as pouring handles on ceramic jugs, pewter (or in this case lead) fixtures on pottery was a tradition that originated during the late sixteenth century and found popularity until the late eighteenth century.

A small brass ring, approximately 3 cm. across was also found. This ring was not a finger adornment but may have been part of house furnishings, such as a drawer pull.

In the plowzone, a small brass thimble was also found but due to its common shape it cannot be solely dated to the seventeenth century.

Iron artifacts at 44CC34 were well preserved and many survived relatively intact. Subsequent to excavation and cleaning in the lab, many of the iron artifacts from the site were professionally curated by Mr. Curtis Moyer, of the Anthropology Department at William and Mary. The excellent state of preservation, curation and stabilization allowed for the identification of many of the more uncommon and intriguing items.

From context 1E6 came one of the more unusual artifacts. It is composed of two pieces and would have been the cutting blade and blade guard for a cooper's croze (see Figures 21 and 22). Cooperage was a widespread trade in colonial Virginia from very early on (Kelso 1999). The necessity to craft barrels and buckets was paramount especially considering the brisk trade in tobacco beginning during the first quarter of the century. An abundant wood supply in Virginia also created a natural supply source for barrel staves and so there quickly became an export market for the staves. The croze itself was integral in finishing the barrel. Before the top and bottom were fitted to the barrel body a groove was inletted. The rasping action of the croze accomplished this task. Rasp crozes dwindled in popularity towards the end of the seventeenth century as they were replaced gradually with a different sort of croze blade that cut away, rather than rasped-away the wood (Scheetz 2005: personal communication).

FIGURE 21

Croze blade and guard from 44CC34

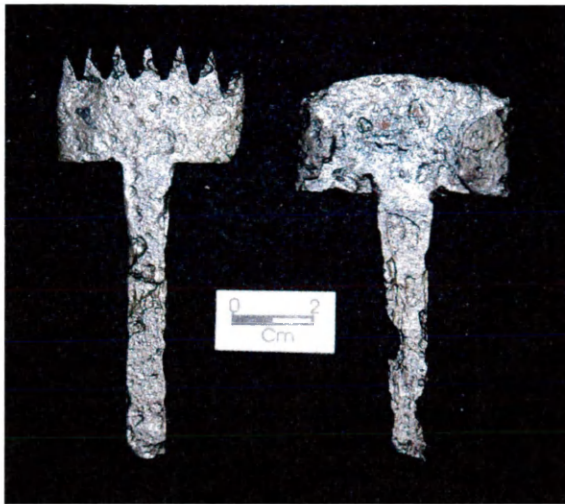
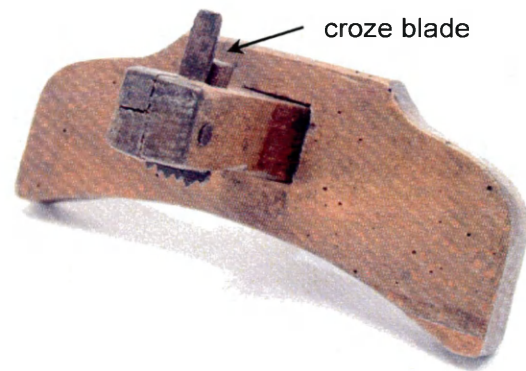


FIGURE 22

Complete original cooper's croze
(courtesy of Colonial Williamsburg
Foundation)

Also of interest among the iron artifacts is a large fishhook. From context 1C3, this fishhook is 10 cm. long and 3 cm. from the hook point across to the shaft. It has a substantial rectangular shaft and the hook point is barbed. While fishhooks of larger size are not uncommon in the early colonial period they are most often found at sites located adjacent to water. Interestingly, the upper Chickahominy, while not diminutive in size or depth at Cypress Banks, would likely not have held fish that would require hooks of this magnitude, with the possible exception of the sturgeon.

Two pairs of scissors were excavated from contexts 1E6 and 1E2. The style of these implements dates to the mid seventeenth century (Noël Hume 1969:268). While a common item in household usage during the period, the presence of two of them in one feature raises some intriguing issues. The style of both pairs of scissors was common in the mid-century and was more refined in manufacture than earlier hand-forged examples.

These implements typically are included in artifact categories synonymous with householding. While substantial artifact evidence for householding exists at Cypress Banks the question may be asked as to why two pairs of scissors were brought there and then subsequently thrown away? Neither pair is complete and each has been broken either through use or misuse. If indeed the scissors were used as trade items, they may have failed in this capacity due to their poor condition. There is evidence from Lederer (1958:41-42) that scissors were common trade items for both local and non-local trade items.

Context 1E2 contained a pot hook, the type used to suspend a cast iron vessel over a fire. Articulated in the middle by an iron pin, the hook could fit many size pots. This was one of the few metal artifacts in the 44CC34 assemblage that related directly to cooking.

Contained throughout Pit 1 were fragments of iron tire spikes called ‘strake nails’ (Burke 2004:17). The large, square-headed devices used to hold the iron tire on a wooden wagon or cart wheel. These had a moderate amount of wear on the heads from use but may have managed to outlast the wooden wheel to which they were affixed. Interestingly these were not reused and are not numerous enough to represent one whole wheel’s worth of spikes. Heavy chain, an item commonly used in association with draft animals, was also present, exhibiting a great amount of wear at the points where the links connect. This section of chain was approximately 30 cm. and likely does not represent the entirety of the original length. Box handles, the sort found on shipping boxes, were also found within the Pit 1 feature. These small iron straps, similar to drawer pulls, may have been reused or discarded when the box they were affixed to deteriorated.

In the plowzone soil immediately above Pit 1 was an axe head approximately 25 cm in length, the type commonly attributed to seventeenth century felling axes (see Figure 23). Constructed from forged iron, this axe is in relatively good condition and likely came from the upper fill layers of the pit feature prior to plowing. Its blade is in good condition and does not exhibit heavy use-wear.

FIGURE 23

Felling axe found in plowzone above Pit 1



Two hoe blades came from the feature fill of Pit 1. Both items are badly corroded and the majority of the blade sections are missing. Nonetheless, it is possible to use the ‘eye’ and shoulder curvature to place them in the known chronology of seventeenth century hoe blades. One of the hoes, dates to the 1635-45 period and was likely heavily used prior to being discarded (Type I, Egloff 1980:44). No makers stamps are apparent on the shank of the hoe, a feature commonly found on European manufactured hoe

blades. Many hoes imported to Virginia during the early-mid seventeenth century were absent of one feature that can dramatically increase the life of the blade. A ridge was sometimes left on the upper part of the blade, near the shoulder, that strengthened the blade and extended its life.

Other agricultural tools include two portions of shovel blades. Typical early to mid seventeenth century spades or shovels did not have an entirely metal blade. A wooden form was ringed and/or faced with iron sheeting to form the blade. When the iron blade tip and sides wore out a smith could form another one from simple flat-stock iron. The wooden portions of the handle and blade could be easily repaired or replaced by the owner, carving new pieces as required. However, the shovel as a central agricultural tool became outmoded throughout the century in favor of the plantation-style hoe (Moyer 2004: personal communication).

There were 61 identified nail fragments from the combined features within Pit 1. These were scattered ubiquitously throughout the pit without any indication that a particular layer was the byproduct of an architectural destruction sequence. Colonists living and trading at the site would certainly have had some sort of housing and perhaps auxiliary storage/commerce structures. However, nails may also have served as trade goods; although substantiation of this claim would require their existence at known seventeenth century Indian villages.

8.6 Discussion of Pit 1

Pit 1 is a cultural feature of great size, contains a heavy artifact concentration, and is ambiguous in purpose. Typically, contemporaneous features include as shallower trash

pits, root cellars, and water wells. However, this pit matches none of these in its plan or profile view. While it could have been used as a water well given its depth and incursion into the water table, Pit 1 was likely not constructed for that purpose. A lack of interior architecture, that which may have held up the walls to prevent collapse, indicates a less permanent design. The feature may in fact have been excavated as was a saw pit. The very slight ovate shape of the pit, plus its extreme depth would have been ideal for sawing timber to construct houses, fences, palisades, or any other plank-necessitating task. Other known sawpits, especially later pits found in the Middle Plantation/Williamsburg area, typically have well-defined rectangular interiors as well as supporting architecture that would have provided perhaps a roof and the impressions of pathways and footings for heavy timbers used to support the saw log. In an area such as at Cypress Banks during the middle seventeenth the occupants may not have had such long-range plans for a saw pit. Digging a rude hole deep enough to stand in may have fulfilled the requirements of the sawyers and then after its productive and intended use was over, the pit became a disposal area.

Another possibility is that Pit 1 was used as a borrow pit for the extraction of soil to use elsewhere. A clay substrate at and just below the bottom of the pit may have also played a role in its original use. Clay for daub, chimney and fireplace material, and brick manufacture may have attracted the original occupants to excavate deeper to mine the pure clay deposit.

The artifacts and soils contained within the pit do not indicate a particularly long-term filling-in period. While there is some stratification between the thinner infill bands near the top, compared to the thick layers closer to the bottom, the filling of the pit took

place in two relatively concerted efforts. As can be seen from the profile of Pit 1 (See Figure 9), these shallow bands nearer the surface are the richest in material culture, perhaps representing a period of site abandonment and one particular refuse-dumping action.

If this was indeed the case, then an explanation is provided for certain, if not most of the, artifacts contained within this feature. In the ebb and flow of trade cycles and trade items falling in and out of vogue with local and non-local Indians there may have been some amount of surplus of trading goods. If indeed inexpensive and outdated items were finding their way into indigenous trade routes then English traders may have bought an excess to both be prepared for item value deflation. At the abandonment of the site these items may have been discarded along with household refuse.

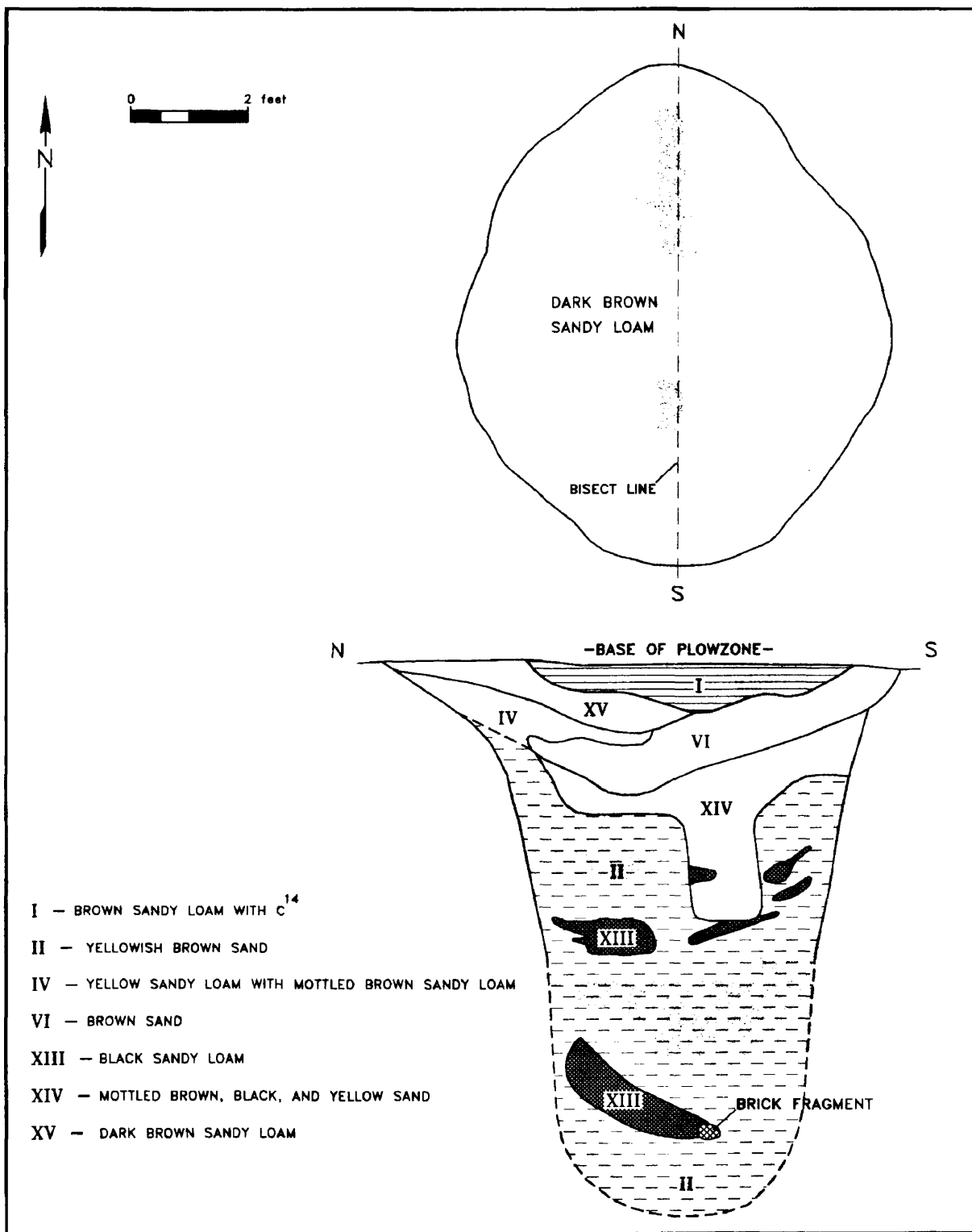
Based on the evidence at Cypress Banks I believe this pit to have been used as a borrow pit. The extensive amounts of daub contained within the feature fill of both large features at the site indicate the need for vast amounts of clay. Certainly, it is possible that clay was available along the riverbank but the long distance required to haul it to the site (ca. 500-700 m) may have provided reason enough to warrant an on-site borrow pit.

9. Pit 2

The second large seventeenth century feature at Cypress Banks is not unlike Pit 1 in that it had a large, ovate plan view at the plowzone/subsoil interface. Its dimensions were 9.1 ft. (4.99 m) (N/S) x 7.6 ft. (3.33 m)(E/W). Maximum depth for the feature was estimated at 10 ft. (4.38 m) below the plowzone interface and according to original

FIGURE 24

Plan and profile of Pit 2 (courtesy of Eric Agin, WMCAR)



documentation likely continued deeper as profile drawings indicate the bottom with a dotted-line and much further below this is written “bottom” (see Figure 24). However, two collapses, on the 6th and 8th of August 1968, prevented further excavations due to safety reasons.

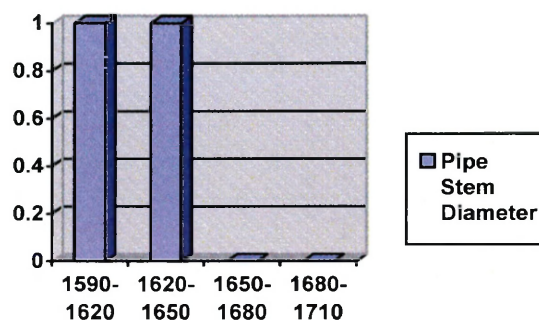
The artifact regime for this feature was similar to that of Pit 1 in that it dated largely from the mid-seventeenth century period and contained a similar glass, pipe, metal, ceramic, and architectural signature.

9.1 Smoking Utensils

The pipe collection from site 44CC34 is predominantly of local manufacture. Ball clay pipes are represented by only two datable stems, when combined produce a Binford formula date of 1606.38. This date is earlier than the mean ceramic date but do come from an upper and lower layer within the pit fill. However, local pipestems, when dated using the Monroe et al (2004) formula produce an aggregate date of 1643.96 (N=9). These local pipes are of similar types found in Pit 1 and have both European and Virginia bowl forms. Unfortunately no representative samples of bowl form or decoration were excavated from the Pit 2 infill.

FIGURE 25

Frequency of imported pipe diameters from Pit 2.



9.2 Ceramic Regime

Pottery from Pit 2 represents a somewhat diversified collection of ceramics. European and locally produced examples are present with the locally-made ware predominating. One large vessel, cross mending to Pit 1 (features 1E2, 1F4, 1A3, 2B1, and 2C1), was a locally made redware with ‘feet’ on the base to set the pot upright. It is similar in nature to local redwares found at the Martin’s Hundred site (Noël Hume 1982) and at Jamestown excavations (Kelso 1996, Mallios et al 1999).

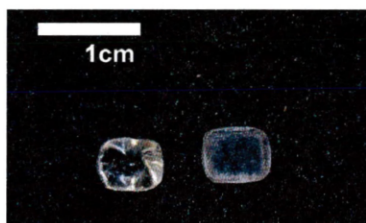
Tin-glazed earthenwares identical to those found in Pit 1 are also present. Numerous friable brick fragments are present as are pieces of plaster. While technically not a ceramic given its lack of being fired in a kiln, this plaster is likely made from burned oyster shell. It is very white and chalk-like in appearance. Certain larger pieces of this substance have indentations, or mold-like impressions that likely reflect the underlying substrate to which the plaster was affixed such as daub. These impressions have the appearance of small sticks and bits of cut wood, which may represent a woven mat-like sub-layer.

9.3 Glass Artifacts

The bottle glass from Pit 2 mimics that of Pit 1. Case bottle shards represent 100% of the glass sample (N=133). The most interesting glass artifacts from the site originate from context 2A2 and are two small cut-glass jewels (see Figure 26). One is a multi-faceted jewel with a flat face and is 9 mm. in length by 5 mm. in width. It is 3 mm. thick and is highly polished. The other jewel is slightly less ornate and it of the same dimensions but with only the four sides of its rectangular shape ground and polished into facets. Neither of these two cut-glass jewels show any signs of being mounted in a ring, pendant, or other piece of jewelry.

FIGURE 26

Cut glass jewels from Pit 2.



9.4 Metal Artifacts

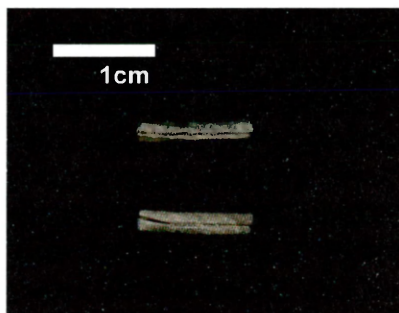
A small tack made of a copper alloy was found in the same feature as the cut-glass jewels. Small tacks such as this were commonly used in furniture manufacture throughout the seventeenth century and early into the eighteenth century and their usage for other purposes is unknown. Copper alloy clothing pins (N=9) were also found within context 2A2. These are similar in size, shape, and function as the pins found within the Pit 1 feature. Two rolled copper beads were contained within this small trove of unique

artifacts (see Figure 27). They are 1.5 cm. in length and less than 2 mm. in width. Rolled copper beads, such as those found at the Werowocomoco site and at many other known sites of Anglo-Powhatan interaction throughout the Chesapeake typically suggest strong evidence for trade (Gallivan, personal communication, Rountree 1988:71). These beads, most likely strung on a small string or thread, may have been joined by *roanoke*, shell beads commonly associated with indigenous adornments (Gleach 1997:58-59).

Lead strips (N=2) were also found within Pit 2 and are similar to those contained within Pit 1. Nails were also well represented in the metal assemblage as there were 65 forged nail fragments in the combined features.

FIGURE 27

Copper beads from Pit 2



Medium to large pieces of iron sheeting (N=2) are present, one with pierced holes. These may have been associated with agricultural implements, perhaps as repair pieces for a hoe or shovel blade. Other iron artifacts consist of unidentified strips and large flakes of rust with the exception of one extended triangular piece which is likely part of a strap hinge.

9.5 Discussion of Pit 2

This feature most likely served as a water well. Its depth, likely extending further into the water table, and width are similar to other wells from the seventeenth century period. Wells from the George Sandys site in James City County, the Reverend Buck site, the Church Neck Wells Site (44NH8), Jamestown, and other excavated sites throughout the seventeenth century Chesapeake all exhibit a common design and architecture (Kelso 1996, Mallios 1999, Mallios 2000, Morgan 1997). While many wells were lined with brick, barrels, wooden boxes, and a combination thereof, this particular feature was not excavated to its full depth and so we may never know if there was any supporting structure within the shaft. Nonetheless, the artifacts from its upper fill layers allow a date range to be established for its disuse and filling-in. It may also be said, since much of the material culture from Pit 2 fill corresponds to the dates and types of artifacts from Pit 1 that they were largely coequally used landscape elements. Furthermore, the function of this feature as a well allows for some sense of the proxemics of the rest of the site. Typically water wells were located within approximately eighty feet of central domestic structures (Morgan 1997:13). At Cypress Banks it is plausible to say that this site was located farther back from the waterfront than expected. One possible explanation of this pattern is that the proximity of the site to Necotowance Path lured the first English occupants away from the water's edge. However, the site is not located at too great a distance from the water to prohibit, or even limit, access. We must also remember that during the next century this site also provided a house site for an eighteenth century plantation house, information gleaned from a resurvey of the site which is detailed in the next chapter.

10. Summary of Artifacts

The artifacts from both features examined in this study reveal a date range for the site of approximately 1635-1660. Pipe stem dates are typically on the earlier end of this spectrum. However, due to the high frequency of locally made pipes and the inconsistencies in dating them, the pipe stem date range may indeed represent a longer time-span. The ceramics and glass assemblage also point towards a mid-seventeenth century date range with a complete lack of later-period onion bottle glass or known locally made ceramics. The one problematic ceramic in the entire assemblage is the relatively intact locally made earthenware pot. While exhibiting attributes commonly associated with the Chalice pottery of the late century, I again stress the importance in understanding the paucity of knowledge on Virginia's seventeenth century potters. Simply said, we lack full knowledge of the number of local potters and if they moved about, matching the social and political climate as it changed.

The cut-glass jewels, rolled copper beads, and copper-alloy tack, and clothing pins from context 2A2 represent some of the more interesting and valuable artifacts which can be designated as potential trade items. While these designates are following more established and expected patterns of trade goods they nonetheless present solid evidence of trading activities. These artifacts also form a core, which trade may revolve around at Cypress Banks. With the inference of trade we may investigate other artifacts to determine what roles they played at the site. Granted, the artifacts from Cypress Banks left may represent devaluation/failure in value since they were discarded or left behind

but they were part of a larger assemblage which undoubtedly moved away from the site in the form of furs to Jamestown or copper, scissors, or firearms to Indian communities.

However, as part of examining this site I felt it necessary to re-investigate the locus from which these artifacts came. This was deemed important in trying to distinguish what sort of site this may have been and how the non-trade items may have played a role. Since only two features were excavated from Cypress Banks that dated to the seventeenth century but artifacts dating to the period were discovered in the plowed fields I decided to return to the site in the hopes that more of the site could be located and the site boundary be delineated. The results of the following survey may be found in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

SURVEY OF 2005

In the years between 1968 and 2004, knowledge of the Chickahominy River Survey waned. While piecing together the remnants of 44CC34 I decided to return to the original site location to gather spatial data that was missing from the 1968 collection. Basic spatial information, such as a map of the site and its placement in the landscape, were not part of the field records from the original excavations. It was also necessary to verify the location of 44CC34 at Cypress Banks since other sources placed its location several miles further downstream.

As a step toward accomplishing these goals I studied United States Geographical Survey quadrant (USGS quad) maps to identify potential site locations. A new survey began from the river, as had originally been done, to ground-truth potential areas. Since original documentation from the site lists its location as ‘Cypress Banks’ and there was indeed a ‘Cypress Banks’ on the USGS Walker’s quad map, this location was given priority. Survey by boat confirmed that this was likely the proper location. After landowner permission was obtained an initial walkover of the Cypress Banks area was conducted on December 8, 2005. From this survey it was concluded that this was indeed the most likely candidate for the location of 44CC34. It was also determined that through a more thorough survey of the area the exact location of the site could be identified.

A more systematized walkover survey began in late December (See Figure 28). This type of survey was deemed the most viable and expedient way of locating surface artifact scatters given the ground conditions of the site area. A peanut crop had been raised during the 2005 growing season and harvested prior to the survey. Since the peanut vines had been baled the soil exposure was almost 85%, with the only limiting factor being a light cover of weeds. To aid in the recordation process it was decided that pin flags of different colors would be used to denote areas of artifact concentrations. Artifact/artifact concentrations were further divided into color categories, as indicated by the color of the adjacent pin flag. Thus, after an area had been surveyed the team could see the locations of clusters and immediately identify their temporal significance.

Artifacts were not collected. This seemed the most appropriate means of expediently surveying the site since there exists little threat of looting and the artifacts encountered had already been disturbed by modern agriculture from their original provenience. Diagnostic artifacts were photographed to record any multiple site scatters. The majority of artifacts that were photographed included indigenous projectile points, other flaked or worked stone tools, pipe stems, and European manufactured ceramics dating from the seventeenth century or having highly datable attributes to other eras such as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Walkover survey took two days in total, December 16th and 18th.

FIGURE 28

View of Cypress Banks in December of 2005 during walkover survey, looking northwest towards river. Pinflags indicate artifact concentrations, truck in distance is just to the north of 44CC34.



1. Survey Results

As expected, thousands of artifacts were observed and noted during the survey exercise. The dates on these artifacts ranged from Archaic period native tools (10,000 B.P.) to the twentieth century. The Cypress Banks area was divided into three areas of survey, of which none were completely examined due to time constraints and the limited scope of the research. The area most intensively surveyed was in the central portion of the survey blocks, at the mouth of the Cypress Banks neck (see Figure 7). Aside from this the eastern edge of Area 1 was surveyed, a portion of the exposed field. The entire

northwestern corner of Area 3 was surveyed, an area of considerable size extending from the southernmost point of the northern boundary woods south to the edge of the cotton field, then west to the point of woods that forms the boundary between Area 2 and Area 3. A portion of Area 2 was surveyed and was limited to a strip approximately 40 meters wide along the eastern boundary. The entire survey area encompassed approximately 7.5 acres and was walked in not more than 2 meter intervals.

2. Precontact Artifacts

Precontact artifacts were scattered across much of the entire survey area. The artifact scatter consisted of mostly ceramic sherds and stone flakes. Several stone projectile points were located in the survey and nearly all date to the Archaic period. Some stone pieces exhibited ground surfaces, which may have originally been part of grinding stones, hammerstones, or gaming pieces. Also, one steatite, or soapstone, sherd was noted. Soapstone was used to make storage and cooking vessels prior to the advent of fired-clay ceramics in the Early Woodland period (>3,200 B.P.) (McCary 1990:35). Of the ceramic sherds, a wide range of types was present. Sand, gravel, and shell-tempered ceramics were present with the latter being the most prevalent. Surface treatments also varied a great deal and included net-impressed, cob-impressed, plain, and incised. Survey observation suggested that Middle Woodland (2,500 B.P.-1,100 B.P.) ceramics dominated the assemblage. Most of the lithic flakes and tools were of quartz or quartzite. These materials are the most common in this region but were by no means the only materials represented at the site. Other lithic types present were rhyolite (likely

from North Carolina), various types of chert (Virginia, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina), sandstone, and an unidentified metamorphic rock.

3. Seventeenth Century Artifacts

Quite unexpectedly there was a lacuna of datable seventeenth century remains at Cypress Banks. However, it must be concluded that the majority of the artifacts from this period were collected during 1968-69 and are now represented in the collections held at William and Mary. There were enough datable artifacts to determine site boundaries (see Figure 7) and this area was located just to the west-northwest of the nexus of the three survey areas. There was a marked separation of most seventeenth-century goods from other artifact concentrations. Twenty-one potential seventeenth-century artifacts were identified and this number is quite conservative considering the overlap of artifact manufacture dates with the eighteenth century. Of the more positive datable artifacts were three pieces of tin-glazed earthenware, or Delftware. This ceramic was manufactured primarily by Dutch companies as well as in England beginning in the late sixteenth century up until the early eighteenth century. Two of three examples from the survey exhibit a typical white glaze with blue glaze decorative markings. The third sherd did not have any decorative markings, but could have come from a portion of the vessel without decoration. No pipe stems were identified that had bore holes of seventeenth century size nor were there any of local manufacture. Again, the area had been heavily surface collected during the 1960s which may explain the lack of this artifacts type. Salt-glazed stonewares were present in the seventeenth century artifact concentration, two

fragments of Fulham type English stoneware and one possible German Rhenish ware fragment.

4. Eighteenth Century Artifacts

To the east of the field road in Area 3 there is a heavy concentration of eighteenth-century artifacts. Ceramic sherds, brick bats and fragments, pipe stems, glass shards, nails, and other assorted iron fragments comprise the bulk of the artifacts in this area although several small bone fragments found may relate to this site as well. During the excavations of the 1960s several features, most notably Feature 6, were discovered in this area that were rich in material culture. One complete colonoware pitcher was located in one of these features as well as a specialized knife used for wood shaping. Among the ceramics found during this survey were more colonoware vessel fragments. Colonoware is of undetermined origin but was most likely produced by enslaved Africans and/or local Indian groups during the late seventeenth century and well into the eighteenth century (Singleton 1999). This ceramic type is commonly found in plantation settings and was highly utilized in enslaved communities (Ferguson 1992). Interestingly, there was no colonoware present in Area 1 around the slave quarter site. This ware is quite distinct given its buff, low-fired body, and burnished exterior. Among the other ceramics located in the Area 3 concentration were pearlwares, creamware, stonewares, and porcelain. The glass assemblage was composed primarily of clear bottle glass and a few pieces of windowpane glass. Among the few iron goods, handwrought nails dominated and were

accompanied by a large piece of sheet iron with an angled edge. While not certain, this piece of sheet metal has characteristics of a large door lock.

5. Nineteenth Century Artifacts

All three areas of the Cypress Banks peninsula yielded a scatter of 19th century artifacts. The most heavy and noticeable concentration was located around the old slave quarter area in the northern edge of Area 1. Here, the ground was littered with ceramics, glass, and metal of all types and varieties. Porcelain teacup fragments, transfer-print pearlwares and ironstones, heavy decorative glass, and other artifacts formed a concentration roughly oval in shape. The area was approximately 100 meters east-west and extended roughly 40 meters south from the tree line into the field.

In this area some of the artifacts exhibited burn damage (e.g. charring and discoloration). Also, a heavy scatter of brick was present in the same area; bricks were also noted in appreciable numbers in the woods along the riverbank. A brief walkover of the woods located at least one possible root cellar depression, the remains of a brick foundation, and a possible chimney-fall.

One readily identifiable artifact was centrally located in Area 2. This was a Civil War era coat button. The button was of the typical and common 'eagle' style used on Union Army sack coats. Made from brass, the button was manufactured by the Waterbury Button Company of Connecticut, a button manufacturer since 1812. Given the heavy activities of the Union and Confederate armies along the Chickahominy River

the discovery of this button is not surprising but nonetheless interesting as to how the Civil War may have impacted Cypress Banks.

6. A Note on Brick Scatter at Cypress Banks

In each of the survey areas brick fragments were by far the most prevalent artifact. While it is known that brick was being imported through the wharf area by the mid-19th century, it is also known that brick was present in these fields as early as the mid-seventeenth century. However, due to the nature of brick fragments, it was difficult, at best, to determine the age of brick. Thus, only areas of high brick concentrations were noted during the survey. Aside from the slave cabin site only one other area had a noticeable concentration of brick. This location is in Area 3 and is denoted on the map by a small circle to the east of the road. It is in between the eighteenth century artifact scatter to the south and the seventeenth century area to its north. cursory analysis of the brick from this area led to the conclusion that it is not modern brick given its frangible nature. The brick was most likely handmade and may relate to eighteenth- and/or nineteenth-century activities in the area. During the excavations of the seventeenth-century pits to the north, a brick foundation pier was found. This pier was most likely from an old barn from the Cypress Banks Plantation era. The brick scatter along the road may be similarly related.

7. Preliminary Conclusions

The fields of Cypress Banks yielded sufficient material culture to warrant investigations of several historic components. It is clear that the precontact indigenous usage of this area was significant. Cypress Banks was not only a place of indigenous habitation but was also an area for mortuary ceremony as well. For example, the 44CC35 site was one of a few sites in the Chickahominy River Survey that contained indigenous burials. In the historic period human burial continued as the Stubblefield family cemetery demonstrates. In life, Cypress Banks must have been quite an active location throughout history. Indian trade up and down the Chickahominy River could have been controlled from this point, a narrowing in the main channel. It is known that during the 1640s and perhaps much earlier a route known as Necotowance's Path ran nearby or through Cypress Banks. Its location either on or in close proximity to the small peninsula may have been the primary reason for the establishment of the seventeenth-century English site. This site allowed Englishmen to tap into the trade network directly and negotiate political-economic relationships.

As the frontier moved westward and the local native population was relegated to reservations located away from tidewater Virginia, colonial outposts turned into plantations and farmsteads. These components of the early Chesapeake region formed an agrarian complex based on tobacco production which necessitated large amounts of arable land, intricate transportation routes, and a complex labor system. It was this labor system, chattel slavery, that is ultimately responsible for the core component of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century infrastructure at Cypress Banks. The houses of

English landowners, the Stubblefield family and potentially others, would have been the hub around which the plantation revolved. Enslaved laborers built the barns, house, and other buildings, cleared the fields, tended the crops, erected the wharf and most likely sailed the vessels which connected this place with the outside world.

During the Civil War period both the Union and Confederate armies fought their way up and down the Chickahominy. While this particular area of the river saw no major battles, it, like most of eastern Virginia, was unable to escape the ravages of war. Most profoundly, a final effect of that war was the demise of chattel slavery upon which plantation economies were reliant. Freedmen established settlements and inhabited on their former places of servitude. The quarter site at Cypress Banks may reflect this.

As the South rebuilt itself commerce rebounded. Rivers such as the Chickahominy, which had acted as a central artery for so many centuries, gave way to railroads and eventually to improved road infrastructure within rural America. The wharf at Cypress Banks was no longer necessary in bringing goods in and taking commodities out. Today the fields stand empty of human occupation for perhaps the first time in many hundreds of years. What is left is an incomplete record of events, one that can offer insight to the communities that rose, thrived, and fell on this spot. Tucked away from modern development, Cypress Banks is an archaeological treasure that, if protected, will act as a repository of past human events.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

Cypress Banks offers the historian and archaeologist alike myriad opportunities for in-depth study. The rich heritage, from archaeological remains still present, to a shipwreck along the shorefront, to an intriguing oral history, each provides a way of examining and interpreting its history in a meaningful way. However, Cypress Banks is not unique as many riverine sites throughout the Chesapeake have a story to tell that begins millennia ago and bring us to the modern day. What is unusual about this particular site is that it sits in an area that has seen minimal destruction. No strip-malls threaten its existence and no bulldozers sit waiting to uproot its story. Sites such as 44CC34 allow researchers to examine their remains. Such research could ultimately generate contributions to history and anthropology that are relevant and can directly engage modernity.

However, with this particular study I have focused on a minute portion of the site's history. It is a period of occupation which, perhaps, may be one of the most dramatic and meaningful in the overall chronology. This is primarily due to the dynamic relationships between the Indian and Anglo occupants who vied for control over the entire landscape. Miniature cultural battles were fought across this region and were carried through history and the centuries to more westward places. We must not overlook these contacts though, be they removed from the list of superlatives such as

‘earliest’, ‘first’, ‘largest’, etc. Cypress Banks during the middle seventeenth century was a stage on which its actors played out the bloody drama of colonialist expansion and settlement. Its actors may not have left their names in books or on documents but their signature remains in such things as these material culture-filled pits. In the following I would like to bring together the evidence from 44CC34 which indicates this site existing as a place of trade and a place of interaction.

From history we get a picture of the seventeenth century as a period of dramatic change brought on by largely a type of colonist who saw this land as an opportunity to make money. After their shaky beginnings at Jamestown signaled by the “starving time”, the English immigrants to Tsenacommacah took to tobacco farming as their primary occupation. So invested in tobacco was the colony that it used as currency. Tobacco productions’ demand for land resulted in the native population being largely displaced and dispersed through carefully-orchestrated policies. We must be cautious in saying that this phenomena was a singular event and unrelated to other early colonial histories as much the same effect was felt on the Indian populations of New England, more southern colonies and even in Central America. What is unique about the Chesapeake region was its reliance on monoculture and its particular actors. The profit-motivated sons of England’s primogeniture system crafted a cultural environment that led to the increase in Virginia’s size and the displacement of its native inhabitants. Tobacco, however, did not act alone.

Trade, Virginia’s second-most important economic factor, was the cultural segue, outside of direct militarism, that mediated the two cultures. We see this in Fleet’s political machinations with the Anacostans and Susquehannocks throughout the earliest

periods of industrialized trade and the seventeenth century ends with trade monopolies lying largely in the hands of a powerful few. At Kippax the Bland and Bolling family instituted a forty-year period of trade dominance in the eastern piedmont that may have extended to regions much more distant.

Trade has the power to convey cultural ideologies. Not only is material culture exchanged, but ideas of valuation, social ordering, and gender are entailed in the process. These opportunities also acted as special places in time where two cultures met in an atmosphere different from that of a battlefield or place of spiritual meaning. The places that trade occurs also have unique meaning for participants. For Indians to travel to Kippax and view English interpretations of landscape ordering, architecture, and lifestyles may have been a carefully crafted experience where early Virginians projected themselves powerfully. Similarly, Fleet in his shallop on the upper Chesapeake Bay certainly felt Indian projections of power and authority much as John Smith when visiting Werowocomoco.

Unfortunately, we lack knowledge of the identities of those who engaged directly in trade during the seventeenth century. It can be gathered from original documentation, such as at Jamestown, that both Indian men and women traveled there to do business. Likewise, Jamestown's women may have negotiated the male-dominated world by engaging in trade that allowed them to craft their own power structures. It may be possible one day after further examination of trade within the early Chesapeake to assign categories to trade items that define gender such as Yentsch's (1991) interpretations of gender/ceramic distinctions in household pottery. But for now, we still seek to find the infrastructure which made up seventeenth century trade and its inherent variations.

Variations in trade are critical to understanding the history of the Cypress Banks site. I hope it is made clear that 44CC34 offers an example in trade differentiation from the early to late portions of the century. Copper beads, glass jewels, and brass trinkets such as the turned brass wall-hanger and the rowell reflect earlier trade patterns at Cypress Banks. Other items such as the strake nails, hoes, axes, a fish hook, and other worn-out or broken metal goods represent a move into more functional trading relationships. The sophisticated economic partnerships that developed here and elsewhere was predicated on the value of the items being traded. It is likely that firearms were also traded here as evidenced by the lead strips, possibly intended to be melted into ammunition.

As we see with some of the earliest trade items such as those from Werowocomoco, symbolic value of items is paramount to their utility and Euro-assigned function. It is obvious that the copper ‘scraps’ found at Jamestown were recognized by the English for their indigenous value, if not their meaning. What the Powhatans traded for these items was of pure functional value to the English. Corn and other foodstuffs sustained a colony bent on accumulating wealth and not cultivating life-sustaining crops.

Moving on to the latter portion of the century John Lederer outlined two types of trade he directly witnessed while moving throughout the colony and then outside of it into a world dominated by Indians. First, there was the trade an Englishman engaged with local Indians, those who may have lived nearby and have adopted or been forced to adopt Anglo traditions and customs. Utility was central to this type of trade and cloth, axes, hoes, and other daily-use items make up the bulk of its material goods. Second, there was trade with non-local Indians. For this, the earlier form of trade dominated.

Items of symbolic value comprised the toolkit here. Metal bracelets, beads, and “gaudy toys and knacks for children” (Lederer 1670, 1958:42) were among the central things that were traded. The description of things “for children” exposes not only what was being traded but how the English viewed the Indian population in terms of the social values they placed on certain trade items.

This view of the *other* as an immature, emasculated, uncivilized, or even feminized group is a patent component of European colonialism that showed up in Ireland, South Africa, Mexico, Papua New Guinea, and most of the other colonial holdings of European states. In Virginia this view may not have congealed as a motivating idea until after the first decade or two of colonization. Despite the English colonists’ writing about and thinking of the Powhatans as savages or “salvages” it was the Indians’ non-Christianity that was what made them wholly different. However, as the century progresses and race-based ethnic distinctions became more important and powerful to the social ordering of colonial outposts indigenous groups suffered concomitantly.

1. Cypress Banks as a Trading Place and Its Artifacts as Trade Items

To move from discussions of trade and its widespread histories and impacts directly to Cypress Banks we must turn to the Chickahominy River and Necotowance Path. The existence of these two elements of cultural geography is crucial in understanding how this site played into regional dynamics of economy and colonialism. First, this area could well be considered as a frontier area from approximately 1630-1650.

This can be defined several ways, the lack of English settlers in the area of the upper Chickahominy allowed for the continued dominance of the Chickahominy people as well as their Powhatan counterparts. We see this both through the high numbers of absentee landowners who were speculating on more prosperous times in that region and through the militarist stance the colonial government took when erecting the four forts of the 1644-46 Anglo-Powhatan War. These forts stood to encompass not so much an English colony but an English reservation. Until the late 1670s with the rogue actions of Nathaniel Bacon, who attacked numerous Indian villages, we sense an underlying nervousness in the colonial government due to the destabilizing effects Indian attacks had on the colony. To mitigate this fear, the strategy was to maintain a defensive posture while occasionally resorting to land seizure. While there was never a concrete policy of Indian removal to expand colonial interests, the nature of the colonization took its own course. English settlements that clearly encroached on Indian lands often baited the native groups to attack. This gave the colonists a clear mandate to strike back, often with deadly and sustained engagements. This was the official policy of the 1620s after Opechancanough's uprising. Each anniversary of the March 22 attack was to be commemorated by attacking and murdering the most vulnerable local Indian village.

Trading, such as at Cypress Banks offered the colony a relatively risk free way to enter into Indian lands, establish a facility for commerce, and then use it as an anchor for future settlement. So, what may have this looked like at Cypress Banks? I argue that artifacts such as the cut-glass jewels and copper beads were used as trade items. These small portable items are similar to those commonly traded throughout the early period (ca. 1607-1630). But evidence of trade must be more substantial than just four small

items, especially when those items only reflect an early type of trade. The listing and brief discussion of the artifacts from both features follows the typical descriptors and use-patterns we see used by historical archaeologists in the region. They were specifically written this way to illuminate how easily an assemblage such as this can be reduced to a stereotypical history. However, if we examine some of the items using the background and placement of the site we can see that the potential for trade is great.

Iron artifacts, commonly found on seventeenth century agrarian sites, are typically interpreted as Anglo-oriented and consumed goods. However, the axe, hoes, chain, strake nails may all have been trade items that mirror Lederer's description of later trade patterns. The scissors, both pairs dating to the middle-century, were listed by Lederer as principle trade goods for both local and distant Indians. Iron tools in their complete form, such as scissors, spade pieces, hoes, and axes were likely destined for Indian hands since the record indicates the only prohibited trading items were firearms and their necessary accoutrements.

An item which defies its placement at the site is the rowel. As an article of status and class, the spur that the rowel would have originally adorned would have fallen out of style by the 1640s. Secondly, the whereabouts of most of Virginia's early gentlemen is well known. It is improbable that a gentleman occupied this particular area without leaving a paper trail. Rather than a marker of elite English status, the decorated and gilded star with a convenient hole in the middle likely became an object ideal for the trade with native groups. The same may go for the copper alloy clothing pins. While necessary to hold together the apparatus of style, the gentleman's ruff and other costume

adornments, these pins may also have been a valuable commodity, especially if cloth was a central trade item.

This leads us to the artifacts that do not survive or are not represented in the assemblage. As a locus of commerce, articles of trade moved in and out since stagnation in commodity movement costed money. Furs, of deer, beaver, fox, raccoon, bobcat, and other animals, typically do not last very long when exposed to the elements and thus were hurried along towards their final destinations. If food was traded for at Cypress Banks it may be known with proper phytolith and microbotanical study. Unfortunately, this was something that was not collected at the time of excavation, a period when these sciences were only beginning to burgeon. Food remains, in the form of animal bone, are present in the collection. This collection is currently unanalyzed but is awaiting study. Cloth, also an article that typically does not survive in the archaeological record, may have been an item that typified trade at Cypress Banks.

Another important category of material culture, one that is difficult to date precisely, is native ceramics. As we see with the sampling of ceramics from Pit 1, there is a high sherds per century number for the Terminal Woodland/Protohistoric sherds. Even more intriguing, these sherds tended to be of a fairly large size considering their thin and fragile nature. Perhaps this can be accounted for by the fact that they have not spent as much time in the matrix as the older ceramics. This lends credence to a later, perhaps historic, date for their use and disposal. However, this must be said with the qualifying remarks that an in-depth statistical study of larger samples from other sites may offer much to support for this hypothesis.

Pipes may also have been imported and locally made to be traded. While there is a minimal quantity of pipes at Cypress Banks, the predominating locally-made pipes indicate a connectedness-to the local economy. This fact may indicate the maker's familiarity with indigenous design concepts. Intricate design motifs commonly found on locally made pipes may yet link an early industry to knowledge gathered through trade and cohabitation with Indian populations or even the Indian manufacture of pipes.

Two of the locally made pipes from this site, those that were most likely manufactured by Powhatans, exhibit even stronger characteristics of indigenous connection to, and knowledge of, colonial economies. If we take these highly stylized pipes as evidence of indigenous items coming into the colonial world then we must also recognize the inherent power in the statement the pipes may make. English acceptance of Indian smoking pipes was certainly not dictated by a lack of European pipes coming into the colony nor by a lack of locally made pipes designed after European styles. Rather, we have sufficient evidence of many decorated pipes being left at early colonial sites which have common attributes and motifs associated with indigenous and/or African influence. However, the two highly decorated pipes at Cypress Banks are different in two ways. One, the amount of decoration present is highly unusual. Two, the morphology of both pipes is different than most other Chesapeake pipes. One example retains a traditional Powhatan shape, the "tulip" bowl and has very little distinction between the end and beginning of the bowl and stem. The other pipe in question is similar in that decoration is present across the entire bowl and stem, with the exception of the most proximal end of the mouthpiece. These deviations from colonial norms were accepted to some degree at Cypress Banks given their presence at the site and both

having some evidence of being smoked. These two artifacts offer the strongest evidence for Anglo-Powhatan direct interaction at this site and support the hypothesis that this site was heavily engaged in trade, that is was a fixture of sorts within the Powhatan world, and that its occupants were knowledgeable about a larger Anglo-Powhatan world. Similarly, it is possible that these two pipes, as well as other locally made examples, were acquired by colonial traders here and elsewhere in an effort to bring some native elements to an otherwise English visage. At these sites European traders may well have realized the value of participating in local native traditions and phenomena associated with external group relations. Inasmuch as these actions acquainted Europeans with Powhatan ways, it brought about a particular moment in the economic interaction where culture and cultural identity were valued above all others. This may have taken place here at Cypress Banks and other locations in the form of sharing tobacco prior to doing business. It was within this world that the Cypress Banks colonists' actions were most influential, not the English reserve.

2. Conclusion

I suggest here that Cypress Banks, as seen through the archaeological data from site 44CC34, was a locus of trade throughout the 1635-1665 period. It was likely occupied by a small group of enterprising individuals who were English in background, possibly an entire family that had strong connections to the fur market. They were likely born in Virginia or had sufficient prior experience there to warrant a sophisticated knowledge of Anglo-Powhatan trade. Due to the realignment of trade networks, with

Maryland having closed off northern routes, this period set the stage for entrepreneurial traders to take advantage of western and southern routes. A destabilized Chickahominy people likely acted briefly as interlocutors between the site occupants and more distant Indian groups. Perhaps these groups became even more destabilized through the distant trade and felt pressured to remove to the upper Pamunkey River. The location of the site, however, kept its occupants constantly in contact with Indians traveling through the area via Necotowance's Path. Certainly, Indians came and went from Westover, the southern terminus of the path, well into the 1660s (Moretti-Langholtz 2005). Many of them may have come from the Pamunkey Neck area, which lies almost equidistantly opposite of Cypress Banks from Westover.

The comforting security of Fort James may never have been a reality, and in truth trading sites, such as 44CC34, provided more direct benefits to the colony. Sites such as this laid the foundation for English settlement from which later occupants of seventeenth century farmsteads further up the Chickahominy River benefited.

3. Future Directions

Despite the many seventeenth-century sites that have been excavated throughout the Chesapeake region, few specifics are known about the locations of and participants in trade networks of the time. Interpretations of permanence, architecture, agrarian landscape change, class, gender, and emergent labor systems vis-à-vis the introduction of chattel slavery to colonial Virginia are all topics that have received deserved attention (Axtell 2000, Bell 2005, Deetz 1993, Epperson 1999, Ferguson 1992, Kelso 1994,

Morgan 1975,). Tobacco as a central economic and social motivator has also been a consistent scholarly focus of work. The second most important economy, fur trade, has received little archaeological attention as have other forms of non-monetary exchange throughout the region (with the few exceptions of Gallivan 2005, 2006; Lapham 2006, Rountree 1987, and Fausz 1988). It is unfortunate too that so few sites have been excavated where Anglo-Powhatan relationships have been seriously considered. We must remember that the seventeenth-century Anglo-Virginian stood as a distinct minority throughout most of half of the century in the colony. Even when numbers swelled in the settlers' ranks expansion did not take place in an easy or English-only fashion. Virginia's Indian population remains to today partially reservated and unrecognized by the US government (Gleach 1997; Rountree 1990).

I have endeavored to explain a site from its limited but meaningful artifacts in a way that provides the reader with a discussion of an important site and its connections to a larger, regional political economy. How trade impacted colonial Virginia and its colonists, Tsenacommacah and its people is something that has to be understood as part of the emergent colonial venture. Subsequently, the political collapse of the Powhatans, Chickahominy, Weyanoke and many other indigenous groups is also intrinsically linked to their engagement in trade relations. It is my hope that current and future archaeologists seek out the archaeological riches that entail the trading world of the seventeenth-century Chesapeake. This will help define how frontiers formed and morphed, how colonists created a colonial world, and how two distinct cultural groups clashed along the colonial frontier.

APPENDIX A
SELECTED DRAWINGS FROM SITE 44CC34

Drawings courtesy of Professor Norman Barka and the Chickahominy River Survey

FIGURE 29

European made ball clay pipe from Pit 1 (1E1)

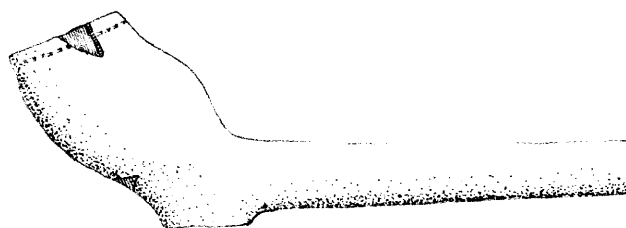


FIGURE 30

Locally made pipe from Pit 1 (1A5)

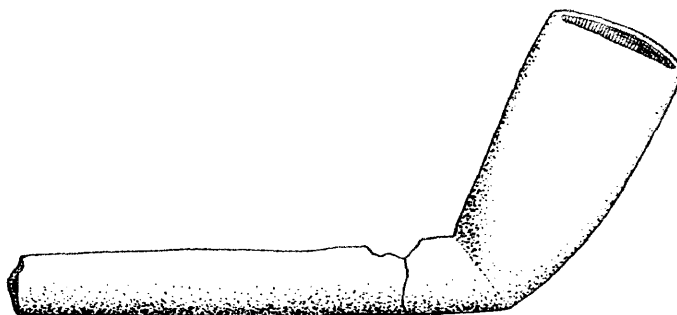


FIGURE 31

Locally made pipe from Pit 1 (1D1)

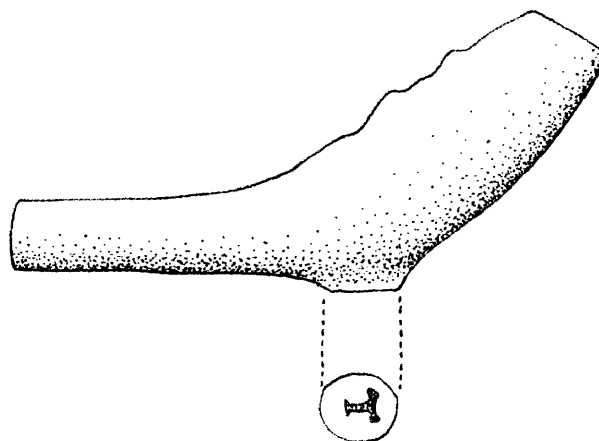


FIGURE 32

European ball clay pipe from Pit 1 (1E3)

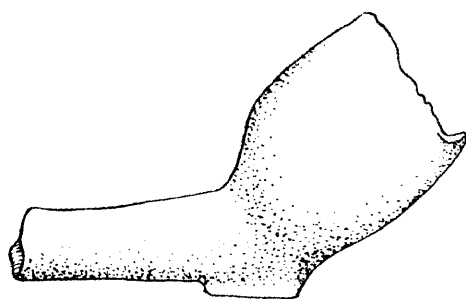


FIGURE 33

Locally made pipe from Pit 1 (1C1)



FIGURE 34

Locally made pipe from Pit 1, note facets on bowl (1D4)

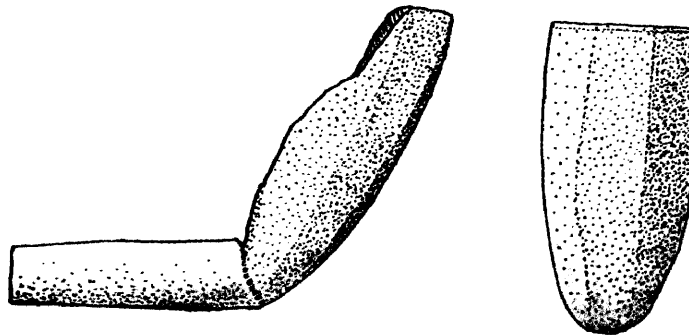


FIGURE 35

European ball clay pipe from Pit 2 (Plowzone)

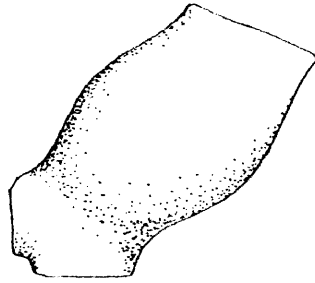


FIGURE 36

Locally made intact pipe from Pit 1 (1A5)



FIGURE 37

Scissors from Pit 1 (1E2)

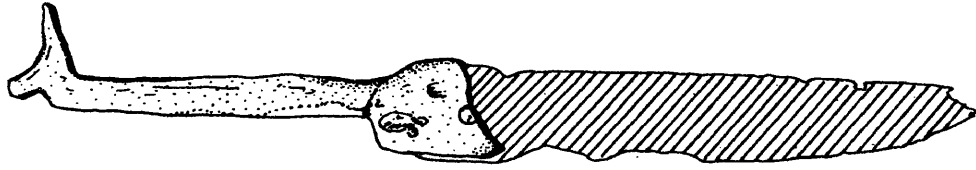


FIGURE 38

Scissors from Pit 1 (1E6)

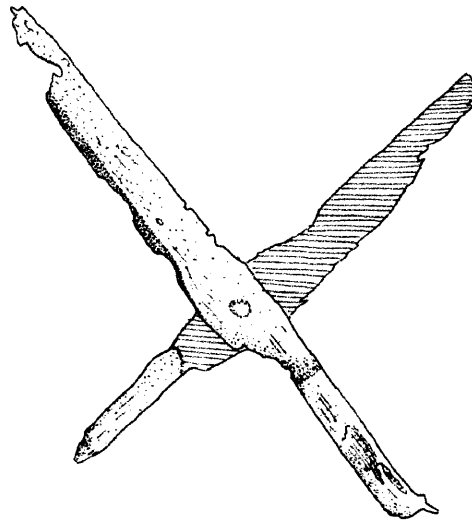


FIGURE 39

Box handles from Pit 1 (1D3)

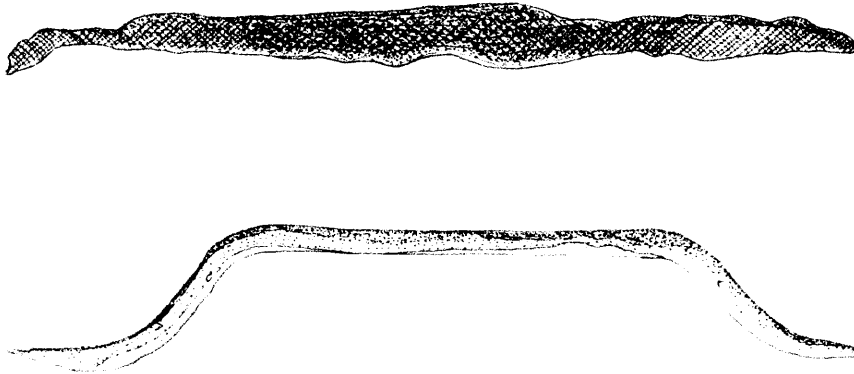


FIGURE 40

Pot handle from Pit 1, note rivet remnants in rivet hole (1A1)

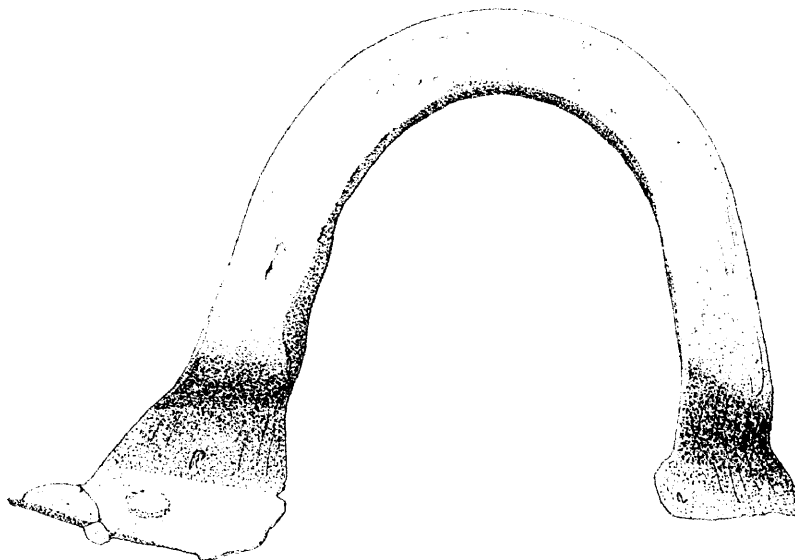
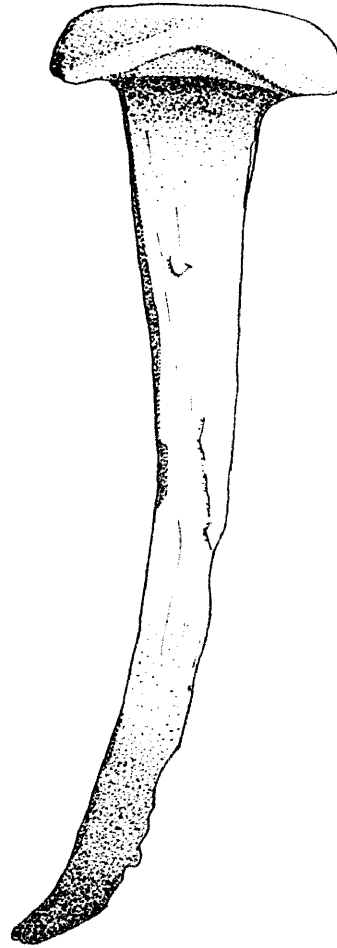


FIGURE 41

Strake nail from Pit 1 (1A1)



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