PEAKE, WAMPUM, OR *SEWANT*? AN ANALYSIS OF SHELL BEAD TERMINOLOGY IN THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CHESAPEAKE

Rebecca J. Webster

Beads and the terminology used to describe them provide a powerful look into the colonial relationships negotiated by both Indigenous groups and European settlers. Peake*,* wampum*, and* sewant *are terms used by both groups to describe tubular white or purple shell beads that developed as a result of colonial interactions between them. This paper uses 17th- and 18th-century documents from Virginia and Maryland to examine the contexts in which bead terminology shifted throughout the region over time. In examining these shifts from the Chesapeake vernacular, this paper provides another avenue by which to understand not only how people used beads to negotiate colonial relationships, but also to demonstrate who was building relationships with whom and the effects of those relationships.*

INTRODUCTION

Archaeologists working throughout eastern North American have adopted *wampum*, a British truncation of the Algonquian word *wampumpeag* ("strings of white [shell beads]") (Otto 2017:28) as the unofficial terminology for tubular beads manufactured from *Busycon* whelk or *Mercenaria* clam shells recovered from archaeological sites (Bradley 2011; Ceci 1989; Flick et al. 2012; Gleach 1997; Peña 2006; Shell 2013; Webster and King 2019). While the use among researchers of wampum as a term for shell beads has always been popular, Lynn Ceci (1989) solidified its use in the archaeology community when she established a system to classify wampum at various temporal stages based on morphological changes that occurred pre- and post-European colonization (*see* Bradley 2011 and Ceci 1989 for further discussion). Wholesale use of wampum within archaeological and historical research, however, disguises the fact that various colonial peoples – including Iroquoian-speaking groups, the British Chesapeake, the Dutch, and the French – used other terms (*onekoera*, *peake*, *sewant*, and *porcelain*, respectively) throughout the first centuries of settlement in eastern North America (Otto 2013, 2017). While understanding how the physical shell beads changed over time is important to interpreting the archaeological record, Otto (2013:111) argues that analysis of shell bead terminologies allows for synthesis of a "narrative that captures the breadth of wampum's historical development." In this paper, I synthesize historical documents created throughout the colonial Tidewater Chesapeake that mention bead terminology in order to better understand the relationship between colonization and the effect that the materiality of beads had on people operating within the colony.

INDIGENOUS-ANGLO INTERACTIONS IN THE TIDEWATER CHESAPEAKE

At the dawn of European settlement, there were two Indigenous chiefdoms already established in the Chesapeake Tidewater. The Piscataway Confederacy emerged in the 14th century as the result of a number of smaller communities along the southern portion of Maryland's western shore allying themselves together (Cissna 1986; Flick et al. 2012; Potter 1993). The Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom emerged later in the 1560s after Wahunsenacawh, or Powhatan, began incorporating polities outside of those he inherited through intimidation and force (Clark and Rountree 1993; Gallivan 2016; Potter 1993; Rountree 1993). It is within this complex sociocultural system that European settlers entered during the 17th century (Binford 1964; Fausz 1977; Feest 1966; Potter 1993; Rountree 1993; Turner 1993).

Despite previous attempts, European settlers had not successfully established a permanent settlement in the Chesapeake until the founding of Jamestown in 1607. As it would happen, the British colonists settled within the core area of Wahunsenacawh's chiefdom, the James and York River valleys. Early interactions between members of the Powhatan paramountcy and the Jamestown settlement ranged from cordial to violent due to British misunderstandings of Algonquian systems of reciprocal exchange and settler encroachment onto Indigenous lands as a result of tobacco

agriculture (Arber 1910; Mallios 2004; Rountree 1990). Tensions between the settlers and Powhatan culminated in three distinct conflicts known as the Anglo-Powhatan Wars (1609-1614, 1622-1632, and 1644-1646) (Fausz 1977; Potter 1993; Ragan 2006; Rountree 1990, 2005). These conflicts were, however, centered along the lower Virginia Tidewater, and Indigenous groups living along the upper Virginia Tidewater (the Rappahannock and Potomac River valleys) primarily remained on the periphery of Indigenous-settler interactions until the 1640s (Flick et al. 2012; Heath, Webster, and Parker 2021; Potter 1993; Ragan 2006).

At the end of the Third Anglo-Powhatan War, the colonists and the remaining Powhatan signed the Treaty of 1646 that included clauses that all Indian nations would pay an annual tribute; the colonial government would extend protection to signing Indian groups; and that these groups would submit to English laws. While not initially included in the treaty, the Indian groups living along the upper Virginia Tidewater soon agreed to the terms of the peace (Ragan 2006; Rountree 1990; Strickland et al. 2016). Colonial documents created from the 1650s to the 1670s highlight the continued tensions between the encroaching English settlers and Virginian Algonquians, as well as additional tensions created by raiding and settling northern Iroquoian-speaking groups (Ragan 2006; Strickland et al. 2016). These conflicts reached a boiling point among English settlers leading to an assault against all Indians in the colony during Bacon's Rebellion (1676-1677), which ended with the Treaty of Middle Plantation (Ragan 2006; Rice 2009, 2013; Strickland et al. 2016). Indigenous-settler interactions throughout the remainder of the century can be told through documentation of various land disputes and criminal cases. Finally, in 1705, the Virginia Assembly passed a series of laws that severely limited the rights of the Indigenous population and set about the historical, though not actual, erasure of Indigenous groups living within the Virginia colony (Ragan 2006:2860; Rountree 1990; Strickland et al. 2016).

While all of these events occurred in Virginia, settlers in Maryland established and developed their colony separately, but in conversation with their Chesapeake neighbors. Continuous European settlement within the boundaries of modern Maryland did not begin in earnest until the establishment of Kent Island in 1631 followed by the Maryland colony at St. Mary's City in 1634. In the time between the establishment of Virginia and Maryland, the Maryland government tried to learn from the interactions between the Virginian settlers and the local Indigenous tribes.

The Maryland government sought to take measures to avoid conflict with the Piscataway and other Indigenous groups within the colony, however, as with Virginia, colonists continued to encroach onto Indigenous lands, threatening that peace. Acknowledging the growing tensions felt between the Piscataway and the colonists, the Maryland government and eleven Piscataway affiliated groups signed the Articles of Peace and Amity in 1666. Articles within the treaty included the Maryland government agreeing to protect the lands and lives of the signing groups and the Indian groups not treating with groups outside the colony without governmental approval (Cissna 1986).

After the peace, however, the English encroachment continued and the Piscataway were subjected to increasing raids by Northern Iroquoian-speaking groups, including the Susquehannock, with whom the Maryland government had also signed a treaty (Cissna 1986). In maintaining their peace with the Maryland Colony, the Susquehannock blamed the Piscataway for a colonist-led siege on a Susquehannock fort and increased the frequency and intensity of their raids on the Maryland Indians along with their Haudenosaunee allies (Cissna 1986; Flick et al. 2012). The continuous Susquehannock raids on Piscataway settlements led the Maryland Indians to ask the colonial government for protection. Little protection was forthcoming until the government granted the Piscataway land at Zekiah Swamp in 1680, an action that did little to protect them (Cissna 1986; Flick et al. 2012; Seib and Rountree 2014). Historical documents from 1681 point to accusations that the Piscataway attempted to establish peace talks with Northern Indigenous groups, possibly against the Maryland colony, without the government's knowledge (Flick et al. 2012). The conflict between the Piscataway and the Susquehannock and their Haudenosaunee allies reached such a point that the New York government negotiated with the northern groups on Maryland's behalf in 1682 and again in 1685 (Cissna 1986). The peace between the Maryland colony, Piscataway, Susquehannock, Haudenosaunee, and New York colony was just one in a series of treaties that represented Maryland's and the Piscataway's place in the colonial Covenant Chain.

Similar to the end of the century in Virginia, Indigenous-Anglo relationships in Maryland were plagued by land disputes and court battles. Colonial encroachment onto Indigenous lands reached a point that some members of the Piscataway, including the Tayac, removed themselves to outside the colony's boundaries in 1695 (Cissna 1986; Curry 2014). Despite this, the Piscataway continued to experience tense relations with the Maryland government such that by 1712, the tribal nation's government, but not with all its people, left Maryland to settle in Pennsylvania (Cissna 1986; Curry 2014; Tayac 1999).

The interactions between Indigenous populations and colonists living within Maryland and Virginia followed

similar trajectories throughout the 18th century. Due to the colonial policies of Maryland and Virginia discussed above, the Tidewater Indian groups who played active roles during the 17th century were largely ignored in the historical record throughout most of the 18th century. Additionally, especially after 1720, Indigenous-Anglo interactions occurred outside the 17th-century bounds of these colonies as European settlers expanded colonial frontiers into the Piedmont (Figure 1) (Heath and Breen 2017:32-33). The new Maryland and Virginia Piedmont frontiers acted as buffer zones between the central areas of settlement and hostile French and Indigenous attacks and centers of intercultural interaction (Heath and Breen 2017:33). The Seven Years War (1754-1763) further increased the intercultural interactions between British and Indigenous populations throughout the colonies as British forces created tenuous alliances with Native groups throughout the Eastern Seaboard, including the Haudenosaunee and Cherokee.

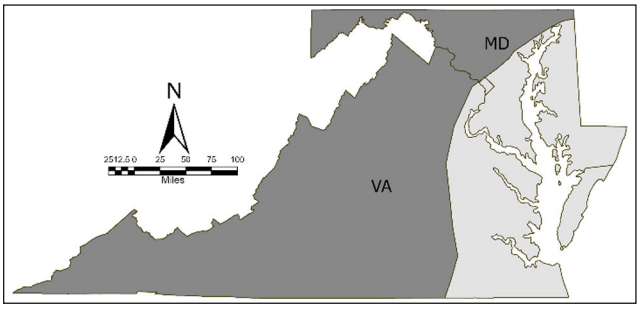

Figure 1. The Tidewater (light gray) and Piedmont (dark gray) regions of Maryland and Virginia (image by author).

SHELL BEADS IN THE TIDEWATER CHESAPEAKE

Beads are a key aspect of European colonization stories in North America. According to John Smith's *Map of Virginia* (Arber 1910:28), he and Captain Christopher Newport traded a pound or more of "blew beads" with the Powhatan for 200-300 bushels of corn, saving Jamestown from starvation (Lapham 2001). Yet, while Europeans saw beads as useful in an economic and sometimes political sense, local Indigenous groups viewed beads as highly ritualized and prestigious objects. The Powhatan and Piscataway imported the shell used to make beads, and sometimes the beads as well, into their territories from elsewhere, most likely the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake (Bradley 2011; Rountree 1989; Rountree and Turner 2002; Shepard 2015). Ethnoarchaeologists have demonstrated that it took a skilled individual to manufacture shell beads. Thus, in concert with their importation, Chesapeake Algonquians valued shell beads as important, symbolic objects (Bradley 2011; Rountree 1989; Rountree and Turner 2002; Shepard 2015). Indians in the region used beads as a physical representation of diplomacy, a form of tribute used for reciprocal exchange, and a spiritually imbued object (Shepard 2015; Turner and Rountree 2002).

At first, colonial chroniclers like John Smith primarily used the term "bead" to denote beads of all shapes, sizes, and manufacture (Arber 1910). As the century went on, however, colonists recorded various terms used to describe shell beads in the Chesapeake. Individuals understood the term *roanoke* to describe small discoidal beads made from *Busycon* whelk or *Mercenaria* clam shells and *peake* to describe tubular shell beads. Both terms are English bastardizations of Algonquian terms. John Smith recorded a number of Algonquian phrases in his *Map of Virginia*, including the original Algonquian term for roanoke: "Kekaten pokahontas patiaquagh niugh tanks manotynes neer mowchick rawrenock audowgh," which he translated as "Bid Pokahontas bring hither two little Baskets, and I wil giue her white beads to make her a chaine" (Arber 1910:46). Peake, like wampum, is a British truncation of the Algonquian word wampumpeage ("string of [white beads]") (Otto 2017). Otto (2017) noted, though, that unlike wampum, which translates to white string, peake references the shell beads. Archaeologists have, however, found that shell bead terminology in colonial records does not indicate the presence of shell beads in the physical world. Webster and King (2019) demonstrate that glass beads were used in place of shell beads during exchanges between groups despite being called peake or roanoke. In their study, they argue that within the colonial Chesapeake, the context in which a bead was being used determined the term, not the material of manufacture.

METHODOLOGY

For this study, I analyzed 224 individual references to beads from historical documents associated with Virginia and Maryland dating from 1607 to 1770. The documents associated with Virginia that I sampled include travel narratives, minutes from Virginia Council meetings, Hening's (1823) *Statutes*, and the order and deed books from Northumberland, Westmoreland, Lancaster, and Old Rappahannock counties (Arber 1910; Fleet 1961; Hening 1823; Hilliman 1966; Major 2016; McIlwaine 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1925; Neill 1869; Sparacio and Sparacio 1991, 1994a-c). I sourced all the references for my Maryland sample from the Archives of Maryland Online (AOMOL). It is important to highlight that European individuals authored or transcribed all the documents sampled for this study. Therefore, it is possible that the authors did not completely understand the intent of use within Indigenous contexts, and they did not witness or record the actual frequency of use.

In an attempt to mitigate the recording bias of the documents, I critically mined the texts that comprised my dataset. I evaluated each reference for the following information: year, decade, term(s) used, context of use, persons involved, and the colony in which the term was being recorded. The decades I analyzed ranged from the 1600s to the 1770s. When I cataloged the terms used in each reference, I broke the information down into the presence or absence of a term (roanoke, peake, wampum, wampumpeag, sewant, and bead).[1] Then, I determined the context of term use based on the described use of the bead in the document, rather than the type of document. The contexts I identified include adornment, criminal cases, descriptions, diplomacy, exchange, government relations, inventories, rituals, and translations. If multiple bead references were made to various contexts of use, I created a separate entry for each reference. Additionally, I cataloged individuals involved in the use of the term based on context of use, rather than who was involved in the creation of the document. My options for persons involved included British, French, Dutch, Chesapeake Algonquian, Susquehannock, Northern Algonquian, Northern Iroquoian-speaking, Southern Iroquoian-speaking, and unidentified Indigenous persons.

The following is an example of how I analyzed references. In 1681, the Maryland Council interrogated an Indigenous woman regarding her knowledge of the murder of an English man. During her interview, she referenced that a Nanticoke man offered her peake to marry him (AOMOL 1681). For context of use, I cataloged the reference as "exchange" rather than "criminal case" because the Nanticoke man offered the woman the peake as an exchange for marriage. In addition, I cataloged the persons involved as a Chesapeake Algonquian (the man) and an unidentified Indigenous person (the woman) because her ethnic affiliation was never recorded.

Finally, I performed simple statistics, including creating histograms and line charts, and ran linear and multilinear regression models to identify potential trends in bead terminology usage with 95% confidence. In the section below, I discuss the results of my analyses.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

I identified a total of 224 references to bead terminology, 24 of which contained the use of multiple terminologies. When comparing the documents from each colony, references from Virginia occur at the highest frequency (n = 130), however, there is not a large discrepancy in the frequency of occurrence between the colonies. Amongst all the references, colonial authors recorded the term roanoke (n = 81) most frequently, followed by the term bead (n = 70) (Table 1).

When analyzing the distribution of the terms bead, roanoke, peake, and wampum over time, there appear to be four distinct phases of terminological use that occurred in Maryland and Virginia. Phase 1 dates from the beginning of Jamestown in 1607 to approximately 1630 and is associated with colonial writers using the term bead. Phase 2 includes the period from 1630 to 1665 in which colonial documents reference roanoke at the highest frequencies. Phase 3 highlights the period from 1666 to 1710 when colonial authors utilized the term peake the most. Finally, Phase 4 is based on the prominent use of wampum in documents that date from 1710 to 1770. Linear regression models revealed that there is a statistically significant relationship in the use of the terms bead, roanoke, and wampum and the decade and phase of use. The linear regression models for the use of peake highlight the variations in its use over time. The models also indicate that there is a significant relationship between the use of peake and the decade, but the relationship between its use and the phase can only be determined with 90% confidence. These results are likely to be caused by the relatively small assemblage and the fact that peake episodically appeared in colonial documents throughout the study period, but occurred at the highest

Table 1. The Frequency of Term Use by Colony.

Colony	Roanoke	Peake	Wampum	Wampumpeag	Sewant	Bead	Total per colony
Maryland	54	31	19	5	4	5	118
New York*	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Virginia	27	5	31	2	0	65	130
Total per term	**81**	**36**	**52**	**7**	**4**	**70**	**250**

* References to wampum from New York relate to diplomatic correspondence from the governor of New York to the Virginia Council.

frequency during Phase 3. What is more notable, though, is that the period associated with Phase 3 is significantly associated with the use of beads as a mode of diplomacy. In the discussion below, I provide evidence for how these phases of terminological use emphasize sociocultural developments within the Chesapeake.

Phase 1: "a few blew beads"[2] (ca. 1607-1630)

I documented a total of 57 references in association with Phase 1 (Figure 2; Table 2). In the case of each reference, colonial authors used the term bead. Additionally, the authors describe Chesapeake Algonquians (n = 56) using beads as objects for a variety of purposes including adornment (n = 6), diplomacy (n = 8), exchange (n = 28), and rituals (n = 8). These early accounts also highlight the fact that British settlers (n = 28) were statistically likely to use beads as objects of diplomacy (n = 8) and exchange (n = 19).

The ubiquity of a Chesapeake Algonquian presence within these early documents is, in part, due to a sampling bias. I sourced 56 of the references from this phase from travel narratives and promotional materials; John Smith's *Map of Virginia* is the source of 28 of the references (Arber 1910).

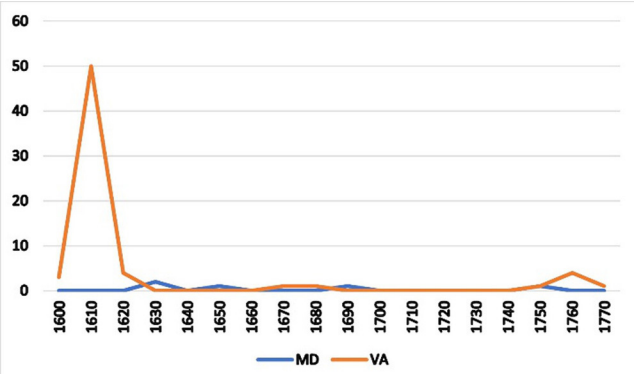

Figure 2. Phase 1 (ca. 1607-1630). The frequency of the use of the term *bead* by colony.

The prominence of Chesapeake Algonquians throughout Phase 1 references also means it is difficult to determine statistically significant relationships in association with their use of beads because Chesapeake Algonquians acted as a baseline for individual bead use during this period.

Despite the sampling bias, this assemblage highlights an important aspect of the early colonization efforts of the Chesapeake: the role early narratives played in establishing the Chesapeake within a British worldview and how these cultural translations led to ideological misunderstandings. The authors of these narratives made note of the various purposes for beads amongst Chesapeake Algonquians, but they still used terms (e.g., bead) familiar to their European audiences. While the authors' use of the term bead was meant to familiarize the audience with the object, their initial description of settlers and Algonquians using beads in contexts of one-off exchanges (95% confidence) hints at the underlying issues settlers faced by situating the Chesapeake primarily within their worldview. During the initial settlement of Jamestown, there were fundamental misunderstandings between the British and Algonquians with regard to systems of reciprocal exchange, especially when it came to the value of objects like beads. Mallios (2004) argues that in the early Virginia Tidewater there was a pattern of settlers misunderstanding their role as reciprocal partners with the Virginia Algonquians, who believed a central purpose of exchanging goods was to build and maintain relationships. In contrast, the historical record highlights how colonists understood these interactions as one-off exchanges: beads for corn (Arber 1910). Mallois (2004) contends that there was a pattern of the settlers' inadvertent rejection of the Algonquian reciprocal relationship followed by an outbreak of violence. In his analysis of copper, another spiritually imbued material, Potter (2006) argues that the colonists flooded the area with beads, copper, and other European goods that threatened the reciprocal relationships between Algonquian commoners and *werowances* (chiefs) and long-existing Algonquian social hierarchies. This threat was met by werowances attempting to forcefully control the flow of these objects, sometimes by violence (Mallios 2004; Potter

Table 2. The Frequency of Term Use by Phase.

Phase	Bead	Roanoke	Peake	Wampum	Wampumpeag	Sewant	Total per phase
1	57	3	0	0	0	0	60
2	3	57	14	0	3	0	77
3	3	18	16	7	4	4	52
4	7	3	6	45	0	0	61
Total per term	**70**	**81**	**36**	**52**	**7**	**4**	**250**

2006). The sample underlines these early misunderstandings as the majority of references that include settlers using beads (n = 28 of 30) occurred in contexts of exchange with various Algonquian individuals, primarily for corn, and during a period when there were two Anglo-Powhatan Wars.

Phase 2: "an Act that Roaneoke shall pass currant"[3] (ca. 1630-1665)

The data associated with Phase 2 demonstrates that colonists continued to think of beads as a form of currency. There was, however, a terminological shift during this period from the use of bead to roanoke (Figure 3; Table 2). Throughout Phase 2, individuals recorded 64 instances of bead use, 57 of which included the term roanoke. The individuals referenced in these documents utilized roanoke for a variety of purposes including damages in criminal cases (n = 8), a method of exchange (n = 34), and items of value within inventoried estates (n = 8). Linear regression models also indicate that there is a significant relationship between British settlers using roanoke in instances of exchange amongst themselves as well as with Chesapeake Algonquians (n = 23 and 11, respectively). While the sample size is small (n = 14), the documents indicate individuals thought of peake as a conduit of exchange. I argue that the use of roanoke, and to a lesser extent peake, in British contexts of exchange, criminal cases, and estate inventories demonstrates that settlers used roanoke as a currency during this period.

Beverly Straube (2019) recounts the attempts of the Virginia Company of London (1609) and Governor John Harvey (1636) to establish a coin currency in Virginia. She argues that these attempts failed due to crises within the colony and the cost of coin mintage (Straube 2019). Additionally, after its introduction in the 1610s, tobacco became the central commodity throughout the Chesapeake

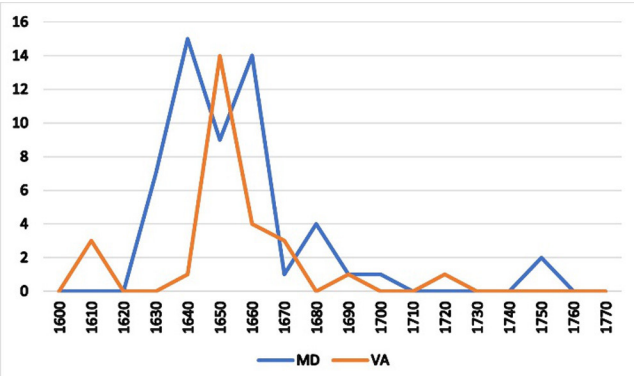

Figure 3. Phase 2 (ca. 1630-1665). The frequency of the use of the term *roanoke* by colony.

and acted as a form of currency. While tobacco could be exchanged, inhabitants of the region needed something that could be used for smaller transactions, especially as the economies of both Maryland and Virginia grew (Straube 2019). My textual analysis of bead references demonstrates that roanoke, and to a lesser extent peake, filled that need during this period. In 1656, the Virginia Council determined that "*wampumpeak* and roanoke would keep their value" while pieces of eight made of silver were valued at five shillings (Hening 1823:397). Seven years later in Maryland, the government decided roanoke should be used as the colonial currency for transactions worth less than 300 pounds of tobacco (AOMOL 1663). Like any currency, the value of roanoke changed over the century in both Maryland and Virginia. In 1639, the assessors of Justinian Snow's estate in Maryland valued roanoke at 6 pounds of tobacco per arm's length, whereas in 1643 Francis Posie sued Thomas Moss for 40 arm lengths of roanoke at a rate of 10 pounds of tobacco per arm (AOMOL 1639, 1649). Likewise in Virginia, John Hughlett sued Martine Cole for 63 arm lengths of roanoke or 315 pounds of tobacco (5 pounds per arm's length) (Sparacio and Sparacio 1994c:85). Then in 1672, the Virginia Council offered local Indians the equivalent of 20 arm lengths of roanoke, or 250 pounds of tobacco (12.5 pounds per arm's length), for their returning of runaway laborers (Hening 1823:299-300).

The linear regression models of the use of roanoke by decade and phase demonstrate that the settlers used roanoke as a form of currency with less frequency over time and their use of it concentrated within Phase 2. It is important to note that the majority of the exchanges of roanoke occurred between settlers, rather than between settlers and Indians. I make this distinction to highlight that these exchanges primarily operated within the settlers economic systems and worldviews, making them fundamentally different than the exchanges referenced in Phase 1. The decrease in the colonial use of roanoke over time could be explained by the fact that as the century progressed, Chesapeake settlers became more involved in intercolonial trade (Hatfield 2007). As roanoke was a regionally specific currency, its use was not conducive within this growing trade network. Consequently, there was increased use of British currencies, in concert with tobacco, moving forward, with the possible exception of the use of cowrie shells in 18th-century Virginia (Heath 2016).

It is also important to note that the sample for Phase 2 is heavily skewed toward British uses of roanoke, specifically in contexts of exchange. After two Anglo-Powhatan wars and the growing success of the tobacco economy, Powhatan influence and control within Virginia weakened, and the Piscataway also witnessed what happened to their Indigenous neighbors (Cissna 1986; Rountree 1990). It is likely that

Chesapeake Algonquians and British colonists interacted through what Richard White (1991) has described as purposeful misunderstandings in order to maintain peaceful relations. Through the use of ethnographic analogies, I argue it is possible to highlight how Indians and settlers used beads to establish these misunderstandings. For example, in 1661, the Virginia Council punished Moore Fauntleroy for kidnapping, two years earlier, the Rappahannock werowance who was on his way to Jamestown to present the governor with the group's annual tribute of roanoke (Hening 1823:152-153). Within a settler worldview, members of the Virginian government might have considered the annual tribute as a tax on a group that was subject to colonial laws. Within the Algonquian worldview, tributary groups might have compared the annual tribute to the ones previously offered to Wahunsenacawh, the leader of the Powhatan, and considered it as a yearly physical reaffirmation of their treaty with the English. It is likely that after multiple violent conflicts and the growing economic success of the British in the region, Chesapeake Algonquians attempted to maintain peaceful relations by resituating their cultural ideologies to fit within this new creolized Chesapeake.

Phase 3: "A present to make peace with the Sinniquos... in a belt of peake"[4] (ca. 1666-1710)

I identified 47 references to beads and 52 specific terms during this period with colonial authors employing the term roanoke (n = 18) at the highest frequency followed closely by peake (n = 16) (Figure 4). When individuals recorded the use of roanoke, they primarily based its use as a currency (n = 15). It is again important to note that when compared to Phase 2, colonial use of roanoke decreased dramatically. Additionally, the authors of these documents increased their use of bead terminologies in diplomatic contexts (n = 20). It is also worth mentioning that during this period, the first

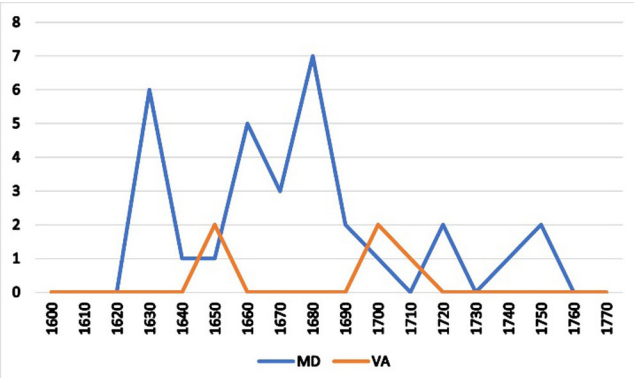

Figure 4. Phase 3 (ca. 1666-1710). The frequency of the use of the term *peake* by colony.

instances of colonial use of sewant (n = 4) and wampum (n = 7) were observed. When authors recorded these terms, they were primarily used in diplomatic contexts (sewant n = 3 and wampum n = 5) that included Indigenous peoples to the north (sewant n = 4 and wampum n = 5), e.g., the Haudenosaunee, Susquehannock, and Delaware. Finally, the majority of the references to beads during this period occurred in association with the Maryland colony (n = 41 of 52). My interpretation is that these data emphasize the different philosophies toward relations with local Indians by the Maryland and Virginia governments during this period, and the colonies' growing involvement in intercolonial politics.

There was great diplomatic fervor in Maryland during the 1660s-1680s. In the 19 instances of bead use in contexts of diplomacy, British settlers were associated with 14. This is in contrast to the happenings within the Virginia colony, in which I found no references to peake or wampum diplomacy involving settlers. It is notable that the Maryland colonists, specifically those in government, appeared to be learning from the previous conflicts that occurred within Virginia. Additionally, it is crucial to remember that the Calverts, the proprietary family of Maryland, were Catholics who had already faced a Protestant coup in 1645-1646 (Riordan 2004). Peace with the Piscataway and other neighboring Indians provided the sometimes-unpopular Catholic Calvert government allies against their adversaries and a buffer for the colony against raids from northern Indigenous groups (Cissna 1986). The Piscataway position as the colony's allied buffer became even more apparent in the late 1670s and early 1680s, when the Susquehannock raided them, rather than British settlements, as part of a mourning war in response to the 1675 siege of the Susquehannock fort (Cissna 1986; Kruer 2017). The relationship between the Calvert government and local Indians (strengthened by the diplomatic exchange of peake and roanoke) also meant that the Piscataway were subjected to anti-Catholic sentiments from the Protestant majority, especially after the removal of the Calverts in 1689 as a result of the Glorious Revolution in England (Cissna 1986). The tensions between the Piscataway and the encroaching settler majority meant that there was a continual need for the Indians to return to the colonial government for promises of peace and protection.

Piscataway unease and displeasure as a result of these growing tensions between themselves, settlers, and raiding northern Indigenous groups can be seen through their use of beads during this period. Colonial officials recorded multiple reports that Piscataway leaders had offered belts of peake to members of the Susquehannock and Haudenosaunee as a peace offering without the knowledge or permission of the Maryland government, which went against the 1666 Articles of Peace and Amity (Cissna 1986; Flick et al. 2012;

Webster and King 2019). An Indian informant also claimed that the Piscataway had sent a dull axe to be sharpened accompanied by belts of peake throughout the Northeast in an attempt to gather Indigenous allies in a conflict against the Maryland colonists (AOMOL 1666). Webster and King (2019) argue that the high frequency of red and black glass beads (representing anti-social emotions) archaeologists recovered from the Zekiah Fort site further support the colonial reports of Piscataway anger against the Maryland colony for failing to properly protect them according to the regulations set forth in the Articles of Peace. The tensions amongst the Piscataway and settler community continued to the point that the Piscataway leadership felt the need to leave the colony in 1695, returning once, and then completely removing themselves in 1712 (Cissna 1986; Curry 2014; Flick et al. 2012).

In comparison, the documents from Virginia show that individuals continued to use beads for a variety of purposes during Phase 3, but colonial officials did not record references of bead use in association with Indigenous-Anglo diplomacy. The sole exception occurred in 1699, when local Indians asked for permission to send the Haudenosaunee a belt of peake as an offer of peace to end their raids, which the Council rejected (Ragan 2006:283). More often, individuals in Virginia, specifically settlers, used beads as a form of payment, especially to Indians for goods and services. I contend that the trend in the lack of the use of peake diplomacy is related to the colony's previous conflicts with local Indigenous groups and the subjugation of these peoples after the Treaty of 1646. The treaty and its later ratifications gave the government the right to declare signing Indians groups enemies if they acted against the colony (Ragan 2006; Strickland et al. 2016). Indigenous-Anglo tensions also rose throughout the century as a result of colonial encroachment and northern Indian raids. These culminated in pan-Indian violence during Bacon's Rebellion. Local Indian groups were considered enemies, but the Virginia Assembly offered Indigenous individuals payment for their services (fighting, scouting, or guides) in roanoke or matchcoats (a broad woolen cloth) for joining the settler forces (Hening 1823:341-350). In contrast, the government offered British individuals tobacco as payment for their service. The 1677 Treaty of Middle Plantation also further limited the rights of Indians living within the colony under the guise of protecting Indian lands (Ragan 2006). These actions and the lack of references to diplomatic relations suggest that the Virginian government, unlike the Maryland government, felt secure in its position during this period.

The majority of the references to diplomacy involve Indigenous individuals from the Northeast (n = 19 of 20) and British individuals (n = 14). The introduction of northern Indigenous individuals demonstrates the incorporation of the Virginia and Maryland colonies in the Covenant Chain, a series of treaties that allied British colonies with various Indigenous groups along the Eastern Seaboard (Foner 2010). The incorporation of the Chesapeake into the Covenant Chain also highlights greater involvement of individuals from the region in intercolonial political and exchange networks and the movement towards a more unified British-American empire that continued throughout the remainder of the colonial period.

Phase 4: "Inclosed a Belt of Wampum in token of their Affection & Love"[5] (ca. 1710-1770)

For the period from ca. 1710-1770, I identified 56 references to beads and colonial authors using 61 specific terms, especially wampum (n = 45) (Figure 5). The references to beads were primarily employed in diplomatic contexts (n = 52). I identified British individuals as having engaged in diplomacy at the highest frequency (n = 42), followed by members of the Haudenosaunee (n = 25) and Southern Iroquoian-speaking peoples (n = 23), including the Cherokee. There is also a significant decrease in the use of roanoke and peake from Phase 3 into Phase 4. Based on this sample, I argue that the references to beads during this phase highlight the expansion of the Chesapeake colonies into the Piedmont region and the unification of British identities during the 18th century.

Beginning in the 1720s, settlers throughout the Chesapeake immigrated to the Piedmont with increasing frequency (Heath and Breen 2015). This extension outside the Tidewater led to settlers interacting with Indigenous communities other than the Chesapeake Algonquians with greater frequency. As a result, British Chesapeake settlers interacted with Indigenous groups and other colonists, both to the north and south, who used the term wampum to

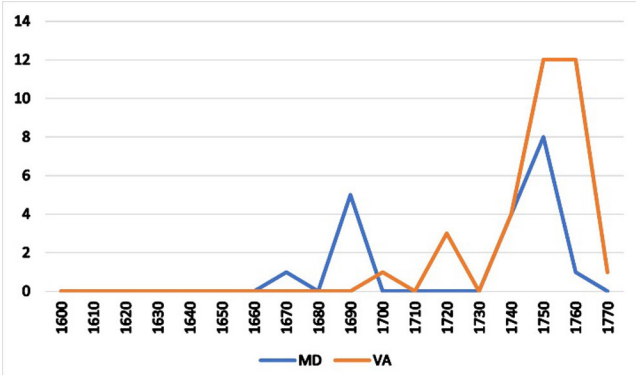

Figure 5. Phase 4 (ca. 1710-1770). The frequency of the use of the term *wampum* by colony.

describe shell beads. As the settlers expanded out from the Tidewater, it became clear that terms like roanoke and peake were regional vernacular.

The increase in frequency of wampum during the 18th century demonstrates the growing sense of a pan-British society within the empire. Anthropologists describe this period as "Georgianization," meaning colonial identities were recentered around their British connections (Deetz 1996; Heath and Breen 2017). The use of wampum (n = 33) is prevalent during the 1750s and 1760s, a notable era in colonial history as it encompasses the Seven Years War (1756-1763). During the war, members of the British Empire entered into a series of treaties across the colonies and with Indigenous allies against the French and their Indigenous allies. The colonial officials and their allies recorded these treaties through both documents and wampum belts. Additionally, within the treaties, members of the British colonies collectively referred to themselves as the "English" and "brother" as well as having a collective enemy in the French (AOMOL 1758:266-270). British settlers also demonstrated their unified identity both by entering treaties together and using similar terminologies within treaties. Rather than isolating themselves as members of the Chesapeake colonies, government officials from Maryland and Virginia began using wampum to align themselves more closely with the other British colonies. Foner (2010) describes the period directly after the Seven Years War as the time when colonial settlers were the most British.

While the British settlers and northern and southern Indigenous groups used wampum, Chesapeake Algonquians were less involved in these interactions. Despite the Virginia government passing their biracial legal code in 1705 and the Piscataway leadership leaving Maryland in 1712, many Indigenous families and communities remained in the area (Cissna 1986; Flick et al. 2012; Ragan 2006; Strickland et al. 2016; Tayac 1999). The continued use of roanoke and peake (which were distinct regional terms) by Chesapeake Indians throughout the 18th century underlines their resistance to and persistence through settler attempts of erasure (AOMOL 1721a-b, 1742, 1754b-c). While settlers throughout colonial North America united through their shared British identity, Indigenous groups living within the Chesapeake maintained their regionally based identity.

CONCLUSION

By critically analyzing the use of shell bead terminology in historical records, researchers can demonstrate the dynamic histories of colonial materiality and colonization throughout eastern North America. Therefore, I caution other archaeologists to think critically about the language they use to characterize tubular shell beads recovered at archaeological sites. While my sample size is small, I demonstrate how processes of colonization and ideas of identity during the colonial period affected the use of bead terminology over time. I was able to identify four phases of bead terminological use within the colonial Chesapeake based on term usage, context of use, and the individuals involved. The four phases I highlight are representative of the shifts in Indigenous-settler interactions that occurred throughout the colonial period. Thus, as researchers, we cannot solely rely on the morphology of the actual artifact to understand the context in which individuals used beads. We also need to comprehend the situational context of the word's use to appreciate the range of meanings associated with shell beads.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Dr. Barbara Heath, Karlis Karklins, and an anonymous reviewer for their suggestions that markedly improved my study and paper.

ENDNOTES

1. I acknowledge that there are alternative spellings for each of the terms I analyze in this paper, and I took this into account when sourcing my data. For the purposes of this paper, though, I will use the spellings for each term identified above.

2. Lapham (2001).

3. AOMOL (1663).

4. AOMOL (1666).

5. AOMOL (1754).

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Rebecca J. Webster
Department of Anthropology
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, TN
rwebste8@vols.utk.edu.