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THE PISCATAWAY INDIANS OF SOUTHERN MARYLAND: AN
ETHNOHISTORY FROM PRE-EUROPEAN CONTACT TO THE PRESENT

The American University

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THE PISCATAWAY INDIANS OF SOUTHERN MARYLAND
AN ETHNOHISTORY FROM PRE-EUROPEAN CONTACT TO THE PRESENT

By

Paul Byron Cissna

submitted to the

Faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences

of The American University

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of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Anthropology

Signatures of Committee:

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BY

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ABSTRACT

At European contact in 1608, the Algonquian-speaking Piscataway chiefdom was dominant on the Western Shore of Maryland. This dissertation presents their ethnohistory from pre-European contact to the present. There are a number of research goals. Two are considered major: first, to determine the origin of the myth that the Indian "disappeared" from the area; and second, to determine why the Piscataway came to be viewed as non-Indians.

The methodology demanded both fieldwork and the analysis of numerous source materials: archaeological, linguistic, ethnographic, historical/archival, and contemporary.

The archaeological Potomac Creek Complex dates to about 1300 A.D. and includes the Piscataway and the Virginia Patawomeke.

Relations with Virginia pre-dated and influenced those with Maryland, settled in 1634. Early Maryland relations were basically cordial, with some conflict and subtle struggle for dominance. Relations later deteriorated. About 1700 A.D., some Piscataway left the Colony; others did not. Colonial policy in the late 1600s effectively removed the Piscataway from later records: influential whites living near Indian communities acted as intermediaries in Indian/English disputes. The colonial concept of "mulatto" included people of mixed Indian parentage.

Combined with anti-miscegenation laws, these factors led to the belief that the Piscataway had left the Colony and that those who remained were not Indian.

Nevertheless, the records reveal that the Piscataway continued to be viewed as a unique population. Individual racial classifications were frequently contradictory. The nineteenth century saw an increased use of terms such as "free person of color." Marriage records reveal a high rate of endogamy. This has decreased in recent years.

The Piscataway "re-emerged" in the late 1800s. This research shows that they have a strong matrilineal focus and community organization. Extant roles correspond to clan mother and chief. Use of the white intermediary in external conflicts continued until recent years. A number of Piscataway, presently divided into three factions, are engaged in a revitalization movement, vocally asserting Indian identity. Their struggle for recognition as Indians is succeeding, with many people moving into their once rural area. The Piscataway must now maintain their group identity in the face of increased suburbanization.

This study is dedicated to the
Piscataway Indians of Southern Maryland

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The goal of this dissertation is to present an ethnohistory of the Piscataway Indians, tracing them from the time of the earliest European contact to the present day. The following brief historical overview suggests the magnitude and importance of this study.

Prior to and during the exploration and colonization of the east coast of North America, the Piscataway were one of a number of small Algonquian-speaking populations residing in what is now Prince George's, Charles, and St. Mary's Counties, as well as the District of Columbia. Although the Spanish explorers Verazzano and Gomez were in the area of the Chesapeake Bay in 1524 and 1525 respectively (Mooney 1907), the first documented European contact with the Piscataway came with the John Smith expedition into the reaches of the Chesapeake Bay and Potomac River in 1608 (Arber 1910). The ensuing years after contact witnessed both trade and violence between the English colonists of Virginia and the Piscataway before the founding of the Maryland Colony in 1632 and the establishment of its first settlement of St. Mary's City two years later.

The Piscataway were at that time the dominant member of a loose chiefdom united for common defense against the Powhatan Chiefdom of Virginia, the Five Nations of the Iroquois of New York, and the Susquehannock of Pennsylvania (Toogood 1969). This organization became known historically as the Piscataway Confederacy.

The historic relationship between the English and the Piscataway culminated with the alleged "disappearance" of the Indians from the colony circa 1705 and from the historical record in 1793 (Ferguson and Ferguson 1960). This historical documentation is, however, at variance with the oral tradition of the contemporary Piscataway. They emphatically state that many of their ancestors remained in the colony. This view is supported by the findings of the eminent anthropologist James Mooney, who can be credited with "rediscovering" a number of Eastern Indian groups.

Mooney visited Prince George's and Charles Counties in 1914 to investigate a group of people whom local physicians, responding to a Smithsonian Institution survey, said were of Indian ancestry. Mooney found them to be

a blend of three races, Indian, Negro, and White, with the Indian blood probably predominating. . . . they probably represent the . . . descendants of the Piscataway tribe, and are sometimes locally distinguished among themselves as 'We-sort' (Hodge 1921:17).

Harte (1958) notes that this "locally distinguished" term is considered to be extremely perjorative. At least some of the contemporary Piscataway deny any relation to this group. Berry (1978) presents a contemporary population for this group of about 5,000 people. My own findings, discussed in Chapter X, are suggestive of a larger figure, approximately 7,000 or more people.

Terming such populations as "isolates," Griessman (1972:693) states that "more than 200 American isolates have been identified historically in at least eighteen of the eastern states," with a total population of 75,000 people. Like the Maryland Indians, virtually all who are known by names other than traditional tribal affixations are quite resentful when these terms are employed by outsiders (Berry 1963). It is thus evident that the Piscataway are but one of a number of Indian populations who

experienced quite early continuous contact with the English settlers, only to "disappear" from the historical record and later "re-emerge," often with a nontraditional name.

This points to a problem common to many of the Indians of the Eastern United States: that researchers have "until quite recently been biased because of their interpretation of [Eastern Indians] as tri-racial" (Porter 1980:50). The problem is somewhat complicated, however, by Porter's further assertion:

The most important question to consider is not whether or to what extent these groups are Indian. . . . the emphasis should be on the process of acculturation, reconstruction of tribal histories, economic and social integration into American society, and . . . the problems of maintaining community and individual identity (Porter 1980:50).

While all of the goals stated under his "emphasis" are part of this study to one degree or another, the issue of Indian identity, genetically and culturally, is considered to be of extreme importance in the study of the Eastern Indian populations, etically and emically.

Goals of Research

This study encompasses thirteen research goals, two of which are considered major, eleven subsidiary. The major goals are:

1. to provide substantial documentation to disprove the myth that the Piscataway left the Maryland Colony en toto; and

2. to provide as much evidence as possible to prove that the present Piscataway population is the genetic and cultural descendant of the aboriginal contact-era manifestation.

Subsidiary research goals are:

1. to review the state of archaeological knowledge of the study area to determine what can be said concerning the archaeological time

depth that can be attributed to the Piscataway;

2. to provide a modified ethnography of the Piscataway on the eve of European contact and colonization;

3. to present a chronological history of the Piscataway from the advent of European contact to their alleged "disappearance" from the historical records;

4. to illustrate that English conceptions of what an Indian was influenced the historical development of Piscataway-English relations, especially evident after 1705; also, to show how these conceptions helped foster the disappearance myth and led to the gradual rejection of Indian identity by the Piscataway's non-Indian neighbors;

5. to present a strong case for connecting existing Piscataway surnames to the colonial population and in the process to illustrate that these names came to dominate the group only in the early American period;

6. to provide evidence of the continuity of group identity in the "post-disappearance" era;

7. to provide documentation illustrative of the gradually altering perceptions by non-Indians of the Piscataway during the nineteenth century, emphasizing the establishable fact that the Indian population was recognized as "other";

8. to illustrate the potential problems facing the Eastern Indian in general, and the Piscataway specifically, after the "rediscovery" by James Mooney--problems that are shown to be concerned with scholarly concepts of the so-called "isolate";

9. to overview various Piscataway-specific studies that have been undertaken in the twentieth century to illustrate the nature of contemporary Piscataway culture;

10. to highlight various aspects of Piscataway culture as it is found in the 1980s, focusing on those attributes reflective of Indianness;

11. to briefly outline the recent Indian Movement observed among the Piscataway.

Terminologies Employed

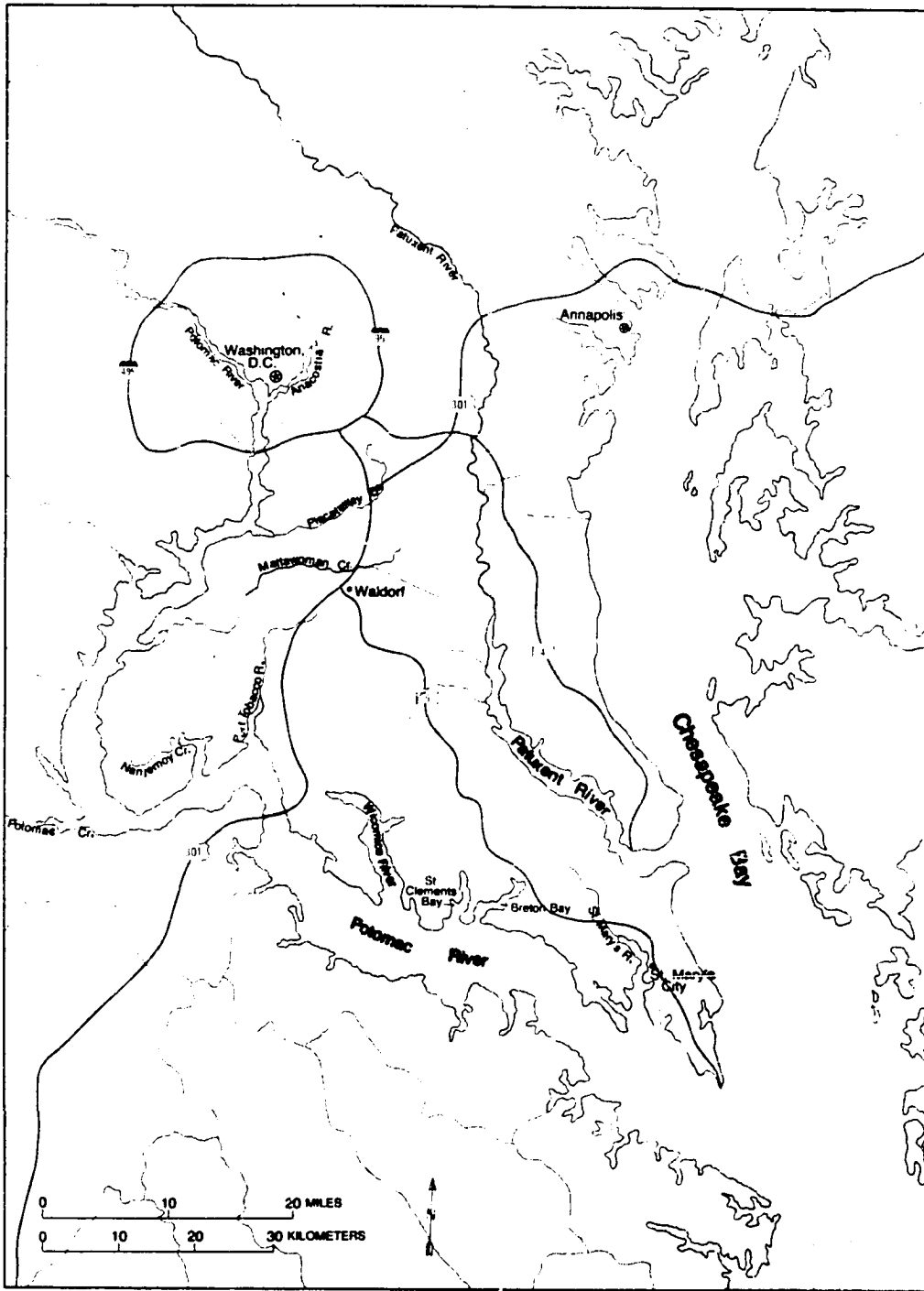
This section briefly defines the study area, as well as the label Piscataway.

The study area is defined as that portion of southern Maryland known as the Western Shore. This encompasses the contact-era extent of Piscataway territory: present-day Prince George's, Charles, and St. Mary's Counties and Washington, D.C. The area is situated on the Coastal Plain of Maryland and bordered by the Patuxent River, the Potomac River, the Chesapeake Bay, and the Maryland Piedmont (see Map 1). Subsistence activities, such as hunting and fishing, would have extended into at least the fringes of the Piedmont.

The Western Shore also includes the area presently divided into Calvert and Anne Arundel Counties, the former being the early historic home of the Patuxent and neighboring Indians and the latter evidently somewhat of a free or buffer zone in the early contact period.

The Piscataway were the dominant sociopolitical body in the study area. Thus, although discussion will frequently address individual subgroupings of the expanded chiefdom, the umbrella label Piscataway will be employed to refer to the overall population.

The first justification for the use of the label Piscataway comes from a realization of their political position in the early colony. Further justification is provided by the use of the term in most of the historical writings concerning the Indians of the Western Shore. It



Map 1. Study area and vicinity

should be pointed out that a number of scholars employ the label "Conoy" when discussing the Piscataway and neighboring peoples. This term is generally limited, however, to discussions focusing on the people who left the Colony and/or when the Piscataway are only mentioned in passing.

Final justification is provided by the present-day Piscataway. Although some in the general Indian Movement claim affiliation with various sub-tribes, virtually all use the label Piscataway when referring to themselves.

Divisions of Study

The research presented goes both forward and backward in time, looking first at the nature of archaeological knowledge of the Piscataway and then presenting a generalistic overview of the contact-era ethnography. Discussion and analysis next focus on the dawn of contact and the English/Indian relations prior to the founding of the Maryland Colony. Specific concentration is brought to bear on the colonial history of Maryland as it pertains to the interrelations between the Piscataway and their English neighbors.

This is followed by documentation pertaining to the Piscataway who did leave the Colony, as well as documentation pertaining to the Piscataway who did not leave. Documentation and analysis continue with an overall focus of the study being on culture contact, culture change, and strategies of identity maintenance, up until Mooney's work of the late 1800s. Finally, data pertinent to the Piscataway in the twentieth century, including glimpses into contemporary culture, are presented and analyzed, concluding with a brief picture of the Indian Movement among these people.

Research Methodology

As an ethnohistorical study, this research utilizes a number of data bases combining "a cultural anthropological theoretical framework with historiographic research procedures for the study of culture and culture process" (Spores 1980:575). In addition to general theoretical concepts and positions, such as those illustrated by Wallace (1956), Barth (1969), and Bee (1974), and potentially comparative studies such as those of Blu (1980) and Porter (1979a, 1979b, 1980), the varied types of sources available to and useful in this study include: (1) archaeological studies that have attempted to understand the nature of the areal prehistory, especially in the Late Woodland Period; (2) ethnographical studies; and (3) historical documentation.

The importance of each category of literature is somewhat self-evident by its nature. Theoretical studies provide a general framework by which the nature of the contact and historical situation can be better understood. Comparative literature is especially useful in this study in both the presentation of an ethnography at the time of European contact and for occasional broader indications of various findings concerning Piscataway history.

One important aspect of these comparative works is the historical documentation suggestive of an amalgamation of contact-era tribes being embodied in at least some of the present Eastern Indian populations. This is true for the Chickahominy (Stern 1952:157), the Lumbee (Blu 1980), and the Nanticoke (Porter 1979a:186).

Historical documentation provides the bread and butter for such an ethnohistorical study. Naturally the document itself must be seen in the light of the historical times and the intent of the material in question.

That is, historical documentation cannot always be taken on face value to be true.

Extensive varieties of historical materials are present in Maryland, mostly housed at the Hall of Records in Annapolis. The compiled Archives of Maryland includes the proceedings of both houses of the colonial government. Land records in the forms of patents, surveys, resurveys, deeds, and titles are filed. Also housed at the Hall of Records are wills and marriage/birth records, slave statistics, Revolutionary War and Church records, and a diverse range of census compilations.

These printed materials were analyzed in light of the proposed breakdown of the study as outlined above. Depending on the nature of the document in question, source materials were valuable to one or more sections of the study.

In addition to an analysis of the written resources, the methodology included a fieldwork aspect. Interactions with the Piscataway date to 1975 when linguistic research was undertaken at the request of the tribe. This is addressed in the ethnographic section of this study. The linguistic work incorporated limited cultural investigations, which spawned the idea and the realization of the need for this dissertation. Contact was maintained with the Piscataway over the intervening years, an awareness of their goals and aspirations being continuous. Numerous Indian events were attended, including lectures, meetings, and powwows. This background was combined with a series of structured and informal interviews to further the understanding of the contemporary Piscataway.

Importance of Study

The importance of this study to the discipline of anthropology and the subdiscipline of archaeology is varied. First and foremost, it

provides a comprehensive ethnohistory of an Eastern American Indian population that can be added to the overall data base, which at present is sorely lacking in such studies.

It also provides a comparative source for future anthropological studies among Eastern American Indians, thereby assisting in the anthropological goal of finding universal responses to intercultural actions.

Especially important to anthropology as a humanistic discipline, this study will hopefully assist the Piscataway in their struggle for recognition as an Indian people. This fits in with the goals and growing importance of anthropology as an applied science.

Of importance to archaeology is the effort to trace the ancestral Piscataway into the archaeological past, as well as the attempt to convert archaeological "cultures," "phases," and "complexes" into real people. This study is in compliance with and support of Trigger's statement (1980:673) that

more active participation in the study of Indian history will provide prehistoric archaeology with one important focus for its research. It may also stimulate archaeologists to ask new kinds of questions and to see significant new implications in their data.

CHAPTER II

PISCATAWAY PREHISTORY

Introduction

To determine the prehistoric antecedents of an historically documented people, it is first necessary to define how that historic manifestation is determined. It has been noted that the Piscataway were, at the time of initial European contact, the dominant members of a loose sociopolitical organization inhabiting the study area. This was a Coastal Plain adaptation, yielding at the Fall Line, or shortly thereafter, to neighboring, presumably non-Algonquian-speaking, tribes. Bordering the Piscataway to the north were the Iroquoian Susquehannock; to the south, the Patawomeke and various subsidiary tribes of the Powhatan Chiefdom; and, to the east, across the Chesapeake Bay, groups such as the Choptank and the Nanticoke. All but the Susquehannock were Algonquian-speaking.

The direct historical approach works backwards in time using a three step process: (1) location of Indian sites from the historic period; (2) determination of associated cultural complexes; and (3) tracing these complexes back in time (Steward 1942:337). This approach has been used with considerable success in the Southwest, New York State, the Plains, and the Mississippi Valley (Steward 1942:338). Work in New York State has proceeded to the degree that "the hypothesis of a local origin for Iroquoian groups, probably well prior to the beginning of the Christian era, and subsequent in-place development is most likely" (Tuck 1978:322).

Scholars from New York have developed regional sequences dating from A.D. 800 to the present.

The study area has seen the advent of a cultural chronology in the seminal work by Stephenson, Ferguson, and Ferguson (1963). This work, however indispensable to the present research, had as a goal to list the cultural sequence in the area, not to use the direct historical approach to take the Piscataway back in time. The nearest study that has utilized this approach and is immediately relevant to this project is that of Potter (1982) in his analysis of the Chicacoan settlements near the junction of the Potomac River and the Chesapeake Bay in the Northern Neck of Virginia.

Before the direct historical approach can be employed to trace the prehistoric ancestry of the Piscataway, considerable research will have to be undertaken to synthesize the nature of contemporary archaeological knowledge of the study area and vicinity. At the present time, the picture is clouded and confused. The research needed to clarify the situation is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

The present chapter is subdivided into four sections. The first is a brief overview of general attributes of the Late Woodland. The second discusses the accepted archaeological antecedent (defined and explained below) of the Piscataway, the Potomac Creek culture. The third briefly addresses suggested origins of Potomac Creek and, hence, the possibility of taking the Piscataway further back into prehistory. The fourth section focuses on what should be done, with a direct historic approach in mind, to adequately trace the Piscataway back in the archaeological record.

The Late Woodland Period

While the Late Woodland in the Potomac area in general presents a confusing picture (McNett n.d.:154), this period was also one of considerable change throughout much of the Eastern Woodlands. Contemporary thinking places the start of the Late Woodland at about A.D. 800 (Steponaitis 1980:31). An earlier estimate of A.D. 1200 (Stephenson 1963:174) is no longer accepted. The opinion seems unanimous, however, that conditions were radically altering:

[There was] a breakdown of trade and exchange networks, alterations of settlement patterns, the development of sedentary lifestyles, and the appearance of agricultural food production to varying degrees in different areas (Custer 1984:146).

This is not to say that there was no trade--shell pendants, possibly of Mississippian origin, have been found at the Patawomeke site in Stafford County, Virginia; and copper ornaments (for example, bracelets, headbands, and necklaces) have been found in the Potomac region (Feest 1978c:255).

Perhaps the most important attributes of the Late Woodland are the altered settlement patterns and agricultural focus, both noted by Potter (1982). The prehistoric residents of the study area can be seen to have been a riverine-adjusted people (Clark 1976:6), an adaptation also noted for the Southeast (Muller 1978:308). Attempts to locate early contact villages and claims of such location (Stephenson 1963, Schmitt 1965), as well as the large number of Late Woodland sites discovered throughout the study area, strongly support the riverine focus.

A riverine focus, reflective of agricultural exploitation, is important to the archaeological knowledge of a region in that it reflects possible competition for cultivatable soils (Potter 1982). As a consequence,

the more important agriculture became, the more necessary it would be to have centralized, redistributive authorities. The more centralized the economic controls and populations were, the more agriculture was necessary for survival (Muller 1978:307).

Although this quote refers to the Southeast as a general area, its applicability to the Maryland/Virginia Coastal Plain is shown by the development of the strong Powhatan chiefdom of Virginia (Turner 1976).

Major settlements would be located along major rivers and large streams or near the junction of the two. Adjacent marsh lands, as well as the interiors, would be exploited for a variety of faunal and floral resources. This would have been a basic picture for the period from circa A.D. 1300 until the advent of European contact. In his study of Late Woodland site distribution in the Northern Neck of Virginia, Potter (1982:353) states that "the observed areal pattern of . . . [these] components is similar to the seventeenth century ethnohistoric settlement pattern." He points out the benefits of having dwellings dispersed within the village. Supplies of wood would last longer and pests would be less of a problem. Village movement would have been a slow, "almost imperceptible process" (Potter 1982:360).

He lists five attributes of an area in the estuarine Coastal Plain that would serve to attract a village site: broad necklands; proximity to cove, bay, or estuary; proximity of freshwater springs; soil type; and proximity of marshlands. Due to local geographic conditions, these attributes would probably be somewhat altered in the study area.

Subsistence consisted of the exploitation of a wide range of faunal and floral species, ranging from an assortment of mammals, reptiles, birds, and fish to shellfish, wild plants, and cultigens. Specific species are discussed in the following section.

The Potomac Creek Complex

Very few, if any, archaeologists doubt that the Potomac Creek Complex (defined by Stephenson, Ferguson, and Ferguson 1963 and Schmitt 1965) can be equated with the historically known Piscataway Indians. Potter offers a strong cautionary note to anyone who is considering the geographical extent of the complex, if it is being viewed as synonymous with the territory occupied by the Piscataway Indians. This is a very valid point and one that must be carefully considered, if the prehistory of the Piscataway is to be determined:

The occasional occurrence of Potomac Creek sherds on lower Rappahannock River sites does not justify the inclusion of such sites in the 'Potomac Creek Complex,' if the complex is meant to denote protohistoric or historic sites of the Piscataway-Conoy chiefdom (Potter 1982:134-135).

Clark argues that the complex "developed in the Coastal Plain province from the York River north to the Susquehanna" (1980:8). On an accompanying map (Clark 1980:9), the theoretical hub of the complex is shown to be confined to the Western Shore of Maryland, along the Potomac River. The extent into Virginia is exaggerated. Potter (1982:134) states that Potomac Creek appears as a majority ware along the Potomac downriver to the Upper Machodoc Creek and along the Rappahannock only to about sixteen kilometers below Fredericksburg. Westward, the extent would theoretically go little beyond the Fall Line (depending on which phase in Potomac Creek prehistory we are talking about).

If all sites could be viewed as being contemporary and actual sites related to a specific culture recognized by Potomac Creek attributes, this would represent a prehistoric manifestation occupying both sides of the Potomac River southward to both sides of the Rappahannock River. In neither case, however, would the extent go all the way to the mouth of the

river. The hub would be between the Potomac and Rappahannock. Occupation would yield to people using shell-tempered Townsend wares along the Potomac in the general area where increased salinity allows for oyster exploitation, near Pope's Creek. The questions that additional research would have to answer are three: (1) chronological position of individual sites and site complexes; (2) the nature of the sites (village, hamlet, manufacturing, etc.); and (3) how representative is the sample.

The problem is that the chronology is poorly understood and no carbon-14 dates are available. McNett (n.d.) subdivides the complex into three phases: Ferguson, Patawomeke, and Indian Point. Clark (1976:133), accepting this breakdown, provides tentative dates of A.D. 1350-1450, 1450-1608, and 1608-1711, respectively. These dates correspond to the development of Potomac Creek in the Ferguson Phase, followed by the period up to European contact, and lastly the contact history of the Piscataway until they supposedly left the Colony.

Diagnostic artifacts provide temporal indicators for both prehistoric and historic archaeology. For the former, the key markers are usually confined to ceramics and/or projectile points. Ceramics have proven especially useful to studies of the Late Woodland Period, a time when the types that archaeologists have identified greatly increase in number. Importantly, ceramics can also give gleanings of ethnicity.

Potter (1982) has cautioned against using ceramic types to define archaeological cultures. This study concurs with his perspective; one must have a lot more to go on than "culture X is/is not present based on the presence/absence of ceramic type Y." This is a simplistic one-to-one formula that does little in helping to understand the identity of pre-contact Indians and, in fact, could lead to erroneous conclusions.

A good example in support of this contention is the work by Brumbach (1975) in New York State. Her goal was to see if the archaeological record as exhibited by ceramics could reflect tribal identity. The study looked at Algonquian ceramics from several sites, comparing them to ceramics from known Mohawk (Iroquoian) sites. Various traits--for example, surface treatment, rim and collar designs, and the nature of incised lines (horizontal, vertical, oblique)--were taken into account, as was the historic record that attested to early contact-era animosity between the tribal groupings. The conclusion was that no clear differences could be determined, but the suggestion was made that what may be reflected is an "interaction sphere" transcending tribal affiliations (Brumbach 1975:28).

Archaeological efforts to understand Woodland culture and process have relied heavily on ceramic studies, starting with the monumental work of Holmes (1903) and continuing with Evans (1955). In more recent years, impressive advances have been made by researchers such as Griffith (1980, 1982). Here the research is geared at more adequately defining the temporal effectiveness of ceramics, which is very different from assuming ceramic type equals culture.

The number of ceramic types associated with what is traditionally called the Late Woodland in the Middle Atlantic region, even when limited to the "greater vicinity" of the study area as defined above, is quite extensive. The researcher can easily become bogged down in a confusing array of data. Fortunately, the ceramics can be divided into two major ware categories: Potomac Creek and Townsend. Each, especially Townsend, is further subdivided. The undeniable placement of the prehistoric Piscataway in the Potomac Creek Complex helps alleviate the problem.

Historical evidence is presented in the next several chapters, especially Chapter IV, supporting the Potomac Creek equals Piscataway hypothesis. In brief, this consists of a statement made by the leader of the Patawomeke Indians that they and the Piscataway had formerly been "ancient allies" but were enemies in the early 1600s (Merrell 1979:552). A new question arises: can the archaeological data determine changes in the record reflective of the pre- or early contact schism? This question is premature, in that the dates of the three-phase breakdown postulated by McNett (n.d.) are not firm. By the same token, the suggested phases must be further refined.

Potomac Creek Chronology

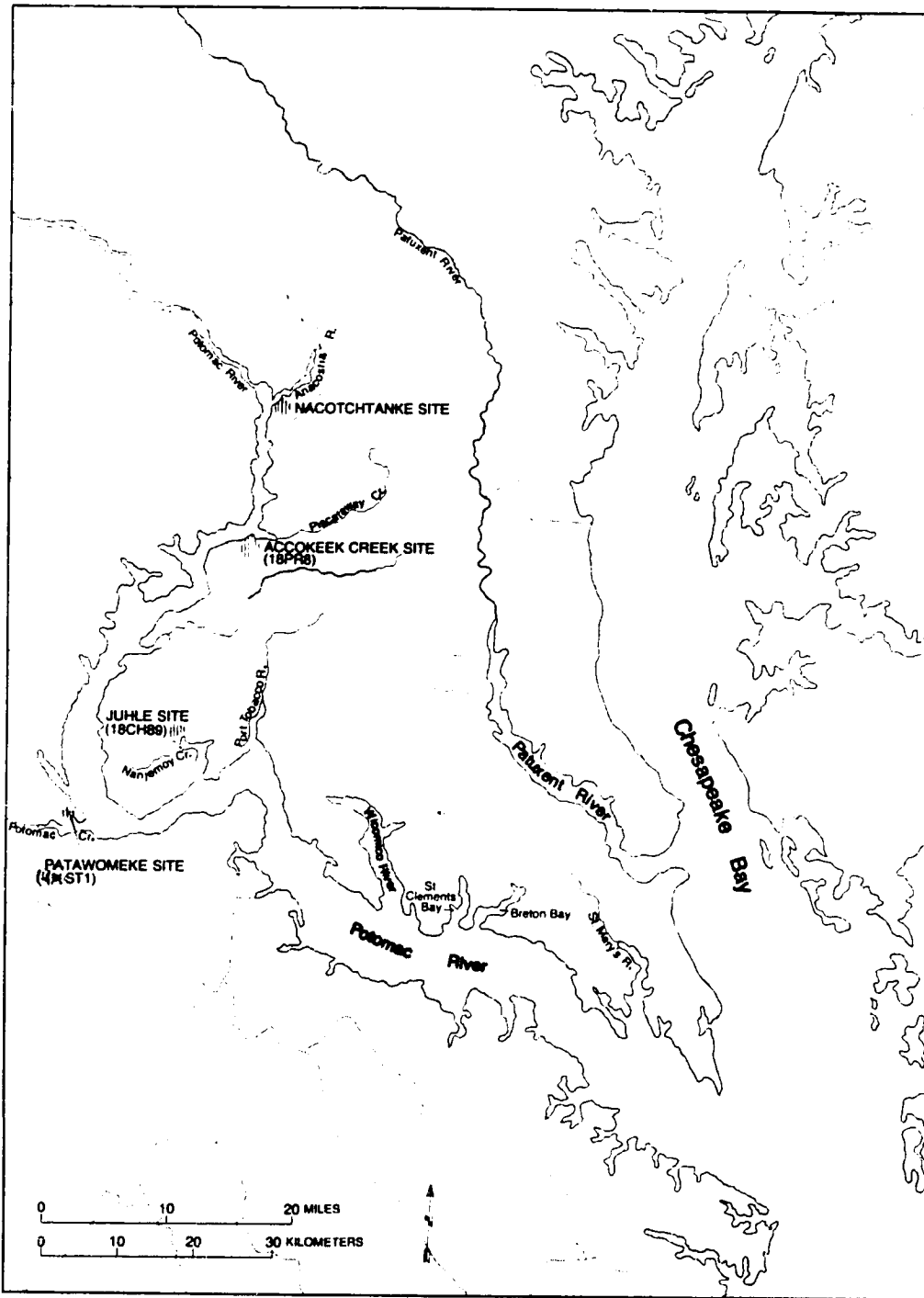
The diagnostic artifact, Potomac Creek Ware, has been most recently defined as vessels

made by coiling, with paddle-malleated surfaces. Vessels are large, with globular bodies, everted or straight rims (some with applique strips) and rounded bases. The clay is tempered with 20 to 35% crushed quartz and/or medium sand grains. The clay is compact and hard, and vessel walls are relatively thin (Egloff and Potter 1982:112).

This recent reference is appropriate due to McNett's admonition that "one of the most interesting things about Potomac Creek is that none of the type descriptions agree" (McNett n.d.:243). His reference is to descriptions provided by Griffin (Manson, MacCord, and Griffin 1944), Stephenson (Stephenson, Ferguson, and Ferguson 1963), and Schmitt (1965).

Stephenson considers the Accokeek Creek Site (18PR8) to be a component of what he terms the Potomac Creek Focus (see Map 2) and states that "pottery . . . remains the basic criterion upon which the cultural reconstruction is made" (Stephenson 1963:190). He continues:

Other items that can be clearly identified with this period are pottery tobacco pipes, projectile points, a distinguishable



Map 2. Major archaeological sites.

village pattern, stockades, refuse pits, storage pits, ossuary burials, and dog burials (1963:190-191).

Two types of Potomac Creek ceramics are defined: Cord-impressed and Plain, as are three types of Moyaone: Cord-impressed, Plain, and Incised. Potomac Creek Plain exhibits no surface decorations, while punctated and incised ceramics are lumped together with the Cord-impressed type. Stephenson suggests a one-way trade in ceramics (assumedly referring to ceramic styles rather than vessels) between people of the Potomac Creek Complex and the Keyser Farm people of the Piedmont (1963:194-195).

Schmitt (1965:10-11) determines two types of Potomac Creek Ware at the Patawomeke site (44ST1) in Virginia: Cord-impressed and Sand-tempered. The latter is either smoothed or cord-roughened, decorations being rare. This is suggestive of Potomac Creek Plain.

McNett (n.d.) divides Potomac Creek into three chronological units, as noted above. The ceramics, however, are only rough temporal markers, divisible into two varieties. The Ferguson Phase pottery "is decorated with rather careless cord-wrapped stick designs" and tempered with crushed quartz, while ceramics of the Patawomeke and Indian Point Phases are "classic" as at the Patawomeke site (McNett n.d.:273-274).

Two types of Potomac Creek, Cord-impressed and Plain, are recognized by Egloff and Potter (1982) in their compilation of definitions of the ceramics of the Coastal Plain of Virginia. This is in basic agreement with Stephenson's breakdown.

Egloff and Potter (1982) agree with Stephenson's division of the enigmatic Moyaone Ware into three types. Waselkov (1982:258) obtained two carbon-14 dates for this ware from the White Oak Point Site (44WM119) in Westmoreland County, Virginia, uncorrected at A.D. 1310 and 1460. These dates are noted by Egloff and Potter, who state "the ware probably

continued to be made up to the early 1600s" (1982:112). More research is needed to understand the relation of this ware to Potomac Creek ceramics. Potter (1982) notes that it has affinities with Potomac Creek.

In conclusion, it can be seen that the Potomac Creek Ware is best classified into two types, Cord-impressed and Plain, and that it has an uncertain association with the Late Woodland Moyaone Ware. In addition, the ceramic was subjected to physical alterations by the manufacturers over time. This allows the archaeologist to attempt to discover a more concise chronology. Potter believes, based on evidence from his study in the Northern Neck of Virginia, that the Potomac Creek Plain "may have originated or, at least, increased in frequency during the Protohistoric Period" (1982:134), defined as A.D. 1500-1607.

Potomac Creek - Culture Content

At this point, it is pretty well established that the ceramics associated with the Potomac Creek Complex are at least beginning to be understood from the chronological, if not associative, perspective. This section will outline some of the key attributes of the Potomac Creek culture. Especially important are the make-up of the located villages, the associated burials, and subsistence data gleaned from pit excavations. Adherence to the hypothetical Ferguson-Patawomeke-Indian Point continuum must await additional investigations, such as those outlined in the concluding section of this chapter.

Refuse Pits

The Accokeek Creek site had a large number of refuse pits from which Ferguson was able to make some faunal determinations. These provide the only clues available from the site relating to pre-contact Piscataway

subsistence practices.

Pit 55 contained a wide variety of faunal remains including 1,492 deer bones, 201 turtle carapaces, 112 sturgeon cheek shields, 10 dog bones (and one complete dog skeleton), 27 raccoon bones, and 45 "worked" bones. In addition, there were a large number of turkey bones, as well as osteological remains of ducks and other unspecified birds, and remains of squirrel, bobcat, unspecified fish and clams. Lastly, this pit yielded one shell bead and one human skull (Ferguson 1963:55-58).

Ferguson suggests deer hunting in the winter, as would be expected from the ethnographic evidence, and clamming/fishing in the summer. In reality, spring would be a better season in which to exploit anadromous fish, such as shad and sturgeon, as well as shellfish. This would also be more in line with ethnographic evidence, such as that provided by Smith (1612) and Strachey (1612).

Speaking of the contents of the refuse pits in general, Ferguson found that 80 percent of the identifiable bones were deer. Other mammals were fox, skunk, lynx, elk, bear, and wolf. The major focus, from her analysis, seems to have been on deer, freshwater clams (which she suggests were either steamed, let open naturally, or eaten raw), and turkey.

What I would suggest here is that deer were most likely more heavily utilized in the fall/winter; clams in the spring; with turkeys perhaps helping to fill in during the summer. It should be noted that the Piscataway may have eaten shellfish in what we would consider the off-season, June through August, as suggested by Ferguson. Kalm (in Waselkov 1982:41) supports this contention and states that early English visitors noticed this trait among both Indians and "lower class" colonists.

Concerning the presence of dogs in the refuse pits, Ferguson suggests that they seem to have been thrown in after dying and that they were probably not part of the food chain. One dog had apparently been killed; two arrow points, one small and the other large, were found in association (Ferguson 1963:58).

Unfortunately, the most sophisticated techniques available to and employed by Waselkov (1982) in his study of shell midden archaeology at the White Oak Point Site (44WM119) in Westmoreland County, Virginia, were not employed at the Accokeek Creek Site. These techniques include analysis of materials gathered by flotation. Investigations can now determine the mean number of individuals for each species represented in the faunal remains. This, combined with more detailed study, allows a determination of the estimated meat weight provided by each and the season of exploitation. The latter is gleaned from tooth eruption and growth rates for deer and shell rings for oysters, to give but two examples. Thus, sophisticated technology now allows an increased understanding of species of plants and animals utilized, the percentage of their contribution to the food base, and the season of exploitation and, by extension, site occupancy.

Village Composition

Stockade lines are present at both the Accokeek Creek Site and the Patawomeke Site. The first thing suggested from such a feature is the importance of warfare to the Potomac Creek population on both sides of the Potomac River.

The second thing evident from an analysis of the site reports is that the fortifications were complete around Patawomeke, but incomplete at Accokeek. This may be a cultural statement, but erosion as the causal

factor cannot be ruled out at the present time. Henry Ferguson estimated that approximately 30 feet of shore had eroded during the thirty-eight years his family occupied Hard Bargain Farm (Ferguson 1963:31). Thus, there is a strong possibility that the palisade at the Accokeek Creek Site at one time formed a complete enclosure.

At both sites, Accokeek and Patawomeke, ossuaries are located within the stockades (although one is out of the compound at Accokeek). Both sites exhibit large enclosures, subjected to more than one phase of construction. Schmitt (1965) sees two at Patawomeke, while McNett (n.d.) argues for three. Thirteen stockade lines are found at Accokeek. Although the diameters of the Accokeek stockades were not determined, Schmitt (1965f:7-8) notes diameters of 175 to 280 feet at Patawomeke.

One major difference, the significance of which can only be determined after considerable comparative study, is the size of the posts used to construct the stockade lines. Schmitt (1965:6) says posts were three to five inches in diameter at Patawomeke, while Ferguson (1963:51) found posts four to seven inches in diameter in the stockade line and three to four inches inside the stockade at the Accokeek Creek Site.

A second difference, which may be more significant, is the spacing of the posts. This is about one foot at Accokeek (Ferguson 1963) and six to eight inches at Patawomeke. The difference here is significant but may be accounted for by the thickness of the posts.

Schmitt (1965:26-29) lists 148 traits found at the Patawomeke Site and compares them to data from the Accokeek Creek Site. His comparison includes items relating to village locale and formation, ceramics, bone/antler work, shell work and shell beads, stone works, and burial data. He concludes that about 80 percent of the traits are shared.

Although this is impressive, what is really needed at this time is a more detailed comparison, trait by trait, and a better understanding of the function of the various traits in the culture. The usefulness of knowing a trait was present is lessened if the cultural context is undefined. Again, chronologic positioning must be more firmly determined before such comparisons can be fully made, although they in and of themselves may help solve temporal setting problems.

McNett (n.d.) sees the Accokeek Creek Site as largely of the Ferguson Phase, while Patawomeke is considered to be Patawomeke Phase. Therefore, suggested differences and others determined by further detailed comparison could be reflective of a cultural change among the prehistoric Potomac Creek population. On the other hand, determined differences may reflect the difference between Piscataway ancestors and those of the Patawomeke Indians.

Ossuaries

The interest in and study of ossuaries has a long history in the region (Davidson 1935; Ferguson 1937, 1940; Graham 1935; Stewart 1940; Stewart and Wedel 1937; Weslager 1942; and Ubelaker 1974). At the Accokeek Creek Site, Ferguson (1963:60) offers a possible cause for this form of burial, noting that use of the ossuary serves to preserve land for agricultural purposes. The plausibility of this perspective is lessened due to a lack of data suggestive of population pressures or other external causative agents that would force such conservation.

A much more plausible explanation can be provided by using the Huron "Feast of the Dead" as an analogy. The Huron practiced primary burial, the actual nature of which depended on the circumstances of individual death. Every eight to twelve years, village populations would disinter

the deceased, gathering the remains to rebury in common--in an ossuary (Hickerson 1960:88, Heidenreich 1978:374). This ceremony was part of the Feast of the Dead, but

was not only a religious ceremony but also an occasion to symbolize tribal union through common burial and to renew friendships with the living and the dead (Heidenreich 1978:374).

Hickerson (1960) discusses this phenomenon among the Algonquians of the Great Lakes. He argues for a Huron origin of the ceremony and reasons that it was held yearly, rotating from one village to the next. A form of redistribution of wealth was practiced on this occasion (Hickerson 1960:90-91) that probably served to enhance the social prestige of the benefactors. The Feast of the Dead served to strengthen alliances and offered the opportunity to join in new alliances. It served as a vehicle to ensure community solidarity.

Ferguson located three ossuaries within the stockades at the Accokeek Creek Site. A fourth was found to be situated about 1,000 feet to the southeast. The number of individuals was determined for Ossuaries I, III, and IV, and guessed for number II. There were approximately 200 to 300 individuals in each of the ossuaries located within the stockades. Over 600 were in the exterior ossuary. Viewed as a unit, the interred population would be between 1,300 and 1,400 people.

In addition to the ossuaries, the Accokeek Creek Site has two cemeteries. One is located within the outer stockades. There was no evidence of the interior stockades crossing; in other words, "there was a striking lack of the usual post moulds within the cemetery" (Ferguson 1963:61). An area 100 feet square in the cemetery was surface stripped, revealing a smaller number of artifacts than had been expected. Almost all of the ceramics were pre-Potomac Creek. No pits intrude on these

burials. Two of the burials had ceramics associated, earlier than Potomac Creek but vague as to ware or type. By context, the cemetery is assumed to be affiliated with the Potomac Creek culture (Ferguson 1963).

This is a fascinating find and one that should have received much more detail than was given. Basically, there were more than twenty individuals interred. There was only one male, a middle-aged individual placed in the middle of a rough circle of women. The indication is that the cemetery may reflect the importance of both the matriline and the role of the chief. It may indicate a chiefdom dating to an uncertain time in the pre-contact era. What is almost certain is that the ancestral Piscataway who occupied the site were aware of the cemetery. Whether or not they were responsible for it, or if it predated their occupation, is uncertain.

The second cemetery was located to the west of the village and had a larger number of burials. Some intruded on others. Associated ceramics included both Potomac Creek and earlier wares. No special orientation was noted. Interestingly, there were eight paired burials. All were apparently women, excepting one couple. The paired female interments consisted of two young women with children, the remainder being older women with middle-aged women (Ferguson 1963:61-66). Again, although temporal factors are somewhat confusing, indications are strong of a matrilineal people.

What Ferguson suggests is that individual interment continued "to a minor extent after the establishment of the ossuaries" (1963:64). An ethnohistoric account of the Patawomeke dating to the early 1600s supports this contention (Spelman 1613), although the deceased in that case may have been later subjected to group burial.

Ferguson (1963) found a lack of children's remains within the Accokeek Creek Site ossuaries. Ubelaker (1974), on the other hand, conducted a detailed study of Ossuary II (18CH89) from the Juhle Farm in Nanjemoy and found the remains to represent almost the entire population. The possible exception would include individuals who died at some distance from the village, as well as the chiefs and their families. Ubelekar suspects that both Nanjemoy ossuaries were used in the sixteenth century, shortly before European contact. This is, however, determined by associated ceramics, no carbon-14 dates having been obtained.

Speaking of ossuaries in general terms, based on an analysis of Ferguson (1963), McNett (n.d.), and Ubelaker (1974), several traits can be listed. First, almost the entire population is probably accounted for, Ferguson possibly not recognizing the remains of small children. Second, not all bones are interred, Ubelaker stating that "they selected those bones that best represented the individual" (1974:35). Third, some individuals' remains are articulated, assumedly reflecting those who most recently died (Ubelaker 1974). Fourth, some remains are cremated, but before being placed in the ossuary. Fifth, the ground that covers the ossuary is often burned. Sixth, ossuaries can be either inside or outside of the village: they are inside at both the Accokeek Creek Site and Patawomeke but are also outside at Accokeek. Other ossuaries are known and excavated, but associated villages have not been definitively located.

McNett (n.d.), in his chronologic breakdown of the Potomac Creek culture, sees two themes throughout this period. The first is the influence of warfare; the second is an increased use of personal ornaments over time as reflected in grave goods. This extended from an early

association with children's remains to a later inclusion of adults as well (McNett n.d.:275).

Patawomeke and Moyaone

Both Schmitt (1965) and Stephenson, Ferguson, and Ferguson (1963) argue that their respective sites are, in fact, historically attested villages. Both villages can be seen on the John Smith map. In recent years, there has been an increasing awareness that both sources may be in error. Potter (1982) questions the historic association of the Patawomeke Site, while McNett (n.d.) and Dent (1984) join him in questioning the claim that the Accokeek Creek Site is the historic village of Moyaone. This does not, however, really hamper the use of the direct historical approach, as both sites are known to be of, or at least have components from, the very late Late Woodland and/or the early Contact Period. In light of this, both still serve as good starting points for attempting to trace documented tribal ancestry.

Piscataway Origins

To this point, discussion has focused on the Potomac Creek antecedents of the Piscataway. This takes the tribe's ancestry back to about 1300 A.D. and determines them to have been residents of the Western Shore of Maryland at that time. This section will address the Montgomery Focus hypothesis and briefly suggest a counter-hypothesis.

The Montgomery Focus hypothesis, and it should be viewed as nothing more than a hypothesis, states that the origins of the Piscataway and related people who comprised the Potomac Creek population arrived in the Coastal Plain of the Western Shore of Maryland sometime circa A.D. 1300 (McNett n.d.; Clark 1976, 1980; MacCord 1984). The most concise arguments

are presented by Clark (1980) and MacCord (1984).

In condensed form, the argument is that the Potomac Creek population was pushed from a former homeland in the Piedmont, migrating down into the Coastal Plain. MacCord notes that the "evidence supporting this migration thesis is largely ceramic" (1984:3). Basically the ceramic evidence is that the cord-marking and crushed quartz temper of Potomac Creek is descendant from similar wares associated with the Montgomery Focus.

This Focus is not, however, quite that simple. It includes considerably more than a ceramic type. Originally defined, albeit briefly, by Schmitt (1952:62), the Montgomery Focus is the subject of a lengthy study by Slattery and Woodward (1970). Their analysis is based on four sites: Winslow (18M09), Fisher (44LD4), Kerns (44CK3), and Shepard (18M03). All are situated in the Piedmont of Maryland and Virginia.

A trait list is presented (Slattery and Woodward 1970:122-122.1) that could be matched to Schmitt's aforementioned compilation. This listing, however, limits itself to three of the four sites. A palisade is "probably" at the Winslow site, as are circular houses. More definable attributes include maize production, circular and elongated storage pits, dog burials, various bone tools, a variety of clay pipes, and granite/quartz tempered ceramics. Human burials are most frequently flexed, and grave goods were in association only at the Shepard site.

Despite the presence of these attributes, ceramics stand out as the prime indicator of the hypothesized move of Montgomery Focus people into the Coastal Plain. Although researchers, especially the supporters of the hypothesis, are quite aware of the overall nature of Montgomery Focus, there has been little effort spent in trying to prove affinity and

continuity with Potomac Creek based on any other attribute or group of attributes.

This is a difficult task, but one that must be undertaken if the goal of archaeology is to attempt to understand the past as a reality.

This issue is addressed by Clarke (1968). He notes that

the makers of a specific artefact-type population were an intercommunicating and therefore connected human group from a limited and contiguous area of space-time (1968:367-368).

He quickly qualifies this perspective, however, noting that the existence of trade, warfare, and other forms of cultural interaction void the simple one-to-one correlation. Clark (1968:369) states that it is the assemblage that makes up the archaeological culture but that, importantly, this cannot be assumed to be identical with the tribal grouping. This is a critical cautionary note and should be emphasized. It is relevant to relating the Montgomery Focus to Potomac Creek. It is also supportive of the contention that the Potomac Creek archaeological culture encompassed two major tribal groupings, the Piscataway and the Potomac (Patawomeke), each of whom was, in turn, composed of a number of subsidiary populations. What is needed is an analysis of the attributes from these sites vis-a-vis those from Accokeek Creek and Patawomeke.

A counter perspective could be called the "Eastern Shore Hypothesis." It is based on Piscataway oral history, recorded by the English in 1660 (Mooney and Thomas 1907). The critical component is a statement that the predecessor of the inherited chiefdomship came from the Eastern Shore, in other words, migration from the east not the west. The hypothesis also rests on suspected linguistic relationships, also indicative of a possible Eastern Shore origin of the Piscataway. The fact remains, however, that additional research geared at more fully

understanding prehistoric chronology in the study area is needed before this issue can be resolved.

Suggested Focus of Future Research

The original intent of this chapter was to more fully determine the archaeological antecedents of the Piscataway than has been possible. A truly coherent, concrete, and defensible definition of the Potomac Creek Complex, with firm chronological control, is lacking. The best work to date is that of McNett (n.d.). By the same token, the possible ancestral relation of the Montgomery Focus, or any other archaeological manifestation, to the Potomac Creek complex has not been adequately determined and certainly not proven.

Ideally, a stratified site or sites, rare in this area, would solve many of these problems. In the absence of such sites, much of the data needed can be accessed without sinking a shovel into the ground. First, if any of the burned soil areas associated with the large number of ossuaries that have been excavated in the area contain sufficient charcoal that is (1) still stored, and (2) uncontaminated, carbon-14 dates should be obtained. This would give a better understanding of the chronology and would test McNett's hypotheses in the process.

Secondly, a detailed study of the attribute listing used by Schmitt (1965) in comparing Patowomeke to the Accokeek Creek Site should be undertaken. The attribute listing should be revised and updated. However, to understand more clearly the nature of the archaeological record and to avoid erroneous conclusions, a systemic approach should be used instead of a trait by trait comparison. Traits must be understood in their context. This could be combined with environmental research and a

search for archaeological reflections of expanding socio-political organization.

A third course of study should focus on prehistoric ceramics found from Potomac Creek sites--Potomac Creek Ware, Moyaone Ware, as well as the Townsend and (possibly) Keyser Wares. Collections should be reviewed and field maps utilized where possible to see if any gleanings of ethnicity can be determined. A listing of ceramic attributes (such as surface treatment and decoration) should be computerized to statistically determine type varieties and internal/external relations. In other words, work such as that of Deetz (1965), Hill (1966), and Longacre (1964) can and should be undertaken in the area. The work of R.E. MacDaniel (personal communication) on Potomac Piedmont ceramic motifs should contribute to a better understanding of areal ceramic relationships.

Internal site ceramic distribution may reveal the actual interrelation between the various types of ware, in other words, possible suggestions of patrilocal residence uniting users of Potomac Creek and Townsend ceramics. If residence was matrilocal (discussed in Chapter IV), then it would be expected that ceramic types would be confined to Potomac Creek within an early Piscataway site. If such sites show a mixture of the two, the late Townsend being a minority ware, intra-site distribution may determine prehistoric residency.

The analysis of the Potomac Creek complex as a culture will certainly have to take into account additional attributes, as suggested by Potter (1982). These attributes, when appearing in isolation, may help us understand a particular archaeological culture but will do little to help us understand the actual tribal situation of the associated Indians. That is, the information sought is how the combination of traits reflects the

Indian group as a people vis-a-vis a different population that has similar overall traits. Each trait must be compared to other manifestations, after being divided into as many analytical parts as feasible. With the use of this methodology, greater understanding of Piscataway prehistory can be gained.

Finally, the usefulness of intra-site as well as inter-site studies cannot, in my opinion, be overstated. If the search is for ethnicity, tribal origins, and prehistory, as much data as necessary must be gathered and analyzed in order to get at the Indian behind the artifact. Otherwise, historically documented tribes in this area will by necessity have to remain in the realm of archaeological "cultures" manifested by "X" number of documented tribes in the historic period.

CHAPTER III

PISCATAWAY ETHNOGRAPHY: LANGUAGE AND SETTLEMENT

Introduction

This chapter is divided into several sections, each of which is further subdivided. The intent is to present a summary of relevant data concerning selected aspects of Piscataway culture as it was at the time of the founding of the Maryland Colony in 1634. The topics addressed include the general cultural placement of the Piscataway, the placement and nature of the Piscataway language, population estimates, and settlement patterns.

The most significant source pertaining to the contact-era ethnography of the Piscataway Indians in specific, and the Indians of the Western Shore of Maryland in general, is the Relation of Maryland (Anonymous 1635). Additional information is derivable from a number of primary sources in the form of "correspondences" (Jesuit "letters" and various "Narratives"). The most noteworthy of these is a short Relation written in 1634 by Father Andrew white, a Jesuit missionary. Somewhat earlier works, the writings of John Smith and associates being the prime example (Arber 1910), help complete the picture. Although data gathered by the early Virginia colonists and explorers relating specifically to the Indians of pre-colonial Maryland is naturally secondary to that particular to the Virginia Algonquians, it is, nevertheless, surprisingly extensive and invaluable to this research.

The early Virginia accounts are very useful for comparative purposes. When data concerning a specific Virginia Algonquian population

are compared to those available for the Piscataway, both the similarities and the differences are pertinent. If certain traits are found to be present in both populations (for example, the presence of a priestly class and associated religious rituals) then other traits incorporated under this aspect of the culture can be assumed to have most likely also been present.

The anthropological practice of dividing the continent into a varied number of "culture areas," illustrated by Wissler (1938, original 1917) and Kroeber (1939), combined with additional generalistic statements of cultural uniformity over a wide area (Speck 1924, Bushnell 1940) add to the data and analytical base that allows a better understanding of Piscataway culture. It allows moving from a general comparison to a more specific one, from Piscataway as part of a much broader manifestation to Piscataway in relation to their neighbors.

Language data offer an additional base from which the cultural placement of the Piscataway can be better determined. Knowledge of the linguistic relationship with immediate neighbors can be suggestive of the degree of cultural interaction or isolation. Thus, language data bridge the gap and allow the discussion to shift from generalistic statements concerning a broad area to specific statements concerning a more limited area, one from which trait comparisons would prove more relevant.

Population is often a viable factor not only in determining cause but in attempting to determine probable reaction in any particular situation. At the same time, number of people is only a cog in the structure of a society, an influencing factor, but not necessarily a determinant. Some knowledge of population size is, however, critical to the understanding of the culture contact situation. Thus, although the

nature of a people's sociopolitical organization can negate the ability of a large population to have any truly significant control over or input into societal response in the contact situation, some knowledge of population size is critical. Thus, providing Piscataway population figures at this time helps to set the scene on which the British ships Ark and Dove, carrying the first contingent of English colonists to the Maryland shores, were shortly to arrive.

Discussion of settlement patterns is somewhat reflective of the archaeological data presented in Chapter II. At the same time, it provides additional and important data with which to better understand the archaeologically-defined Potomac Creek culture. It also provides a base from which to view potential tribal boundaries.

Cultural Placement

A culture area is a geographic area within which the cultures show considerable similarity to each other and lack of similarity to cultures in adjacent areas. There is a strong correlation between culture area and subsistence resources (Jennings 1974:5).

Seminal works by Wissler (1938) and Kroeber (1939) stand out as catalysts in the anthropology of the American Indian. Wissler argues that the concept of the "culture area" is needed, "for only in this way could the number of groups [of American Indians] be reduced to the level of human comprehension" (1938:219).

The Western Shore of Maryland falls within Wissler's Area 7, the Eastern Woodlands. This is an extensive culture area with the Maryland/Virginia area being at the southern border. Under Kroeber's breakdown, the study area appears at the southern border of the Middle Atlantic Slope, Kroeber being uncertain if the Conoy (Piscataway) and Nanticoke should be included (1939:93). The Powhatan are placed in the

South Atlantic Slope.

Kroeber paraphrases Speck (1924), stating that although Speck placed the Piscataway and the Nanticoke with the Powhatan culturally, he (Kroeber) "hesitantly put them with the Delaware in the Middle Atlantic Slope" (1939:94). Thus, in both seminal works the cultural placement of the Piscataway is in doubt. Wissler provides an extensive trait list for each culture area. The Piscataway, being situated in a nebulous border area, would theoretically evidence some traits from both adjacent areas. These are briefly iterated in the following paragraph.

Traits from the Eastern Woodlands that are especially relevant to the study include: cultivation of corn, beans, and squash; a hunting focus on deer, bear, bison, and wild birds; a fishing focus, with sturgeon being particularly important; clothing made of animal skins; the use of the canoe; basketry; two kinds of residences, the long house for summer, the dome-shaped structure for winter; "ball-ended and gun-shaped" wooden clubs; the absence of lances; the practice of driving deer into water to be dispatched by canoe; mats made from reed or cedarbark; "work in wood, stone, and bone weakly developed"; use of copper; lack of social classes; and "specialization in root and herb formulas for treating the sick" (Wissler 1938:237-238).

Traits listed for the Southeast are largely reflective of a Mississippian core. Some of the more interesting and potentially more relevant include: agriculture more intensive than in north; heavy use of wild plants; dogs in food cycle; tobacco cultivated; deer hunting by stalk and surround; hunt of turkey and small game; residences covered with bark or thatch; fortified villages; clothes made of deerskin and bison robes; feather cloaks; use of the dugout canoe; use of ceremonial houses or

temples; "elaborate planting and harvest rituals"; clan system; shaman prominent; and development of strong political systems (Wissler 1938:240-241).

Flannery (1939) focuses her attention on what she terms the Coastal Algonquian culture. This area extended from the Maritime Provinces southward to include the Algonquian-occupied portion of North Carolina. Three hundred and twenty-seven cultural traits were compared, to determine presence/absence within eight subareas. A total of 167 traits were found to be present in a "Virginia-Maryland" subarea, which includes both the Western Shore of Maryland and the North Carolina Algonquian.

Some of the characteristics found in the Virginia-Maryland area include: cultivation of corn, beans, squash, sunflower, melon, and tobacco; the use of hunting methods, such as stalking in disguise, shouting and beating, as well as burning the brush. Fishing methods included use of the weir, spear, and arrow. Fish and meat were dried. Food was stored in pits. Copper was important and clothing included the breechclout and leggings. Body tattooing and painting occurred. Baskets, rush mats, dugout canoes, presence of the palisaded village, and the longhouse were additional traits. The spear, club, and bark shield were used, and inheritance of office was matrilineal. Women could hold office, and there was a "tendency toward despotism." Organization was of allied peoples, with payment of tribute. Other traits included the belief in a Supreme Being, use of the sweat lodge, and existence of corn festivals (Flannery 1939:167-176).

The suggested level of social organization is of particular interest. Trigger notes that the seventeenth century phenomenon of chiefdoms was evidenced all along the coast and points out the existence

of the present debate in the anthropological community concerning the time depth of this phenomenon. Some argue it resulted from European contact, others that it is aboriginal (Trigger 1978).

With respect to the Piscataway specifically, Speck maintains that the Piscataway and the Nanticoke spoke the same "dialect" as the Virginia Algonquians, but had "a slightly altered economic and social framework" (1924:184). Further, he believed that ethnological surmises that the Powhatan bore a close resemblance to the Piscataway and Nanticoke are reasonable and that one can even extend this view to include the Delaware.

Speaking of the Powhatan and associated tribes, including the Piscataway, Bushnell states that "the manners and customs of all the Algonquian tribes of the region were similar" (1940:128). A number of shared traits are listed: location of compact villages near water; houses either mat or bark covered; the use of the dugout canoe; the raising of corn near the village; a strong focus on shellfish, the oyster, as a food source; the use of ceramics, matting, baskets, and tanned skins, frequently decorated with beadwork and marginella shells; the wearing of beads and feathers; and body painting and tattooing (Bushnell 1940:128-129).

Speck contends that a number of traits are held in common by the Delaware, the Nanticoke, the Piscataway, and the Powhatan. He posits a "southeastern Algonkian linguistic and culture group" comprised of two culture areas--Powhatan and Carolina Algonquian. He also argues that the Algonquians of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina migrated to the area approximately 300 years before colonization.

Speck lists several hypothetically shared traits, three being associated with mortuary behavior--cleaning and preserving the bones of

deceased chiefs and use of the ossuary. Other shared traits include: architecture, basketry, clay pipes, feather work, "utensils and elements of maize" agriculture, tobacco and bean cultivation. The "new fire" ceremony is added to this list, as are ceremonials "directed to supernatural beings called Okee." Tribal organization included an order of priests/shamen called "quiocos" and a "quasi-monarchical form of government" (Speck 1924:191).

Speck supports his assertions by referencing a well-researched article by Willoughby (1907), which makes extensive use of original sources to present a cultural picture of the Virginia Indians at the terminal sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

The Piscataway Language: Linguistic Placement

Determination of the linguistic placement of Piscataway, as well as Nanticoke and Powhatan, is of extreme importance not only to the ethnohistory of these particular tribes (or groupings of tribes) but to the understanding of the prehistory of the Delmarva Peninsula and its surrounding areas.

As just noted, Speck (1924) argues for a southward migration of the Powhatan, and by suggested extension, the Piscataway and the Nanticoke. Importantly, this argument came at a time when migration theories were in vogue and before the advent of precise (or near precise) dating techniques such as carbon-14 for archaeology and glottochronology for linguistics. The latter has fallen from grace in linguistic studies, at least for the time being. Archaeologists now lean heavily on in situ development (Trigger 1978). However, in situ does not mean that there were not population movements within a confined area such as that suggested for the ancestral Piscataway by Stephenson, Ferguson, and Ferguson (1963) and

supported by the adherents of the Montgomery Focus argument presented in Chapter II. Proper linguistic placement of the areal tribes could be invaluable in assisting in understanding these prehistoric origins. The question is, "What are the linguistic affinities of the Piscataway?"

Unfortunately, very little linguistic data have come down to us from the early colonial explorers, colonists, and missionaries. Harrington (1955) says that William Strachey arrived in the Virginia colony in the latter part of 1611, acquired a job as the Secretary of the Colony, and remained until 1613. During this time, he acquired a list of over 800 words from the Virginia Algonquians.

A couple of years earlier, John Smith compiled a much more abbreviated listing, including some sentences, from the Virginia Algonquian (Arber 1910). A Nanticoke word listing can be found in Speck (1927) while the very limited Piscataway data (Harrison 1633) are located at the Georgetown University library in Washington, D.C. This small collection consists of religious materials: the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer.

Brinton (1884) implies that the closest affinity for Nanticoke and Piscataway is with Delaware. Gerard (1904) argues, on the other hand, that there were three dialects of Virginia Algonquian and that the language was most closely related to Cree. Michelson, although deriding Gerard, states that the Powhatan language

clearly belongs with the Cree group of Central Algonquian languages, that it is closer to Cree than to any other member of that group, but that it cannot be classified as a mere Cree dialect (Michelson 1933:549).

He concludes this statement with a line of support for the migration theory. Michelson's work has been very influential in Algonquian linguistics. Noted Algonquianist Leonard Bloomfield stated that in

grouping the Algonquian languages, we may follow "in the main, Michelson" (Bloomfield 1946:85). This classification consists of a four-way breakdown, with most tribes being grouped under a combined Central-Eastern category (including Powhatan, Delaware, Shawnee, and Cree, among a number of others). It should be noted that the prominent contemporary Algonquianist Ives Goddard has pointed out that advances in Algonquian linguistics have now outdated Michelson's seminal work of 1912 (Goddard 1979:94).

Siebert takes a different approach, noting "minor phonological disparity and considerable lexical diversity" in Powhatan and adding "these findings indicate that the speech of the Powhatan Confederacy was not homogeneous and that at least two and probably three dialects were recorded" (Siebert 1975:295). This provides recent support to Gerard's argument of more than one variety, as noted above.

This multi-dialect perspective is expanded by Siebert. After a detailed analysis of Strachey's word list, Siebert finds it to be "indisputable that there were at least two major Powhatan dialects and probably several minor ones" (1975:440). Linguistic variability is of importance in the understanding of cultural unity, especially in a chiefdom situation. Communication difficulties may have played a part in the manner in which chiefdoms spread out over the geographical landscape.

Siebert continues his argument stating that Proto-Eastern Algonquian separated "at a very ancient date" from Proto-Algonquian (1975:440) and that it "maintained a separate existence for a considerable period of time and underwent a period of common development" (1975:441). After this,

one group situated along the immediate Atlantic coast, from the Merrimac River south to Cape Hatteras, deviated from the rest of Eastern Algonquian and can be called the archaic coastal type of Proto-Eastern Algonquian (Siebert 1975:441).

At some unspecified later date, it is argued that inland Algonquians, in the form of Delaware and Mahican, pushed out from the interior of present-day New York and Pennsylvania shoving existing occupants out. The Powhatan and "some other Southeastern groups" (Siebert 1975:441) remained as Southern representatives of Proto-Eastern Algonquian.

The results of this argument are summed up by a chart accompanying his paper (Siebert 1975:446). It shows three languages and four dialects for Virginia Algonquian and two languages for Maryland: Conoy (Piscataway) and Nanticoke.

If Siebert's findings are accepted by Algonquianists, then the archaeological community has considerable food for thought. The linguistic community is not, however, in agreement. Goddard sums up the state of Algonquian linguistics:

Algonquian languages are largely independent offshoots of Proto-Algonquian, and except for a few sets of very similar languages or dialects, there are only one or two major subgroups that descend from intermediate common languages . . . The only clear-cut major subgroup is Eastern Algonquian, which includes all the languages of the Atlantic coast from Micmac to Carolina Algonquian (Goddard 1979:95).

Pointing out that the status of Powhatan presents "one controversial point in the internal classification of Eastern Algonquian" (Goddard 1979:103), Goddard argues that Siebert's (1975) perspective that Powhatan retained phonological archaisms not found in other Eastern Algonquian languages and that it forms a genetic subgroup with Nanticoke-Conoy (Piscataway), Carolina Algonquian, and the southern New England languages is erroneous. Goddard's independent study of the Strachey vocabulary does not support Siebert's findings. Shared innovations between Powhatan and the southern New England groups "do not seem to be sufficiently

established and conclusive to demonstrate that these languages constitute a subgroup" (Goddard 1979:103).

Since there is no "separate genetic unity among the Central Algonquian languages," their time depth will equal the time depth of the Algonquian language family (Goddard 1978:586). Goddard suggests that Proto-Algonquian was spoken about 2500 to 3000 years ago and states, very significantly, that the division between Proto-Eastern Algonquian and the rest of the language family

is abrupt enough to suggest that Eastern Algonquian has been separated from the rest of the family by intervening Iroquoian languages since the very earliest period of its development (Goddard 1978a:586).

Further, Eastern Algonquian languages must have been diverging from one another for approximately 2000 years, and "each . . . language shares features with each of its immediate neighbors" (Goddard 1978c:70).

The linguistic records concerning the Piscataway, as well as the Nanticoke and Powhatan, are quite scanty. The northern extent of the Powhatan language towards the Potomac River "is a matter of conjecture" (Goddard 1978c:74). The general assumption, however, that Piscataway and Nanticoke spoke the same language is probable, although the early recorders, such as John Smith, do note diversity in the area. More data for the Piscataway (for example, the lost catechism) are needed (Goddard 1978c).

The Piscataway word for supreme chief, tayac, and the Nanticoke word tall!ak seem "to be found only in these two varieties of Algonquian" (Goddard 1978c:73). In this same article, Goddard notes:

Too little is known of the southernmost languages to permit much to be said in detail about their linguistic relationships, though Nanticoke seems to have diverged considerably by undergoing a number of independent changes (Goddard 1978c:73).

In 1975-76, an attempt was made by this author and Ellen Lipp, under the direction of linguist William Leap, to analyze the Piscataway materials located at the Georgetown University library. The methodology was comparative linguistics, focusing on data obtainable from a number of Algonquian languages, especially Delaware, Cree, and the vocabulary of Powhatan recorded by Strachey. Our findings suggest that the closest relative is Delaware, specifically Lenape.

The Piscataway Language

To this point, some strong suggestions of linguistic affinity have been made. The purpose of this section is to illustrate some of the similarities between the language spoken by the Piscataway and those spoken by the Powhatan and the Delaware. Data for Piscataway come from the translated Ten Commandments. A comparative study using these data can focus on morphemics or phonemics or a combination of these. Due to the limited Piscataway data available and the strong possibility that the phonology is not as accurately recorded as the overall essence of individual words and their constituent morphology, morphemic analysis is viewed as the most lucrative.

Father White (or whoever the Jesuit recorder actually was) utilized two Latin loan words, Santo for "Holy" and osabbatho for "sabbath." The initial "o" in the latter may reflect the third person possessive in the Piscataway.

All the Commandments excepting numbers Three and Four make use of the negative, in other words, the admonition "Thou shall not." In Piscataway this appears as either mattah or mattiz. The mattah form appears in the First and Second Commandments, mattiz in numbers Five through Ten. This is clearly the negative, in the sense of "no," perhaps

emphatically. It is suggested that the mattiz form may, in fact, have been an especially forceful way of stating the negative, it appearing in the commandments that are most suggestive of forming social rules of order (Thou shalt not kill, steal, etc.).

This is the same as the Natick matta for "no or not" (Barbour 1972:36), as well as the Delaware matta (Brinton 1884:241). The final -h in mattah may be unnecessary and simply an indicator of aspiration. It may, however, be part of the word, an indicator of emphasis. Strachey records matah for "no or nay" (Harrington 1955). However, from Strachey, we also see mattah prefixed as a negative marker, for example:

<u>mattanahayyough</u>	I have it not
<u>mattaquenatorath</u>	I understand you not

The Piscataway word for "God" is recorded as Manet, either in isolation (in the Second and Third Commandments) or with the second person prefix kummanet (the First Commandment). By contrast, Strachey lists two words for God: Ahone and Rawottonemd. Here we are getting at different meaning and hints of culture as reflected by linguistic data. This could be clarified by a full analysis of the words in question. Brinton (1884) records manito as "he made it" or "spirit," while manitoak is defined as "spirits or makers." The -ak is the pluralizer.

The Third Commandment, in English "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain," is of particular interest. Here, from our interpretation of this difficult script, is the Piscataway version:

Mattah kowizkawazamo Manet

Compare kowizkawazamo with the Powhatan qweisgwesun. Both revolve around the verb "to whistle." Siebert (1975:403) argues the meaning is "he whistles." Context indicates "you whistle." Implied is "about" or

possibly "a song about." Hence, the full translation is "Don't whistle (a song) about God."

A couple of familial relations can be obtained from analyzing the Ten Commandments. The pronoun is prefixed. The Piscataway word for "brother" (literally "your brother") is listed as kiematt. Deleting the altered relation, in other words "my" as opposed to "your," the Powhatan word is almost identical: nemat. The Powhatan word for "father" is nows (literally "my father"), while the Piscataway word for "father" (literally "your father") is kos.

The last word to be presented in this section is the Piscataway number "one," determined to be nequut. This compares quite favorably to the Powhatan nekut and may be identical (this depends on the reality of the implied phonetic alteration).

Another source of comparative linguistics bears brief mention. The John Smith map of 1608 (Coale and Papenfuse 1982:2) indicates a large number of village names, both in Maryland and Virginia. A cursory analysis reveals that several are redundant, that is, they appear on both sides of the Potomac River and the Chesapeake Bay and are clearly associated with different Algonquian populations. For example, there were two villages named Cuttatawomen located along the Rappahanock River, one near the river/bay junction and the other well inland. Both Cuttatawomen villages were chiefs' residences. Two villages, again chiefs' residences, were named Wighcocomoco. One was located on the south side of the Potomac River, near the mouth. The second was situated across the bay. Two villages named Pamacocack were located along the Potomac River, almost across from one another.

Population

Population estimates for the Piscataway have varied. Swanton accepts Mooney's estimate of 2,000 people in A.D. 1600 (Swanton 1952:58). Kroeber (1939:140) suggests a population of 2,700, while an early trader, Henry Fleet, estimated a population of 5,000 people along the Potomac (Feest 1978a:242). Feest provides two estimates, one for 1608 of 1,000 people, another for 1632 of 2,500 people. Ubelaker estimates a population of "at least 7,000" (Ubelaker 1974:69).

It is important to determine both how the suggested population figures were derived and what groups were being considered to be part of the Piscataway grouping. A number of scholars have used the term "Conoy" rather than "Piscataway." This is true of Kroeber (1939), Swanton (1952), Feest (1978a), and Ubelaker (1974, 1976), to name but a few. As is illustrated below, the "Conoy" label is generally more inclusive than "Piscataway."

Ubelaker accessed Mooney's field notes and determined that the method employed was a simple multiplication of the number of warriors listed by John Smith by a factor of four, the assumption being three non-warriors for each warrior (Ubelaker 1974:68, 1976:257).

Smith (1612:1624) presents population figures for five villages along the north shore of the Potomac River; from east to west these are: Cecomocomoco with forty men, Potapaco with twenty men, Pamacacack with sixty men, Moyowances with one hundred men, and Nacotchtanke with eighty men. This presents a combined warrior population of 300 men. Mooney added an additional 200 warriors for the combined villages of Mattpament, Pawtuxent, and Acquintanacsuck, in accordance with Smith's estimation. This resulted in 500 warriors for what Mooney was calling the Conoy. The

total population was, therefore, 2,000. Mooney was considering the "Conoy" to incorporate all the Indian groups on the Western Shore of Maryland.

Mooney's original figures show an additional 400 people, assumedly an attempt to account for villages not shown on the Smith map (Ubelaker 1974:68). An adjustment of his population estimate could upgrade it to 2,400.

Ubelaker takes Mooney's figures into account in his own analysis of aboriginal population, partly based on the physical anthropological study of the two Nanjemoy ossuaries. First, Ubelaker suggests a warrior age range of fifteen to forty years. Second, he shows that 24 percent of the burials in Ossuary I and 23 percent in Ossuary II would fall within this category. This gives a close ratio of warrior to general population of 1:4.12 in the first ossuary and 1:4.38 in the second (Ubelaker 1974).

Ubelaker argues that since only two common villages are listed along with warrior estimates (Potapaco with 20 and Pamacocack with 60) that the average count of the two villages of 40 warriors could be taken as an estimate of the average common village size, the total village population equalling 160 people. His argument gets somewhat confusing at this point. He states that there are "20 additional villages in the same area" (Ubelaker 1974:69) and that their combined population of 3,200 people should be added to Mooney's count. He adds this figure to Mooney's and somehow arrives at a population of 8,400. My calculations make the population between 5,200 and 5,600.

Determining aboriginal Piscataway population based on data gleaned from the Nanjemoy ossuaries, Ubelaker suggests that the length of time between ossuaries would have been three years and that each would

represent the total number of deaths to have occurred within an area during that time period--an area of five to six villages ruled by a single chief. Using a sophisticated methodology, he determined that the population reflected by Ossuary I was 914 people, that of number II, 1,441. The latter is thought to be reflective of an expanding population and therefore the more recent of the two. Making a rough population estimate based on these data, Ubelaker rounds off the population of Ossuary II to 1,440 and multiplies by five, getting a total figure of 7,200 people (Ubelaker 1974).

Evidently, Ubelaker's definition of Piscataway territory is more abbreviated than Mooney's. He excludes villages located on the east bank of the Patuxent River, thus confining the Piscataway to the Western Shore west of this point.

Feest (1978a:242) uses Smith's 3:10 ratio and offers a population for the Piscataway, again under the name Conoy, of 1,000 in A.D. 1608. As discussed by Ubelaker (1974), such accounting deletes a considerable number of people. Importantly, Feest is seeing the Piscataway as being more confined than Ubelaker. Feest includes only those villages along the Potomac River; villages along the Patuxent River are considered Patuxent Indians.

Feest's (1978a:242) 1632 estimate of 2,500 people for the Piscataway is based on Fleet's perspective, mentioned above. Although the political organization of a chiefdom may influence village size and spacing, as illustrated by Potter (1982:363-365), it seems that Feest may be assuming that the population on both sides of the Potomac River would be about the same. Actually, to the point that one can assume that villages were of equal size, the total population along the north shore of the Potomac

should have been larger than along the south shore; twenty villages were located to the north and fourteen to the south of the river. Viewed as a unit, approximately 18 percent more of the population should have resided along the north shore of the Potomac, resulting in a very rough Piscataway population estimate of 3,400 people in 1632.

The grouping historically attested to be Piscataway proper, that is, the dominant grouping of the Piscataway chiefdom, is represented on the Smith map by the village of Moyaone and its satellites. The latter would consist of the three or perhaps four nearest neighbors. It is possible, although very difficult to prove, that the size of the Chief's house as drawn by Smith may have been reflective of an awareness on the part of Smith of a more dominant position of this group in the area. However, at this point that cannot be proven. Archaeological research will have to clarify this point. Using the 1:4 ratio, the Piscataway proper would have had a population of about 400 people in the Moyaone village (100 warriors x 4), with an additional population of about 480 to approximately 640 people (using Ubelaker's rough estimate of an average village population of 160, multiplied by three and four villages, respectively). This would result in a total population, at the time of Smith, of about 1,000 people for the Piscataway proper.

Looking at the length of the northern shore of the Potomac, the territory of the pre-contact Piscataway, the population can be estimated using a combination of Mooney's 1:4 ratio and Ubelaker's average village size (excepting chiefs) of 160 people. An exception will be made for the chief's village of Nussmek for which Smith provides no data. This village will be arbitrarily assigned the average village size of 160. The four chief's villages would give a combined population of 1,040 people. The

combined population of the sixteen common villages would be approximately 2,560 people. The combined population of the enlarged Piscataway grouping would then be 3,600. The suspected population, based on Ubelaker's discussion of the evidence from the ossuaries, would increase considerably to 5,760. The former figure is favored at this time. Ubelaker's work was, unfortunately, unable to provide a radiocarbon date. If a date could be obtained and Ossuary I proved the most recent, the population estimate would have to be lowered to 3,656 people.

Settlement Patterns

There are two broad categories of data pertinent to an understanding of settlement patterns. The first is the nature of the actual location of villages. The second is the internal makeup of the villages. This is somewhat of a continuum, the one overlapping the other. This section divides the data in the following manner: discussion of generalized site location and the basic nature of the village makeup; and notations on the type and nature of the household and other village structures. First, however, the following introductory statement serves to bridge the gap between the above discussion of "population" and the following related discussion of settlement patterns.

John Smith explored the Chesapeake Bay and the Eastern and Western Shores of Maryland in the summer of 1608 (Papenfuss and Coale 1982:1). His ensuing map and text provide a picture of aboriginal activities at this earliest point of the commencement of continuous contact with the Europeans. The Virginia Algonquians were, to one degree or another, under the control or strong influence of the Powhatan chiefdom (Turner 1976, Potter 1986). The apparent results of Powhatan's quest for more territory can be seen by examining the Smith map. Mook (1944) and Potter (1982) are

among the researchers who have noted the extremely unequal settlement along the Rappahannock River and have postulated the creation of a buffer zone as an attempt to avoid Powhatan expansion.

It is suggested here that the complete absence of Indian villages in the southeastern portion of the Western Shore is also reflective of population movements within the immediate area to avoid negative contacts, both with Powhatan and with the Iroquoian-speaking Susquehannock.

Archaeological data indicate a different ceramic tradition within this depopulated area, as well as along the Patuxent in what is now Calvert County, Maryland. This is briefly discussed in Chapter II.

Combining the limited archaeological knowledge of pre-contact interactions, along with the knowledge of Powhatan expansionism and Iroquoian aggressions, the contact-era extent of the Piscataway grouping seems to be confined to those villages along the shores of the Potomac River, as suggested by Feest (1978a).

Village Location

The early relations of Maryland are surprisingly mute concerning the overall location of villages. Consequently, such data must be accessed via the writings of John Smith and other Virginia record keepers. In addition, a brief analysis of Smith's map provides supplementary Piscataway-specific information.

Percy (1607:xlvi) mentions the location of the village of the Werowance of the "Rapahanna" as being up a steep hill, the nearby area having a number of springs. Smith (1612:67) notes that "their buildings and habitations are for the most part by the riuers or not farre distant from some fresh spring." Strachey (1612:79) basically mirrors Smith, adding some additional comments: villages are located either by a river or

near a spring and usually on a rise. He adds that houses are scattered and far apart (Strachey 1612:78). The data on villages in Maryland is vague, with mention that they are much like English country villages (Anonymous 1635:86).

Potter points out that Binford (1964) posited two types of settlement, the village and the hamlet. The latter would consist of a grouping of two to ten houses; the former of twelve to forty houses, plus the chief's residence, storehouses, and a temple (Potter 1982:57). Potter continues to point out that the ethnohistorical data simply do not support such a breakdown.

Turner (1976) and Potter (1982) have analyzed the available data on settlement patterns in Virginia. Turner lists several "basic factors" that influence village location among the Powhatan: (1) near rivers and streams to allow ready access to aquatic resources; (2) adjacent to marshes or swamps, again allowing for exploitation of diverse resources; (3) on ridges, generally near fresh water springs; (4) proximity to agricultural lands (Turner 1976:137).

Potter's presentation (1982:371) of five factors influencing the location of a Werowance's village are very similar to Turner's, the two overlapping in some aspects. First, the village site will be on a broad neckland on the first or second terrace. Second, it will be located adjacent to an embayment, cove, or feeder stream. Third is nearness to fresh water springs. Fourth, the area will be good agricultural land (soil associations are listed in his text). Fifth, marshes will be located nearby (Potter 1982:371).

Willoughby (1907:58) notes that the number of houses in a village can range from as few as two or three to over fifty and that the site will

be on a rise over a river. He concurs with Strachey (above) and Potter (1982:87) concerning the geographic distribution of the village:

The dwellings of a community were often distributed over a considerable area, with groves and gardens interspersed, some of the larger villages occupying as much as a hundred acres (Willoughby 1907:58).

A brief look at the Smith map (Papenfuse and Coale 1982:2) reflects the validity of the attributes discussed by Turner (1976) and Potter (1982). Proceeding from downriver and going north towards present-day Washington, D.C. (see Map 3), the first village encountered along the northern shore of the Potomac was Menanauk (from a rough analysis of the map, seemingly in the area of Breton Bay). Whether this village isolate would be under the control of the Acquintanacsuck chiefdom of the Patuxent River or the isolated "kings village" of Cecomocomoco (assumed to be under the Piscataway Tayac) is uncertain.

Cecomocomoco seems to have been located on the eastern side of the Wicomoco River, near its junction with the Potomac. Next are three villages, one named Potopaco on the Smith map. Their location seems almost certainly to have been at the narrowing of the Port Tobacco River, near present-day La Plata. The next villages, Nushemouck and Mataughquamend are situated with the former seemingly along the Potomac at Blossom Point, the latter on the western side of Nanjemoy Creek.

Next are two common villages and one chief's village. As noted in the discussion on population, I believe that Smith may have been indicating the chief's village by the name of Nussamek. These villages seem to be in the area of Maryland Point.

Next is Pamacocack, apparently on the south side of an embayed area near Chicamuxen. Cinquateck seems to be situated on the south side of Mattawoman Creek, near its junction with the Potomac. Next is



Map 3. Portion of John Smith map (1608) showing study area and vicinity (from Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland, Edward Papenfuse and Joseph Coale, 1982)

Moyaone, seated next to five unnamed common villages, each evidently almost evenly spaced. My brief analysis indicates that the site of Moyaone should be located adjacent to a small stream on the Maryland shore just across from Gunston Manor, Virginia. This is situated about equidistant between Mattawoman Creek and Piscataway Creek. The nearby common villages are quite evidently scattered around Piscataway Creek. The Werowance's village of Nacotchtanke is located at the junction of the Anacostia River and the Potomac, in the area of Bolling Field in the present District of Columbia.

This brief analysis of site location should be qualified. It is not intended to be presented as the result of a detailed study attempting to place the Smith village locations on a contemporary map, although this was done as part of the analytical process. The intent is to briefly show how the distribution is one that favors locations adjacent to stream junctions and embayments. Additional data could be provided to show the possible influence of nearby marshlands, such areas being widespread in the area of Port Tobacco and to a lesser extent around Piscataway Creek, to name two examples.

Structures

Information concerning house forms used by the Algonquians of the Western Shore is more abundant. White (1634a:43-44) states that houses were shaped like "an halfe ovall," being twenty feet long and nine to ten feet high. A smoke hole about eighteen inches squared was placed on the roof to let smoke out and light in. The fire was situated in the middle of the house. People slept on mats "spread on a low scaffold hafe a yard from the ground" (White 1634a:44).

A contemporary source (Anonymous 1634) seems to have been written by Father White, the wording being almost the exact same as in his Relation. This reference, however, does provide some additional information. The term employed by the Western Shore Algonquians for the house was "witchott" (Anonymous 1634:7). For the Powhatan, Strachey recorded two terms: yohacan for "house" and machacammac for "a great house" (Strachey 1612:188). There is a hint of a contradiction to the White account in the statement that the people lay about the fire, "saue only that their kings and great men haue their cabbins, and a bed of skinnes well dressed . . . set on boards" (Anonymous 1634:7).

An early Maryland report showed possible influence from John Smith when it recorded that houses were made like English arbors and ranged in length from twenty to thirty to one hundred feet, with a breadth of "about" twelve feet (Anonymous 1635:86). Strachey (1612:78) notes the houses to be arbor-like and covered with mats. Bark walls were evidently found in the houses of the principal men. Each house was equipped with two doors, one in the front section and one in the rear. Houses were usually located under trees and anywhere from six to twenty people were in residence. Smith (1612:67) gives a similar description, except saying houses were covered with either bark or mats, not both. He states that the beds were "little hurdles of Reedes covered with a mat" and raised "a foote and more by a hurdle of wood" (Smith 1612:67). Smith provides a figure of six to twenty people per house, a figure copied by Strachey (Feest 1973:68).

The number of houses per village was varied, Spelman stating that even the largest town would not have more than twenty to thirty dwellings (Spelman 1613:cvi). Smith gives figures of from two to one hundred houses

per village (Smith 1612:67). As noted by Potter (1932:55), Smith lowered his estimate to two to fifty in his 1624 work.

Referring to the Chicacoan settlement on the Northern Neck of Virginia, Potter postulates an average household size of eight to ten people and eleven to sixteen households for that village. The latter would include the longhouses of the villagers as well as the chief's longhouse, his storehouse, a mortuary temple, and "ancillary storage units, sweathouses, and menstrual huts" (Potter 1982:87). These additional units will not be discussed as part of this study. It should be mentioned, however, that the chiefly residence and the temples were considerably larger than common homes. This information is expanded in Turner (1976) and Potter (1982), as well as embedded in the workings of Smith (1612), Strachey (1612), and Beverley (1705).

CHAPTER IV

PISCATAWAY ETHNOGRAPHY: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Introduction

This chapter continues the discussion of selected aspects of Piscataway culture started in Chapter III. The focus turns to social organization, with a minor focus on religion. Social organization includes data pertinent to social roles, titles, and tribal hierarchy. This allows including a section dealing with the concept of the "chiefdom" as it applied to the Piscataway. Also incorporated into the discussion of social organization are comments and analysis concerning the overall kinship system, marriage and residency rules, and inheritance. Information on each topic is compared to data from other populations, principally the Virginia Algonquians. Other groups, however, such as the Delaware, are also referenced. The intention is to determine if a social position or an aspect of the culture appears to have been similar among these different people. The question will be addressed, when appropriate, whether the similarity is sufficient to assume the "therefore" part of an "if-then" equation.

Information on tribal social organization helps clarify exactly who the Piscataway were and the nature of the society that was shortly to be faced with an outside force from which escape would be difficult.

The section on religion discusses the basic religious concepts said to be reflective of Piscataway faith at the time of the founding of the

Maryland Colony and, in the process, reveals evidence concerning the nature and possible meaning of early rituals observed by the English.

Finally, a section is included on subsistence. This focuses on the types of resources exploited and incorporates the seasonal round. Combined with the other data provided in this and the preceding chapter, the picture of the Piscataway in the early seventeenth century becomes more complete.

Social Organization

An attempt to understand the social organization of the Piscataway in the late prehistoric and early historic period is most easily facilitated by providing definitions of the various social positions that were found within their society. Included in such a listing are: Tayac, Werowance, Cockoroose, Wiso, shaman, speaker of the tribe, and black-
boyes.

Tayac and Werowance

The understanding of the roles of these authority figures sheds light on the makeup of the Piscataway and helps answer the question of whether or not they should be classified as a tribe or as a chiefdom. The chiefdom can be briefly defined as an organization of society reflecting a ranking of social positions, a move from the supposedly egalitarian level of tribe. Theoretical discussions have been put forth by Service (1966), Fried (1967), and Sahlins (1968), and their applications to the Algonquians of Virginia have been discussed by Turner (1976) and Potter (1982).

In the various meetings with the Piscataway, under the name Moyaoncens, recorded in the writings of Captain John Smith, the use of the

term Tayac does not appear. Nor does the term appear in the Relation of Maryland (Anonymous 1635), which refers to the chief of the Piscataway as a "Werowance" (see below). Although Father White's Relation is likewise mute, it is stated that the Governor of the new Maryland Colony, while at St. Clements Island in the spring of 1634, learned that "many Princes were subject to the Emperor of the Pascatawaye" (White 1634b:33). It should be noted in passing that the English used European titles with the Indians, not only helping them in trying to understand the system of government, but also giving a perhaps inflated picture of the power invested in "princes," "kings," and "emperors."

In 1639 it was recorded that Father Andrew White was at "Kittamaquund, the metropclis of Pascatoa" living with the "emperor . . . whom they call the Tayac" (Jesuit Letters 1639:124). This same letter states that "kingdoms" are generally confined to a single village and adjacent territory

though the Tayac has a much more extensive dominion, stretching about one hundred and thirty miles, to whose empire also other inferior chieftains are subject" (Jesuit Letters 1639:125).

The Tayac of the Piscataway was an individual who had control over a vast area extending from present St. Mary's County to the vicinity of the Fall Line.

The Werowance was the leader of an individual village. He or she was under the overall authority of the Tayac. The literature is full of references to people of this position, although the spelling is varied. Archer (1607) uses all the following forms: "Wiroans," "Wy[r]oances" (English plural added by Archer), "Wyroans." Percy (1607) refers to the Indian chief as "Werowance," while Wingfield (1608?) uses the term "Wyrounnces." Smith (1608:25) states that Powhatan proclaimed him (Smith

"Awerowanes." The "a" prefix is probably either an error on Smith's part or a phonetical variation reflecting context. He notes that this is a subordinate chief. In the Maryland Colony, the term employed was "Werowance" (Anonymous 1635:84). Strachey spelled the word "Weroance" (Swanton 1946:641). Beverley (1705:226) uses "Werowance," but defines the position as that of a war captain:

A Werowance is a Military Officer, who of course takes upon him the command of all Parties, either of Hunting, Travelling, Warring, or the like, and the word signifies a War Captain (Beverley 1705:226).

Quinn (1967) argues that the term applies to great men in general, not just to chiefs. This is inserted in a footnote correcting Lane's contention (1584-1585) that "there be sundry Kings, whom they call Weroances." It also contradicts Hariot's claim that the "wiroans" is the "chiefe Lorde" who governs from one to a large number of towns (Quinn 1967:371). Interestingly, Father White does not employ the term, stating that "great men" are called "Caucorouses" (1634a:43). The widespread use of the term Werowance throughout the Algonquian territories of Virginia and North Carolina is sufficient evidence to safely assume that it was employed before contact among the Piscataway. Although the meaning may have varied somewhat from tribe to tribe, perhaps becoming more attributable to "great men" in general as one proceeds south, the meaning seems clearly established to be equal to chief in the study area. Confusion may arise simply from the varied duties as chief would perform.

Power of Chief

Concerning the Piscataway Indians, the anonymous Jesuit letter of 1639 states that

though they have absolute power of life and death over their people, and in certain prerogatives of honor and wealth excel

others, nevertheless in personal appearances [leaders] are scarcely anything removed from the multitude (Jesuit Letters 1639:125).

Early Virginia sources reveal that the chief of the Patawomeke Indians stated that his people and the Piscataway had at one time been "ancient allies" (Merrell 1979:552). This supports the extent of the pre-contact Potomac Creek Complex as indicated by the archaeological record. It also provides a nearest (Virginia) neighbor, the traits of whom should almost certainly be comparable to those of the Piscataway.

Henry Spelman lived with the chief of the Patawomeke for over a year. He states that a number of people would gather to plant the "King's" corn, this being accomplished in one day. After the planting, the "King" throws seeds at the workers. Harvesting is again a group effort (Spelman 1613:cxii). Willoughby states that among the Powhatan the people planted the gardens of the principal chiefs (1907:84).

This is at odds with the Piscataway where it was said that the chief would make his own canoe, bow, arrows, mantle, and shoes, as well as plant his own corn (Anonymous 1635:84).

Spelman reports that he witnessed the execution of five people while among the Patawomeke. A mother and two others were executed for killing her eldest child. A fourth person was executed for knowing about the crime and not reporting it, while a fifth person was put to death for robbing a traveler of copper and beads (Spelman 1613:cx). He reports that offenses punishable by death include being caught in the act of lying with another's wife, stealing corn, and stealing copper.

This is interesting in that it shows that the penalty for some kinds of murder was death among the Patawomeke. Among the Piscataway repayment for murder was one hundred arms length of roanoke (Anonymous 1635:89-90).

The problem here, however, is in defining the nature of the crime involved. It is quite possible that the Piscataway would have responded as did the Patawomeke in the above cases; the evidence simply is not at hand.

Death for adultery could reflect a desire to be sure who the father was--a seemingly stiff penalty for a people said to be matrilineal (see below). Death for stealing corn could reflect the important role of this food source in the community. A similar penalty for stealing copper is of interest in that this item has no value as a food source. It may reflect the importance of copper as a symbol of status and the difficulty of acquiring it via trade. The death penalty would also serve to keep copper out of general circulation, thus reinforcing its role as a status symbol and an object of wealth. Assumedly the traveller in question was from a different tribe. The severity of the punishment could equally reflect the value placed on keeping trade networks open and perhaps avoiding retaliation from the other tribe or chiefdom in question.

In describing how the convicted were executed, Spelman (1613) states that they were brought before the chief. All were bound hand and foot, with those charged with murder being beaten with staves until their bones broke, at which time they were thrown into a fire. The thief was killed by a blow on the head before being thrown into the fire. Unfortunately, Spelman does not report on how guilt was established or who actually decided punishment. Among the Delaware, important decisions were made by a general council (Goddard 1978b). The indications from the various writings of Smith (Arber 1910) show heavy input by a council to the chiefs of Virginia, perhaps greatly undermined as the man Powhatan grew in personal power. The use of the council seems to have been prevalent among

the Piscataway, also. Of course, it cannot be assumed that the individual cases in question would have been considered important from the overall perspective of the group.

Inheritance of Office

Inheritance of office among the Piscataway ideally occurred as follows:

When a Werowance dieth, his eldest sonne succeeds, and after him the second, and so the rest, each for their lives, and when all the sonnes are dead, then the sonnes of the Werowances eldest daughter shall succede, and so if he have more daughters; for they hold, that the issue of the daughters hath more of his blood in them than the issue of his sonnes (Anonymous 1635:84).

This system, as presented, is somewhat confusing. It is saying two contradictory things. First, that the preferred inheritance is in the matriline. Second, that upon the death of the chief, the office is passed to his son, an individual not in his matriline. This probably reflects a misunderstanding on the part of the English recorder of the Piscataway kinship system and the terminology employed. The system was almost certainly much more like that of the Powhatan as described below. Support for this contention is provided in Chapter VI.

If there was no confusion, however, at least two possibilities present themselves: (1) the system was arranged to offer the widest range of people possible eventual access to the office of the chief; or (2) the chieftainship was controlled by the clan, not the lineage. Although other possibilities could be listed, it should be emphasized that the system as presented by this anonymous recorder is not in agreement with historical realities: according to it, women could not become chiefs, when in fact they did.

Descent among the Virginia Algonquian is much more strictly matrilineal:

If a King have several Legitimate Children, the Crown does not descend in a direct Line to his Children, but to his Brother by the same Mother, if he have any, and for want of such, to the Children of his eldest Sister, always respecting the Descent by the Female, as the surer side. But the Crown goes to the Male Heir (if any be) in equal degree, and for want of such, to the Female, preferably to any Male that is more distant (Beverley 1705:193).

Piscataway descent would have been quite similar to this recorded for the Virginia Algonquians. The form of matrilineal descent of the chieftomship for the Delaware is almost identical to the Virginia Algonquians, except women were not allowed to inherit office (Wallace 1970:51). The focus on the matriline is the key element; Flannery (1939) finds matrilineal inheritance of the chieftainship from the Delaware south among the Algonquians and also among the Iroquois.

Cockoroose

These are the "captains in time of war, to whom they are very obedient" (Anonymous 1635:84). White, on the other hand, states that "some of their Caucorouses as they term them, or great men, weare the form of a fish of Copper in their foreheads" (White 1634a:43). Hall provides a footnote simply stating "Cawcawaassough, adviser" (Hall 1910:84). This is in reference to the Anonymous (1635) quote and evidently means that Hall believes the term applies to an advisor.

Smith uses the term on two occasions (1612, 1624), the latter being a reprint/update of the former source. The 1624 source inserts a comma and changes the word "of" to "or" in the quote:

In all these places is a severall commander, which they call Werowance, except the Chickahamians, who are governed by the Priests and their Assistants, or their Elders called Cawcawassoughes (Smith 1624:347).

The term is introduced by Beverley during a discussion of fishing methods:

The Indian Way of Catching Sturgeon, when they came into the narrow part of the Rivers, was by a Man's clapping a Noose over their Tail, and by keeping fast his hold. Thus a Fish finding it self intangled, would flounce, and often pull him under Water, and then that Man was counted a Cockarouse, or brave Fellow, that wou'd let go; till with Swimming, Wading, and Diving, he had tired the Sturgeon, and brought it ashore (Beverley 1705:148-149).

Still speaking of the Indians of Virginia, he states further that young men had to undergo an initiation before being "admitted to be of the number of the Great men, or Cockarouses of the Nation" (1705:207). He later states that

a Cockarouse is one that has the Honour to be of the King or Queens Council, with Relation to the affairs of the Government, and has a great share in the Administration (Beverley 1705:226).

This occurs in the same paragraph in which he refers to the Werowance as a war captain (quoted above).

The picture clarifies with the term Cockoroose, albeit with the usual diverse spellings, being applied by early English recorders specifically to two major populations, the Piscataway and the Chickahominy and generally to the Algonquians of Virginia. This general application, however, post-dates by almost a century the writings of John Smith, who, as noted, mentioned the term on only two occasions.

Definitions offered for this position in the social structure include: war captain (Piscataway); great men (Piscataway); advisor (Piscataway); elders, with implied advisors (Chickahominy); brave fellow, after accomplishing a dangerous task, probably equal to warrior (general); great men with implied warrior status (general); and finally, advisor/government officer (general). The indication is that the Cockoroose would be a senior warrior, one who had acquired a definitive

status. Assumedly, there would be any number of Cockoroose per village, therefore per Werowance. The suggestion is an age-grade position of achieved status.

Beverley's definitions suggest a change in the role of various officials, resulting from a combination of dominance by Powhatan, and increasing dominance and decimation by the English in the period prior to his writing.

Wiso

The Wiso were "chiefe men of accomplishment" (Anonymous 1635:73). Their position is explained in relation to the Werowance:

[Piscataway] Government is Monarchicall, he that governs in chiefe, is called the Werowance, and is assisted by some that consult with him of the common affairs, who are called Wiso . . . [Wiso] are chosen at the pleasure of the Werowance, yet commonly they are chosen of the same family, if they be of yeares capable (Anonymous 1635:84).

This is the exact same functional position as that of the Caw-cawwassoughes described by Smith (1612, 1624) among the Chickahominy, in other words, a group of tribal elders who consult and advise the chief. The evidence suggests that, for the Piscataway, any Cockoroose above a certain age could be selected to be a Wiso. The privilege of the chief to select the Wiso would ensure his support by various families or lineages. This could help him to maintain control over the entire population.

To this point, the political organization can be described as one in which the Tayac acted as the supreme chief, under whom a number of Werowance ruled either their own petty chiefdoms or individual villages. A selected body of Wiso, or elders, served to aid the chief in decision making. Cockoroose, or war captains, would assumedly have input in this process and would carry out decisions within their realm. The evidence at

hand strongly suggests that the position of the Cockoroose was strictly "achieved," while that of the Wiso was also "achieved," but evidently with some political manipulations. The positions of the Tayac and Werowance were hereditary, while those of the Wiso and Cockoroose were based on age-grades, at least to a certain extent. It is probable that the Cockoroose could become a Wiso upon reaching an unspecified age of majority.

This position of the Wiso is different from that postulated by Feest (1978a:245), that the "Wiso" was the term employed to designate the tribal hereditary chief. Evidently this confusion is caused by the assertion that the Tayac could choose sub-chiefs, the logic apparently being that since he appointed the Wiso and this was a position of some power, it was therefore that of the sub-chief. I believe this suggests power beyond that which can be reasonably illustrated to have been possessed by the Tayac at the time of the English explorations and the founding of the Maryland Colony. The argument here is that each chiefdom would have several Wiso appointed by the local Werowance, as indicated.

Shaman, Priest, Speaker

The exact roles of these individuals are more difficult to determine for the Piscataway and must come from suggestive material and comparison. Father White states that English traders witnessed a ceremony held for the god Okee "in the Matchcomaoc, or temple of the Patuxans. . . . At a day appointed the townes about mett together" (White 1634a:45) for the ceremony. Although this ceremony was held by the Patuxents, who have already been suggested to have not been part of the Piscataway, it is nevertheless believed to have been quite similar to what would be expected among the Piscataway.

The above quote reveals two important traits: (1) the organizational ability of some individual or groups of individuals resulting in the gathering of a population coming from a number of villages, logically from among the Patuxent in this case; and (2) the presence of what Father White thought was a temple, indicative of a possible priestly order among the Western Shore Algonquians.

The Anonymous Relation defines the Matchacomoco as "their place of council" (1635:87). Strachey defines a "matchqueo" as "a show" (1612:192). Beverley defines the term "Matchacomoco" as a convention of great men assisting the chief in council (1705:192). He defines a temple or church as a "Quioccosan" (Beverley 1705:195). Harriot defines the "matchicomuck" as a temple among the Carolina Algonquians (Quinn 1967:373). This may reflect a familiarity on the part of Father White with the writings of Harriot, resulting in a misunderstanding concerning the meaning of the term among the Algonquians of Maryland's Western Shore.

Smith says that, among the Powhatan, there were from one to three or more priests in each Werowance's territory, with seven generally living at the "principall Temple" (Smith 1612:75-76). Based on Smith's map of 1608, the Piscataway had at least four chief's villages. Therefore, if the number of priests per Werowance found among the Powhatan were to hold true for the Western Shore, the priestly population could be set minimally at four and maximally at fifteen to twenty.

The anonymous author of the Relation refers to a religious rite found among the Indians of the Western Shore of Maryland in which an "ancient man" would perform a sacrifice of the first fruits of corn, the hunt, and fish (1635:88). Summarizing the duties of the priests and shamans from a variety of sources, Turner states:

Duties of the priests in many cases overlapped those of the shamans. Both evidently acted as physicians, aided in ceremonies for rain, played a key role in declaration of wars, and had access to the temples . . . [and] were treated with utmost respect (Turner 1976:119).

Turner speaks of the selection of priests and shamans among the Powhatan (1976:119-120) and references several works, including Smith (1612:77-78), Strachey (1612:98-99), and Beverley (1705:205-209), in which the ritual of Huskanawing is described. Turner believes that Smith and Strachey indicate that boys undergoing this ceremony were being prepared for either the priesthood or to become shaman, while Beverley suggests that they were being prepared to be future leaders. Turner also quotes one source from the latter part of the 1600s, which stated that the office of priest was inherited. This is addressed and clarified below, under the discussion of the "Blacke Boyes."

Spelman twice states that the priests and shaman (referring to the latter as conjurers) are one and the same (Spelman 1613:cv). Either Spelman was misunderstanding a functional and/or sociopolitical difference, or the offices were held by the same individuals among the Patawomeke and, by extension, the Piscataway. This could be a result of the distance of these people from the seat of Powhatan influence.

The power of the priest/shaman among the Patawomeke, however, cannot be underestimated:

Onc[e] in the yeare, ther preests which are ther coniuers with ye [people] men, weomen, and children doe goe into the woods, wher ther preests makes a great cirkell of fier in ye which after many obseruances in ther coniurations they make offer of 2 or 3 children to be giuen to ther god if he will appeare unto them and shew his mind whome he [will haue] desier. Uppon which offringe they heare a noyse out of ye Cirkell Nominatinge such as he will haue, whome presently they take bindinge them hand and footte and cast them into ye circle of fier, for it be the Kinges sonne he must be giuen if onc[e] named by their god (Spelman 1613:cv-cvi).

This goes against the numerous statements, some referenced above,

concerning the supposed omnipotence of the Werowance. At issue are two points: first, whether or not Spelman understood the nature of the ceremony, and second, assuming he did, whether the priest would ever choose the chief's son for sacrifice is unknown. It is also vague as to whether the children selected would be only boys or both boys and girls. As with the Powhatan, it is very difficult to determine whether this position of priest was achieved or ascribed. A partial answer is provided below in the discussion of the "Blacke-Boyes."

The position of a "Speaker of the Tribe" is suggested by Ferguson (1960:12) based on her findings in various unspecified Maryland records. This individual may have been a Wiso or a Cockoroose; there is no available evidence suggesting otherwise. Feest (1978a:245) mentions the role of the Speaker as existing among the Conoy (Piscataway) and Nanticoke and notes that

the term crotemen, reported as the word for councilor among the Kickotend (Assateague), may be a corruption of Dutch groot man 'big man' or groote 'nobleman.'

Support for such a position is buried in the writings of Smith, Strachey, and other early recorders. Percy does state:

We came to the King or Werowance of Pasphe [i.e. Paspahesh]: where they entertained vs with much welcome. An old Sauage made a long Oration, making a foule noise, vttering his speech with a vehement action; but we knew little what they meant (Percy 1607:lxiv).

Indian oratory has long been noted, Heckewelder (1876:133-136) discussing the concept among the Delaware. Hudson (1976) discusses the role of the interpreter and the war chief among the Creek. The former functioned to insulate the miko (supreme chief) "from direct confrontation with his people" (Hudson 1976:225). The war chief was the "most eloquent speaker" from the chiefdom (Hudson 1976:225). Hudson also notes oratory

among the Chickasaw (1976). The position of the orator or speaker would undoubtedly be heavily influenced by European contact, especially when that contact became continuous.

Blacke-Boyes

The Children live with their Parents; the Boyes untill they come to the full growth of men; (for they reckon not by yeeres, as we doe) then they are put into the number of Bow-men, and are called Blacke-Boyes (and so continue untill they take them wives) (Anonymous 1635:85).

Several points specific to the Indians of the Western Shore of Maryland, most likely applicable to both the Piscataway and the Patuxent, can be gleaned out of this reference. First, the nuclear family apparently resided under one roof. Second, there was some form of initiation for boys upon reaching a certain maturity, defined somewhat vaguely as being equal to the "full growth of men." Third, and somewhat erroneous, is the statement that the year is not judged according to English standards. This is somewhat erroneous in that it reflects a misinterpretation on the part of the anonymous author, Strachey (1612:72), saying the year is termed by the "returnes of the leafe." Fourth, the statement that boys are "put into the number of Bow-men" indicates that after the yet to be specified initiation, boys were considered men and underwent an age-grade advance, probably commensurate with an altered role in society. Fifth, calling these young warriors "Blacke-Boyes" suggests an English translation of an Indian term reflective of their new and temporary position. Sixth, they would remain in the "Blacke-Boye" group until they had taken a wife, evidently reflecting a cultural perspective of a new phase in the life cycle.

The male life cycle can be postulated to have been divided into at least three parts: childhood (possibly also divisible into smaller units),

young adulthood (unmarried warrior or "Blacke-Boye"), and the altered status of marriage. This may or may not have equalled the status of Cockoroose, probably not based on the statements recorded above, the Cockoroose being a position achieved by merit and not relegated solely by age-grade.

The quote becomes more pertinent to the mention of the ceremony of the Huskanawing (above):

When they are to be made Black-boyes, the ancient men that governe the yonger, tell them, That if they will be valiant and obedient to the Werowance, Wisos, and Cockorooses, then their god will love them, all men will esteeme of them, and they shall kill Deere, and Turkies, catch Fish, and all things shall goe well with them; but if otherwise, then shall all goe contrary: which perswasion mooves in them an incredible obedience to their commands (Anonymous 1635:85).

Again, several things can be gleaned. The most important comes from the first portion of the quote and strongly suggests that this reflects an initiation in which the young men spend a period of time with the elders, being taught whatever the society believed necessary to fulfill unspecified roles.

Concerning the strong obedience argued by the quote, it should be remembered that this Relation was serving much as an advertisement to attract settlers to the new Maryland Colony. The surprising correspondence to European values should be viewed with certain suspicion. However, upon further examination, it will become evident that being overly suspicious of early records can prove detrimental to our understanding of aboriginal culture. Information may be discarded or largely ignored, because it is viewed as advertisement. This perspective can skew the picture of the Indian culture in question, rather than clarify it.

Obviously, from the first portion of this quote, the Anonymous author either witnessed or had heard about this event. Whichever, he was led to believe that the young men in question came from a fairly wide age group. I suggest here that this event is that of the Huskanawing. If so, the entire quote is of extreme interest and importance in understanding Piscataway life in specific, as well as the values of the Indian adherents to this custom in general.

Turner states that the participants were boys between approximately ten to twenty years of age, who were from the "wealthier and more highly ranked families" (Turner 1976:120). Strachey (1612:89) states that the priests made the people sacrifice their children every year. Important is the plural--children--and the view that such sacrifices took place yearly. Either he is referring to the Huskanawing or to the ceremony recorded by Spelman among the Patawomeke. The relation between the two is uncertain.

Strachey goes on to describe the "Sacrifice of Children" as noted by Turner (above):

In some parte of the Country, they haue yearely a Sacrifice of Children, such a one was a Quiyoughcohanock some 10. myles from Iames Towne, as also at Kecoughtan, which Captayne George Percy was at and observed, the manner of yt was: 15. of the properest young boys betweene 10. and 15. yeares of age, they paynted white, having brought them forth the people spent the forenoone in dauncing and singing about them with rattles: in the afternoone they solemnely led those Children to a certayne tree appointed for the same purpose, at the roote whercof round about they made the Children to sitt downe, and by them stood the most and ablest of the men, and some of them the fathers of the Children, as a watchfull Guard every one having a Bastinado in his hand of Reedes, and these openedd a lane betweene all along, through which were appointed 5. young men to fetch those Children, and accordingly every one of the 5. tooke his turne and passed through the Guard to fetch a child, the Guard fiercely beating them the while with their Bastinados, and shewing much anger and displeasure, to haue the Children so ravisht from them, all which the young men patiently endured, receaving the blowes and defending the Children with their naked bodies from the vnmercifull stroakes that payd them soundly, though the Children escaped: all the while sate the mothers and kynswomen a far off,

looking on weeping and crying out very passionately, and some in pretty waymenting tuens singing (as yt were) their dirge or funerall songe provided with Matts Skynnes Mosse and dry wood by them as things fitting their Childrens funeralls: after the Children were thus forceably taken from the Guard, the Guard possessed as yt were with a violent fury entred vpon the tree and tore yt downe bowes and braunches with such a terrible fiercenes and strength, that they rent the very body of yt and shivered yt in a hundred pieces, whereof some of them made them garlandes for their heads and some stuck of the braunches and leaues in their haire wreathing them in the same, and so went vp and downe as mourners, with heavy and sad downe cast lookes, what ells was done with the Children might not be seene by our people, further than that they were all cast on a heape in a vallye, where was made a great and solemne feast for all the Company, at the going wherevnto the night now approaching, the Indians desired our people that they would withdrawe themselues and leaue them to their further Proceedings . . . (Strachey 1612:98-99).

The description quoted to this point from Strachey corresponds with that presented by Smith (1612), although it is a somewhat longer and more enlightening account than Smith's. Beverley (1705:205-206) quotes the Smith account in full, then offers his own interpretation, which differs from Smith's and Strachey's and agrees basically with that being presented here.

Aside from being more detailed about the activities involved in the ceremony, Strachey, who almost certainly based the bulk of his account of this event on the writings of Smith, notes in the first lines of the quote that this "sacrifice" occurred at both Quiyoughcohanock and at Kecoughtan. He also notes that the men acted as mourners after the children had safely passed through the gauntlet, much as the women had been doing.

Strachey says the Quiyoughcohanock had a strength of 60 warriors (1612:65). Smith (1612:51) put their strength at 25 men. The number of warriors at Kecoughtan was put at 30 by Strachey (1612:68) and "not past 20" by Smith (1612:51). In either case, and despite the difference in warrior counts offered by Smith and Strachey, the number of boys engaged in the ceremony would not exceed that expected to come from the small

chiefdoms, or tribes, in question. It is argued here that this was the case and that Beverley is correct in stating that this is a ceremony through which

all young men must pass, before they can be admitted to be of the number of Great men, or Cockarouses of the Nation (1705:207).

Strachey summarizes what could be termed the Smith/Strachey perspective. The English "demaunded" the meaning of the sacrifice and the Werowance answered, saying:

The children did not all of them suffer death; but that the Okeus did suck the blood from the left breast of that Child, whose chaunce yt was to be his by Lott, till he were dead, and the remayne were kept in the wildernes by the said young men till 9. monethes were expired, during which tyme they must not Converse with any, and of these were made their Priests and Coniurers, to be instructed by tradition from the elder Priests: these Sacryfices or Catharmata, they hold to be so necessary, that yf they should omit them they suppose their Okeus and all the other Quioughcosoughes, which are their other godds would let them haue no Deare, Turkeis, Corne, nor Fish, and yet besydes he would make a great slaughter amongst them (Strachey 1612:99).

The basic elements are very similar to those found in the Maryland reference (Anonymous 1635:85) quoted above, although Strachey goes into considerably more detail.

Beverley's description of his observations of the Huskanawing is enlightening. He sees the ceremony as an initiation of all young men, the goal of which was to change them from boys into men. He states that they were kept in the woods for "several months" during which time they were kept in isolation and drank heavily of an intoxicant called wysoccan. The goal was to unlearn the past. His observations of the Huskanawing revealed that all the participants returned home among the Appamattuck in 1690, while two did not among the Pamaunkie in 1694. The ages of the participants ranged from fifteen to over twenty years old (Beverley 1705:207-209).

Lawson's (in Swanton 1946:712) account of the Huskanawing is quite similar to Beverley's, although the former states that the ceremony would take place every year or two, the latter every fourteen to sixteen years; and according to Lawson, the Huskanawing took place just before Christmas and was for girls as well as boys. Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine what group Lawson is referring to or even if they were Iroquoian, Siouan, or Algonquian.

Overall, the Huskanawing seems to have served several interrelated purposes. These include: first, to ensure continuity of the group or a replenishing of the warrior/hunter/fisher population, as well as the order of social rankings; second, to prepare the boys for future marriage and leadership roles; and third, to appease the gods in order to obtain bountiful resources.

The ceremony described by Spelman (above) may have been a local variation of the Huskanawing or a similar ceremony. If that is the case, he was probably mistaken about the death of the selected children. In that ceremony, mourning by the women could again be reflective of a social acknowledgement of a rite of passage, the death of childhood. The happiness of the men could likewise be reflective of joy at an expanded membership of a warrior brotherhood.

Finally, it is quite probable that priests and shamans were selected from the participants in the Huskanawing, dependent on the nature of the vision acquired, this being part and parcel of the isolation period.

Two "side notes" from Smith's later work directly refer to "Black-boys" in this ceremony. One states, "Their solemn Sacrifices of children, which they call Black-boys" (Smith 1624:373), the other,

Those Blackboyes are made so mad with a drinke, that they will doe any mischief, at the command of their keepers (Smith 1624:374).

Feest (1978a) accepts the "Blacke-boye" ceremony as being one and the same with the Huskanawing, stating:

The huskenaw ceremony, a puberty rite better known from Virginia and North Carolina Algonquians and in the early records referred to as the 'making of black boys,' was practiced in southern Maryland; but was absent from the Eastern Shore of Virginia. The expression 'black boys' has its origin in a confusion between 'black' and 'blake' (northern English for white) and refers to the white body paint of the participants in the rite (Feest 1978a:245).

The term "Blacke-boye" evidently became quite familiar to the colonists. For example, in 1765, a royal proclamation that forbade trade with the Indians of western Pennsylvania was in effect. The goal was to curtail the influx of arms. One Captain Smith decided to help enforce the proclamation by forming a group "called 'black boys' from being painted as Indians" (Flint 1833:41). Smith's group preyed on illegal cavalcades.

Marriage

To this point, it has been determined that the young men left home at maturity. At that time, after becoming "Black-boyes," young unmarried men would "live where they please, for all mens houses are free unto them" (Anonymous 1636:85). Since the Piscataway, as well as the Virginia and other Maryland Algonquians, were matrilineal, it is assumed that the unmarried warriors would reside with maternal relatives after initiation. Most logically, this would be with their mother's brother.

Strachey says that, among the Virginia Algonquian, girls, at about the age of eleven or twelve, start to wear a "semicinctum leathren apron," some being seen using mantles made of the feathers of turkeys and other birds (1612:72). This is an indication of a female initiation. It is uncertain if the Piscataway had a similar practice, but it is known that

young girls remained home with their parents until marriage (Anonymous 1635:85).

The discussion of marriage in the Anonymous Relation of Maryland is brief, but informative. Girls lived with their parents, or if they were deceased, with "some other of their friends" (Anonymous 1635:85). It is assumed that this refers to maternal relatives:

The manner of marriage is thus; he that would have a wife, treates with the father, or if he be dead, with the friend that take care of her whom he desires to have to wife, and agrees with him for a quantity of Beades, or some such other thing which is accepted amongst them; which he is to give for her, and must be payed at the day of their marriage; and then the day being appointed, all the friends of both parts meet at the mans house that is to have the wife, and each one brings a present of meate, and the woman that is to be married also brings her present: when the company is all come, the man he sits at the upper end of the house, and the woman's friends leade her up, and place her by him, then all the company sit and the woman riseth and serves dinner, First to her husband, then to all the company. The rest of the day they spend in singing and dancing (which is not unpleasant) at night the company leaves them, and commonly they live peaceably and lovingly together (Anonymous 1635:85-86).

Probably speaking of the Powhatan in general, and certainly of the Patawomeke in specific, Spelman states that a girl will live with relatives if her parents are deceased or with "whom it pleaseth ye king to apoynt" (Spelman 1613:cvii). This differs from the Maryland account, possibly suggestive of the lesser power of the chief north of the Potomac River or a misunderstanding on the part of Spelman of the relationship of guardians to the young woman.

On both sides of the river, bride price was agreed upon by both parties, and the bride was brought to the groom for the wedding (Spelman 1613:cvii, Anonymous 1635:85-86). Indications of residence are bilocal for the wives of the chiefs, at least in the case of Powhatan. For the chief of the Patawomeke, the indication is patrilocal (Spelman 1613:cvi), as is the implication in the above quote from Maryland.

Indeed, it is generally assumed that the Piscataway and the Virginia Algonquians were matrilineal and patrilocal.

Most probably referring specifically to the Delaware, Heckewelder states that the husband will build a house for himself and his bride (Heckewelder 1876:155). For the southeastern Indians in general, the custom was for the young man to build a house and raise a crop before the marriage (Hudson 1976:198). For the Powhatan, the prospective groom would build a house and "some platters, morters, and Matts" (Strachey 1612:112) before taking his new wife home. All of these examples strongly suggest patrilocal residence. The difficulty is that there is a lack of knowledge concerning the broader attributes of the social makeup among the Algonquians of the Western Shore, as well as among the Virginia Powhatan. For example, Hudson (1976) states that the Southeastern Indians had exogamous clans. The fact that the groom would make a house does indicate residence of the new nuclear family not being within the same structure as that of either set of parents. It does not, however, indicate whether that residence would be in the village of the bride or that of the groom. Although it is somewhat difficult to argue against a partrilocal tendency, with perhaps a bilocal reality for the chiefs (at least supreme chiefs), the case for the common man's being matrilocl is stronger. First, although detailed analysis has yet to be undertaken, the archaeological evidence shows an overwhelming predominance of Potomac Creek Ware in the vicinity of the Piscataway territory. This yields to Townsend Ware predominance in the southern portion of the Western shore, in other words, the area of St. Mary's county. If the Piscataway were patrilocal, and the kind of study outlined in Chapter II were to be undertaken, the ceramics should reveal it. Once proper studies have been undertaken, such support

may be forthcoming. However, at this time, based on the tentative overview of areal archaeology, the suggestion is of matrilocal residence, not patrilocal. Historical support is found in the Anonymous Relation of Maryland. It relates to an incident that apparently took place in 1634 in which some English were slain by the Wicomesse Indians. The Wicomesse sent a messenger to the Governor to explain their side of the incident. His statement to the English is, in part:

I Am a Native of Patuxent, as this man (whom you know) can tell you, true it is, I married a wife amongst the Wicomesse, where I have lived ever since . . . (Anonymous 1635:89).

The problem is that the data do not allow determining the role of the clan and the lineage in relation to village makeup. This makes it all the more important for detailed archaeological work to be undertaken, which may reflect the lineage of the ceramic makers and in the process help solve this puzzle.

Concerning divorce, one source explains that if a man decides to take another wife, then the present wife "and her children returne to her friends again" (Anonymous 1635:86). This reflects the importance of the matriline. Beverley states, however, that in the case of divorce (which he says is rare, in agreement with the suggestion in the Anonymous quote above) the children may go with either parent (1705:170). This may reflect a change resulting from the extensive European contact to which the Virginia Algonquians had been exposed by the time of his observations.

Religion

References relating specifically to the religious beliefs of the Western Shore Algonquians are somewhat limited. Anonymous (1634:8) relates that data on religion came from one Master Throughgood "who driues his Lordships trade vpon the riuer of Patuxunt." It will have to be

assumed that the portions of this narration that can be illustrated for the Powhatan and other Virginia Algonquians would likewise apply to the Piscataway.

The Patuxent were said to "acknowledge one god in heaven" but paid homage to a god named Okee "for feare of harme from him" (Anonymous 1634:8, White 1634a:44-45). They also adored wheat (or corn) and fire as gods who brought desirable things to men (Anonymous 1634:8, White 1634a:45). Anonymous (1635:88) agrees that the Western Shore Algonquians acknowledged a god who was the giver of good things. He also states that, as an offering, they would sacrifice the first fruits of their corn harvest, as well as the first game hunted and fish caught. He refers to a ceremony in which an "ancient man" would perform, burning part of the sacrifice, he and the people eating the remainder. The Indians believed in a good place and a bad place to which one would go after death, depending on how your life had gone (Anonymous 1635:88). It will be recalled that the Anonymous Relation of 1635 was destined to serve as an attraction to potential colonists. Hence, the strong suggestion of Christian influence on the recorded beliefs, especially in terms of a Heaven/Hell concept, is heightened.

According to Strachey (1612:89) there were apparently two major gods, Ahone and Okee. The former was a good deity, quite obviously the same as that mentioned for the Maryland Indians (above and in section on priests). The latter was a doer of harm and had to be appeased, again obviously the same as the Maryland god.

The Delaware are said to have a belief that the soul, upon death, travels either southward or westward where there is "an abundance of game for hunting" and one lives an easy life (Goddard 1978b:220). Smith

(1608:22), on the other hand, states that the Powhatan did not believe in an afterlife. This perspective was changed as he became more familiar with the local Algonquian customs (see below). Nevertheless, he also states that the Indians adored anything that could hurt them "beyond their prevention," listing fire, water, thunder, lightening, English ordinance, and horses (Smith 1612:74).

He considered their god to be the devil, spelling the name Oke (Smith 1612:75) and Okee (Smith 1624:370). As with the Maryland Algonquians, Okee was feared.

Priests maintained temples in which the bodies of deceased chiefs were kept. The bodies were disemboweled, then stuffed with copper beads. Common people were said to have been buried, after which the women would paint their faces black and mourn for twenty-four hours (Smith 1612:75).

As pointed out in the discussion of priests (above), Spelman noted that the Pataowmeke Indians had a god named Quioquasacke (Spelman 1613:cv). Swanton (1946:742) quotes Hariot as saying that the Algonquians at Roanoke believed the gods had a human form. Beverley (1705:195) says temples were called Quioccosan. The indication is that both the priests and minor gods were called Quiyoughquisock (Strachey 1612:88), these being benevolent deities (Feest 1978c:262).

According to Smith,

They thinke that their Werowances and Priestes, which they also esteeme Quiyoughcosughes, when they are dead, doe goe beyond the mountaines . . . and euer remaine there in the forme of their Oke . . . and shall haue beads, hatchets, copper, and tobacco, doing nothing but dance and sing with all their Predecessors.

But the common people, they suppose shall not liue after death (Smith 1612:78-79).

After a period of time, before the writing of the updated version of his 1612 work, the only alteration Smith added to this passage was to insert

at the end "but rot in their graues like dead dogs" (Smith 1624:374).

Beverley (1705:202), although again showing apparent Christian influence, argues that upon death the soul goes to a place of plenty of game and "the most charming women," a place of everlasting spring. This is for people who had led good lives, others going to a "filthy stinking Lake," a place of flames. As in Maryland, however, he recorded that the people would present the first fruits of each kind of crop (and the hunt) for each season and again when successful (Beverley 1705:202). This could be interpreted as indicative of common support of a priestly class for both Maryland and Virginia.

Feest (1978c:262) notes that although only priests and chiefs were said to have an afterlife, "throughout the region people believed in reincarnation and afterlife for all."

In addition to the data presented above that suggest the presence of a priestly class (supported by the populace), two additional notes will serve to close this section. The first concerns the supposed belief in an afterlife being reserved for chiefs and priests and, especially, Smith's assertion that they would become Okee, the malevolent spirits. This would serve to help ensure control of the common people, both in the particular chiefdom of the supreme chief and in the expanded territory acquired via conquest or diplomacy. The second concerns further clarification of the role of the Wiso among the Piscataway.

It has been determined that minor gods and priests were called Quiyoughcosuck. The drink mentioned in the discussion of the "Black-Boys" (above) was called wysoccan. Archer (1607:xlvi) notes that "wisacan" is a root that "heales poysoned wounds." Smith (1612:59) describes a root called "wighsacan" that "cureth their hurts and

diseases." It is suggested that these terms share a common base with the office of the Wiso among the Piscataway. It is further argued that the Wiso functioned as a combination priest/elder and served to assist in the smooth running of the Piscataway chiefdom and as advisor to the Werowances and Tayac, much as the organization presented above for the Chickahominy.

The Piscataway as a Chiefdom

Turner (1985:196-208) lists a number of attributes of the chiefdom and illustrates their presence among the Powhatan. Based on the information presented to this point, it is now possible to look at the Piscataway from this same perspective and determine which of these traits have been incorporated in the ethnographic overview or can be compiled from material not incorporated under the individual headings.

Aspects of the socio-political organization that reflect the chiefdom include succession of office, marriage practices, status within the group, distribution and recognition of authority, settlement, and community patterns, and religious differentiation for selected persons (Turner 1985:196-207).

It has been illustrated that the Piscataway shared with the Powhatan the dominance of the paramount chief, as well as matrilineal descent of office. Also the Piscataway evidently had "restricted polygyny," as did the Powhatan. Importantly, what it implies for the Piscataway is a chiefly accumulation of wealth beyond that of his subjects. Having a hierarchy of statused individuals is another shared trait, as well as an attribute of a chiefdom. Both White (1634a, 1634b) and Anonymous (1635) illustrate status related dress and ornamentation for the Piscataway. While the paying of tribute can only be implied and not too strongly, for the Piscataway, indications of redistribution are more plentiful, if the

Patawomeke descriptions of Spelman (1613) can be safely assumed to mirror Piscataway life. The case in point discussed by Spelman concerns throwing beads either in payment of or recognition for assisting in planting the chief's crops. The second case involves the relatives of a deceased person, assumedly of high status as noted by Turner (1985), throwing beads to on-lookers. Both instances are of distribution of non-food items. Differential burial (at least primary) is another shared attribute of both the Piscataway and the Powhatan.

Thus the argument that the Piscataway can be viewed as a chiefdom is sound, although not as extensive or case-specific as that for the Powhatan. If the concept of chiefdom was viewed as a continuum, with "tribe" at one side and "chiefdom" at the other, the evidence indicates the Piscataway would be more towards the tribal side than the full chiefdom side. The important point to emphasize is that the Piscataway exhibited a more intensified degree of political centralization than would be found with a tribe, as the term is generally defined. This centralization was not, however, as intense as that of the complex chiefdom.

Subsistence

Research concerning Late Woodland and Contact Era subsistence among the Virginia Algonquians has advanced considerably in the past decade, most notably with the works of Turner (1976), Waselkov (1982), and Potter (1982). As noted in Chapter II of this study, archaeological sources pertinent to the Late Woodland and Proto-historic subsistence among the Piscataway are quite limited. Such knowledge must be largely gleaned from other works, in other words, the anthropological and archaeological works referenced, as well as early documentary sources such as the writings of

Smith (1612), Strachey (1612), Beverley (1705), and particularly Anonymous (1635) and, to a much lesser extent, Father White (1634a, 1634b).

Briefly, numerous faunal and floral species were exploited as food sources. These included mammals, reptiles, birds, fish, wild plants, and cultivated plants. Among the animal remains discussed by Ferguson (1963) were deer, raccoon, fox, skunk, lynx, elk, bear, wolf, duck, turkey, clams, oyster, and various unspecified birds. As noted in Chapter II, plants were not identified. As also noted, the indication was a major focus on deer, turkey, and shellfish (the latter in the form of the clam).

Concerning the area of the Potomac River, Father White observed the area to be "not choaked up with undershrubs, but commonly so farr distant from each other as a coach and fower horses may travale without molestation" (White 1634a:40). He continues his observations pertaining to food resources that various wild foods are extremely abundant, listing specifically strawberries, raspberries, mulberries, acorns, walnuts, and sassafras. The soil was seen as rich for agriculture being "a black mould above, and a foot within the ground of a reddish colour." Springs were numerous and the area wooded, save for areas cleared by the Indians for planting. He concludes his discourse listing some of the birds found in the new Maryland Colony including eagle, swan, heron, duck, partridge, and "bitter" (White 1634a:45).

Anonymous (1635) lists a number of plants used by the Western Shore Algonquians for their curative powers, as well as four vegetables: strawberries, mulberries, raspberries, and "maracocks which is somewhat like a limon" (1635:80). He lists the month in which each ripens: April, May, June, and August respectively. In addition, he mentions various plums and lists a number of herbs. Animals include the bison, elk,

(mountain) lion, bear, wolf, deer, beaver, fox, and otter. Birds listed include eagle, hawk, falcon, "lanner," turkey, and during winter months the swan, crane, goose, heron, duck, teal, widgeon, brant, and pidgeon (Anonymous 1635:79-80).

A number of fish species are also listed including shellfish (mussel, oyster, cockle), sturgeon (which he notes are abundant), grampus, mullet, trout, sole, place, mackeral, perch, as well as the blow-fish and sting-ray. He adds the whale, porpoise, and crab to his fish listing.

Specifically talking of crops raised by the Indians, he speaks of corn, peas, and beans and that from the corn "omene" (in other words, hominy) is made (Anonymous 1635:80-82).

Spelman provides additional insight, adding to the listing of animals the "muske catt," presumably the skunk, as well as various squirrels and rabbits (1613:cvi). He also discusses the use of slash/burn horticultural methods, with wooded areas being cleared (if necessary) around houses in order to plant. Corn and beans were planted together. He describes the method used to gather the corn, of pulling the ears and putting them into hand baskets and transferring these into larger baskets. The corn is then laid on mats to dry, covered at night to avoid dew, and brought into the house once it is dried to the desired point. Here the kernels are hand-wrought from the ears and deposited into a very large basket. Horticultural activities, including harvesting and food preparation were the work of the women, men being engaged in hunting activities (Spelman 1613:cx1-cxii).

Strachey (1612:80-81) lists various methods of corn preparation, including roasting, boiling, and pounding/mixing into cakes called apone. He notes that gardens are square plots of land located "about their

howses," and being 100 to 200 feet square (1612:79). A detailed discussion of plant foods used by the Virginia Algonquian can be found in Beverley (1705:129-145).

Turner (1976) discusses the availability of numerous plant and animal species for the Virginia Algonquian. From a variety of sources, he lists pre-contact land animals:

Squirrel, chipmunk, woodchuck, raccoon, opossum, shrew, mink, weasel, otter, turtle, skunk, beaver, muskrat, procupine, rabbit, turkey, fox, wolf, cougar, bear, and deer (Turner 1976:70).

The use of anadromous fish is discussed by Beverley (1705:146), his listing including herring, shad, rockfish, and sturgeon. On the following page, he lists a more extensive catalog of available fish and later notes the use of the weir, as well as spearing fish. Strachey (1612:12) discusses both fish weirs and nets.

Hunting techniques are of some interest. To put a brief overview of them into proper perspective, it is first necessary to speak of the "family hunting band."

Family Hunting Band

Speck postulated that the family hunting band was the basic unit of Algonquian social organization (Speck 1915). This theory found support in MacLeod's work (MacLeod 1922). It finds an implied support in Mooney's statement that "the Powhatan left for hunting grounds as soon as the corn was harvested" (Mooney 1889:262). Newcomb (1952:22) provides further support, stating that the Delaware had small villages in the spring and summer but, after the harvest, the individual families scattered to their own hunting grounds.

In essence, the family hunting ground hypothesis states that the hunting group was a

kinship group composed of folks united by blood or marriage, having the right to hunt, trap, and fish a certain inherited district bounded by some rivers, lakes, and other natural landmarks (Speck 1915:290).

Anyone who hunted a territory without permission would be punished. Reciprocity was, however, practiced. A family that had had a poor season would be allowed to hunt in a neighbor's territory, the neighbor realizing that he could eventually be in a similar position. Speck suggests the range of territory that each family would theoretically control and supports his contention that this is an Eastern Algonquian trait by citing examples from the Cree, Algonkin, Ojibwa, Penobscot, and Micmac.

Two things make the hunting area hypothesis only peripheral to the present study. The first is Speck's view that this "institution" was weakened among the Algonquians of Maryland and Virginia (Speck 1924). The second is the forcefulness of the Leacock perspective (1954) refuting the aboriginal nature of the hunting territory, favoring instead its being a post-contact phenomenon.

The discussion of the hunting methods employed must come purely from the comparative literature; none of the Maryland specific accounts before the founding of the Colony nor the account of Spelman are informative on this issue. Smith discusses hunting, noting that the Indians "reduce themselves into companies . . . and goe to the most desert places with their families" (1612:69), this being in the area of the heads of the rivers, presumably at and beyond the Fall Line. Women carry along needed household utensils and the makings of hunting houses, Smith describing these as "like unto Arbours couered with mats" (1612:70). Importantly, "at their huntings in the deserts they are commonly 2 to 300 together" (1612:70). This is quite different from the family hunting band concept,

reflecting the movement of one relatively large, or a number of united small, units.

He continues, stating that these large groups would use one of two techniques. Either the deer would be surrounded and the forests burned to herd the prey and prepare it for the kill, or deer would be driven into a narrow point of land leading to a river. Hunters would await in the river for the kill. Solitary hunting is a third form discussed. In this event, the individual would disguise himself in a deerskin and acquire his prey by stalking (Smith 1612:70-71).

Hudson speaks of the importance of the deer hunt to the Indians of the Southeast, pointing out that two basic techniques were used: the decoy and the fire surround. The former was seen as an individual hunter activity, the latter the large group action outlined above. Both techniques would generally be employed in the fall and winter. Bear would generally be hunted in the winter, waterfowl from the fall until the spring. Snares were frequently used to capture small game (Hudson 1976).

Goddard (1978b) reports the use of traps, as well as the drive and fire surround, among the Delaware. Spelman speaks of the fire surround among the Patawomeke and (assumedly) Powhatan. A circular fire is started that serves to herd enclosed game into a more and more confined area, hunters being able to dispatch whatever was desired or needed as the circle tightened (1613:cvii). Spelman points out, interestingly, that the main goal is obtaining skins, meat being secondary.

Beverley states that the fire circle would encompass an area five to six miles in circumference and that the Indians would only take the skins (1705:154-155). Swanton (1946:318) believes that the Beverley observation may have been a result of the focus on the fur trade with the Europeans.

This is certainly a reasonable perspective and almost certainly valid to an extent. The heavy focus on the animal skins in the Spelman observation strongly suggests an aboriginal attribute of making the maximal use of the group hunt. Animal skins were used in dress, both functional and ornamental. In other words, the prehistoric picture may have been not much different than Spelman observed, with animals being killed for both their fur and their food value. In spite of jerking meat, there was probably some undue spoilage in the quest for furs before contact, this being greatly magnified with the advent and growth of the European fur trade.

Seasonal Round

Potter (1982:78) commences his discussion of the seasonal round among the Tidewater Algonquians by listing the five seasons of the year according to John Smith (1612:61):

The winter was called Popanow; the spring was Cattapeuk; the summer was Cohattayough; the 'earring' of the maize was Nepinough; and the harvest and fall of the leaf was Taquitock (Potter 1982:78).

This is a very appropriate manner in which to gear a discussion of scheduling in that understanding the areal Algonquian concept of the year reveals aspects of their world view that could otherwise be overlooked.

They make their Account by units, tens, hundreds . . . as we do; but they reckon the years by the Winters, or Cohonks, as they call them; which is a name taken from the note of the Wild Geese, intimating so many times of the Wild Geese coming to them, which is every Winter (Beverley 1705:211).

Barbour (1972:41-42) notes the term of "years": pawpannoughes. Smith notes that "their winter some call Popanow" (1612:61). The relation to pawpannough is quite evident. The use of the qualifier "some" should be emphasized, this indicating regional dialects or perhaps varied

languages within the confines of Virginia (and Maryland) as discussed above. According to Smith (1612:61), the term for Spring was Cattapeuk; according to Strachey, it was Suttekepacatvwb (Strachey 1612:202). In his text, Strachey shows occasional signs of copying Smith's works. In a paragraph devoted to the listing of the seasons of the year, his listing is virtually identical to that of Smith (Strachey 1612:124). This makes his independent listings all the more important in that he was fully aware of Smith's work and at times altered (or copied) his text but not his word list.

Two forms are offered for Summer: Cohattaayough (Smith 1612:61) and Cowwotaioh (Strachey 1612:203). The "earring of" the corn was called Nepinough, while the "harvest and fall of the leaf" was called Taquitock (Smith 1612:61). Strachey offers a completely different form for the "Fall of the leaf": Punsaos (Strachey 1612:183). Barbour (1972:44) shows Smith's term to be the correct one in this case, Taquitock being quite similar to the term employed in Abnaki, Cree, Delaware, and Narragansett. Barbour states "the source of [Strachey's] punsaos is not clear" (1972:44).

What is immediately evidenced by this five season breakdown is the importance of domesticated plants, in particular corn. Nepinough divides the Euro-American summer and seems to best correspond to the latter part of the season as indicated by Barbour (1972:39), perhaps the latter part of August and into September.

Based largely on a detailed analysis of the writings of Captain John Smith, Potter (1982:78-83) provides an outline of the seasonal round among the Tidewater Algonquians from which the following can be determined: the fall would be a time of gathering diverse species of nuts such as walnuts,

chestnuts, hickory nuts, acorns, and chinquapins. These would be stored for use in the winter and spring.

The late fall and winter were the time of the communal deer hunts, as well as the hunting of additional game, including various waterfowl, turkey, rabbits, and bear. The inclusion of bear in this listing is at odds with the statement of Hudson (1976) above.

The early spring witnessed a focus on fishing weirs and game animals such as the turkey, squirrel, and solitary deer. This would be about March and April. From April to June various herbs and berries were gathered, the latter being strawberries, blackberries, huckleberries, and raspberries. Also during the spring were the anadromous fish runs; species obtained would "have remained an important dietary item through August, although sturgeon runs are noted until mid-September" (Potter 1982:81). Anadromous fish are, however, most available in the spring, utilized marine fish being available from March continuing through September. Cultigens were planted in the spring.

May and June saw the utilization of various fish, as well as acorns and walnuts. As the summer progressed, various squashes, gourds, and beans became available. The corn crop was harvested in the early fall (Potter 1982).

Waselkov (1982:38) references diverse sources to illustrate that shellfish gathering took place in the late fall and continued through the winter among (at least some of) the Maryland Algonquians, while Virginia Algonquians harvested shellfish from the winter through the early summer, with a focus on the latter part of the spring and early summer.

A study of the growth rings of oysters excavated at the White Oak Point Site (44WM119) indicated a spring exploitation, from March to May.

This is supported by the presence of a diverse number of faunal species (Waselkov 1982:204).

Detail of available food resources can be found in Turner's study (1976) of the Powhatan. These resources and their availability are catalogued by physiographical zones--Coast, Transition, Inland (Turner 1976:84)--all three of which would have been found within the area used and controlled by the Piscataway.

In summary, various species of plant and animal life were acquired on a seasonal basis, although some were more continuously present either naturally or as preserved foods. Village dispersal occurred at two times during the year, the first being the fall/winter communal hunt, the second being after the crops were planted when the Indians commenced fishing, gathering shellfish and berries as well as "opportunistic quarry, such as terrapins and tortoise" (Potter 1982:83).

CHAPTER V

EARLY INFLUENCES: PROTOHISTORIC AND HISTORIC

1492-1633

Introduction

To facilitate understanding the progression of events during the contact history of the Piscataway, various aspects of the ethnography, as well as discussion of population and linguistics have been provided to this point. It is also important to understand the nature of initial European contact and its ramifications (Brasser 1978:78, Merrell 1979:349) prior to the founding of the Maryland Colony in 1634.

The first section of this chapter is an abbreviated overview of four problems associated with the interpretation of the historical records directly relevant to this phase of the research. The second section discusses the nature of early European activities in the eastern part of North America prior to the historic period. The third section focuses on evidence of the Piscataway as gleaned from the records of the earlier Virginia Colony and sets the stage for Chapter VI's discussion of the Piscataway in early Colonial Maryland.

Aspects of Early Records

Four aspects of the early historic records make interpretation somewhat more difficult than would be desired. Fortunately, these problems are surmountable. The first is a certain ambiguity in discerning exactly what year any particular event is recorded as having happened;

that is to say, various records appear with a doubled year indicator. The second difficulty pertains to early English word spellings. The third problem in interpretation stems from Indian naming customs and the resulting confusion they could cause for either the contemporary recorder or the twentieth century interpreter. The fourth also relates to naming techniques, but those of groups of people rather than individuals. Each is briefly addressed in turn.

1. Double dates. Weslager (1967:xi) explains that this resulted from the difference between the Julian and the Gregorian calendars. The former started each new year in March. In 1582, Pope Gregory XIII installed the Gregorian calendar, which starts the new year on the first of January.

The English continued using the Julian calendar, starting their new year on 25 March. Between 1 January and 24 March of any particular year, it is common to find both years listed (Weslager 1967:xi). The accepted interpretation is that the second year would be the one to reference in accordance with the Gregorian system.

2. Early English spelling. There was no formalized spelling in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as evidenced in the wide assortment of quotes interspersed throughout this study. Thus, spelling was phonetically based and reflected individual variation.

Differences in spelling would also reflect attempts by individuals and groups to improve their understanding of the complicated and, to them, alien nature of the Indian languages.

3. Indian names of people. According to Hudson (1976:325), "one of the main preoccupations of Southeastern Indian men was the acquisition of war names and titles." Swanton (1946:671) notes that Strachey pointed out

the custom of the Virginia Algonquians for each man, woman, and child to have several names. For example, Pocahontas was "rightly" called Amoute (Strachey 1612:113). Boys were given new names by their fathers when of an age to partake in the hunt; and the chief would give a warrior a new name after some exceptional accomplishment in combat (Strachey 1612:113-114). Chief Powhatan was called "by sondry names, according to his divers places, qualityes or honours by himself obtayned" (Strachey 1612:56). Among these names were: Powhatan, Ottaniack, Mamanatowick, and Wahunsenacawh (Strachey 1612:56). The latter was his proper name.

In 1621, Opechancanough, the then-paramount chief of the Powhatan and successor to Wahunsenacawh, changed his name to Mangopeesomon (Fauz 1985:244). This was evidently in preparation for the major offensive of 1622. It exemplifies name change upon attainment of higher status.

4. Indian names of groups. Group names can be vague, especially in the earlier English writings. Over time various names appear to have "stuck" and a people became known historically by a particular nominal designation.

A tribal grouping or a chiefdom would be known by the name of the river on which they lived (Smith 1612:50). The presence of more autonomous Indian populations than there are rivers results in certain problems with Smith's notation. It is certainly true that major populations (in political strength if not also in numbers) were named the same as the river (or vice versa). This may be more especially the case with the advancement of the historic period. Logically, minor populations would have been given the names of minor tributaries. If this was truly the Indian way, and not just a loose English understanding of the Indian perspective, a portion of the Indian world view reflective of political

rivalry and recognition unfolds. The Patawomeke would be viewed as the obvious dominant group along the reaches of the Potomac River and the Patuxent along the river of that name. The Piscataway would be viewed as a politically lesser body associated with a creek of the same name. Unfortunately, such a perfect alignment, a one-to-one correspondence, is not the case, as can be best determined from an analysis of the early records.

Villages and, by extension, a people, also came to be known by the name of their chief (Ferguson and Ferguson 1960:24, 27). Logically, as the chiefs changed their names or were replaced, the village and, again by extension, the people, would acquire a new name. It is suggested that this would lessen as the Europeans became accustomed to calling a people by a certain name, a label that would become the historical "tribal" label.

According to Strachey (1612:37), the Powhatan called their territory Tsenacommacoh. He later alters the spelling to "Tsenahcommacah" (1612:205). This is the closest the early records come to presenting what would traditionally be called a "tribal" name to the various groupings that comprised the Powhatan. It is quite evident that, in reality, this name was not employed by them for purposes of self or group identity; at least, the early records do not indicate this to have been the case. No similar designation for the Indians of the Western Shore of Maryland was located during the course of this study.

Setting the Stage: 1492-1607

For the Northeast, in general, European contact was sporadic after Columbus opened the New World to exploration and colonization in 1492. Cabot claimed Newfoundland for England in 1497, while Corte-Real explored

its coast in 1501 and again in 1502, returning with a number of Indian prisoners after the second venture, the first attempt to introduce the American Indian to slavery (Brasser 1978:79).

Although fishermen of a number of nations plied the waters of the far Northeast coast in the very early 1500s, it was the Portuguese who attempted to establish a fishing station on Cape Breton Island in the 1520s (Brasser 1978:79). This was perhaps the first attempt to set up a permanent or semipermanent residence in this portion of the continent. Like many to follow, it was to be aborted within one year.

In 1535, almost a century before the founding of the Maryland Colony, the French started fur trading along the St. Lawrence and there was a "gradual dissemination" of trade goods throughout the northeast "as far south as the Potomac" (Ferguson and Ferguson 1960:21).

Apparently focusing on the coast of what is now South Carolina, the Spanish engaged in slave hunts after 1520, the news of which undoubtedly "spread far and wide among the coastal tribes" (Brasser 1978:89). Lauber (1913) being one exception, the question of Indian slavery has received far less attention than is warranted. It was evidently a minor aspect of the English relations with the Algonquians of Virginia and Maryland, especially the latter. However, although an admitted anomaly, South Carolina

at the beginning of the eighteenth century had several hundred Indian slaves, possibly as much as a third of its total slave population (Craven 1971:73).

The Spanish explorers Verazzano and Gomez explored the Atlantic coast in 1524 and 1525, respectively (Mooney 1907). This heralded an increase in European explorations along the eastern seaboard (Brasser 1978:80). It was probably at this time that the Chesapeake Bay was first

visited (Feest 1978c:254, Turner 1985:208). According to Quinn (1967:241-242) a French ship engaged in trading activities with the "Powhatan Indians in Chesapeake Bay" (1977:242) in 1546. This is the first known incident of direct contact with the Virginia Algonquians.

Direct European contact came to Virginia again in 1561 with the arrival of the Spanish (Fitzhugh 1985:189, Fauz 1985:235). Their intent at that time was evidently exploratory, although one Indian was kidnapped to learn the language and returned to assist in establishing a mission (Lewis and Loomie 1953). Upon their return in 1570, it was discovered that the area had been decimated by an epidemic (Dobyns 1983:276). The Virginia Indians destroyed the mission and were subjected to a Spanish revenge in 1572 (Feest 1978c:254, Brassler 1978:79, Fauz 1985:236, Turner 1985:208-209).

Brassler (1978:80) argues that the fur trade became a major activity in the latter part of the 1500s, partly due to the growing fashion of the beaver skin hat in Europe. He believes it was from the fur trade that the European developed an image of the Indian as a hunter. This is supported by Zimmerman who contends that by the 1580s, and possibly earlier, the fur trade had developed to such importance that "ships were being dispatched solely for [its] purpose" (1974:59).

The English came to the Carolina coast in 1584, a time when the local Roanoke Indians were having difficulties with various neighboring tribes. This acted as an incentive to accept the English as potential allies. An epidemic arrived with the Europeans, leading the Roanoke to believe that the god of the English was the cause of the sickness and that the English were supernatural. The latter belief was partly due to the apparent immunity of the English to the imported illnesses. The Indians

believed the maladies were caused by "invisible bullets" (Fauz 1985:231-235). The end result of this attempt at colonization was the fabled Lost Colony which, as noted by Fauz (1985:235), "came to epitomize the treacherous nature of hostile Indians" and, in his opinion, to later justify hostile actions against the Indians of Virginia.

In 1588, Captain Vicente Gonzalez set sail from Florida under orders of the Spanish Governor. His mission was to investigate rumors of an English fort to the north. He proceeded up the coast towards Newfoundland and "entered into all the harbours he discovered" (Quinn 1967:822). One "harbour" was two leagues wide at the mouth and extended thirty leagues inland. He explains that it was five to six leagues wide at the most expansive point and four leagues at the most narrow point (Father White (1634b:18) defines a league as equaling three miles). Where the "harbour" reaches the foot of a mountain range, there was an Indian chief who was extremely powerful and the overlord of "all the chiefs of the territory" (Quinn 1967:822-823). Quinn explains that the river in question is not the Susquehanna "as would appear," but "apparently" the Potomac (1967:823). He also notes that Gonzalez had been in the area before in 1571 apparently during the revenge of the Spanish mission and again in 1585 and 1588 (Quinn 1967:332, 343). During one of these voyages, probably that of 1588, Gonzalez named the Potomac River the San Pedro.

He asserts that this may be the earliest reference to the Powhatan "Confederacy" and the Indians who were directly encountered by Gonzalez may have been the Wicomoco (Quinn 1967:823). Based on the studies of Turner (1976, 1985) and Potter (1982, 1986), it cannot be assumed that these people were under Powhatan control two decades before the founding of Jamestown. Based on the inland distance of the supreme chief in

question, I would suggest the Susquehannock are the subject. Therefore, the local Algonquians, the Wicomoco, would not have been under their power but in fear of them. Although Gonzalez may have spoken some Powhatan, as Quinn suggests, the language barrier is a factor that cannot be ignored.

Gonzalez took two Indians captive, "one not far from the Potomac River," and "accidentally discovered signs of the abandoned Roanoke Colony" during his return trek to Florida (Potter 1982:28).

Shortly before the founding of Jamestown, a European ship entered the Rappahannock River in Virginia. At the village of the Topahanocke difficulties arose, reportedly initiated by the Europeans. The Topahanocke chief was slain and an unknown number of his people kidnapped (Smith 1608:18). Available evidence suggests that the transgressors were English and that the event took place in 1604 (Potter 1982:28-29).

What is illustrated by the Roanoke settlement and the Gonzalez voyage is increasing European interaction in the greater vicinity of the study area, getting closer and closer to direct contact with the Piscataway.

Epidemics: The Unintentional Import

In addition to bringing trade, the early explorers and traders, as well as colonists, brought the potential for conflict. This was evidenced at the Ajacan Mission, the Roanoke colony, and the Topahanocke village. An unintentional European import, and one that would prove fatal to thousands of Indians, was disease. Like trade goods, it spread out from central contact areas and filtered throughout the east, following and reflecting aboriginal trade routes and interaction spheres. Quite possibly, as the volume of trade increased over time, European induced/influenced trade routes and interaction spheres would be followed.

In many instances, the imported maladies were catastrophic. For example, among the Indians in the Roanoke area of North Carolina,

within a few dayes after our departure from euerie such townc, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space; in some townes about twentie, in some fourtie, in some sixtie, and in one sixe score, which in trueth was very manie in respect of their numbers (Hariot 1588:378).

Dobyns (1983) has made a detailed study of the effects of European diseases on the American Indian along the eastern seaboard. Although his focus is largely on the aboriginal inhabitants of Florida, his study sheds light on the situation throughout the east and makes a number of statements specific to the confines of the Delmarva Peninsula (Coastal Plain of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia).

An unknown disease spread an epidemic along the east coast from Florida to New England between 1564 and 1570 causing "severe" mortality (Dobyns 1983:23). This may be the agent that caused the great loss of life in the Coastal Plain of Virginia just prior to the settling of the Ajacan Mission. Fauz (1985:235) speculates that the Spanish may have released a "virgin soil" epidemic upon their arrival in Virginia almost a decade prior to the mission.

Another epidemic covered an area encompassing at least from Rhode Island in the north to North Carolina in the south (Dobyns 1983).

Turner mentions an isolated epidemic on the Eastern Shore of Virginia in 1608 and another along the James and York Rivers in 1617-1619. He also believes, importantly, that "if the Indian population had been heavily decimated by disease, colonists would have noted it" (Turner 1985:212). In 1617, the bubonic plague arrived in the Chesapeake Bay and New England (Dobyns 1983:322, 325-326).

According to Brassler (1978:83), "thousands" of Indians died in the area between the Penobscot River and Cape Cod in 1617; and "whole communities were exterminated on the Merrimack River" between 1622 and 1631. A measles epidemic struck the Delaware in 1633-1634, as did smallpox in 1654 and 1663 (Dobyns 1983:17, 315).

The picture that emerges is one in which the role of disease and its impact on the American Indian is difficult to assess. What effect imported pathogens had on the Piscataway specifically is simply not evident. Turner's belief that heavy disease decimation would not have escaped the notice of the English is certainly valid. Evidently, although there were some epidemics among the Powhatan, and some quite potent, the impact on them was nowhere near as dramatic as among some other Indian populations.

The Piscataway may have been even more fortunate, although the possibility exists that a comment made by the early trader Henry Fleet (Neill 1876:26) may be suggestive of a plague occurring among the Piscataway sometime in the early 1620s. This must be submitted very tentatively, as the statement clearly says that the Iroquois had "slaughtered" one thousand Piscataway during that era.

Chapter III of this study presented a population estimate of 3,600 people for the Piscataway in 1608. One thousand of these people would have been members of the core Piscataway population, the others being added to determine the total size of the chiefdom. If Fleet's figure of 1,000 dead was accurate, and if he was referring specifically to the Piscataway, the indication would be the virtual or total extinction of this group. Clearly this is not what he meant. Equally as clear, Fleet was seeing the Piscataway as the leading group of an expanded chiefdom, in

accordance with and in support of the position of this study. Even so, 1,000 dead from a population of 3,600 would mean a decimation of 28 percent.

The impact would have been approximately the same if Feest's estimate of the Piscataway population in 1632 (1978a:242) is accurate. If Ubelaker's estimate based on his ossuary studies (1974) is accepted, the impact would have been considerably less, 13.8 percent. Nevertheless, it is probably safe to assume that Fleet's figure was greatly inflated. What is important is the revelation of a significant impact on the population prior to the founding of the Maryland Colony.

Early Historic: 1608-1633

Shortly after the founding of the Jamestown Colony in Virginia in 1608, John Smith undertook an exploration of the reaches of the Chesapeake Bay and of the rivers feeding into it, such as the Potomac. With a crew of fourteen men in an open barge, Smith left Jamestown on 2 June 1608 and proceeded to explore the Eastern Shore before turning his sights on the Potomac. He entered this river on the 16th of June (Papenfuss and Coale 1982:1). The first recorded contact was made with the Piscataway, and a new chapter was being written that would be influential on the later founding and settling of the Maryland Colony, slightly less than twenty-six years in the future.

It was during this reconnaissance that Smith recorded the names of several of the villages located along the courses of the Potomac and Patuxent Rivers (see Map 3), noting the estimated numbers of warriors at each (Smith 1612:52-53). These are, of course, the primary data from which estimates of aboriginal population have been developed. Five villages (Secowocomoco, Potapaco, Pamacacock, Moyowances, and

Nacotchtanke) are named along the northern side of the Potomac River, and three (Acquintanacksuak, Pawtuxunt, and Mattapanient) along the Patuxent River (Smith 1612:52-53).

A significant amount of the knowledge concerning the pre-Maryland Colony activities of the Piscataway and allied groupings (as well as enemies) comes from Smith's writings. It is quite evident at this point that the Moyowancers were the group representative of and synonymous with the Piscataway in this early period. In this initial encounter, Smith reported that the Indians of the Patuxent River were "of al other . . . the most civill to giue intertainement" (Smith 1612:53). He also notes three other facts of interest: First, that the "greatest strength that could bee there perceived" was 200 men, implying a total population of probably 800 to 1,000 people. Second, the people along the Patuxent lived in closer proximity to one another than was the case elsewhere, for instance along the Potomac and points south. Third, the next river north, proceeding towards the mouth of the Susquehannah River, was uninhabited. This river he called the Bolus. It is better known by the name Patapsco.

Three things are suggested here: First, that the Patuxent River Indians lived in close proximity due to fear of the Susquehannock. However, a brief look at the Smith map of 1608 (Papenfuse and Coale 1982:2) reveals a situation of villages being closer together, not of consolidation into fewer but larger settlements. Second, the area of the Patapsco River was most likely serving as a buffer zone between the Western Shore Algonquians and the Iroquoian Susquehannock. Third, an analysis of the Smith map of 1608 suggests that the settlement pattern along the Patuxent reflected an attempt to keep away from the advancements of Powhatan as much as from the Susquehannock. The civility of the

population compared to other groups most likely was representative of a desire to acquire a new ally of an uncertain strength and/or get a larger share of a trade network that was almost certainly already going on.

Another interesting observation from this voyage was recorded by Russell and Todkill (1612:113): "At Moaones, Nacohtant, and Taux, the people did their best to content vs". This is parroted in Simmonds's reprint (in Smith 1624:417) of part of the Map of Virginia, the only alteration being changing Taux to Toags.

Smith (1612:52) lists forty warriors for the Tauxenent, a figure accepted by Strachey (1612:46). Smith's map (Papenfuse and Coale 1982:2) shows five villages, counting the chief's village of Tauxenent along the Virginia shore of the Potomac. Proceeding upstream from the juncture of Potomac Creek and the River, these are Pamacocack, which was across the Potomac from a village of the same name in Maryland; Tauxenent, apparently located up the Occoquan River "south of what later became Mount Vernon" (Potter 1983-4:3); Namassingakent, across from Moyaone and "near the north bank of the Dogue Creek" (Potter 1983-4:3); Assaomeck, near Hunting Creek in what is now Fairfax county, Virginia; and Namoraughquend, probably located around the Pentagon/Arlington Cemetery area. Potter (1983-4:4) believes it was "in the vicinity of Theodore Roosevelt Island."

The relatively even distribution of these settlements, combined with their reception to the Smith party, indicates (1) they were not (at least directly) under the control of the Patawomeke chiefdom nor of Powhatan; (2) their relations with the Piscataway and other Maryland Indians settled along the Potomac were evidently cordial. Merrell (1979:552) suggests that the Piscataway may have been dominant over some of the villages located along the Virginia shores. I believe the evidence does indicate

that the Tauxenent may have been part of their chiefdom. This is admittedly at odds with the findings of researchers studying the Powhatan, most if not all of whom view the Tauxenent as part of the Powhatan (Mooney 1907:134, 1910:302; Speck 1924:187; Turner 1976:97). It is not, however, at odds with the perspective of a lessening of centralized control as geographic distance from the core increases.

Later events show the Tauxenent moving eastward along the Northern Neck of Virginia to King George County (Potter 1983-4:4). If they were subject to the Piscataway at one time, what may be reflected here is the fluid nature of the chiefdom. Membership would be more in the order of a confederacy than that of an expanded chiefdom.

An alternative hypothesis is that the Tauxenent and the Patowomeke may have at one time been part of a larger political organization that included the Piscataway and other populations on the Maryland side of the Potomac (personal communication, Potter 1986).

If an average population of 40 warriors per village is used and this is multiplied by a factor of four for an average village population of 160 (per discussion of population, Chapter III), the total estimated population of the Tauxenent would be some 800 people. If they were part of the Piscataway at any time shortly before or after initial European contact, the population of the enlarged group would be some 4,400 people.

External Relations: 1608

During a discussion with the Powhatan, Smith learned that the Pocoughtronack, a fierce Nation that did eat men . . . warred with the people of Moyaoncer and Pataromerke, Nations . . . vnder his territories: where the year before they had slaine an hundred (Smith 1608:20).

This is a reference to the Piscataway and, logically, the

Patawomeke. Even if the figure of one hundred is an exaggeration, it indicates costly hostilities were taking place between the Piscataway and the Pocoughtronack, who have been argued to be the Massawomecke. The assertion that they were "vnder his territories" is not supported by studies of the extent of the Powhatan chiefdom (Turner 1976, Potter 1982). If they had been at one time, this was no longer the case.

There is considerable evidence that the Massawomecke were a common enemy to the Algonquians of Virginia and Maryland and to the Susquehannock (Spelman 1613:cxiv; Smith 1612:54, 71; Russell and Todkill 1612:111; Powell and Todkill 1612:117; Strachey 1612:48, 107).

There is some uncertainty about the exact identity of these people. Hoffman (1964) uses deductive reasoning and analyzes the historic record to illustrate his contention that the "Pocaughtawonauck" are the same as the Massawomecke, and that these are no more than variant names for the Erie. Part of his argument rests on the Zuniga map of 1608 placing the Pocaughtawonauck where John Smith's map (Papenfuse and Coale 1982:2) places the Massawomecke (Hoffman 1964:196). The argument also states that since Smith never used the two names (Pocaughtawonauck and Massawomecke), he dropped the former in favor of the latter. Both referred to the same people, the first being the name used by the Powhatan and the second that used by the "Nanticoke or Wiccomiss" (Hoffman 1964:198). He concludes this portion of his presentation by classifying Strachey's account as less accurate than Smith's in that although he presents the two names as "if they were separate and distinct . . . (he) does not mention either the Mannahoke or the Susquehannock" (Hoffman 1964:198). Strachey does, in fact, mention both groups on two separate occasions (Strachey 1612:47-48, 107).

Strachey mentions a group called the Bocootawwonouke two times, both in relation to the extent of Virginia. The first states that the Monacan (Siouan speakers) are situated to the northwest of Powhatan's country, while the Bocootawwonouke are to the north (Strachey 1612:36). The later reference places the "Monahassanugh" to the west, the Massawomecke and Bocootawwonouke to the northwest. Although this is a significant change in compass direction, it is suspected that Strachey was speaking in generalities.

Swanton (1946:493) believes that Smith's Pocoughtronack are the same as Strachey's Bocootawwonouke. He notes that Hewitt believed the Pocoughtronack were the Potawatomi, a position Swanton found "strange" due to the geographic location of the Potawatomi, but he added that they would have probably used the Potomac River to access and harass local Algonquians.

Merrell (1979:532) accepts Hoffman's argument; White (1978:412) basically rejects it. Potter (1982:46) suggests that the Massawomecke were most likely the "Seneca". Kent (1984:26) notes that they can be assumed to be Iroquoian. Weslager (1983:27) argues that they were "undoubtedly the Five Nations" of the Iroquois.

It is my opinion that the Pocoughtronack may have been the same as the Massawomecke, but the Bocootawwonouke were almost certainly not. It is suggested that Massawomecke was a basic cover term for the Five Nations, much like "Seneca" was to the colonists (Hoffman 1964:215). The Bocootawwonouke may have been a Powhatan name for the Susquehannock, with whom they had little interaction.

Additional enemies of the Powhatan would be the Siouan Monacan to the west, as well as various unconquered Eastern Shore Algonquians,

evidently around "the head of the river of Moyumpo" (Kingsbury 1933:19). The same source reveals that the Piscataway cannot be discounted as enemies of Powhatan as he was said to have no friends to the north.

Like the Powhatan, the Piscataway were basically surrounded by enemies: the Powhatan to the south, the Patawomeke immediately across the river, the Susquehannock to the north, and the Massawomecke to the northwest.

Indian/English Interactions

One analysis of the history of English-Indian relations as exhibited in North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland contends that a three-stage process emerged: an initial Indian hospitality and fascination with the European (Roanoke), followed by an Indian reaction of fear and hostility (Powhatan), then a period of symbiotic alliances (Piscataway) (Fauz 1985). Reflecting the second stage of this process, the Powhatan "tested the firepower" of the English at Jamestown when the colony was only twelve days old (Fauz 1985:237), a prophetic look at how English/Powhatan relations were going to be. By 1609, the first Powhatan war broke out, with colonists being killed as they left their enclosure in search of food (Fauz 1985:239).

Advice came shortly from the Virginia Company addressed to Sir Thomas Gates, Knight Governor of Virginia, warning the colonists to befriend distant Indians and make enemies of those nearby (Kingsbury 1933:19, Fauz 1985:241, Potter 1986:4). The result was immediate, the colonists befriending the Patawomeke with Captain Argall setting up a trade network by 1610 (Potter 1986:5).

The friendship with the Patawomeke was evidenced by an event in 1609 when Henry Spelman, who had lived with the Powhatan for six months, moved

north with the brother of the paramount chief of the Patawomeke with whom he remained until 1610. At that time he was ransomed by Captain Argall (Spelman 1613).

The English worked on expanding their friendship with the Patawomeke commencing with Argall's expedition to trade for corn in 1610 (Smith 1624:503) and continuing until 1613 (Fauz 1985:241) towards the termination of the first war with the Powhatan. With the help of the Patawomeke, who were showing increased reluctance to be under Powhatan's yoke, the English captured Pocahontas, Powhatan's daughter, in 1613, thus pushing to end the conflict (Fauz 1985:243).

The first few years of the Jamestown Colony were marked by hard living conditions, hunger, and a high mortality rate. The focus of trade was to acquire food (Craven 1971:45, Kupperman 1984:167, Fauz 1985:237). The effects of such trade, however, cannot be ignored. English goods, such as hatchets and pickaxes, were rapidly pilfered by colonists engaging in private trade, a situation that Smith complained about (Craven 1971:49). He and Wahunsonacock "moved independently" to halt these activities (Faus 1985:239).

Legally or illegally, a great quantity of trade goods reached the Indians at a very early date, Strachey noting the Indians had "thousands" of iron hatchets (in Craven 1971:49-50). Spelman, writing of his one and a half year stay with the Indians, most of which was spent at Patawomeke, speaks of aboriginal agricultural techniques:

They digg many holes which before the English brought them scauels and spades they vsed to make with a crooked peece of woode beinge scraped on both sides in fation of a gardiners paring Iron (Spelman 1613:cx1).

Along similar lines, Potter notes that by 1609 trade with both the Werowance and the "commoner" had

flooded the James River Indians with copper, reducing its value as a status-bearing medium among the Algonkians and threatening the authority of the werowance (Potter 1986:4).

There is little doubt that some of these trade goods were filtering their way across the Potomac River to the Piscataway and the other Western Shore Indians, joining similar goods arriving from the north.

The Piscataway, like the Powhatan, exhibited status by a display of ornamentation: the "Caucorouses . . . weare the forme of a fish of Copper in their foreheads" (White 1634a:43). The everyday tool kit, e.g. for horticulture, would be much like that of the Powhatan.

Replacement of Indian manufactured goods naturally would lead to a gradual dependence by the areal Algonquians on the English for replenishment. Such a relation could be symbiotic as suggested by Merrell (1979) and Fauz (1985), but what it really heralds is a trend towards switching positions, from an early reliance of the English on the Indian to a later reliance of the Indian on the English: a three step process for the Indian of independence, symbiosis, dependence. The potential societal changes that can occur resulting from the introduction of incidental, and even well-intended, products is well illustrated by Sharp (1952). Since the chiefs would theoretically control the access to wealth accumulation, independent trading with individual villagers would upset the system.

Piscataway/English Interactions

The early English records provide little information specifically concerning the Piscataway before the 1620s. John Smith's writings (1612) and map (1608) provide valuable glimpses of the Piscataway and indications of how they appeared to the English. The population can be approximated and the villages can be enumerated. A number of distinct groups are referenced in the Western Shore of Maryland, suggestive of Smith's

understanding of their dependence/independence. Five stand out as apparent reflections of chiefdoms: "Acquintanackksuack," "Pawtuxunt," and Mattapenient along the Patuxent River: and Moyowance and Nacotchtanke along the Potomac. Across the Potomac River was the chiefdom of Tauxenent, which may or may not have been under the Piscataway. The indication to this point is that the Nacotchtanke may have been basically autonomous in 1608, a position that was gradually eroding. They had Algonquian-speaking enemies in the form of the Patawomeke and Powhatan to the south and Iroquoian-speaking enemies in the form of the elusive Massawomecke and Susquehannock to the north and northwest. Relations with the Eastern Shore Indians were evidently cordial at this time, a situation to change during the years of the Maryland Colony.

In 1621, John Pory was on the Eastern Shore when Namenacus, the Weworance of the "Pawtuxunt" came to the English seeking an interpreter named Tom Savage. His mission was to invite the English to come to his country. The English responded and went to "Attoughcomoco, the habitation of Namenacus, and Wamanato his brother" (Pory 1624:567) where they were served a brass kettle of boiled oysters.

Referring to the brothers as "Kings," Pory states that he was offered a gift of twelve beaver skins and one canoe by Wamanato (who had but one wife). Pory graciously refused the offer but the English reprimanded the Patuxent the next day for failing to give them "a Boy, nor Corne though they had plentie, nor Moutapass" (Pory 1624:568). Moutapass was an Englishman who had lived for five years among the Indians and was considered a fugitive by the English.

Several things are reflected to this point. Among these are: (1) an influence of European trade goods; (2) availability of beaver and

recognition on the part of the Indians of its potential interest to the English; (3) the practice of exchanging boys (probably to jointly seal alliances and to learn language/culture for future interactions); and (4) the practice of some of the English to run away and join the Indians.

The next day they went to Paccamaganant, then to Assacomoco, apparently the residence of a Werowance named Cassatowap who "had an old quarrell with Ensigne Saluage" (Pory 1624:568-569). From there they ventured to Mattapanient where the reception was hostile.

Indicated here are largely cordial relations among the Indians along the Patuxent with at least three independent chiefdoms being present. The Patuxent and the Mattapanient were noted by Smith in 1608. The third chiefdom, headquartered at Assacomoco, must correspond to Acquintanacksuak. The name changes in the villages, excepting Patuxent and Mattapanient, between 1608 and 1621 are striking. Possibly, this reflects the natural movement of villages due to soil exhaustion. It may equally reflect a misunderstanding on the part of Smith as to what the villages were properly called.

Ferguson and Ferguson (1960:24) argue that Smith was mistaken about the name Moyaone, the name

appears on maps derived from the Smith map as late as the early 18th century, but is missing from maps derived from Maryland sources beginning in 1635. The name appears only in Smith's account . . . and in Virginia official records up to 1623 (Ferguson and Ferguson 1960:24).

In my opinion, the village of Moyaone does not appear on the early maps "derived from Maryland sources" because it was abandoned by that time. The village of Piscataway may well have been one of the several that Smith did not name on his map. The suggestion is that the name change recognition from Moyaone to Piscataway came during the 1620s due to

one or a combination of several factors: a movement on the part of the paramount chief to an existing village of that name; the establishment by the Tayac of a village of that name; or an increased awareness on the part of the English of the internal political situation among the Maryland Algonquians.

The last reference located that mentions the Piscataway prior to the 1620s is a letter from then-Governor Argall to His Majesty's Council for Virginia. It is dated 9 June 1617 and, unfortunately, has a complete lack of punctuation, making understanding somewhat difficult. It states that the paramount chief Powhatan had gone to see the "king" of "May--umps" on the "Patawamack" River (Kingsbury 1933:73). This may have been an attempt to bring the Piscataway under Powhatan control or to elicit their support against either the Patawomeke or the English.

On 22 March 1622, the Powhatan attempted to eradicate the English, killing 347 men, women, and whildren in the first day of fighting (Smith 1624:572-574). This inaugurated the Second Anglo-Powhatan War, which was to last for ten years (Fauz 1985:246). The English in Viginia had, by that time, just over 1,000 settlers scattered about in forty-six plantations. English response called for a combination of destroying villages, food supplies and activities (for example, fish weirs), as well as direct killing in combat (Turner 1985:212-213, Fauz 1985:246). Only Indian youth were not to be slain, "so that their bodies could be utilized in profitable labor and service" (Potter 1973:195).

Fauz (1985:246-247) argues that this war fully convinced the English of the need for Indian allies, strengthening of ties focusing on Patawomeke, Accomac, and Accohannoc (the latter two being on the Eastern Shore of Virginia). Indian alliances provided the colonists with both

economic and military benefits: guaranteed food sources, military intelligence, bases of operation, and (for the immediate future) paved the way for the fur trade.

The Powhatan, likewise, attempted to entice the Patawomeke back into their union. Captain Crashaw and one man had been sent to Patawomeke to build a fort and acquire supplies. An envoy from the then paramount chief, Opechancanough, arrived with two baskets of beads for the Werowance of the Pataowmeke and assurances that "before the end of two Moones there should not be an Englishman in all their Countries" (Smith 1624:586). The assignment for the Patawomeke was to kill Crashaw and his associate and come back into the fold. It was refused, the chief openly allying his people with the English.

Captain Hamer arrived by ship requesting corn from the Patawomeke and was told that they had none, but that the Nacotchtanke, "which were enemies both to him and them" (Chief of Patawomeke and English) and their "confederats" did (Smith 1624:592). The Patawomeke offered to send forty to fifty bowmen with the English to take the food by force.

The English accompanied the Patawomeke across the Potomac and slew 18. of the Nacotchtanke, some write but 4. and some they had a long skirmish with them (Smith 1624:592).

What food they wanted was taken, the rest spoiled. Evidently Crashaw had already expressed happiness to be the Werowance of Patawomeke's

friend, his coudenancer, his Captaine and director against the Pazaticans, the Nacotchtanks, and Moyoans his mortall enemies . . . to satisfie his owne desire in some other purpose he had, as to keepe the King as an opposite to Opechancanough, and to adhere him vnto vs, or at least make him an instrument against our enemies (Smith 1624:586-587).

This is the first located reference that mentions the Piscataway by a form of their historic name. Interestingly, it lists them in a manner

suggestive of their being an independent body from the Moyaons and, less surprising, the Nacotchtanke. This is certainly not the case when, the following year, the Governor of Virginia travelled to the Potomac River to trade with "friends" and to "revenge the trecherie" of the "Pascoticons" and their associates, the Piscataway "being the greatest people in those parts" (Kingsbury 1935:450).

This revenge was in response to an attack on the English in which Henry Spelman and nineteen of his twenty men were killed (Smith 1624:596) by the Nacotchtanke (Fleet 1876:25). In addition, significant numbers of the Patawomeke had been killed by the Piscataway (Kingsbury 1935:450), assumedly in response to the raid on Nacotchtanke.

In the Spelman attack, Henry Fleet was taken prisoner and lived for five years among the Nacotchtanke, learning the language and paving the way for his future fur trade enterprises (Fleet 1876).

The attack on the "Pascoticons" must have been devastating, with an unspecified number of Indians being killed and houses burned. The Indians did manage to escape into the woods with a "marvelous quantetie" of corn (Kingsbury 1935:450). It was evidently at this time that Moyaone was burned (Ferguson and Ferguson 1960:25, Fauz 1985:247).

This was a time of heavy warfare between the Piscataway and their allies and the Patawomeke and English. A letter from Governor Wyatt to the Virginia Company of London, dated 20 January 1622, implies three encounters in which "divers" of the "Necochincos" were slain, these events taking place prior to the attack on the Piscataway and, assumedly, Moyaone (Kingsbury 1935:9).

Shortly after the attack on the Piscataway, which occurred in November 1623 (Fauz 1985:247), Governor Wyatt commissioned Ralph Hamor to

command a trading expedition and gave him

authoritie, to trade, in any River, or Rivers within the Bay . . . forbidding [him] . . . to compell by any waies or meanes any Indians whatsoever to trade more than they shalbe willing to trade for (Kingsbury 1935:448).

Although Fauz (1985:247) sees this as meaning trade with the Patawomeke, my interpretation is that it applies to all the Indians of the Chesapeake Bay and that it marks the end, or near end, of hostilities along the Potomac. Also, it marks the opening of the fur trade in the area, an event that, although enticing to many of the early Maryland colonists, was going to cause difficulties for the upcoming Colony.

The Patuxent seem to have been spared involvement in these conflicts. A Governor Wyatt letter dated 2 December 1624 notes that the "Potuxone" had sent a man to be an "eye witnes" to a Pamunky boast of what they were going to do to the English (Kingsbury 1935:508).

In the decade of the 1620s, in addition to hostile encounters with the English and Patawomeke, the Piscataway suffered severe losses from raids perpetrated by the Massawomecke (Fleet 1876:26), as well as the Susquehannock (White 1634a:42, Anonymous 1635:74).

The Fur Trade Among the Piscataway

Fauz argues that the fur trade and the founding of the Maryland Colony reflect the "adoption of cooperative alliances for mutual benefit" (1985:226). The beaver trade in specific is seen as demanding "that Indians remain Indians, pursuing the skills they knew best without fear of territorial dispoession" and that Englishmen remain Englishmen (Fauz 1985:252).

This argument of symbiosis is valid only to a certain point. Indians will, by necessity remain Indians; in other words, they will

continue to pursue a lifestyle most nearly like that they are used to. They will not, however, be unchanged. As illustrated by the "family hunting band" debates, the introduction of the fur trade had tremendous influence on the lifestyle of the Indians taking part in it. There was a functional ripple effect spreading throughout the societies. Partaking in the fur trade, when carried to any extreme at all, could affect status, role, wealth, and even the continuity of adherence to the seasonal round.

For the Western Shore of Maryland, two Englishmen stand out as most prominent among the fur traders--Henry Fleet and William Claiborne (Fauz 1983:19, 24-25, 1985:250).

Claiborne's focus was on the fur trade along the Chesapeake Bay, dealing with the Susquehannock and establishing a trading post and plantation on Kent Island, Maryland (directly across the bay from Annapolis) in 1631, as well as an additional trading post on Palmer's Island in the upper reaches of the bay in the same year (Fauz 1983:19, 1985:250).

Fleet, on the other hand, established his trade along the Potomac River (Neill 1876, Fleet 1876). It is from his journal that information can be gathered concerning the activities of the Piscataway on the eve of the founding of Maryland.

On 26 October 1631 Fleet arrived at the village of "Yowaccomoco," its location "being at the mouth of the river" (Fleet 1876:19-20). The inhabitants had burned their furs, "as the custom is" (1876:20). Fleet tried to convince them to preserve their furs for his return in the spring. Indicated here is a cycle of at least two visits per year.

This is the first mention of "Yowaccomoco," with little doubt the same village the Maryland settlers were to occupy less than three years

later. It was not located at this spot during Smith's expedition and is most likely the relocation of one of the listed villages, Secomocomoco.

A number of items stand out in this journal. Among these are: the trade network and Fleet's efforts to expand his system to include various Iroquoian groups; the role of the Nacotchtanke in this system; their relation to the Piscataway proper; the use of the Piscataway in the trade network; and a casual reference to Moyaone.

Fleet's attempt at expanding his trade network and cornering the market on interior trade came when he met with an interpreter of the "Massamack" (Massawomecke) who, along with a number of other unidentified Indians, was temporarily staying with the Nacotchtanke (Fleet 1876:25-26).

Ferguson and Ferguson (1960:25) interpret this as an attempt to establish trade with the Susquehannock. Although they were in the Piedmont area of Maryland at this time, Claiborne was setting up a network with them on the bay. In addition the Susquehannock and the Massawomecke were established enemies. Fleet would, nevertheless, be desirous of trade with anyone who was willing.

All of the "neighbor" Indians were opposed to Fleet's trading with the Massawomecke and the "divers" others. For the Piscataway, this was due to their recent losses in hostile actions, while the "Nacostines" were especially opposed "because they knew that our trade might hinder their benefit" (Fleet 1876:26).

Fleet had previously stated that the role of the Nacotchtanke in the trade network was one of middleman, the Iroquoians using them "to convey all such English truck as cometh into the river to the Massomacks" (Fleet 1876:25).

In spite of this, Fleet proceeded with his plan, travelling up the Potomac to the Fall Line to meet with representatives of these inland people. The Nacotchtanke informed the Massawomecke that Fleet was really out to avenge the Piscataway--an attempt to cut off his by-passing them in his expansion.

Fleet went to the Nacotchtanke village for an explanation and was offered

that if I would make a firm league with them, and give their king a present, then they would undertake to bring those other Indians down (Fleet 1876:29).

Although Fleet refused this offer, it is evident that the Nacotchtanke were simply working to maintain their middleman position.

The relationship between the Nacotchtanke and the Piscataway was described by Fleet:

There is but little friendship between the Emperor, and the Nacostines, he being fearful to punish them, because they are protected by the Massomacks or Cannyda Indians [due to their role in the trade network] (Fleet 1876:25).

Fleet evidently saw the Piscataway as the senior group in that area, much as the English had several years earlier. The Piscataway and the Nacotchtanke are frequently mentioned in the same phrase--separate but not entirely. The implication is that the Nacotchtanke were basically under the Piscataway chiefdom at this time. However, their attitude toward the Piscataway must have appeared insolent to Fleet.

To what extent they were really under Massawomecke protection is enigmatic; no records uncovered in this research have shown a Massawomecke response to the Patawomeke/English attack on the Nacotchtanke in the very early 1620s. "Protection" may have post-dated that event (Feest 1978a:243).

Several scholars have postulated, or simply accepted, that the

Nacotchtanke were Iroquoian (Semmes 1929:205, 1937:718; Merrell 1979:552; Fauz 1985:267). This perspective is contradicted by the writings of John Smith, who was careful to note when populations contacted spoke different languages. He makes no note concerning any differences between the Nacotchtanke and the Piscataway.

More directly relevant is Fleet's work (1876) in which he speaks of using an interpreter to converse with the Massawomecke, as well as boasting of knowing the language of the Indians of the Potomac better than English. Naturally, if the Nacotchtanke were Iroquoian, this would not negate the need for an interpreter. Fleet did not seem to be able to converse with any of the Iroquoians he was contacting in more than a rudimentary manner without his interpreter. He would have certainly mentioned it if they spoke a language other than that of the Piscataway.

Archaeological evidence, as known to date, reveals nothing from the site believed to be Nacotchtanke to indicate that they were a group different from the Piscataway. If they were, they could, of course, exhibit much the same material culture, but something would be different. Of that there is little doubt.

Apparently, the belief that the Nacotchtanke were Iroquoian stems from their position as middlemen in the trade system and the consequential protection they allegedly received from the Massawomecke. I hypothesize that this results simply from their geographic position as the most inland of the Algonquian groups living along the Maryland shore of the Potomac and at the juncture with the Anacostia River.

Fleet arrived at the "Pascattowaies" where he "hired sixteen Indians

. . . and made one . . . [his] merchant" (Fleet 1876:32). He divided his trade goods among them for them to trade "with their countrymen" (1876:32). This partially illustrates the new duties acquired by at least some of the Piscataway in the fur trade, and also implies the dominant position of their chiefdom. His journal does not reveal the degree to which he accessed local assistance at other villages, save the recognized role of Nacotchtanke. If his employees were limited to the Piscataway proper, it would strengthen their central position in the expanded chiefdom.

After leaving Piscataway, Fleet came "to a town on this side of it called Moyumpse" (1876:33). Semmes (1937:718) believes this to be most likely the same as Moyaone. Ferguson and Ferguson (1960:25) state "Moyumpse has been identified as an Indian village on Mason Neck on the Virginia side, a few miles downstream from 'Moyaone.'" Unfortunately, they do not expand on how this conclusion was reached. In my view, "on this side of" would mean downriver not across the river. His brief suggestion of the location almost mirrors that of the Moyaone village according to the Smith map.

Three comments can be made here. First, the village of Moyaone was still extant immediately prior to the settling of the Maryland Colony. Second, it appears to have decreased in importance around or shortly before the 1622 conflict, as Piscataway increased. Third, since Fleet was fluent in Piscataway, his pronunciation of Moyaone as Moyumpse was probably nearer to the Indian enunciation. This is supported by Kingsbury's notation (1933:73) that Powhatan had gone to visit the chief

of "May--umpse" in 1617. The phonetic similarity between Moyumpse and May--umps is clear.

CHAPTER VI

THE PISCATAWAY IN COLONIAL MARYLAND

1634-1666

Introduction

This chapter briefly highlights some of the more significant events and trends observable in the course of Piscataway colonial history from the founding of the Colony in 1634 until the advent of the Treaty of 1666. The Treaty and its aftermaths are discussed in Chapter VII.

Arrival

When the Maryland colonists, manning two vessels, the Ark (of over 300 tons) and the much smaller Dove (of 50 tons), arrived in Virginia in early 1634, they were warned by Claiborne that the Indians of Maryland were in arms due to a rumor that

6. shippes were to come with many people, who would drive all the inhabitants out of the Countrey (Anonymous 1635:71).

It was Father White's belief that Claiborne had started the rumor (White 1634a:39).

This rumor was quite obviously intended to make life difficult for the new colonists, partly to avoid their infringing on trade and partly due to strong anti-Catholic feelings among the Protestant English. What it succeeded in doing was bringing European religious conflict into the New World, as well as setting the stage for conflicts in the near future between the Maryland Colony and William Claiborne.

It is from the early records of Father White (1634a, 1634b) and the

Anonymous author of the 1635 Relation--who by context is evidently believed by Fauz (1985:258) and stated by Papenfuse and Coale (1982:9) to be John Lewger and Jerome Hawley--that data can be gathered concerning the primal interactions between the Maryland Colony and the Piscataway and associates.

The colonists first set foot on Maryland shores at St. Clements Island in the Potomac River and offered a Mass. It was here that they were advised not to settle until they had spoken with

the emperour of Pascatoway, and told him the cause of his [Governor's] comeing . . . to teach them a divine doctrine, whereby to lead them to heaven, and to enrich with such ornaments of civill life as our owne country abounded withall, not doubting but this emperour beinge satisfied, the other kings would be more peaceable (White 1634a:40-41).

In short, the goal was to civilize the Indians and convert them to Christianity according to the Catholic religion.

In a different version of his Relation, Father White states that "many Princes were subject to the Emperor of the Pascataway" (White 1634b:33). In English eyes, the Piscataway were undoubtedly the dominant chiefdom on the Western Shore of Maryland. The record is mute concerning who advised the colonists to contact the Piscataway. There is little doubt that it was Indians from the vicinity of St. Clements Island. Most likely, it was the Yaocomaco.

The Governor, along with the Jesuit Father Altham and a number of others, proceeded upriver to meet with the Piscataway. On the way they stopped at the village of Patawomeke on the Virginia shore. It was here they found the Werowance to be a child, and his uncle (probably maternal) Archihau "governed him and his countrey for him" (Anonymous 1635:71). According to White (1634b:34), Father Altham spoke to the Patawomeke with Henry Fleet acting as interpreter. Either Anonymous (1635:72) is mistaken

in his statement that Fleet was encountered only after the English left Patawomeke and entered Piscataway, or the visit to Patawomeke may have occurred on the return journey. Context in the writings of Father White indicates the former to be the case.

Importantly, at Patawomeke, Altham advised the Indians that the colonists were there to bring enlightenment in the form of Christianity and civilization. The border markings on the Hawley and Lewger map of 1635 (Papenfuse and Coale 1982:6) suggest that the Marylanders thought the territory of the Patawomeke was within the confines of the new colony. Stopping at this village would, therefore, serve a three-fold purpose: first, to ensure friendship between the Marylanders and their immediate neighbors across the river; second, to pave the way for trade and religious conversion; and third, to view and visit the Indians within their assumed territory.

Father White (1634a:40) claims that "the king of Pascatoway had drawne together 500 bowmen" to meet the Dove. Although this figure is almost certainly embellished--it would have called for coordinating and drawing together almost the entire manpower of the expanded chiefdom--it does show that the English were met with a force of impressive size. It also implies that the Piscataway were ready for hostilities, if such proved necessary.

The Governor presented his position to the Piscataway chief, requesting permission to settle. The Tayac's response, in what is the most frequently referenced statement by an early Piscataway Indian, was that

he would not bid him goe, neither would hee bid him stay, but that he might use his owne discretion (Anonymous 1635:72).

The English returned downriver, Henry Fleet accompanying them as a guide and interpreter. They proceeded to the St. Georges River (now called St. Mary's River) where they settled within a portion of the Yaocomaco village on the eastern shore of the river. The Werowance resided on the western side of the river (White 1634a:42).

The location chosen for the establishment of the first settlement of the Maryland Colony was considerably removed from the hub of the Piscataway chiefdom, hence they would not "have to cope with contiguous English settlement for some decades" (Merrell 1979:555). St. Mary's was more convenient for the English, providing ready access to the Chesapeake Bay and trade-import-export routes. Although it is uncertain if this was a factor, the positioning of the colony at a distance from the hub of Piscataway power would lessen the likelihood of conflict, at least until such a time as the English would be more able to deal with it.

Anonymous (1635:73) explains that the Indian village was called Yoacomaco "from whence the Indians of that part of the Countrey, are called Yoacomacoes."

The Yoacomaco were living in two villages, one on either side of the St. Mary's River. They readily received the English, freely giving their houses to the colonists. It was "also agreed, that at the end of the harvest they [the Indians] should leave the whole town; which they did accordingly" (Anonymous 1635:73-74). The town of St. Mary's was founded on the 27 March 1634 (Anonymous 1635:74).

Anonymous (1635) and White (1634a) present slightly different pictures concerning the acquisition of the area around St. Mary's City. Anonymous (1635:73) states that the Governor presented the Werowance and the Wiso various gifts, consisting of English cloth, axes, hoes, and

knives in a good will effort. White (1634a:42) is more explicit:

To avoid all occasion of dislike, and colour of wrong, we bought the space of thirtie miles of ground of them, for axes, hoes, cloth and hatchets, which we call Augusta Carolina.

There is a significant difference between giving gifts to obtain good will and buying a property.

Both authors agree, however, that the acceptance of the colonists stemmed, at least in part, from the continuing conflicts between the Yoacomaco and the Susquehannock (White 1634a:42, Anonymous 1635:74). The English were seen as being protectors or at least strong allies. Many Indians were said to be going "higher into the Countrey" (Anonymous 1635:74) for safety purposes even before the English arrival.

Specifically, it was observed that the Yoacomaco

move away every day, first one party and then another, and leave their houses, lands and cultivated fields (White 1634b:37).

In both instances, the English were probably misinterpreting the actions of the Yoacomaco. At the arrival of the colonists the Indians had just completed planting and were in the process of dispersing for shellfish and fishing activities in line with their subsistence round. The observed move up country would be in accordance with accessing the anadromous fish runs, as well as oyster beds.

The Yoacomaco are the same as the Secowocomoco or Cecowocomoco mentioned by John Smith (Semmes 1929:199) and the Wicomoco, as indicated by Thomas (1899:569). The fact that they had relocated sometime between 1608 and 1634 is of interest. At the earlier date they were situated on the eastern side of the Wicomico River, some twenty-five to thirty river miles from St. Mary's City. This move would have put them in the way of the Susquehannock, but may have helped to divorce them from the conflict of the 1620s.

The founding of the Maryland Colony could have proven of immediate benefit to both the Piscataway and other Western Shore Indians. Both could have partaken of the trade network and could have offered a mutual protection from outside forces such as the Susquehannock and the English of Virginia (Fauz 1985:254).

The Maryland Colony: Interactions in the First Year

Although there is little, if any, evidence that the Patuxent and the other Indians who lived along the river of the same name were at any time under the authority of the Piscataway chiefdom, this was not the case for the people situated along the Potomac, including the Yoacomaco.

After the colony was only a few days old, the Governor of Virginia and several area Indians visited St. Mary's. Among the latter were the Werowance of the Patuxent and that of the Yoacomaco. The Patuxent chief expressed a tremendous "love" for the English (Anonymous 1635:74-75). The Indians are frequently quoted as spouting an undying love for the English. This occurs a number of times in the writings of John Smith (1612, 1624). The English translation is somewhat suspect. It is probably that the context and thought of the time meant more of an "affection for" or "friendship of." Regardless, the speech of the Patuxent chief was almost without a doubt geared at winning a place for his people with the English, a position that would ensure good trade relations and a powerful ally in the advent of hostilities. It is also possible that the Patuxent were trying to avoid being engulfed by the expanded Piscataway.

White reported that the Indians "possessed . . . a wonderful longing for civilized intercourse with us, and for European garments" and that they would have had such clothes "long ago" if the merchants would not insist on trading English clothes only in exchange for beaver (1634b:41).

He continued, stating that everyone could not acquire beaver.

This shows the already heavy influence of the fur trade in the Western Shore as well as the apparent adoption of English clothing as a prestige item. By 1635 the Werowance of the Piscataway had requested the Governor to send a man to build an English house for him, while the Werowance of the Patuxent and that of the Portoback were frequently wearing English dress "and many others . . . have bought clothes of the English" (Anonymous 1635:88).

Very important is the following statement that "these Werowances," assumedly those from Piscataway, Patuxent, and Portoback, "have made request, that some of their children may be brought up amongst the English" (Anonymous 1635:88). It has already been discussed that it was an English policy to trade "hostages," often in the form of children, in order to better learn the nature of the opposing culture and to ensure successful relations.

An early incident of violence between the English and the Wicomesse occurred during 1634, evidently at Claiborne's trading post on Kent Island. The Wicomesse in question are probably not the same as the Yoacomaco. While it would initially appear that the Wicomesse were either the Wighcocomoco of the Eastern Shore of Virginia or a group of the same name that was situated at the mouth of the Potomac, again in Virginia, Marye (1938:149) argues that they were most likely the Ozinie. Feest (1978a:241, 251) presents a similar perspective. The Ozinie are noted on the Smith map of 1608 (Papenfuss and Coale 1982:3). At that time they were living on the Eastern Shore of Maryland along the Chester River.

Both the Wicomesse and the Susquehannock were trading at Claiborne's when an unspecified incident arose between the two groups. The English

who witnessed this laughed, causing the Wicomesse to feel slighted. They shortly ambushed the offending Susquehannock, killing five of seven warriors and returned to the trading post, killing three English and some cattle (Anonymous 1635:88-89).

The English seem to have taken no retaliatory action, it being two months before the Wicomesse sent an envoy to the Governor "to offer satisfaction." The messenger was a Patuxent who had married a Wicomesse woman and was living among them. He explained the tribe's (or chiefdom's) position: that they would return various items stolen from the trading post, peace being desired with the English. He emphasized that they were not afraid of the English (Anonymous 1635:89).

The Governor's response was that the warriors responsible for the English deaths should be turned over to him "to do with as I shall thinke fit," in addition to the return of the stolen items (Anonymous 1635:89).

The Indian response to the Governor's position reflects the potential for conflict between the two groups, and a struggle for dominance of one system of laws or the other. The payment for such a death was, by tradition

100. armes length of Roanoke . . . and since that you are heere strangers, and come int our Countrery, you should rather conforme your selves to the Customs of our Countrery, then impose yours upon us (Anonymous 1635:89-90).

The outcome of this incident was not recorded by the anonymous author.

The Hawley and Lewger Map of 1635

This map, reproduced in Papenfuse and Coale (1982:6), shows the locations of the major Indian towns, those corresponding to the home of a "king" or "queen." On the Patuxent River two are indicated, that of Patuxent and that of the Matapanian. The former appears to be in the same

location as it was in 1608; the latter had sometime in the ensuing years moved across the river from the western to the eastern side.

Along the Maryland side of the Potomac only the towns of Portobacke and Piscataway are shown. The latter is spelled "Pascatoway." The former had moved from the east to the west side of the Port Tobacco River since 1608. The town of Piscataway was situated in the vicinity of Fort Washington in present-day Prince George's County.

The Marylanders were seemingly seeing the Western Shore Indians as divisible into four groups: Patuxent, Matapanian, Portobacke, Piscataway. It is puzzling why Hawley and Lewger make no reference to the Nacotchtanke. Their absence from the map suggests that they had moved, most likely further inland, perhaps to what is now called Roosevelt Island or to the shores of Virginia.

Missionary Activities

In view of the intolerant spirit of the age, great caution was observed in the preparation of these [Jesuit] letters to avoid the designation of individuals by their proper names, lest they should be brought into trouble if the letters go astray (Hall 1910:115).

This quote reflects some of the religious hostility and intolerance that accompanied the early English colonists to the New World. This study hypothesizes that the negative feelings the Protestants had towards the Catholics were instrumental in the post-1705 period of Piscataway history, religious intolerance combined with other factors causing the Indians to "go underground." These issues are discussed in Chapter VIII. They are pointed out here because they reflect the importance of the early missionary efforts in Maryland.

The Jesuit Letter of 1635 honestly states that there had been "thus far but little fruit" from the Maryland mission

especially among the Savages, whose language is slowly acquired by our Countrymen, and can hardly be written at all (Jesuit Letter 1635:54).

By 1638 sickness prevailed in the Maryland colony, the loss of life being substantial. This, combined with suspected Indian hostility (an English trader who had been living with the Indians had been slain), caused the Governor to refuse to allow the priests to live with the Indians (Jesuit Letter 1638:55). The Jesuits turned their attention to the Protestant members of the colony converting "nearly all" of them by 1638. In 1639 the Governor rescinded his order. Father Fisher remained in St. Mary's City, while Father Gravener moved to Kent Island. Father White was stationed

one hundred and twenty miles . . . at Kittamaquund, the metropolis of Pascatoa, having lived in the palace with the Emperor himself of the place, whom they call the Tayac, from the month of June, 1639 (Jesuit Letter 1639:124).

The best relations established by the Jesuits before the setting up of the missions were with the Patuxent, who have already been shown to have been anxious to cement positive ties with the English. The "King" of the Patuxent, Maquacomen, gave the Jesuits a tract of land that they dubbed Metapannayen. This was on the St. Mary's (west) side of the Patuxent River (Jesuit Letter 1639:124, Beitzell 1960:5).

Father White had "bestowed much labor and time for the conversion of the King of Patuxent" (Jesuit Letter 1639:124). Although the chief had not converted, even after consideration, some of his people "had connected themselves with the fold of Christ" (Jesuit Letter 1639:124).

This last statement is important. Some of the Patuxent had converted to Christianity. It is suggested that some may have moved to the plantation of Mattapany (Metapannayen, at about the location of the Patuxent Navel Air Station in Lexington Park, St. Mary's County) to assist

the priests and their lay helpers in farming activities. In other words, some "spin off" from the Indian population may have occurred at this early date, "spin off" referring to the assimilation of individual Indians into the non-Indian population (the concept was formulated by former Bureau of Indian Affairs Commissioner Phileo Nash [Lurie 1971:421]).

This same Jesuit letter states that the chiefdoms were usually limited to a single village and adjacent territory,

though the Tayac has a much more extensive dominion, stretching about one hundred and thirty miles, to whose empire also other inferior chieftains are subject (Jesuit Letter 1639:125).

This is the first definitive statement on the size of the Piscataway territory. Coming in 1639 after five years in the Colony, there can be little doubt that it is an accurate presentation of the political situation at the time. Since Father White was 120 miles away at the Piscataway village, the territory must have extended from the mouth of the Potomac up to the Fall Line.

Uwanno, the Piscataway Tayac, was slain by his brother Kittamaquundi sometime after the arrival of the Marylanders. Kittamaquundi assumed the leadership. He readily accepted Father White, even wanting to have his son live with the Jesuits for seven years so they could teach him (Jesuit Letter 1639:126).

The success of the missionary efforts among the Piscataway culminated in 1640 when the Tayac was officially converted and baptized a Catholic, along with his wife (all but one wife having been put aside), children and "another of the principal men, whom he especially admitted to his counsels" (Jesuit Letter 1640:131). Each was assigned a Christian name, Chitamachoon (Kittamaquundi) being called Charles and his wife, Mary (Jesuit Letter 1640:131).

Many of the people of "Pasactoa . . . seem well inclined to receive the Christian faith" (Jesuit Letter 1640:172), and the "King of the Anacostans" requested missionary work to be conducted among his people. This latter request was beyond the manpower of the Jesuits at hand.

Kittamaquundi's daughter was sent to live among the English and was baptized in 1642 in St. Mary's City. She was placed "under the joint guardianship of the Governor and Mistress Margaret Brent" and later married Margaret's brother Giles (Ferguson and Ferguson 1960:28).

The Indians of Portobacco were also converted (Jesuit Letter 1642:135-136). It was this town to which the missionaries moved to establish a homebase. This was for two reasons. First, it was strategically located in relation to the Indian villages. Second, the aggression by the Susquehannock was such that the priests were considering abandoning the mission at Piscataway (Jesuit Letter 1642:136). The letter states that over 130 people had been converted in 1642.

Ingle's Rebellion (Kellock 1962:2, Land 1981:45-47) curtailed Jesuit activities in 1645, seizing control of the Maryland government as well as the property of "papists and malignants" (Hammett 1970:32). Jesuits who were not able to escape into Virginia, for example Father White, were taken back to England as prisoners (Semmes 1937:163).

Father Copley managed to return to the Colony in 1648 but was unable to set up new Indian missions due to the political climate (Beitzell 1960:7). Beitzell erroneously states that when the political situation changed several years later, there were only a "few scattered remnants" of the Indians left (1960:7). When Oliver Cromwell became the Lord Protector in England in 1658, the missionaries were allowed to return "to their fields of labor" (Hall 1910:142).

The zeal with which the Jesuits believed they had converted the Indians must not be taken too literally. As illustrated below, cultural continuity is evidenced in a number of ways, at least for a significant number of people. The concept of "compartmentalization" (Dozier 1961) explains how a people can give the impression of adopting another group's customs and manners while still holding to their own. This could be considered part of the acculturation process, but it is also a methodology that allows for continuity of the traditional and acceptance of new attributes that seem desirable.

On the other hand, Merrell's assertion (1979:560) that the missionary work "had little real impact on the religious beliefs and practices of the Piscataways" cannot be supported. There was considerable cultural continuity; of this there is no doubt. But, the fact that all or virtually all contemporary Piscataway are Catholic suggests that the missionary efforts were at some point in time highly successful. It is argued here that this success may have not come until after the alleged "disappearance" of the Piscataway from the colony. One reason for the later missionary success was the Protestant perspective that the Piscataway were associated with the Catholics.

Piscataway/English Interactions

Interactions between the Piscataway and the English can be better understood by inserting occasional colonial population figures into the discussion on events and encounters. This illustrates the ever-increasing tide of settlement with which the Indians had to contend. Although colonial census efforts have been known to be inaccurate (Menard 1980:616), especially after the introduction of slavery (1980:621), Karinen's detailed assessment (1958) provides a considerable amount of

statistical data pertinent to this study.

Including the ships' crews, the population of the settlement in St. Mary's was approximately 200 people in 1634; to this can be added maybe as many as 100 more for Claiborne's Kent Island plantation (Karinen 1958:36). This would give the entirety of Maryland a population of only 300 English at this founding date. The first English county, St. Mary's, was established in 1637 (Karinen 1958:45). In spite of Indian awareness of English-Indian interactions in Virginia to that date, the Western Shore Algonquians most likely viewed the initiation of relations in a positive light, as indicated (trade/mutual protection). The small population of English would seem little threat.

In 1638, shortly after the founding of the Colony, an "Act for Trade with the Indians" was brought before the General Assembly. This stated that anyone wanting to trade with the Indians would have to acquire a license from the Governor (Archives of Maryland I:42-43). The act was an obvious attempt to control the trade within the colony, basically to ensure a supply of corn and continuity of peace. English residents were still allowed to engage in limited trade, for a couple of beaver skins, with Indians who came to their individual plantations (Archives of Maryland I:43-44).

In the same year, Governor Calvert, referring to Kittamaquundi as "my Brother Porttobacco now Emperor of Paskattaway" stated that the Tayac was the servant to the Proprietor--Lord Baltimore--and

hath within this two yeares stept into the Empire of the Indians by killing his eldest brother, the old Emperor, and enjoyeth (it) yet with peace through the good correspondencie he keepeth with me which aweth his Indians from offering any harme unto him (Calvert 1638:158-159).

The Governor's perspective is supported by Kittamaquundi's acceptance of the Jesuits as noted. In fact, "he made nonviolent intrusion by another culture possible" (Merrell 1979:556). His unpopularity, at least with some of the Piscataway, is illustrated below.

The following year the "Maquantequats" were reported to have "Comitted Sundry Insolencies," while the Patuxent were declared to be at peace and under Maryland protection (Archives of Maryland III:87). In the same year, 1639, three Englishmen were assigned the task of proceeding to the Indian town of Aquascack to apprehend an Indian who had killed an Englishman. A town of this name is shown on the Smith map of 1608. At that time it was located on the St. Mary's County (west) side of the Patuxent River.

What is interesting here is that the English were dealing with the Indians both via the chiefs in charge of individual chiefdoms, as well as individuals. When an Indian was seen or thought to have broken the English law the individual, not the group, was made to pay. Such a policy would avoid all-out Indian warfare and, at the same time, would exert an ever-present pressure on the Indian leaders to relinquish individual members of their chiefdoms to an alien justice. This could cause an erosion of traditional respect for the Tayac and/or Werowance in question.

In 1641, Kittamaquundi died (Jesuit Letter 1642:136), but not before he had given the English Governor the right to choose the Tayac (Marye 1935:192; Merrell 1979:557). Kittamaquundi selected his daughter to succeed him, many of the Piscataway rejecting his choice and naming Weghucasso the new Tayac. The English accepted Kittamaquundi's daughter "at least until 1644" before recognizing Weghucasso (Merrell 1979:561).

In 1642 the Susquehannock, Wicomesse, and Nanticoke were declared enemies of the Province (Archives of Maryland III:116-117). An "Act for an Expedition against the Indians" was passed that allowed the Lt. General or his Captain to undertake an expedition against the "Sequihanoughs, or other Indians as have committed the late outrages vpon the English" (Archives of Maryland I:196). It called for the third able-bodied man from each "hundred" (a geopolitical unit) to participate. In this same year, Kent County was established and the population of English Maryland was 650 (Karinen 1958:38, 46).

In 1644 Captain Henry Fleet was sent with a force of twenty men to the Piscataway to investigate reports that the Susquehannock were there. The Governor feared a Susquehannock plot to ally themselves with the Piscataway and jointly war on the Marylanders. Fleet's mandate gave him the power to make war or peace; if the latter, he was told to inform the Susquehannock that the Patawomeke were friends of the English and as such, they and other Indian friends were not to be bothered. In addition, the Susquehannock and the English were to exchange "hostages" to become interpreters and thereby strengthen the peace (Archives of Maryland III:148-150).

In 1648 an act went before the Assembly entitled, "An Act Touching Pagans." It provided that arms could be supplied to friendly Indians "to protect the colony's frontiers and to ensure the natives' continuing loyalty" (Merrell 1979:565) and at the same time forbade the giving of guns or ammunition to the Indians for the hunt or any other purpose. A fine of 1000 pounds of tobacco would be levied on offenders. The Governor, however, was allowed to keep one "pagan" (Archives of Maryland I:233).

Embedded in this act is a reflection of the reliance of at least some of the English on the Indian as a hunter and a provider of basic sustenance. It also reflects an early English attempt to control the individual actions of the colonists. The implied goal is to ensure peace and exert control.

This act is of interest for several reasons, among them the reflection of the reliance of the English on Indians to assist them in the acquisition of meat products. The penalty was financially severe and would assumedly make would-be illicit traders rethink their objectives.

More important as a reflection of the interrelations between the Indian and the English is the wording of an act passed in April 1649. This made it unlawful to "take, entice, sarprize, transport or Cause to be transported out of this Province" any friend Indian (Archives of Maryland I:250). The penalty for offenders was death. While it is possible that this act resulted from altruistic feelings towards the Indians, it is perhaps more likely that it was passed to ensure the peace. The sternness of the penalty suggests that there was a strong need for the new law.

This act continues to reiterate the prohibition against providing arms to the Indians but adds that this applies to any Indian borne of Indian Parentage (Archives of Maryland I:250).

It is obvious that by 1649 the English, fifteen years after the founding of the Colony, had developed or perhaps acquired from the earlier residents of Kent Island and Virginia a concept of at least two kinds of Indians: those born of Indian parentage and, logically, those not so born. The latter category would apparently apply to people of a mixed parentage, most likely only if they hovered around the English world, and to Indians who had "spun off," most likely in their youth, to the English community

and were being raised English. In partial support of this contention the act states that an Indian named "Andrewe Ousamazinah being nowe servant to Mr ffenwick is hereby excepted from this Lawe" (Archives of Maryland I:250-251).

Another important Act passed in 1649 voided all individual land purchases from the Indians and provided that the only way to acquire land was via the Governor (Archives of Maryland I:248).

In April 1650 an Act was passed by the Assembly allowing any resident of the Colony to trade with Indians anywhere within the bounds of the Province. A license had to be obtained for tax purposes, in other words, 10 percent of weight for beaver (specifically named). It was forbidden to export corn out of the Colony without a special permit, and arms and ammunition could not be sold to the Indians (Archives of Maryland I:307-308).

The passage of this Act shows that the beaver trade was still ongoing. It also illustrates the importance of corn to the early settlement and suggests that any fears of previous years that individual trade with the Indians would cause hostilities was lessened.

Also in 1650 two counties, Calvert and Anne Arundel, were founded (Karinen 1958:39). The English population was expanding, following the coast lines of the rivers and estuaries, a settlement pattern very similar to that of the Indian (Karinen 1958:33). One year prior to the founding of Anne Arundel County, Puritan immigrants from Virginia had established a settlement there (Karinen 1958:54, Moss 1976). Its population in 1650 was between 200 and 300 people.

In 1651 the Mattapanian, Wocomocon, Patuxent, Lamasconson, Kighahnixon, and Choptico requested to be placed under English protection

and asked for a land grant at the head of the Wicomico River (called Choptico Resolving) where they could "live together" (Archives of Maryland I:329).

All these people were from St. Mary's or Calvert County. Important is the wording of the record, suggestive that all the members of the Indian groupings may not have been involved: "Certain Indians of several nations" (Archives of Maryland I:329). The Wicomoco, under the more familiar label Yoacomaco, had been a distant Piscataway satellite while the Choptico "appear to have acknowledged the jurisdiction" of the Piscataway (Semmes 1937:461).

The request for a joint land may have partly represented an attempt to break from Piscataway domination and to form a confederacy with those nearest neighbors with whom there was a stronger identity.

The English estimated the requested land to be some eight to ten thousand acres, the Assembly feeling the grant would "be a means not only to bring them to Civiltly but also to Christianity" as well as to strengthen the area for the English (Archives of Maryland I:351).

The idea was to set up a 1000-acre Calverton Manor with General Robert Clark acting as the "steward": Indians who so desired would be granted 50 acres of land, the "Werrowance or chiefe head" not more than 200 acres (Archives of Maryland I:351).

This site would have been located somewhere around the present boundary line between Charles and St. Mary's Counties. It was most likely at what was then the border of English settlement. Hence, placing the Indians there would serve as a buffer to any incoming hostilities from upriver or inland. The proposed distribution of fifty-acre lots could almost serve as a prototype for the Allotment Act of the United States,

which was passed by Congress almost 250 years later. A similar act pertaining to the Indians of Virginia was passed by the Virginia General Assembly in 1652 (Potter 1976:45).

In 1652 peace was established with the Susquehannock, the English acquiring all the land from the Patuxent River to Palmer's Island (an area the Susquehannock considered theirs). Tribal members, when coming into the Maryland Colony were required to come by water not land. Parties had to be limited to eight to ten men (Archives of Maryland III:277-278).

In the same year, the colonists were forbidden to engage in any activities, trade or otherwise, with the "Yacomoco," Matchoatick, and other Virginia Indians who had been coming into St. Mary's and Charles Counties to hunt. In the process hogs and cattle were being disturbed, game destroyed, and the Indians were insolent (Archives of Maryland III:281). The "Yacomoco" mentioned may have been the same as those who yielded St. Mary's to the English. Semmes (1937:460) states that many had moved to Westmoreland County, Virginia.

In October 1654, an Act was passed allowing colonists to disarm any Indians coming onto their lands and forbidding entertaining any Indians in their homes, save the now friendly Susquehannock and the Piscataway (Archives of Maryland I:348).

In 1658 Charles County was founded, with an English population of between 300 and 400. The settlers were nearing Nanjemoy and Portobacco (Karinen 1958:47). The English population for the Colony the preceding year was 4,870 (1958:39). The colonists had almost beyond doubt exceeded the Indians numerically by this date.

The seven men present at a Council meeting in 1658 were all in agreement that the Governor should "endeavor" to install a new "emperor"

among the Piscataway if the present one, who was rumored to be sick or dead, died (Archives of Maryland III:360).

Tayac Uttapoingassenem's brother, along with the "greate men" of Portoback and Nangenaick, as well as several others (nine in all) approached Governor Calvert to ask for a continuance of the peace made with the late Weghaucasso. Through the Governor's interpreter, Thomas Matthews, the Indians presented a discourse that explained the succession of the chieftainship, as well as the origin of the people (Archives of Maryland III:402-403).

Basically, the explanation was that "long ago" there was a chief from the Eastern Shore of Maryland by the name of Uttapoingassinem (same as present Tayac excepting next to last vowel) who ruled all the Indians of the province, including the Susquehannock and the Patawomeke. Although control over the Susquehannock is very unlikely, the archaeological evidence supports a union with the Patawomeke.

Uttapoingassinem's brother became Tayac after the former's death; hence brother to brother to sister's son, a system basically identical with that of the Powhatan. The problem arose, as earlier mentioned, when Kittamaquundi, who had no living siblings, appointed his daughter the chief. The people rejected this, instead selecting Weghucasso. The present Uttapoingassenem was Weghucasso's brother and a "Jan Jan Wizous" or "true king" (Archives of Maryland III:403).

A number of points are immediately manifest by this discourse: first, the existence of a faction within the Piscataway; second, the apparent close relation between the Piscataway and the Portoback and Nangenaick (Nanjemoy); third, a possible lessening of the extent and influence of the Piscataway among neighboring Indians; fourth, attempts by

the people to maintain their traditional rules of descent and, hence, order; fifth, the use of the term Wiso in relation to the chief (this, in my opinion, not reflecting the use of this term for the Tayac but rather the special honored position of the Wiso in the society); and sixth, Piscataway reliance on English help in difficulties with outside Indians.

The point of the meeting was to request four Englishmen to be sent to Piscataway to assist in building a fort (logically in the European style) due to recent encroachments by the "Cinigos" (Five Nations) who had killed five Piscataway. The Iroquois were reported to dislike the Piscataway because of their friendship with the English and the Susquehannock (Archives of Maryland III:403).

In 1661 an Act was passed to aid the Susquehannock who were considered to be "a Bullwarke and Security of the Northerne parts of this Province" (Archives of Maryland I:407). This was due to aggressions by "foreign" Indians, the "Cynacs or Nayssone" (see Hoffman discussion above on identity of these groups). Fifty Englishmen were to be recruited: eleven from St. Mary's County, fifteen from Calvert, seven from Charles, eleven from Anne Arundel, and three from Kent (Archives of Maryland I:407).

The source of the required troops shows the general population trends of the English as well as the direction of settlement expansion, from St. Mary's County up through Calvert and into Anne Arundel, hugging the river system.

The English Council met at Portobacco on May 15 in 1662 to select the new Tayac: "Came halfe the Mangicomaco, and halfe the Majchecomoco of Pascatoway nation" and interpreter Matthews (Archives of Maryland III:453). Mangicomaco and Majchecomoco seem to indicate a possible dual

organization of the Piscataway council.

The Piscataway again presented a statement, also again concerning chiefly succession. This time, however, there is a certain contradiction. Wannas, who had been killed by his brother Kittamaquundi, was recognized as their "last lawful kinge." Weghucasso was selected as the new leader. However, "hee dyinge without lawfull Heire Vttapoingassenem" was chosen as his replacement (Archives of Maryland III:454). Previously (above) they had said these two were brothers. With matrilineal descent of office, this would be the logical and legal choice. The problem probably stems from kin terms employed, and the interpreter's translation, for example, brother in the sense of maternal cousin.

The Piscataway stated their preference for Wannsapapin, the son of Wannas, to serve as the new leader (Archives of Maryland III:454). To keep in conformity with descent rules, Wannsapapin would have to be Wannas' sister's son (Br - Br - SiSo).

It was not until the following year, on 1 June 1663, that the Council met, this time at Piscataway, to elect the Tayac. The Indians present included the great men (most likely both Wiso and Cockoroose) of the Piscataway, as well as the great men and "kings" of Chingwoatyke, Portoback, and Mattawoman. It is obvious that the Portoback are the same as the Potopaco of the Smith map of 1608. It is suggested that the Chingwoatyke may be the same as the Cinquateck encountered by Smith, and the Mattawoman the same as the Mataughquamend.

At this meeting, the Piscataway presented an eleven-year-old boy named Nattowaso, the eldest son of former chief Wahocasso. They explained why he had been chosen to be the new Tayac (naturally under the direction of an older guardian): by tradition, the Tayac had been chosen from one of

two families, that of Wannys and that of Wahocasso. The intent was to marry the boy, upon maturity, to a daughter of the Wannys family. They asked for the approval of the Governor and for him to protect the new chief (Archives of Maryland III:482). The Governor agreed to the choice and warned the Piscataway to not harm the new chief, by poison or other means. He would punish any who did (Archives of Maryland III:482-483).

This is definitive proof of a faction within the Piscataway, with two families (probably lineages) competing for control of the chiefdom. Just the prior year the selection had been from the other family. The man chosen at that time, Wannsapapin, is not referenced in this account, it being uncertain what his fate was. The Governor's warning to not harm the new Tayac, combined with the request of the Piscataway for the warning, shows that the faction was serious.

It is interesting to note that the Piscataway were still not speaking English, even after almost three decades of contact. Some people, such as youth sent to live with the English, would have certainly been bilingual. Not making use of these individuals, along with the possibility that the leaders may have been more fluent than the records reveal, could be an adaptive technique by which a certain distance was kept between Indian and English.

On November 17, 1663 the Governor ordered no English to take or occupy land within three miles of Indian "habitacons or plantacons." This was in response to complaints by the Queen of Portoback that due to English encroachment her people had had to leave their riverside town and move to the extent of their territory. English cows and hogs were eating Indian corn, and she feared her people would starve since they did not know how to make fences for their corn fields (Archives of Maryland

III:489).

The reference to "habitacons or plantacons" could reflect that either the Indians were continuing with their aboriginal manner of farming, and/or some were adopting the basics of the English manners. The allegation that they did not know how to make fences is supportive of the former.

Also supported is Karinen's perspective (1958:33) that Indian towns often became the nuclei of English settlements. This was certainly the case for Yoacomaco and apparently for Portoback as well. A look at the various small town communities found today in Charles and Prince Georges Counties shows an abundance of Indian tribal grouping names.

Troubles with the Iroquois increased in 1664 with the Governor offering 100 arms length of roanoke to any Indian or Englishman who brought in a live "Seneca" prisoner or, in the event of death, his ears (Archives of Maryland III:502). The reward is quite obviously aimed at recruiting Indian support.

In 1664 the Sackayo and the Portoback were told to construct compounds in which they would house English stock caught damaging their crops. The stock could be retrieved upon payment of a fine (Marye 1935:214). The Sackayo are equivalent with the Zekiah and lived in the vicinity of the Zekiah Swamp and Portobacco. The fact that they were told to build compounds only one year after they said they did not know how to make fences implies that they, in reality, did not want to make fences.

In October 1665 one of the great men of the Mattawoman asked the English if his people should move further into the wood or stay where they were (Archives of Maryland III:534), an effort to keep removed from English settlements that were coming into the area. The Governor

responded in the negative and ordered no English within three miles of Indian land in Charles County on pain of one year in jail (Archives of Maryland III:534). This penalty was probably added due to a lack of English compliance with a similar order the Governor had issued two years earlier.

The year 1666 was important for the Maryland Colony's Indian affairs. A treaty was made with the Susquehannock, which included a call to deliver the "king" of Patawomeke and his two sons over to the English (Archives of Maryland III:549-550). Evidently they had been taken captive. More important to the Piscataway and their associates, 1666 saw the adoption of their own peace treaty.

CHAPTER VII

PISCATAWAY IN THE MARYLAND COLONY

1666-1705

Introduction

This chapter continues the ethnohistory of the Piscataway, tracing activities from 1666 to 1705. The major divisions are: the Treaty of 1666 and post-treaty Piscataway/English interactions. The latter includes several references to the ever-expanding English population, suggestions of the effects of the Catholic/Protestant conflict on the Indians, conflict with the Iroquois, and the move of some of the Piscataway to Virginia.

Treaty of 1666

The making of the Treaty of 1666 stemmed from an increase in the conflicts between the Indians and the colonists, as settlement spread further upriver into the lands occupied by the peoples of the Piscataway chiefdom. In addition, there had been a "massacre of several white settlers" and an "unexplained death of an Indian" (Everstine 1980:101). The treaty was to spell out exactly where the Piscataway stood in the eyes of the English. It is quoted in full by Toogood (1969:146-148), as well as by Scharf (1879 Vol I:290-291). Oddly, their spelling of the Indian names is quite varied. It is from Toogood's copy that the following discussion emerges.

One of the most notable aspects of the treaty is the listing of the Indian groups who are included, as well as the individual signators. The following communities are named:

Pascattoway; Anacostaug, Doags, Mibibiwomans, Masquestend, Mattawomans, Chingwawaters, Nangemaick, Portobackes, Sacayo, Pangayo and Choptico (Toogood 1969:146).

There are only seven signers representing these twelve populations: Memattbone for the Piscataway and the Sacayo; Amehoick for the Matchecomico of the Piscataway; Choticke, "Counciller" for the Chingwawateick and Pangayo; Wetat, for the Matchecomico of the Chingwawatieck and Pangayo; Unawcawtanim for the Mattawoman; Necutahamon, King of the "Nangemy"; and Mawnawzimo for the "Nangemy" (Toogood 1969:148).

While two people signed for the Piscataway, the Chingwawatieck, and the "Nangemy" (Nanjemoy), no one signed literally in the name of the "Anacostaub" (Nacotchtanke), Portoback, Doag, Mibibiwoman, Masquestend, and Choptico. It is obvious that they are all subsumed under one of the designated signatory groups.

MacLeod (1926:302) finds it "very doubtful" that the Nacotchtanke should be included, he being among those who insist that they were Iroquoian. He extends this doubt to the "Nanticoke groups, the Choptico and Doags" (1926:302). In my opinion, there is virtually no doubt of the Choptico; if they are the same as the Nanticoke grouping of that name, they had relocated to the Western Shore and, as a consequence, came under Piscataway control. He provides no support for his contention that the Doag were a "Nanticoke group," or that they came from the Eastern Shore. It has been illustrated earlier in this study that the Tauxenent lived across the Potomac from the Piscataway populations. Potter (1983:4)

presents an evolution of the name Tauxenent, from Tauxenent to Taux to Doag. This is readily evidenced by the varied writings of John Smith (1612:113, 1624:417). The Doag in question here may be the Tauxenent who had moved across the river to live in Maryland. That they would do so supports the contention raised earlier that they may have been politically under the Piscataway, at least at one time.

MacLeod, however, may or may not be correct concerning the Nacotchtanke. It is almost certain, as future events illustrated, that they signed the Treaty but later violated it. At some point, they seem to have removed themselves further upriver, although this may have already taken place by 1666.

Three of the signers are connected with groups for whom a second individual also signed. Two (Amehoick and Wetat) represent Matchecomico, or tribal councils. This shows that neither the Piscataway nor the Chingwateick had a chief at the time of the treaty. Hence the ultimate authority for these people, in the absence of a Piscataway Tayac, was the Matchecomico.

Since Choticke and Wetat both signed for the Chingwateick and the Pangayo, it is assumed that these people were fully united. The same holds true for the Piscataway and the Sacayo (Zekiah). It is suspected that Chotick, as a "Counciller" for the Chingwateick and Pangayo, was a person appointed by the Tayac. The two signers for the "Nangemy" (Nanjemoy), "King" Necutahamen (the Necut- portion of his name means "one") and Mawnawzimo are possibly indicative of some kind of duality among these people as hinted among the Piscataway. Unawcawtanim, of the Mattawoman, is listed simply by name. Therefore, he must not have been a "king" but a "great man."

There were fourteen articles in this treaty; each will be briefly addressed in turn:

1. This called for Indian acknowledgement and ratification of the power reserved to the Governor to appoint the "Emperor of the Pascattoway." He was to appoint, with "convenient speed," a new Tayac to replace the late "Walmcasco" (Toogood 1969:146). Scharf's spelling (1879 Vol I:290) is the more familiar "Wahacasso."

Signing this article theoretically placed the Piscataway and associates in a firm subordinate position to the authority of the English Governor. It also supports the proposition that the Piscataway were the dominant power among the Indians, the group to which all others named in the treaty were subject.

2. The death penalty was imposed for any Indian killing an Englishman. By accepting this, the Indians acquiesced to English authority and the implementation of English over Indian law.

3. This article called for several actions on the part of Indians to ensure friendly intent upon coming into contact with an Englishman. First, any Indian who was coming into an English plantation (use of the term in this instance certainly means upon any English habitation) was to "call aloud before they come within three hundred paces of any English mans cleer ground" (Toogood 1969:146) and lay down their weapons. If no English were around, he was to lay down his weapons and continue his approach, still calling out. The Indian was not to come to English plantations painted. Indians who did not comply would be considered to be enemies. In a conciliatory portion of the article, it is noted than an Englishman who killed an Indian who approached in conformity to the conditions of the article would be executed. Upon a chance meeting in the

woods, the Indian had to throw down his weapons "upon call" (Toogood 1969:146).

Adherence to the wording of this article would place the Indians in a clear tributary status to the English.

4. This article preserves "inviolably" the Indians' "privilege" to hunt, fish, crab, and fowl. It is one article that, in one form or another, will be found repeatedly in various treaties made between the English and later between the Americans and the Indians throughout American history.

5. This article, which must have come in response to Iroquoian advances against the Piscataway, provided that the Governor would designate a location to which the treaty Indians would bring their families in the event of hostilities with foreign Indians. It also guaranteed that the families of treaty Indians slain in conflicts with the outside forces would not become English servants but would remain free.

6. One Nicholas Emanson had been accused by the Nanjemoy of knocking down their fences with malice aforethought. As a consequence, Indian corn was damaged, apparently by Emanson's livestock. This article requires him to pay for the damage in some unspecified form if "George Thompson and John Brown testify" that the damage was intentional (Toogood 1969:147).

This and the following article were aimed directly at easing tension with the Nanjemoy. It should be noted that although Thompson is a prominent Piscataway surname, the George Thompson in question was not an Indian, but a distinguished member of the English community of the Western Shore. It is strongly suggested, however, that he was a friend of the Indian.

7. This article provided that the Nanjemoy were to remain on the lands they occupied at the time of the treaty and that "Necutahainon son of their last King" would assume the office of "king" (Toogood 1969:147). In addition, he and the Nanjemoy were placed

immediately under the Protection of the Lord Proprietor of this Province and Subject to no Indian whatsoever (Toogood 1969:147).

For the Piscataway this reflected the dominance of the English Governor and the erosion of their control over the other Western Shore Indians. The Nanjemoy were freed from Piscataway control.

8. Two men (both apparently English), to wit John Roberts and Thomas Maris, were ordered to give the Chingwateick 120 arms length of roanoke in payment for killing an Indian the prior August.

This is twenty arms length more roanoke than was the Indian norm and was probably extra payment to ease the tension that must have accompanied the lengthy demand for justice. Adoption of the Indian law on this occasion is of interest. It could reflect either an attempt to provide a lighter penalty from the English perspective or a true respect for the Indian system.

9. This article provided that Indians would be subjected to the same penalties for stealing (livestock and other unspecified items) as applied to the English.

Evidently, a dual system had been in effect before this date, probably reflective of an unwillingness on the part of the Indians to acknowledge the wrongful nature of such actions or, perhaps, to turn over guilty parties.

10. Provision was made for what we would now term reservations. These were to coincide with the lands occupied by the treaty Indians at the time. The Governor was to have the lands surveyed to delineate

boundaries. The Indians were forbidden to allow any foreign Indians to live with them in these confines without the Governor's consent. The people could not be forcefully removed from the reservations, rather the Matchecomico would have to give their consent and signify the peoples' willingness to move to the proper English authority.

In essence, this further clarified the limits of Indian-owned lands and, importantly, undermined the authority of the Tayac and sub-chiefs--at least on surface inspection. What actually seems to be reflected is the ultimate power of the council, at least in certain matters.

11. All signatory Indians were ordered to fence in their corn fields to keep out English cattle and hogs. Englishmen who removed these fences would have to make "full Satisfaccon for their Damage" (Toogood 1969:147). The amount and nature of this "Satisfaccon" is not specified. This order was an attempt to force the Indians to adopt the English practice of the day to fence in fields, not animals. Implied is that the Indians were still not adopting English livestock keeping to any significant extent.

12. This article required the Indians to apprehend and return any runaway servants or slaves who came to the Indian towns and to make the same payment an Englishman had to for helping servants and/or slaves escape the province.

This strongly implies that the Indians were giving refuge to runaway servants and slaves. English indentured servants were far more populous at the time than slaves. It is my impression that the article's real intent was aimed at runaway indentureds, with slaves being naturally included despite their smaller numbers.

13. All Indians who accepted the treaty were ordered to sign it or be declared enemies to both the English and the treaty Indians. This was a divide and conquer device aimed at isolating any groups who were inclined not to conform to the treaty terms.

14. The last article called for peace between the treaty Indians and the English "from this Day forward" and denied the Indians the right to make peace or war "with our Enemies" without English consent (Toogood 1969:148).

Post Treaty Indian/English Interactions

In 1667, the English had a population of 1,490 in Anne Arundel County, 2,130 in Calvert, over 1,335 in Charles, 885 in Baltimore, and 1,650 in St. Mary's (Karinen 1958:48, 54, 576, 59, 61). This totalled approximately 7,500 Englishmen on the Western Shore of Maryland.

In 1668, it was iterated that the new reservation would have to meet with the approval of the Indians (Merrell 1979:563). The following year the Nanticoke of the Eastern Shore of Maryland signed a treaty and "had come under the complete subjection" of the colonists (Porter 1979a:181).

A reservation was laid out in 1669 for the

Pascattoway Annacostancke Doags, Mikikiwoman, Manusquesent Mattawoman Chingwawates Nanjemaick Portobacco Lanays Pangayo and the Choptico Indians all that tract of land lying between Paskatoway Creek and Mattawoman creek beginning at Mattawoman Creek at a marked white oak standing near a path that leadeth over the said creek from Pascattoway unto Zaccaya and running from the said oak north untill it meeteth with the main fresh falling into Pascattoway creek bounded on the west with the said Potomack River from the said Pascattoway Creek unto the above said Mattawoman Creek bounded on the south by the said Mattawoman Creek into the above mentioned white oak and bounded on the east by the above said north line (in Marye 1935:239-240, Toogood 1969:149).

The reservation consisted of some 10,000 acres (Ferguson and Ferguson 1960:30). Although it included Calvert Manor, Hansonton, as well as a

couple of other English land grants from the early 1660s, there was evidently no effort to annul them (Kellock 1962:24). Also in 1669, a census in Virginia revealed the presence of the "Potopaco" with about sixty warriors (Feest 1973:76). Feest postulates that they were a group displaced from the Potomac River and probably included the "Potomac" (Patawomeke). The total estimated population for these Potopaco would be about 240 people. It is very possible that they consisted of a number of the Maryland "Portobacco" (Portoback) who had left the colony as a result of the treaty of 1666.

In the following year, 1670, the Piscataway approached the English to request a renewal of the treaty. Representing them were two councilors, Unnacawsey and Mappassanough, and Monatquund, their "Speaker." This title may indicate that he was fluent in English, hence relayed messages for them. More likely, it designates a special senior Wiso position. At this time the Tayac was "at the Sasquehanoughs" (Archives of Maryland V:65). The Piscataway apologized for delivering what they considered an inferior quantity of presents. They stated that they were "now reduced to a small Number" and requested that

when their Nation may be reduced to nothing perhaps they may not be Scorned and Chased out of our Protection (Archives of Maryland V:65).

The English gave three matchcoats and two gallons of rum to the Piscataway representatives, an indication that alcohol may have been having a negative impact on the Indians. Whether or not the English were aware of it at the time is not so readily determined.

What is important here is the statement by the Piscataway that they had had a significant reduction in population. A number of Piscataway young men had deserted to join the Susquehannock (Ferguson and Ferguson

1960:28-29). Most likely the treaty of 1666 added to this movement and may account in part for decreased numbers. The lessened population could also be partially accounted for by the removal of the Nanjemoy from Piscataway control, again an action of the treaty. Other factors would include death and/or capture at the hands of the Five Nations of Iroquois, epidemics, and spin-off into the English community.

Christian Feest, in his study of Indian population estimates for Virginia, prunes the arguments down to the following:

The reasons usually given for the decline of Indian population are warfare . . . and epidemics Another cause, frequently overlooked, is tribal disintegration in which Indians severed their bonds with tribal society, lived on English plantations, mixed with non-Indians, and gradually lost tribal and Indian identity, at least in the eyes of White observers (Feest 1973:74).

Although Papenfuse and Coale (1982:11) state that Ogilby's 1671 map was new and that the section on Maryland was "his own composition," a brief analysis comparing his work to that of Hawley and Lewger (Papenfuse and Coale 1982:6-7) shows exactly the same location for the four listed Indian towns of Patuxent, Mattapanian, Pascatoway, and Portoback. His map may be admirable in other respects, but it does not help elucidate a picture of Indian regional occupation for the designated year of 1671.

Herrman's map of 1670 (Papenfuse and Coale 1982:12-15) presents a different story. Herrman used nine longhouse symbols to show the location of Indian habitations. Six are under the heading "Pamunky Indian land," three under "Pascattawaye." This is quite a reduction in the distribution and number of Indian settlements from that present at the founding of the colony less than forty years before. All the structures are conveniently within the confines of the 1669 reservation boundaries, between the northern shore of the Mattawoman Creek and the southern shore of Piscataway Creek. What may be illustrated is not so much a picture of the

reality but of the assumed situation or ideal. This is not to say that most of the Indians were not residing within the confines of the reservation at the time, but it is seriously doubted that all were.

Herrman's map also shows what is now Roosevelt Island (located in the Potomac between Washington, D.C. and Arlington, Virginia) as "Anacostien" Island. This was probably where the Nacotchtanke were either living at that date or had previously lived.

The 1670s were a dramatic time for the Piscataway. Events were taking place that were going to ensure a future path for them that they may have not selected, given a choice. Due to various circumstances discussed in some depth by Jennings (1984) and outlined by Clark (1984), the Susquehannock moved into the Maryland Colony. Jennings (1984:140) notes that earlier arguments that the Susquehannock had been routed by the Five Nations, hence moved to Maryland, are mistaken. Scharf (1978:292), for example, states that the Susquehannock had suffered decimation by disease and warfare in 1673, combined with a disastrous defeat at the hands of the "Seneca" in 1674. The result was a move to Maryland.

Jennings (1984:139-140) provides a detailed account of English political manipulation and intrigue that resulted in the move, the Five Nations having been unsuccessful in attempting to subdue the Susquehannock.

Regardless of which account is the accurate one, the Piscataway were shortly to be drawn into a series of escalating events that would spell trouble for them for the next decade. In 1675, the English population in Maryland had increased to 15,850 (Karinen 1958:41). In that same year an event in the Northern Neck of Virginia across the Potomac revolved around one Thomas "Mathews," possibly the same person who had earlier served as

interpreter for the Maryland Colony. In July of that year, a number of Indians said to be Doag and Susquehannock, stole some hogs from Mathews because he had, in their opinion, cheated them by not paying for goods delivered. Their party was overtaken by English from Virginia, some being beaten, others killed (Berry and Moryson 1677:105).

The Indians decided on revenge and twice raided his plantation, killing two servants on the first occasion and Mathew's son on the second (Berry and Moryson 1677:105-106). It is possible that the second raid may have happened after a military force from Virginia responded to the first raid.

According to Mathews (1705:17), Colonel George Mason and Captain Giles Brent, Jr. responded to a raid by the Doag Indians (allegedly those from Maryland) in which his overseer was slain. This event spawned Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia. Mason and Brent crossed the Potomac where Brent, who was the son of Giles Brent and Mary, the daughter of the Piscataway Tayac Kittamaquundi, used his ability to speak the Indian language and interviewed the chief of the Doag concerning the incident. The chief denied knowledge and tried to flee. In response Brent killed him. Thus Giles Brent, Jr., a man of mixed Piscataway-English parentage, was more than instrumental in setting the spark that was going to result in incessant warfare over the next ten years.

The incident that really sparked the blaze was initiated accidentally by an overzealous Colonel Mason who had surrounded another Indian cabin (assumedly longhouse) while Brent had surrounded that of the Doag chief. Fourteen residents of the latter longhouse were slain by Mason's men while trying to flee before it was learned that they were friendly Susquehannock (Mathews 1705:17). Since the Susquehannock had basically come to the

colony under duress, they were particularly outraged. The result was war with the Susquehannock.

Although the Maryland Governor complained to his counterpart in Virginia (Berry and Moryson 1677:106), the situation remained serious. Virginia Governor Berkeley ordered an investigation into the incident by Colonel John Washington and Major Isaac Allerton, who called for raising an army of a combined force of 1,000 men from Maryland and Virginia (Ferguson and Ferguson 1960:36). Maryland complied, supplying 250 men to help combat the 100 Susquehannock warriors who were living along with their families in the Susquehannock fort adjacent to the Piscataway (Ferguson and Ferguson 1960:250-251, Jennings 1984:146).

Another incident occurred, this one during the seige of the fort, which was to truly incite the Susquehannock. Five of their chiefs were sent out to parley. They were executed by Major Thomas Truman of Maryland, "urged or abetted by Colonel Washington" (Jennings 1984:146). Major Truman was "impeached" for his actions and dismissed from the Council (Everstine 1980:113-115).

According to Berry and Moryson (1677:106), some fifty Englishmen (and/or possibly their Indian allies) died during the seven week siege of the Susquehannock fort. The Susquehannock managed to escape and commenced a continuing series of devastating raids aimed primarily, but not entirely, at Virginia. Within one year, by 1677, approximately 300 people had been killed in Virginia (Berry and Moryson 1677:108, Clark 1984:77).

The exact role that the Piscataway played in the initial encounters with the Susquehannock is somewhat vague at this point. It can be said with certainty that they offered to join the English in contesting the

Susquehannock in 1676 (Marye 1935:208). That they must have played what the Susquehannock considered to be a significant or at least totally unacceptable role is established beyond doubt. Susquehannock ire was aimed principally at them in subsequent years.

Governor Andros of the New York Colony sent some New Yorkers along with a party of Susquehannock to the Chesapeake Bay in 1676 to negotiate peace with the Maryland Colony. Fearing retaliation for their role in recent events, the Piscataway and the Mattawoman "objected strenuously" (Jennings 1984:151). Jennings provides English economic and political reasoning behind refusing the proposed treaty.

The result was a series of raids, of increasing intensity, by the Susquehannock and various parties of the Five Nations aimed specifically at the Piscataway and the Mattawoman. What seems clear here is that the other Indians from the Western Shore of Maryland were not on this hit list. This would serve to isolate the Piscataway and their close associates, the Mattawoman. It is my contention that the Nacotchtanke, Choptico, and others, whether under the domain of the Piscataway or not, were not directly subject to the combined Susquehannock/Five Nation campaign.

All was not warfare. Ferguson and Ferguson (1960:28) contend, for example, that the Jesuits established a school for Piscataway youth in 1676. They are quite vague about their source. The Jesuits did establish such a school in 1677 that taught youths born in the colony (Jesuit Letter 1681:143). The letter does not say whether Indians also attended the school, but the intent is obvious that English born in Maryland did.

In 1677 and 1678, the Nanticoke raided English plantations on the Western as well as Eastern Shore (Porter 1979a:181).

An event in 1678 reflected cultural continuity among the Piscataway. The then Tayac Nicotagsen, along with his "speaker," attended a meeting with the Maryland Council. His reply to a request of where the other Indians were was enlightening: the great men were gathering the bones of the dead (Marye 1935:190, Merrell 1979:561). This is an obvious reference to the continuity of the practice of primary burial followed by mass (ossuary) interment. This does not mean, however, that the missionary activities had had no effect. The two traditions, English and Piscataway, could be either compartmentalized or more clearly molded into a new unit.

Also in 1678 and extending into early 1679, a Piscataway by the name of Wassetas and two accomplices, who had killed an English woman, were harbored by the Tayac (Marye 1935:205, Merrell 1979:562). Upon English pressure, the Tayac turned two of the culprits over for trial. After additional pressure he released the third. He managed to convince the English to free this last individual because of his status as a "great man" among the Piscataway (Merrell 1979:562-563). Merrell sees this as an example of Piscataway manipulation of the dominating English legal system, achieving some manner of control and at the same time avoiding entanglement.

In 1680 the Susquehannock and the "Seneca" built a fort along Piscataway Creek within five hundred yards of the Piscataway fort. The potential attack on the Piscataway never took place (Marye 1935:205, Ferguson and Ferguson 1960:40).

Retreating from the Iroquoians, the Piscataway moved to Zekiah Swamp (Semmes 1937:473, Kellock 1962:3, Ferguson and Ferguson 1960:40). It was during this time that the Piscataway claimed that they had forgotten how to make bows and arrows (Ferguson and Ferguson 1960:40). This was an

obvious attempt to acquire additional English weapons. Regardless of the superiority or inferiority of the early colonial guns, they were strongly desired by the Indians (Jennings 1984:80-81).

Efforts in 1680 to move the Piscataway, Choptico, and Mattawoman to the Eastern Shore (for safety) failed (Semmes 1929:204, Marye 1935:206, Merrell 1979:563). According to Marye (1935:206) the proposed move was at the offer of the "emperor" of the Nanticoke, whom the Mattawoman stated were as much enemies to them as were the Susquehannock. Jennings (1984:169) concurs with Marye's further assertion that the Mattawoman refused to move partly due to fear that the English would take over their lands in their absence. Merrell (1979:565) states that the Piscataway only had eighty warriors in 1680 and that they claimed to have lost one hundred guns in "recent skirmishes with the Susquehannock." He believes the loss may have been exaggerated.

The eighty warrior count would make a total Piscataway population of about 320 people, not quite one third of the estimated population in 1608. This would, of course, be for the Piscataway proper and not their extended chiefdom.

What role factionalization was playing among the Piscataway at this time is difficult to determine. It may account somewhat for the surprisingly small population.

The year 1680 was momentous for the Western Shore Indians for yet another reason. The Mattawoman had selected not to move to Zekiah Swamp and were subsequently subjected to a severe attack by the Iroquoians (Marye 1935:206). In 1681 the Susquehannock and "Seneca" conducted a lengthy seige of the new Piscataway fort in Zekiah Swamp (Ferguson and Ferguson 1960:41). The Piscataway were secured in their fort but dared

not venture out even to plant (Marye 1935:222). The colonial powers debated whether or not to

protect the Piscataway Indians So to be furnished with Scouts, and Men that know how to fight the Enemy at his own Weapons by Surprize (Archives of Maryland VII:159).

In the summer of 1681, the colonists were told by the Iroquoians that the English had nothing to fear from them (Mohawk, Onodaga, Oneida, Cayuga), and it was requested that the colonists relieve the Piscataway of forty guns that they had supplied to them (Marye 1935:223-224). The Five Nations attacked the Piscataway, capturing seventeen. According to Ferguson and Ferguson (1960:41), the captives were accepted into the tribe.

One thing quite evident in the Archives of Maryland between 1678 and 1682 is that the Piscataway repeatedly requested English protection from the northern Indians. The two houses of the colonial government pushed the issue back and forth and finally sent a delegation to New York to sue for peace with Governor Brockhalls, who had recently replaced Governor Andros (Ferguson and Ferguson 1960:41).

Peace finally came for the Piscataway with the Treaty of Albany of 1682, followed by a separate treaty with the "Seneca" in 1685 (Marye 1935:225, Ferguson and Ferguson 1960:41, Jennings 1984:169-170).

The colonial population of Maryland was 17,904 in 1680 and 24,024 in 1690 (Kellock 1962:14). This was quite sufficient numerically to dominate the Piscataway and associated Indians. Nevertheless, the Indians were still viewed as important to the expanding colony. In a certain sense the Piscataway were abandoned to the whims of the Five Nations during the lengthy period of raids and sieges just discussed. In another sense, the colonial forces did engage in various activities to ascertain a peaceful

outcome. Nevertheless, the Piscataway may have been somewhat disillusioned with their treaty partners. The true difficulty for the Marylanders was the fear that raising an army would result in a serious Protestant rebellion, there being anti-Catholic rumors circulating (Carr and Jordan 1974:18).

The Protestants of Maryland were growing increasingly discontent in the 1680s, raising a number of complaints against the Catholic-controlled government. Although they applauded a law that required orphans to be raised by people who shared the same religion as their parents, they claimed that

several Children of Protestants have been committed to the Tutelage of Papists, and brought up in the Romish Superstition (Coode et al. 1689:309).

They continued their listing of complaints, stating that Protestants were often seized in their homes and imprisoned by Catholics (whom they generally referred to as Papists) and that Protestants had been killed by Catholics with no governmental response. Additional perspectives were repeated frequently during the late seventeenth century: that Catholics were inciting the Iroquois, as well as other Indians, against Protestants and that French Jesuits had led unspecified northern Indians into the heart of the Maryland Province in 1681 (Coode et al. 1689:310-312).

Rumor had it that the Indian-Catholic conspiracy was to "kill off all the Protestants in the province" (Semmes 1937:644), with three Catholics being named as bribing the "Seneca" to undertake the contract. The Piscataway were said to have admitted that the accused had approached them, requesting them to join in the outbreak before the Protestants killed all the Catholics and Indians (Semmes 1937:644-645).

Additional rumors circulated that the Piscataway had joined the

movement and were ready for action. An investigation by Major Ninian Beale and Colonel Jowles (one of the authors of the Protestant grievances quoted above) and others showed the rumors to be foundless. This was supported by the "emperor" of the Piscataway, who were still residing at Zekiah Fort (Semmes 1937:645-649).

For a time, Virginians considered invading Maryland to get the advantage of the Catholic-Indian alliance before they had the opportunity to initiate hostilities. After a period of time the rumors ceased, only to resurface in 1689 (Semmes 1937:649-653).

The end result was the Protestant revolution of 1689 in which the Catholics were removed from control. Catholics were most numerous in the Western Shore (Carr and Jordan 1974:47). The Catholic government surrendered without violence at Mattapany (in what is now St. Mary's County) on 1 August 1689 to an army of 700 Protestants. From this point forth, no Catholics were to be allowed to hold civil or military office (Carr and Jordan 1974:60).

The extent to which the Piscataway had been converted to Catholicism is uncertain. What is certain is that the Protestants viewed the Indians and the Catholics as an alliance, both in the years leading up to the revolt and, it is suggested, in the following years.

Several events were to occur in 1692 concerning the Piscataway, either directly or indirectly. Virginians in Stafford County (which was considerably larger then than it is today) complained that unspecified "Maryland Indians" were "frequently" entering their county. The Virginia Lt. Governor wrote to the Maryland Governor requesting him to tell the Indians to have "some" of their great men come to Virginia before such entries occur. They were to see the "nearest magistrate" and tell him

where they wanted to go, why, for how long, and how many were in their party (McIlwaine 1914:390-391). It is almost certain that the reference is to the Piscataway and associates.

Also in 1692 the Piscataway "emperor" and great men, along with those of other unspecified towns, complained to the Maryland Council that their young men were drinking. They desired the Council to install a prohibition against the carrying of alcohol (Marye 1935:188).

Finally, 1692 saw the passage of an act making the Anglican church the official religious institution in the colony (Kellock 1962:4, Hammett 1977:39).

In 1693 unspecified Maryland Indians and other undesignated Indians were committing "abuses" in Virginia (McIlwaine 1914:433, 1928[I]:180, 182). The English of Stafford County offered a proposition that would have forbidden anyone from trading guns, ammunition, or alcohol to Maryland or any "strange" Indians. This proposal was rejected by the government as being against Virginia's "act for free trade with the Indians" (McIlwaine 1914:430).

Two years later, in 1695, the Piscataway "emperor" claimed that he could not control his young men (Archives of Maryland XIX:231). They had been going south and bringing back prisoners (XIX:251). With the factionalization and strife that the Piscataway had been undergoing throughout the colonial period, this is hardly surprising. What is most likely reflected is a combination of increasing discontent over the continued English encroachment on Piscataway territories and conflicting ideas of who should rule the group.

Interestingly, the Council responded to this complaint without hesitation. It was ordered that the "gentlemen" of the Council living

nearest the Piscataway were to go to the people to tell them to obey the "emperor," as well as the Articles of Peace (of 1666, renewed in 1692). A third task they were to undertake was to determine what the people had against the "emperor" (Archives of Maryland XIX:233).

Several items are evidenced here: first, support of the contention of continued strife among the Piscataway; second, the subsidiary position of the Piscataway to the colonial government; third, the English perspective of their power to control division among the Indians; and fourth, support for the contention that the Maryland Indians referred to in Virginia records were, in fact, the Piscataway.

Very important is the fact that the then-Governor Francis Nicholson, a "Royal Governor," was "less interested in conciliating" the Indians of Maryland than former Governors had been; in 1695 he refused the "tayac's traditional gifts" and advised "the council to find a way of depriving Indians beyond Mattawoman Creek of their lands" (Merrell 1979:569). This obviously caused considerable unrest among the Indians, once they were aware of the attitudinal change and new threat to their landbase/lifestyle.

Prince George's County was established in 1696 (Hienton 1972:1). According to Karinen (1958:75-76) settlements were extended as far as present-day Laurel by that date. He alleges, however, that there were none around the Piscataway reservation, which is at odds with the collected data of land patents (Kellock 1962, Hienton 1972). It is also counter to recent archaeological evidence. Potter reports that an earthfast house, which was excavated by the U.S. Park Service, dates to about 1690 and is probably the residence of one Richard Lewis. The site is located at Harmony Hall, near Fort Washington, in Prince George's

County (Potter, personal communication). Karinen provides population figures for Prince George's County in 1696 and 1697. In the former year there was a colonial population of 1,710 people. Somewhat contradictory to his view that English settlements were not around the reservation, he states that they were scattered around the area of present-day Washington, D.C.

At the time of the founding of Prince George's County, the English were at war with the French, and "any Frenchman in the province or Indians allied with the French were considered enemies"; there was fear of the "northern Indians" and a certain apprehension about Western Shore Indians joining them (Hienton 1972:28-29). This was a continuation of the fear of a Catholic/Indian alliance.

On the third of July, 1696, the great men and "emperor" of the Piscataway, along with the "kings" and great men of the Choptico and Pomunkey appeared before the Maryland Council (Archives of Maryland XIX:384). This meeting took place in Annapolis (Hienton 1972:29), which had been made the capital and was functioning as such since the first Council session of 1696. At the time, however, Annapolis was still called Anne Arundell Towne (Everstine 1980:161-162).

By this date the Mattawoman had evidently been subsumed under the Pomunkey. Thomas Calvert was the "king" of the Choptico. "King Peter," the son of the "king" of Mattawoman, was also present. Calvert and an Indian named Mountogue (who was almost certainly a Piscataway) acted as interpreters for the Indians (Archives of Maryland XIX:384, 407).

It is interesting to point out, in passing, that the "emperor" of the Piscataway, who is unnamed in the record, apparently still did not speak English. It is also interesting to note that no official

interpreter was evidently present for the English, the English-speaking Indians fulfilling that role.

The Governor told the Pomunkey and the Choptico that they would have to go live with and be under the Piscataway during the on-going war (with the French). They asked to have the order postponed until after the corn crop was harvested in the fall (Archives of Maryland XIX:384).

At this meeting they were also told that some undefined Indians at the branches of the Potomac (assumedly at the site of Washington, D.C., where the river branches forming the Potomac and the Anacostia) had been sent for and would be considered enemies if they did not appear. They were also offered twenty matchcoats as a reward for the capture of the "king" of the "Anacostin" (Archives of Maryland XIX:385).

Again several things are important to note. Three major groupings of Indians were present: Piscataway, Choptico, Pomunkey. A fourth, the Mattawoman, is included. The Nacotchtanke (under name of "Anacostin") were seen as enemies of the colony. At some time since the 1666 treaty they must have moved further away from the centers of English expansion. The unnamed Indians who were to be found at the forks of the Potomac must have also been former treaty Indians within the colony. They too must have moved further inland to attempt to ensure a geographical boundary between them and the Marylanders. They were not yet seen to be in violation of the treaty.

Hienton (1972:29) adds that the Indians were, at this meeting, "given leave to sell any of their land to Englishmen."

In 1696 several attempts were made to pass a bill in Virginia that was aimed at preventing "mischief" on the part of Maryland Indians (McIlwaine 1928[I]:240, 241, 242). Transgressions were continuing. The

Maryland Indians in question could have included the Nacotchtanke and the other people around the branches of the Potomac, in addition to unruly Piscataway.

An incident occurred in early 1697 that was to act as the catalyst encouraging at least some of the Piscataway to vacate the Maryland Colony. James Stoddart, an Englishman, had settled a tract of land, which he called Yarrow, in 1695 (Hienton 1972:30). In February 1697 a group of sixteen Indians, who resided in the vicinity of the mountains, came to his house to engage in fur trade. At the time, some Piscataway had their cabins by his house, being in the area hunting (Archives of Maryland XIX:568). This incident was peaceful but may have sown seeds of mistrust on the part of some unspecified Indians. What is interesting is the placement of the Piscataway cabins, obviously winter hunting quarters, by the Stoddart house. The specific location of his plantation was around the area of present-day Hyattsville, Maryland. The Piscataway were still practicing the pre-contact hunting aspect of the seasonal round. They were also, at least in this case, hovering around outlying English settlements. This would naturally position them in the best possible spot for immediate trade with these colonists. Hence, the mountain Indians coming down to partake of the fur trade may have been viewed unfavorably by the Piscataway.

Shortly thereafter, Stoddart was to meet with the Piscataway "emperor" for the first time. He was told that the sixteen Indians were "Seneca", which he claims to have known (Archives of Maryland XIX:568). Whether or not this was a veiled reprimand by the "emperor" is uncertain. What is more certain is that the Piscataway were showing surprising interest in these "mountain Indians."

On the third day of April 1697 (Hienton 1972:30), ten "unpainted" Indians came to the Stoddart house and shot a "negro" servant in the back with an arrow, "fleaing his head and Cutting off one of his Eares" (Archives of Maryland XIX:569). The English strongly suspected the Piscataway to be responsible for the attack.

This accusation must have stemmed, at least in part, from James Stoddart's unrecorded perspective concerning the response of the Piscataway to the visit by the mountain Indians. It also probably stemmed, again, at least in part, from the fact that the attackers were not painted. This implies that the Piscataway had ceased painting themselves sometime during the seventeenth century. If the Piscataway had really forgotten how to use the bow and arrow, as mentioned above, this in and of itself, would have cleared them. Obviously the colonials disregarded the claim, simply recording what was said. The Piscataway were still handy with the bow and arrow, although they had added European firearms to their arsenal.

The Archives of Maryland note that Piscataway, Choptico, and Mattawoman were "lately deserting their forest and withdrawing unto the mountains" (XIX:557). This was a record of 27 May 1697, less than two months after the Stoddart attack. Interesting here is the failure to mention the Pomunkey as also leaving.

Marye (1935:189) states that the Piscataway left their homeland in 1697 "never to return, leaving the remnants of their old allies behind." Although he is mistaken on the "never to return," at least for a number of the people, the important fact to be underscored is that some people were left behind. It was when the Piscataway and associates left the colony in 1697 that the seed was sown from which the myth that there are no Indians

left on the Western Shore of Maryland would grow.

Records for 1 June 1697 list the three reasons why the Piscataway left the colony: first, the accusation that they had killed Stoddart's servant; second, according to the Piscataway, the English were buying their land "over their heads," resulting in Piscataway being accused of killing English hogs; and third, the English continued to pull down Indian fences and destroy their corn.

Reflected here are the following points: the Piscataway were evidently still not, at least as a group, keeping hogs; they seemed to have felt free to use English hogs as a food source, causing conflicts and denials; they had adopted, over the last thirty years, the English practice of fencing corn fields. Additional information gleaned from this record includes an animosity on the part of at least some of the English towards the Indians. This is illustrated by the tearing down of Indian fences and crop destruction. Also indicated is that the Piscataway were fully aware of the English trait of having to have specific proof concerning guilt/innocence. Finally, such conflicts would be only rare occurrences if the English were not occupying lands in close proximity to the Indians.

Major William Barton, who had gone to the mountains to see the Piscataway and ask them to return to the colony, reported that

the great part of the Indians are inclinable to returne to Maryland Especially the common sorte . . . and that Severall of them are allready come backe, and more resolve to come (Archives of Maryland XIX:567).

It is important to note that this was the first of June in 1697, just a few weeks after the Piscataway had departed the colony. Several Indians had already returned, and most wanted to. The fact that he specifies "the common sorte" is also significant. Implied is that the

leaders, in other words, the Wiso and Cockoroose (great men), were not so inclined. With the factionalization within the group, it is somewhat uncertain if this would apply to all the great men or only to those supportive of the Tayac in power.

The Piscataway were instructed to try to find the people who had murdered Stoddart's servant, and deliver them to the English. If this was not possible, they were offered an "out"--by paying Stoddart eighty dressed buckskins. After that, they would be considered pardoned and allowed to come home (Archives of Maryland XIX:571).

It is uncertain if the figure of eighty buckskins was to indicate symbolically the Piscataway warrior population or if it was just an arbitrary number.

The English went on to specify that when they came home that the "Annacostin King [would] be Received into the same Articles of peace and friendship with the Rest" (Archives of Maryland XIX:571). It must be assumed that the English thought the Piscataway could entice the Nacotchtanke back with them. It is implied that close relations between the two groups existed at this time.

With potential legal loopholes suggestive of an attempt to deceive, the English stated that any colonist who was found on Indian land without the consent of either the Governor or the Indians would either have to "make satisfaction" or move.

It was also proposed on June 1, 1697 that a person be appointed who was

nerely resident to (every one) of the Indian Towns to heare and determine any complaint, either of the Indians or English, with one another (Archives of Maryland XIX:573).

This proposal, when put into effect, would neatly remove the Indians from

future official colonial governmental records. It would institute a system whereby a prominent Englishman would serve as arbitrator in any but the most serious cases, one Englishman being assigned to each Indian town. The importance of this to the future of the Piscataway and associates in the Maryland Colony, and later State, cannot be overemphasized.

It was also noted that the mountain Indians, whom the Tayac had called "Seneca," were, according to the English, Susquehannock. The Governor was to look into reports that some Indians (logically Piscataway) had "entertained" strange (or foreign) Indians and had thrown out the then-emperor, replacing him with a person of their own choice. Again, factionalization and political unrest within the Piscataway were illustrated.

Smallwood, Barton, and several others were sent to see the Piscataway and the "Accokicke" to tell them of the proceedings. Henry Moore was to go along as interpreter (Archives of Maryland IXI:574). Piscataway and Accokicke probably reflect the two major settlements or towns from which the errant Indians came. The need for the interpreter again illustrates a continued strong resistance on the part of the Piscataway to adoption of English ways. As noted before, their inability to speak English may have been a mask or a maintenance technique.

In Virginia on June 14, 1697, it was ordered that a settlement of Piscataway and "Aecokik" be advised by Captains Mason and Withers that they were not safe in Virginia. Since they had refused to return to Maryland, Mason and Withers were to ensure that no Virginia English harmed them (McIlwaine 1925[I]:368).

In July it was reported in Virginia that the "emperor" of the Piscataway had "a nation of "Seneca" with him and that he had announced

that the two, "Seneca" and Piscataway, "are now all one people" (McIlwaine 1925[I]369). This is the first notice of the alleged union of the Piscataway with the Five Nations and the commencement of their journey to become Iroquois.

The record states that the Piscataway requested to be "under the Virginia government." The request was evidently denied. The Piscataway were told that the "Seneca," who were already under the Virginia government, could come and go in the colony as they pleased. The Piscataway, on the other hand, would have to return to Maryland (McIlwaine 1925[I]:369).

Either just before or just after the encounter with the Virginians, the Piscataway promised Maryland that they would return to that colony and settle around either Piscataway Creek or Rock Creek (Marye 1935:226).

Reflected here is a lack of desire to return to the area of Zekiah Swamp, where they had fled the advancing Five Nations/Susquehannock alliance. Resettlement at Piscataway would place them east of the rapidly advancing English frontier. Resettlement at Rock Creek, in what is now Washington, D.C., would place them at the border of the English settlements, only a few being to the west.

In October 1697, the Virginians were still pondering what to do about the Piscataway residing within their borders (McIlwaine 1913:111, 113) and the Marylanders reiterated that they could settle around either Rock Creek or Piscataway Creek, whichever they preferred (Marye 1935:227).

Officials in Stafford County, Virginia, had advised the Piscataway on a number of occasions that they would have to return to Maryland, but to no avail. The House of Burgesses stated their opinion that force should not be used. The view was that it would both disturb the peace

with the loss of a great deal of Christian blood . . . and yet not be Sufficient to keep them out of this Government longer than they please themselves (McIlwaine 1913:111, 113).

The Virginians' feeling of powerlessness to control the Piscataway reflects why the Marylanders wanted them to return; in essence it was better to have them nearby where they could be watched than not so far away where their actions would be less controllable.

Also in 1697 Governor Nicholson of Maryland "prohibited the sale of gunpowder to all Indians" (Merrell 1979:569).

Virginia records show that in May 1699 there was an accusation that the "emperor" of the Piscataway "entertaines" and "protects" a Piscataway named Esquire Tom, who was "convicted vpon Record" of killing several people in Stafford County. The difficulty faced by the Virginians was to ensure that this individual was punished, yet not "bring vpon this Country a Warr with the Piscattoway Indians" (McIlwaine 1913:258). Two things are evidenced here. First, that at least some Piscataway, evidently with the approval of the Tayac, were raiding the Virginia English. Second, the Virginians saw the Piscataway as a worthy foe and, therefore, wanted to negotiate justice rather than force it.

In Maryland the Piscataway were believed responsible for the deaths of Thomas Thickpenny and his wife, Prince George's County residents. The council debated holding the Tayac's son as hostage, he being at Choptico (Archives of Maryland XXV:76).

Here it is seen that hostilities had spread to Maryland. It is once again demonstrated that an undetermined number of Indians had not left with the Tayac, his son obviously being one of them.

In July 1699 the Council sent Major Smallwood and William Hutchinson to see the "pawmunikye" who "are Lately come" from the "Piscattaway" to

see if they were going to stay or once again leave (Archives of Maryland XXII:308). This is of interest in that it shows the Pomunkey were among those who left with the Piscataway, and more importantly that they returned.

It was determined that the intent of the Pomunkey was to "sitt down" among the colonists "att Pomunkey" (Archives of Maryland XXII:328-329). The record continues to state that there were twenty men in this particular Indian group. What this means is that the Maryland Pomunkey were going to settle among the colonists, living near them and probably upon their plantations.

It was a common practice in Virginia for Indians to live on English plantations, serving as tenant farmers (Potter 1986:12). The general intent of this perspective is supported by Feest (1973:74). Beverley's view in 1705 was that the Indians of Virginia were greatly reduced in number and had followed various courses of adaptation to the English influx. The "Appamattox" were living on Colonel Byrd's lands, and were reduced to a few families (Beverley 1705:232). The Rappahanock were likewise "reduc'd to a few Families" and lived "scatter'd upon the English Seats" (Beverley 1705:233).

In October 1699, in an oddly conciliatory tone, Stafford County, Virginia militia commander Lt. Col. George Mason was ordered to send two "intelligent" men to the island (Conoy) on which the Piscataway were staying. They were to see if the Indians were still there, how they were getting along, how many there were, and whether or not they had seen any stranger Indians in the area. If the latter response was affirmative, the messengers were to acquire information concerning who had been seen, what they had been doing, where they were sighted, and what their destination

was (McIlwaine 1927[I]:10, 56). The troubles with Esquire Tom had evidently been resolved during the summer.

Also in 1699 Burr Harrison and Giles Vandicastille visited the Piscataway at Conoy Island in response to the aforementioned order to Mason. The Piscataway were in the process of building a palisaded village, evidently in the squared form of an English fort. Eighteen "cabins" were in the enclosure, nine without (Marye 1935:230, Humphrey and Chambers 1977:28). The Englishmen observed a population of twenty men, an equal number of women, and thirty children. They concluded that there were not more than eighty or ninety warriors, estimating resident population not present during the visit (Marye 1935:187-188).

Although determination of the total population of the expatriates is difficult based on this data, Feest's (1978a:245) figure of 300 is reasonable.

Othotomaquah had been the Piscataway "emperor" for some time, certainly since 1692 (Marye 1935:196, Semmes 1937:486), and was still "emperor" in 1700. In that year one John Ackatamaka, calling himself the "emperor" of the Piscataway, transferred 800 acres of land--in present-day Prince George's County--to John Fendall and Joshua Marshall (Land Records, Liber A, Folio 413, 1696-1702). The phonetic similarity between the names Othotomaquah and Ackatamaka is striking. Obviously the same individual is being referred to.

In the spring of 1700, anti-Catholic feelings were again in the air, with the view being expressed that French Jesuits were goading the Five Nations into attacking the English (Archives of Maryland XXIV:12, 43).

In May of that year, James Stoddart complained that the Piscataway had failed to pay him the required deerskins agreed upon (Archives of

Maryland XXIV:19, 61). In the same month, it was determined that a surveyor was to ascertain the bounds of Piscataway Indian lands. Some chief men of the Piscataway were requested to come and see the lands in question. The proposition was that all plantations in the area would be abandoned if the Indians returned (Archives of Maryland XXIV:73, 79).

An important event transpired on 9 May 1700. An Act was passed that appointed people to serve as mediators between the Indians and the English, as was proposed previously (above). Two Englishmen were appointed to serve in this role for the English of St. Mary's County and the Choptico Indians--Ralph Foster and James Swann (Archives of Maryland XXIV:103).

Arbitrators for the English of Prince George's and Charles Counties and the Piscataway, Accokick, and "Paymonkey" Indians were to be Colonel John Addison, William Hatton, and Major Smallwood. John Thompson was among those appointed to serve in this function with the Delaware and the Susquehannock (Archives of Maryland XXIV:103).

In addition to the aforementioned importance of this Act, it reflects a colonial view of four communities or groups of Indians: Choptico, Piscataway, Accokick, and "Paymonkey" (Pamunkey). One other thing is evident: the reign of the Piscataway chiefdom as supreme among the Indians of the Western Shore was ended.

In July 1700 the "emperor" of the Piscataway returned to Maryland. He agreed to come back to stay, but first requested permission to go back to the mountains to get his family and any others who wished to come back with him. He was given an October 1 deadline and told that all who return must "give an account of their English and Indian names" upon their return (Archives of Maryland XXV:101). The "emperor" at the time was still

Othotomaquah (Semmes 1937:501).

Captain William Hutchinson and John Hawkins were ordered to get a listing of the English and Indian names of those "that are already come in with the Emperor" (Archives of Maryland XXV:102). Importantly, this illustrates that it was evidently common for Indians to maintain two names at the time, one English and one Indian. The Hutchinson/Hawkins listing was not located during the research undertaken.

In 1701 William Penn concluded a Treaty with the Susquehannock in Pennsylvania. One of the provisions provided sanctuary in the Pennsylvania Colony for the delinquent Piscataway Indians under their Iroquoian name of Conoy (Jennings 1984:237).

Meanwhile, in Maryland the affair with the "Piscattaway and Accocick Indians" was seen as unresolved. The Assembly recommended that the Rangers remain in the field (Archives of Maryland XXIV:147).

On the 23 August 1703, Virginia permitted "liberty of conscience" to all residents "except Papists" (McIlwaine 1927[II]:336). This is another reflection of the religious hostility prevalent at the time. Indians who did not leave the Maryland Colony were going to have to continue adjusting to this situation. It should be reiterated that whether or not the Piscataway were Catholic at the time, they were associated with the Catholics in Maryland.

In September 1704 it was recorded that the Piscataway were to select a new "emperor" (Archives of Maryland XXV:67). Smallwood had visited the Indians on Conoy Island that year and reported that fifty-seven had died of an epidemic, apparently smallpox (Marye 1935:188, 231). Apparently the Tayac was among the victims.

By the following spring the Piscataway living on Conoy Island had still not returned to the Maryland Colony. In 1705 a line is recorded that was later to conceive the myth of the vanished Indian of the Western Shore: on 10 April 1705 it is recorded that the "Piscattaway Indians have failed to come" (Archives of Maryland XXV:187).

CHAPTER VIII

PISCATAWAY CONTINUITY: MIGRANTS AND NON-MIGRANTS

Introduction

This chapter attempts to trace the paths of the Piscataway after the recorded date of their failure to show for the meeting with the Colonial government. For those who left the Colony, their movements are followed up to the date of their "disappearance" from the historic record in the early twentieth century. For those who remained, an analysis of the historical record reveals that a significant number never left the colony and that others returned.

Those Who Left

Many others must have tramped this path, too, the Cherokees and Catawbas, the Kanahawas who should be called Canai; the Mohican or River Indians, the Wandottes that the French call Huron; and perhaps even the far eastern Abenakis . . . (The Light in the Forest, Conrad Richter, 1953:88).

The Piscataway who left the jurisdiction of the Maryland Colony came to be known by a large number of nominal designations. These are listed by various authors, the most inclusive being Mooney and Thomas (1907:340-341) and Feest (1978a:249). What is important to note is that the designations include a variety of spellings and derivations from the name Conoy: Canai, Ganawese, and Kanawha. The fact is that the Piscataway ceased to be called Piscataway in their dealings with people outside the Maryland Colony at about the time of their move to Conoy Island in 1699.

This is not as surprising as it may initially appear; it is contended here that they were never, as a people, totally united under the one designation, Piscataway. That they were politically under the Piscataway chiefdom cannot be doubted. That they identified as a group under that label is more uncertain. The Patuxent and other groups from the area of present-day Calvert County came to be historically grouped with the Choptico, as evidenced earlier in this study. Once this happened, they too came under the deteriorated political dominance of the Piscataway. The Piscataway and associates who left the colony came from all the subgroupings found on the Western Shore of Maryland, as best can be determined at this time. There can be little doubt that the Piscataway element was numerically and politically dominant among these migrants, as they had been in the Maryland Colony.

It is Kent's view (1984:72) that the migration to Pennsylvania began shortly after 1702, some Piscataway certainly being at Conejoholo along the Susquehanna River by 1705. This was not the case for all the Piscataway migrants. In 1711 Baron Christoph de Graffenried was captured and held prisoner by the Tuscarora (Binford 1967:171, Landy 1978:518). His hopes of establishing a Swiss settlement were undiminished and in 1712 he journeyed up the Potomac River, encountering the Piscataway still residing at Conoy Island (Harrison 1924:99, Hobbs 1961:114).

Nevertheless, by 1718, they had relocated to Conoy Town, situated along the Susquehanna River near present-day Bainbridge, Pennsylvania (Weslager 1984:129, Kent 1984:74).

In 1721 a "Ganewese" Indian named Smith acted as one of three interpreters in the making of a treaty between the "Seneca", Onondaga, and Cayuga Indians and Pennsylvania's Governor Keith at Conestoga (De Puy

1917:7). In May and June of 1728 the Piscataway, under the name "Canawese" took part along with the Conestoga (Susquehannock), Shawnee, and Delaware in two treaties made with Pennsylvania. The first treaty was negotiated at Conestoga, the second at Philadelphia (De Puy 1917:13).

Weslager (1984:129) points out that there is a certain confusion concerning the names employed by early recorders with the migrant Nanticoke and, by extension, the Piscataway. He quotes from Pennsylvania Colonial Records an entry from July 1742 that refers to "Indians of the Nantikokes, by us called the Connoyios." He states that the name "Nanticoke" clung to the Piscataway in their migrations and that the term Nanticoke "came to have different meanings at different time periods" (Weslager 1984:129).

The Piscataway remained at Conoy Town until 1743 when, due to increased European settlement in the area, they once again moved, this time to the Juniata River (Weslager 1984: 153, Kent 1984:70, 75-76).

The reason for the move, along with several other interesting items, are found in a letter written by Thomas Cooksen for the Piscataway chief Old Sack in 1743 (Kent 1984:70). Briefly tracing the recent history of his people, he states that his forefathers had "brought down all their Brothers from Potowmeck to Conejoholo" (quoted in Kent 1984:70). The "all" may be taken by some to mean all the Western Shore Indians. With no doubt, it should be interpreted to mean all the Indians from the Conoy Island settlement.

In addition, the letter states that the Iroquois had "advised" the Piscataway on a number of occasions to move further up the Susquehanna River. The use of the term "advise" is clear and illustrates that the Iroquois were not as coercive as many would believe. This is addressed by

Jennings (1984) and mentioned by Weslager (1984:150).

The letter explains the reason for the move; as noted, it resulted from continued English intrusion into the new Piscataway homeland. Again, there is evidence that the Piscataway, at least those who left the colony, were valiantly striving to keep themselves removed from the endless wave of European immigration.

Old Sack, who is incidentally referred to by this English name and not his Indian name, explains that the Piscataway under the name Conoy had a custom of notifying the Governor of their movements. Even more important, he suggests but does not demand payment for the fields soon to be vacated.

Kent (1984:217, 391-401) provides an analysis of archaeological excavations that have taken place at both the village of Conoy Town and an associated cemetery. Respectively, these are labelled 36La57 and 36La40. The setting of Conoy Town is similar to that preferred in the Western Shore of Maryland and elsewhere at the time: on a point of land near the mouth of a creek (Conoy Creek) (Kent 1984:391). The excavations, which took place in 1970, revealed postmolds from a structure, the spacing between the walls being fifteen feet, length undetermined (Kent 1984:400). The indication is that this was a longhouse. Distance between the posts and other information, such as diameter, are not included in Kent's summary but are undoubtedly available in the extensive sources referenced by him.

The excavations at the cemetery are particularly interesting. Seventy-one individuals were located in a series of burial pits, some oval, others circular, others rectangular. Some of the pits had up to five individuals interred. In addition, "the degree of decomposition and

disarticulation varied considerably" (Kent 1984:394). Although sex/age (adult/juvenile) were not determined for the entire population, a definite correlation was revealed with older individuals having fewer grade goods than younger ones. Such goods were largely of European manufacture, such as beads, bells, crosses, knives. Very few were utilitarian, excepting three iron kettles (Kent 1984:398-399).

Kent attests that Piscataway customs concerning grave goods had "changed considerably by the time they had migrated into the Susquehanna Valley" (1984:397). It is possible, however, that the time depth may be greater than Kent implies. This is suggested by the discussion of Ferguson's work (1963) in Chapter II of this study.

Kent does note that the burials are not the true ossuary variety found among the Piscataway in Maryland, but he believes that the reduced population could be at least partly responsible. Five extended burials were found near the village site, while only three of the seventy-one at the cemetery were extended. He postulates that the five may have been of a different tribe, a position he favors over the idea that at least some of the Piscataway had by this date changed their beliefs to include accepting the concept of the extended burial (Kent 1984:400).

These excavations are quite important to this study in that they reflect the continuity of the Piscataway belief system, albeit with various indicators of what might be significant change. A reduced population would, however, make it difficult to practice the ossuary form of interment, if such interments were conducted on a cycle similar to that suggested by Ubelaker (1974) and discussed in Chapter II of this study. That is, the scheduling may have been more important than the actual mass interment. What may even have been more important was association of the

deceased with others, hence the grouped bundle burials.

One final discovery of the excavations, again directly relevant to this study, is Kent's postulation that the total population of the Piscataway at this site would have averaged about 130 people (Kent 1984:401). If an estimated 300 Indians left the Western Shore with the Piscataway as has been presented and at least 57 died as a result of smallpox, some 100 people are missing in the interim twenty or so years. One of four things, or a mixture/combo, thereof, occurred. Some people may have returned to Maryland; additional victims may have fallen prey to disease; some may have died from natural causes in circumstances that made interment at Conoy Town impossible; and/or some may have followed a different migratory path from those going to Conoy Town.

A letter sent by the Piscataway chief Old Sack in 1743 (Kent 1984:70) is of interest for several reasons. First, it reflects their reasons for moving from Conoy Town, as just noted. Second, Old Sack is referred to by his English, not Indian, name. Third, it illustrates that being under the Iroquois was not necessarily as negative as many may believe. Fourth, it suggests that the Pennsylvania colonists may have been interested in providing the Piscataway with a gratuity for relinquishing their agricultural fields.

The third point is supported by Jennings (1984) and Weslager (1984:150). Old Sack notes that the Iroquois had been advising the Piscataway to move further up the Susquehanna for some time. The fourth point is clear in the letter, which is included in Kent's work (1984:70).

In 1743, the Piscataway moved to an island at the mouth of the Juniata (Wallace 1970:108), Kent 1984:76). Feest (1978a:246) believes they were there by 1749. They were living with the Nanticoke while at

this location (Feest 1978a:246, Kent 1984:76).

Another glimpse is given of Piscataway culture during their stay at the Juniata. In 1745 David Brainerd, a missionary, visited Juniata Island. From his writings (quoted in Kent 1984:76-77), a number of ethnographic observations can be made. First, he records the ability of many of the Indians to speak English. This clearly illustrates the intensity of the Indian/English contact in the Maryland Colony, an intensity not always readily evident in the colonial records. Second, he mentions apparent alcohol abuse. In this case it may be reflective of circumstantial availability. In 1697, Sir Thomas Lawrence reported that the Indians of the Eastern Shore were "devilishly given to drinking" (Archives of Maryland XXV:256). This is not mentioned in his brief discussion of the Piscataway. Third, he refers to their burial customs. Flesh was allowed to decompose above ground, reminiscent of Spelman's account (1613). After a period of time (a year or more) the deceased were interred. This leads to a conflict with the archaeological interpretation of secondary burial, but may be partially explained by the time of year of death. Finally, he mentions healing methods.

What is important about Brainerd's notations are, again, the reflection of continuity of cultural practices, although there may well have been certain alterations from the 1634 picture. A particularly Indian form of burial illustrates continuance of the Piscataway/Nanticoke religious ideologies (it cannot be readily discerned which group is referred to, probably both). Indian medical practices were likewise continued. If people did become shaman as part of the "Blacke-Boye" ritual, this means that at least some of the medical practitioners also migrated.

Brainerd relates an encounter with an Indian priest who was obviously engaged in trying to initiate a revitalization movement among the Indian people of the larger region. From the description, there seems little doubt that this individual is Iroquoian and not Piscataway or Nanticoke, despite Kent's apparent belief that he was not Iroquoian (Kent 1984:77).

Kent also notes (1984:77) that some Piscataway, under the Conoy label, remained in Maryland, and that others went directly to Otsiningo, New York, assumedly from Conoy Town or after a short stay at Juniata. He argues that during 1753 or shortly afterwards the Piscataway merged with the Nanticoke, becoming one people (1984:78). Wallace (1970:108), Feest (1978a:246), and Weslager (1984:160-161) agree on a merging date of 1758. This contention stems from the minutes of a conference held at Easton on 8 October 1758 (Weslager 1984:160).

Seventy-seven people represented the Piscataway and Nanticoke from Otsiningo. The Nanticoke were represented by eighteen men, twenty women, and eighteen children; the Piscataway by ten men, ten women, and one child (Weslager 1984:160). The makeup of the Piscataway contingent is suggestive that these people were representing a larger population, that they did not constitute the entire group.

The signators of the conferences are listed by De Puy (1917:44). This include the Six Nations, the Tuscarora having been admitted in 1722 or 1723 (Landy 1978:519); seven additional tribes; and the Piscataway and Nanticoke. The latter are referred to as the "Skaniadanadigronos, consisting of the Nanticokes and Conoys, who now make one nation" (De Puy 1917:44). The "-kani-" element certainly corresponds to Conoy. Speck (1927:15) presents the then contemporary Cayuga name for the Nanticoke as

"Ganawagohono," or "Swamp People," the similarity here being the initial "Gana-." Speck's position is clarified below.

Regardless of this much-heralded union of the Piscataway and the Nanticoke, I do not believe it was a union of them as much as it was a recognition of them as one people by the Iroquois. Partial support is provided by Weslager's argument (1984:160-161) that this conference signified the elevation of the Nanticoke and Conoy from that of tributary to the Six Nations to that of junior partner. Additional support is provided by the fact that the two groups took part in another conference, again at Easton, in 1761, at which time their names appear separately, the listing being "Nanticokes, Delawares, Conoys" (De Puy 1917:46).

Although not as clearly supportive, a conference the following year in Lancaster, Pennsylvania was attended by a number of Indians, the "Conoy" along with their Iroquoian allies the Onondaga, "Seneca," Cayuga, and Oneida arriving three days late (De Puy 1917:48). The uncertainty results from the tendency either to lump the Nanticoke and Piscataway together or to refer to the Nanticoke as Conoy, as noted above.

In 1763, William Johnson estimated a combined population of 200 men for the migratory Piscataway, Nanticoke, Tutelo, and Saponi (Speck 1927:16). In 1765 the Piscataway population was estimated to be 150 people (Mooney 1889:265, Mooney and Thomas 1907:339). None of these authors provide sources for these estimates.

Of the over 2,300 Indians attending a meeting with Sir William Johnson in 1770, 193 are indicated to have been Piscataway and Nanticoke (Weslager 1984:160). Nine years later, the Indian occupation at Otsiningo was abandoned in the midst of the American Revolution; 120 Nanticoke and

30 Piscataway were listed on a refugee census at Fort Niagara (Kent 1984:78).

Soon after the Revolution, some Piscataway and Nanticoke moved to the Six Nations Reserve at Grand River, Canada (Feest 1978a:246, Weslager 1984:184). Others moved west with the Delaware (Mooney and Thomas 1907:339-340, Feest 1978a:246). The Conoy are recorded as attending a conference near Detroit in 1793 (Mooney 1889:265, Mooney and Thomas 1907:340, Ferguson and Ferguson 1960:43, Humphrey and Chambers 1977:28). Ferguson and Ferguson (1960:43) allege a population of fifty for this group.

The continued movement of the westward trending branch of the Piscataway is subsumed under that of the Nanticoke, summarized by Weslager (1984:178-193) and briefly highlighted by Feest (1978a:246). There is a stronger suggestion of the continuity of Piscataway identity among those who migrated to live with the Iroquois in Canada.

What is revealed, however, is again the lack of a complete uniformity among the Piscataway migrants, some choosing to go westward and gradually becoming subsumed by the Nanticoke and Delaware (the latter actually largely subsuming both groups), others electing to go northward, and still others never leaving Maryland.

Speck uses the "Conoy" label when referring to the Piscataway who left Maryland. He argues that tribal identity "persisted longer among the itinerant native bands than it did on the pages of colonial documents" (Speck 1927:12). Although this is in reference to the Canadian migrants, it is more than appropriate for the Piscataway who remained in Maryland.

It was Speck's opinion that the Cayuga name "Ganawagohono" applied to the Nanticoke was really a recognition of the "Conoy" element within

this larger population. What is more, the Nanticoke language remembered among the Canadian "Nanticoke" differs "phonetically and in idiom" from that of the Maryland Nanticoke as recorded by Murraray (Speck 1927:15).

Speck notes the Six Nations practice of maintaining records and their listing of Nanticoke families living with them in 1845. The division was between old and new families, the former probably having become part of the Iroquois about 1753, the latter certainly coming into the Iroquois sometime before 1812 (Speck 1927:17-20).

Only three "old family" names were recorded: Wayatskonask, Otsiplean, and Latham. A Patrick Latham and a James Latham were listed as chiefs. Eight "new family" names were listed, the three English names being Anderson, Longfish, and Strong. The latter two, especially Longfish, could be English equivalents of Indian affixations.

At the time of Speck's research (1914-1925), it was estimated that some 300 people of Nanticoke descent lived on the reserve. His listing of associated English names reveals only one that is the same as one found among the Maryland Nanticoke: Street (Speck 1927:19-20).

His perspective is summed up as follows:

The Old Families preserved the tradition of the Conoy tribe. Enough of the identity of these people may indeed have dominated to cause us to regard the Canadian branch of the Nation as comprising in large measure the Conoy (Speck 1927:21).

Although this position is interesting, in my opinion the argument is not sufficiently supported to be totally accepted as more than a hypothesis. Evidently the people were identifying themselves as Nanticoke, regardless of the validity of the "Conoy" connection as suggested by the limited linguistic analysis. What can safely be concluded is that some of the Piscataway and Nanticoke, recognized to a certain extent as one people by the Six Nations, maintained a certain autonomy on the Six Nations Reserve

for a considerable period of time after their adoption into this body. Whether or not any individuals today still adhere to a unique Piscataway identity could be proven only by undertaking a detailed study at the Reserve.

Those Who Remained

A traveler at the present day must penetrate more than a hundred leagues into the interior of the continent to find an Indian (Tocqueville 1948:349).

Tocqueville's comment reflects a general nineteenth-early twentieth century perspective on the "vanishing Indian." This is masterfully discussed by Dippie (1982). Its importance to the Piscataway during the early history of the United States is quite evident. The roots, however, of the vanishing Indian predate Tocqueville by a considerable period. In 1697, Sir Thomas Lawrence commented on the decimation of the Indians in Maryland. The context indicates that this is principally referring to the Indians of the Eastern Shore. Problems were seen with alcohol, smallpox, and "their old way of poisoning" (Archives of Maryland XXV:256). He stated, however, that the combined strength of the Piscataway, Choptico, and Mattawoman "are said not to be above 80 or 90 in number" (Archives of Maryland XXV:256). He did not posit a population for the "Pomunkey", whom "by consent and order of the Government" were also under the Piscataway "Emperor" (Archives of Maryland XXV:256).

Importantly, the estimate for the Piscataway, Choptico, and Mattawoman was obviously based on hearsay, not Lawrence's personal observations. The "80 or 90" figure would almost certainly indicate warrior count, this being especially true in the light of similar figures offered for those who had removed themselves from the Western Shore. Inclusion of the Pomunkey would theoretically increase this estimate by

some 30 to 35 percent. Very importantly, if Lawrence's information post-dated the incident that led to the move by a number of the Indians out of the Colony, what his numbers could reflect would be more in line with the very approximate number left in Maryland. They were certainly leaving before and after the date of his correspondence. Regardless, there is little doubt that the Indian population was heavily decimated compared to what it had been at the founding of the Maryland Colony. In 1705 Beverley wrote that the Indians of Virginia were "almost wasted" (1705:232).

Peterson (1971:120-121) sees the history of the Eastern Indian as divisible into several periods: the two most pertinent at this time are the "Traditional" and the "International." The "Traditional," which was discussed extensively in Chapters II through V, covers the period of Indian history prior to the advent of European settlement. The "International" period covers the time span from initial settlement to the demise or removal of the local Indian populations. It is this period that was the focus of Chapters VI and VII. Once this significant portion of the Indian population removed themselves from the Colony, the situation for those remaining was considerably altered. Any potential Indian resistance to the imposed order of 1700, which allowed for various gentlemen to serve as mediators between the colonists and the Indians, was lessened. As noted in the previous chapter, this order, in effect, removed the Indians from the governmental records.

Also noted in Chapter VI were various hints at spin-off by Indians into the English community: acculturative processes, such as increased ability to speak the English language, fencing of fields, impact of the fur and other trade, and missionization. The English were viewing what we

would now consider to be an Indian population as divisible into at least two groups: those of Indian parentage and those not of such parentage.

Non-Migrants: Additional Evidence

On 8 April 1700, the Governor of Maryland stated that it would be to the Indians' "Advantage to Live quietly & easy among us" (Archives of Maryland XXV:85). The very next day separate, albeit identical, treaties were signed with the "Emperor" of the Piscataway and with "Izmgoughsionaugh Queen of Pamunkey" (Archives of Maryland XXV:87-90). As noted in Chapter VII, the Pomunkey did return to the Western Shore.

Two acts were passed in neighboring Virginia in October 1705 that reflect what would be a similar situation for the Indians of Maryland, although perhaps not as strict. The first declared that various types of people would not be allowed to hold any public office, be it religious, civil, or military (Hening 1823:251-252). The importance of the second act to the subsequent history of the Indians cannot be overstated:

Be it enacted and declared, and it is hereby enacted and declared, That the child of an Indian and the child, grand child, or great grand child, of a negro shall be deemed, accounted, held and taken to be a mulatto (Hening 1823:252).

The context is clear: the term "mulatto" referred to the offspring of any white/non-white union, be it with an Indian or with a black. The indication is that the term would only be applied to the offspring of white/Indian unions for the first generation, providing the second generation resulted from a "mulatto" marriage with a white. The likelihood of such future unions would depend on social boundaries and the enforcement of anti-miscegenation laws. Wright (1981:252f) addresses the concept of the Indian "mulatto," an important and neglected aspect of colonial history, as well as the complementary fact that some Indian/black

unions took place. He also presents evidence of Indians being referred to as "Negroes." The use of the term "mulatto" has clouded an already murky picture, causing modern researchers to frequently assume an admixture that was not necessarily the case. More important, it has caused a number of them to view the Eastern Indian as he exists today as a black/white mixture. In other words, the Indian ancestry and identity are largely ignored.

In 1713, almost a decade after the Piscataway had "failed to show," James Stoddart engaged in two land transfers: one from Wital, Popintal, and other "Pamunkie" Indians; the other from Pipscoe, Robin, and other Piscataway Indians (Land Records, Prince George's County, Vol I:229-230, 270-271, MdHR 5730-1).

Almost certainly viewing the "mulatto" the same as its Virginia neighbors, Maryland passed what could be termed an anti-miscegenation act in 1715 (Archives of Maryland XXVI:275-276). Obviously black/white and mulatto/white (including mixed Indian/white) unions were viewed as a problem. The law must have been a reaction to a reality. It is also related to another act, again of 1715, that attempted to instill certain moral virtues in the populace (Archives of Maryland XXX:233-235).

A law in 1717 concerned the function of non-whites as witnesses in court trials and refers specifically to "negro, or mulatto, slave, free negro, or mulatto born of a white woman . . . during her time of servitude" (Herty 1799:380). Although a discussion of potential legal loopholes is beyond the scope of this study, in light of the Virginia ordinance there is little doubt that the Maryland "mulatto" was the same as his Virginia counterpart.

The formulated categorization of colonial residences shortly after the turn of the eighteenth century can be seen as: white, Negro, mulatto (either mixed white/black or white/Indian), and Indian. The latter would assumedly refer only to "full-bloods." There is a strong indication that these people would, at least gradually, be subsumed under the rubric of "mulatto."

Also in 1717, there was a land transfer to a Reverend John Frazer from Tintahanz and "other Piscataway Indians" (Land Records, Prince George's County, Vol I:559, MdHR 5730-2). It was twelve years since the Piscataway had allegedly left the Western Shore.

On the 7 April 1736, the Council of Maryland recommended that an Indian named George Williams and his family should be allowed to live on a section of land on which they had settled. The problem was that this tract was situated on land owned by one Charles Pye. He complained that the Indian George (this time not mentioning an English last name) was settled on Mattawoman Neck, part of the Indian Reservation. Pye's goal was to enjoy the land "without Interruption of the Indians or any Other Persons" (Archives of Maryland XXVIII:95).

The accusation was that George Williams had settled within Pye's enclosure, assumedly a large area fenced off. George was marking his hogs and killing game within the enclosure. Further, George "encourages People who live on the Other side of Mattawoman Creek" to bring their hogs and cows over to feed on Pye's land (Archives of Maryland XVIII:95).

Several things are of interest here. First, this event took place thirty-one years after the Piscataway supposedly left the Colony. This is not to say that George was a Piscataway per se, but there is little doubt that he was a native Western Shore Indian. Second, he was acculturated to

the extent of using the English practice of raising hogs and marking them accordingly. Third, he was living with his family; this was not an isolated individual. Fourth, he was living on the lands that were within the confines of the formerly designated Indian Reservation. Fifth, he was engaging in social and perhaps economic relations with an unspecified group referred to as people living on the other side of the creek. Sixth, George's suggestion that these other people bring their cattle and hogs over to feed on Pye's land indicates that (a) they had a limited land base themselves; (b) they had a special relation with George; and (c) in the form of a syllogism, they were probably Piscataway.

Although Papenfuse and Coale (1982:19-20) point out that Herman Moll's map of Virginia and Maryland, produced in 1708 and printed in 1721 and 1732, formed the basis for later maps such as the Homann Heirs map of 1737 and the Emanuel Bowen map of 1747, it is interesting and relevant that the initial map does show Indian occupancy of "Indian land," the area of the treaty reservation (Papenfuse and Coale 1982:22). The 1721 edition alters one of the structure symbols, this on the southeast side of Piscataway Creek, to represent Indian habitation. The Homann Heirs map of 1737 and the Bowen map of 1747 both alter this back to the original (Papenfuse and Coale 1982:22-23). Although copying and reverse alterations make a weak case, they do indicate another possible awareness of the continuity of the Indian on the Western Shore of Maryland.

Additional evidence of Indian continuity comes from a census conducted in 1755 (reproduced in Papenfuse and Coale 1982:37). Reflected is a three-way breakdown of the ethnic composition of the Maryland population: white, mulatto, black. Further subdivisions list numbers according to free, slave, servant, boy, girl, man, woman. Not

surprisingly, the categorizations are more useful for gleaning information concerning the portion of the population considered to be white.

Looking at the figures calculated for a five county radius, which would engulf the entirety (or almost the entirety) of the Indian population--Prince George's, Charles, St. Mary's, Anne Arundel, and Calvert Counties--the following figures emerge: the total white population was 33,591; that of black slaves 19,632; mulatto slaves 787; free mulatto 648; and free black only 116. Although it must be remembered that colonial censuses were not always accurate, certain aspects stand out. First is the miniscule number of free blacks. Second, and important to this study, is the number and county-wise distribution of the free mulattos, this population including many, but most probably not all, the Western Shore Indians. At 239, the population of the "Free Mulatto" in Charles County was more than double that of any of the other four counties combined. There is no doubt that a very significant number, perhaps most, of these people were in fact Indians.

Although seventeen people are not recorded either by sex or age-group, the indication is that "Free Mulatto" males substantially outnumbered females: sixty to thirty-six for adults, and sixty-nine to fifty-seven for children under the age of sixteen.

In his efforts to trace the origins of what he terms the "Brandywine Population" (actually the present-day Piscataway and the larger group of which they are a part) Harte (1963:370) argues that "it should not be concluded that (these) people were white because of the absence of racial identification." This is a very valid point and one that should be readily apparent by this time.

Harte argues that

it may be conjectured that Indian-white mixed-bloods were usually classified as whites or mulattoes, and that persons of mixed Indian-Negro ancestry were classified as mulattoes or Negroes (1963:374).

If the Virginia comparison is valid, there is no doubt that "mulatto" was the preferred term during this phase of the colonial period. However, the lack of providing an alternate term for the "full-blood" Indian presents somewhat of a problem. It is very likely that he was also gradually put into the "mulatto" grouping as suggested above. It is also more than possible that Indians, both "full" and "mixed" were in a more enigmatic position as time marched on. Although this is clarified below, in essence the problem revolved around classifying them as either "mulatto" or giving no classification, with the implication of white.

Census figures are again provided in April 1762. What is important here is a reference to Indians:

There are about 120 Indians in the Populous parts of the Province who reside on Several Tracts of Land that were many years ago allotted them, and Appropriated to their Sole and Proper use by Acts of Assembly which are still in force, these Indians Live in good Neighbourhood with the Inhabitants and are very orderly, paying due obedience to the Laws of the Province, the Inhabitants carry on no Trade with any other Indians nor are there any other near Us (Archives of Maryland XXXIII:25).

There can be little doubt that most of the Indians referred to here would be part of the Nanticoke of the Eastern Shore, who maintained a recognition from the Colonial Government for some time after the alleged Piscataway disappearance. It is very doubtful that all the 120 Indians in question would have been on the Eastern Shore. This is based partly on the phrasing "on the Populous parts of the Province," partly on the evidence presented to this point, in the George Williams case. This may be the final entry in the colonial records that shows the recognition of

some, albeit very few, Indians still being present on the Western Shore of the Colony, and being recognized as Indian.

Even if it could be proven that this assertion is mistaken, one aspect of this Archival statement is undisputedly clear: ". . . nor are there any other [Indians] near Us." The Piscataway, at least the major population, if not the population at large, were no longer recognized as Indian.

CHAPTER IX

PISCATAWAY CONTINUITY: SURNAMES AND ACCULTURATION

Introduction

This chapter addresses the contemporary Piscataway and traces their origins to possible interactions with English colonists in the seventeenth century. Various land grants are discussed, as is the concept of acculturation and how it is evidenced among the historic Piscataway population. The chapter concludes by tracing the Piscataway through the eighteenth century and into the early American period.

Piscataway Surnames

Various researchers have compiled a listing of contemporary Piscataway surnames (Gilbert 1945:242, 1946:446, 1948:416; Harte 1958:217; Berry 1963:36; Witkop 1966:385). Naturally, one researcher's work is going to reflect the influence of a predecessor's. Due to the nature of his research and an agreement with the Indians Harte (1958) attempts to disguise the associated names. His efforts increased with later work (Harte 1963). Witkop (1966) follows Harte's altered names. Neither lists all the associated names, limiting their focus in this respect to "core names." Berry's listing (1963) comes from the works of Harte and Gilbert. Gilbert's first listing (1945) is of special interest in that it includes several names that are later (1946, 1948) deleted; nor do these names appear in the works of the other researchers listed here.

The surnames associated with the Piscataway are generally common English names; hence, as a rule of thumb, it would not be safe to assume that anyone from the Prince George's and Charles County area who has one of these names is by extension a member of the group. The "core names," discussed below, are at least partially excepted.

Piscataway surnames are: Proctor, Savoy, Harley, Swan, Thompson, Butler, Newman, Linkins, Gray, Mason, and Queen. The first seven names, excepting Savoy, are considered "core names" by Harte (1958). Savoy was, however, considered a "core name" by Witkop (1966), this portion of his work obviously stemming from Harte's efforts. A number of interviews were conducted as part of this research. Responses reveal that the Piscataway themselves consider Mason and Linkins to be among the "core names." A "core name" is, in essence, a name through which group solidarity can be best traced through time via marriage records, that is, a listing of intermarriages between people sharing these names.

Several other surnames are included in a more peripheral manner. These names are more rare in the group and come from marrying in. Included in this listing, which would vary according to who is asked, are: Bowman, Watson, Robinson, and Windsor. Watson is recognized as "other Indian." The concept that they are not all one people is important and was iterated by one Indian in the course of an interview.

The importance of knowing contemporary surnames lies in the need to attempt to equate early colonial names with the Indian population. Harte's assertion (1958:216) that the "core name" population comprised the group, the others marrying in sometime after 1870, is at issue here. It cannot and should not be assumed that this represented the intermarrying of people with no Indian ancestry with the Piscataway population. Rather,

what it may reflect is the expanded mating population of the overall Indian population of the Western Shore.

With this hypothesis in mind, it is important to determine the time depth the surnames themselves have in Maryland. Any that were not in evidence in the colonial records could justifiably be assumed to be non-Indians who later married into the group. The earlier a surname can be traced, the earlier potential unions could have taken place with the Indians. Another note should be made. Adoption of an English surname does not have to be equated with marriage. Chapter VI discussed how Indians were to give their Indian and English names upon their return to the Colony. It should also be remembered that one of the Indian chiefs was named Calvert. No record that I have come across has indicated intermarriage between the Indians and the Calverts, hence it is safe to assume that the name was adopted. The same could be said about other names. The important point is "at what time would any specific name be available for adoption or marriage purposes?"

Unless otherwise noted, the following information is gleaned from Skordas' masterful compilation (1968).

Proctor: Several people with this surname arrived in the Maryland Colony within a few decades of the initial settlement. A Nathaniel Proctor immigrated to Maryland in 1659. Robert Proctor, who shortly became an innkeeper in Anne Arundel County, was transported along with several other people by Thomas Bradley in 1660. In return they transferred all rights and title to land to Bradley (Patent Records, Vol 6:80, MdHR 17,339). Samuel Proctor arrived in Maryland in 1673 (Patent Records, Vol 17:475, MdHR 17.351).

Savoy: Two Savoyes, husband and wife, immigrated to the Eastern Shore of Maryland in 1673 (Skordas 1968:406). It is uncertain if anyone of this surname was living on the Western Shore prior to the eighteenth century.

Harley: Two Harleys, both women, came to Maryland prior to 1680. Susana Harley was the first to arrive, being transported in 1673 along with twenty-four other servants (Patent Records, Vol 17:424, MdHR 17.351). The similarity between the name Harley and that of Hawley should not be ignored. Jerome Hawley arrived with Father White on the Ark and Dove and was very influential in the early colonial period.

Swan: A number of people with similar surnames, e.g. Swan, Swann, Swane, and Swaine, arrived in Maryland between 1657 and 1680 (Skordas 1968:449). A Violetta Swan was transported to Maryland in 1657. Mark and Loar Swan, husband and wife, were transported as servants in 1660.

Thompson: Like Swan, the name Thompson was spelled variously--Thompson, Thomson, Thomsone, Tompson, and Tomson. Over one hundred people immigrated to Maryland under one of these names or another, some coming from Virginia. The most common spelling was Thompson. While most arrived in the 1660s and 1670s, some were in the colony in its very earliest years and before its founding.

An individual named Fulton transported one Richard Thompson and eleven others to the Maryland Colony in 1633. This apparently means that they arrived on the Ark and Dove. They were all assignees of Father White, i.e. they relinquished their land rights to the priest. Shortly thereafter Richard Thompson transported one John Thompson, relation uncertain, as a servant. John was among those slain in an Indian massacre at Poplar Island in the late 1630s (Patent Records, AB&H:65,85, MdHR 17.335-2).

Butler: A Thomas Butler was on the Isle of Kent prior to 1640 (Patent Records, AB&H:86, MdHR 17.335-2). Twenty-five to thirty additional Butlers, some with family, arrived between that date and 1680.

Newman: According to Skordas (1968:334) the first of a score of Newmans arrived in the Maryland Colony in 1651. He was a servant. Most Newmans arrived in the 1660s, and most were transported, as opposed to having immigrated.

Linkins: Although no one of this surname evidently came to Maryland prior to 1680, a man and a woman named Lingan arrived in the 1660s (Skordas 1968:290). Additional archival research would have to be undertaken to determine the relationship, if any, between the two names.

Gray: The first of a large number of Grays may have been in the Colony as early as 1634 (Skordas 1968:192). If the variant "Grey" is included, the listing is greatly increased.

Mason: Well over a score of Masons are listed by Skordas, the first arriving in 1656.

Queen: No Queens came to the Maryland Colony before 1680.

Looking at the five additional subsidiary names, the following emerges: of the six Bowmans listed prior to 1680, the earliest to arrive was William Bowman in the late 1630s. Watson, another common English name, is represented by thirty entries in Skordas. Two arrived in 1651, one of whom was a servant. Robinson was another popular English name, about eighty being listed by Skordas. Two John Robinsons, probably different people, joined the colony at its founding, one being listed as a servant in 1633, the other as a carpenter. Only three Windsors are listed, the first being transported to Maryland in 1673.

Surnames--Relation to the Indians

Referencing Judge William Graham's notes relating to Stafford County colonial court records, Schmitt (1965:16) mentions a case in which peake taken from an Indian in 1666 was appraised "at 1700 pounds of tobacco and cask." The Indian's name was Captain Thomson. Tribal affiliation is uncertain, the Rappahannock having a tradition of using first names such as Captain. At the present time, however, Thompson (under new spelling) is not, to my knowledge, a name associated with these people. That Nelson is their dominant name is illustrated by Speck (1925) and asserted by Gilvert (1948:418). What is important to this study is the documentation of a person recognized as Indian in the overall area who had adopted one of the common surnames by such an early date.

There is a brief mention of a Tuscarora Indian named Jack Mason in Virginia records for the year 1712 (McIlwaine 1912:247). No Maryland records were located that mentioned Indians in that colony with contemporary Piscataway surnames. However, the references to Indians with any English surname was somewhat rare at best.

In discussing the role of the interpreter in the colonial South, Davis (1978:229) notes that southern Governors from "Virginia through Georgia met with several hundred Indians from the Five Civilized Tribes" at the Augusta Treaty conference in 1763. Of the six interpreters present, one was named John Butler, another John Proctor. Davis contends that "from their names [they] sound like pure-blooded whites probably engaged at least part time in the Indian trade" (1978:229). Proctor is, of course, the dominant Piscataway surname, Butler also being prominent. Since both names are quite common English surnames, it certainly cannot be assumed by any means that these interpreters were Piscataway. By the same

token, it cannot be categorically stated that they were not. One of the difficulties in trying to relate present surnames with the colonial Indian population is that many of the names are quite common.

Thus, the location of these names, even when clearly Indian-related, outside of the Maryland Colony or the northern portion of Virginia, is of limited immediate value. It should not be dismissed out of hand that some Indians may have followed a road of adjustment to the English world which would result in their becoming interpreters, traders and the like. The role of a Piscataway acting as interpreter for the Iroquois was noted above.

Referring to the Piscataway as the "Brandywine" people, Father Thomas Harte of Catholic University attempted to determine the origins of their contemporary population. Due to the sensitive nature of his work, Harte substituted alphabets for the surnames, apparently after realizing that the altered names previously used only thinly veiled identity. He implies but does not state possible Indian ancestry being evidenced by seventeenth century tobacco allotments to two individuals with Piscataway surnames. He notes that no reason was provided for the transfers and that there was no mention of racial identity. He states, quite correctly, that "it should not be concluded that these people were white because of the absence of a racial identification" (Harte 1963:370).

Actually, this is sparse proof. Tobacco was a medium of exchange, and the listings included a number of other individuals in addition to the two with the associated surnames. It is, however, a useful bit of additional data to add to the supportive file.

Early Land Acquisitions

More revealing is an overview of the early land acquisitions of

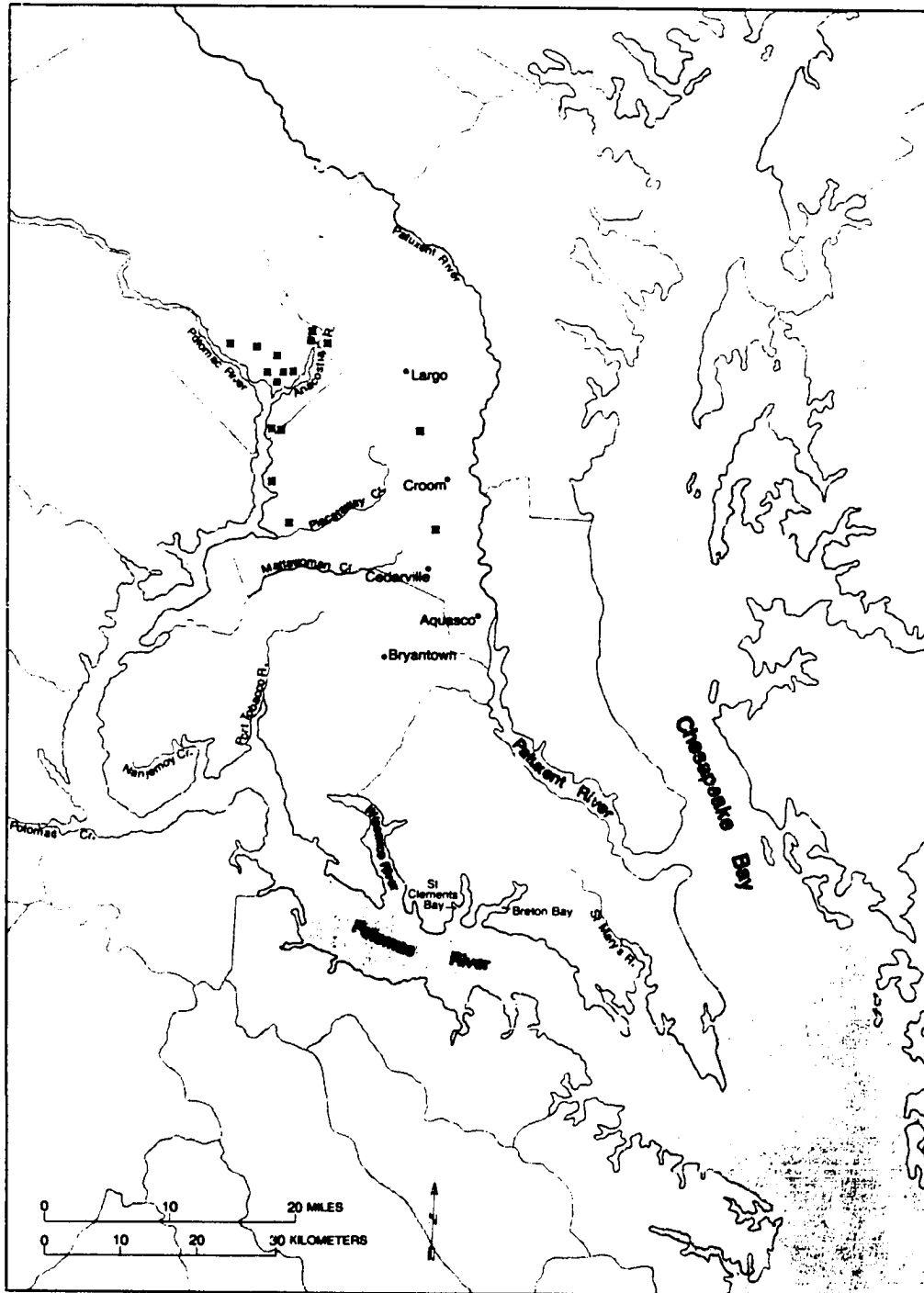
various Englishmen who had the surnames later to be associated with the Indians (see Map 4).

Heinton (1972) provides a listing and map of early land tracts. An analysis of the names of purchasers is enlightening and reflects the early potential for contact between the Piscataway and some of the Englishmen who shared what were to become or, in some cases may already have been, Indian surnames.

Six tracts were laid out for George Thompson, a prominent figure in early Maryland history. A single tract was laid out for the following individuals: Walter Thompson, William Thompson, and Christopher Thompson. Two tracts were laid out for James Thompson and one for Henry Thickpenny, who was later to be killed by the Indians. In addition, one George Lingan acquired two tracts.

The dates of these tracts are also of interest. All the Thompsons except George acquired their lands in the 1680s. Lingan's tracts were laid out in 1671 and 1680, respectively. Thickpenny and George Thompson were, on the other hand, earlier arrivals in this area which was still the hub of Indian occupancy. Thompson's earliest tract was laid out in 1660, two more (along with Thickpenny's) being laid out in 1662, and the final three in 1663.

George Thompson's first acquisition was entitled Thompson's Rest, laid out in 1660 as noted and patented in 1662 (Kellock 1962:21). This was a 1000 acre tract situated on the northern side of Piscataway Creek, just east of where it narrows. This land was very quickly sold by the wealthy Thompson to one William Fox. Importantly, as will become clear below, it later became the property of Captain William Boarman (Kellock 1962:21-22). Boarman was noted as an interpreter of the Indian language



Map 4. Locations, specific (squares) and general (circles), of lands patented/surveyed in mid- to late-1600s for people with surnames later associated with the Piscataway.

and had considerable interaction with the Piscataway (Semmes 1937:345, 372, 474, 475, 544, 633, 634, 644-6, 724; Kellock 1962:22). In addition Boarman was a devout Catholic who had a chapel built on his land (Semmes 1937:545). In contradiction to Semmes, Kellock (1962:22) states that Boarman evidently never lived on this particular land. In this case, however, Semmes appears to be the more accurate of the two. Kellock (1962:22) states that Thompson's Rest was renamed Boareman's Rest. According to Semmes, Boarman left his plantation of that name to his son provided "he keep in repair the chapel standing on it" (Semmes 1937:545). The land was, nevertheless, sold in 1674 (Kellock 1962:22).

Admirathoria was a large tract of 2,500 acres laid out for George Thompson in 1662. Including much riverfront, this land was situated just north of Broad Creek. This is north of Piscataway Creek as one approaches present-day Washington, D.C. The land was patented in 1671 (Kellock 1962:22).

Also in 1662, Thompson had a tract called Blew Playne laid out (Heinton 1972). This tract is further upriver than either Admirathoria or Thompson's Rest. The name Blew Playne has been modernized to Blue Plains and is the official name of Washington, D.C.'s present sewage treatment plant. A 450-acre tract is recorded for George Thompson on 22 April 1662. Referring to him as a "Gentlemen," reflective of his social position, he was granted all rights to the land, except Royal Mines. The tract was called "Sickamy" and was located on the east side of Portobacco Creek (Charles County Land Records Liber 5, Folio 67-68).

Two tracts were laid out in 1663 for George Thompson: Duddington Manor and Duddington Pasture. They were located even further upriver in what is now Southwest Washington, D.C. (Heinton 1972). New Troy, laid out

in the same year, was adjacent to the Manor. A number of other land acquisitions by George Thompson are to be found in the documentation housed at the Hall of Records in Annapolis. One, like "Sickamy" reflecting the influence of Indian names, was located at the head of the Gunpowder River in Baltimore County. This tract, "Nansimie", was transferred from George Thompson to Richard Tidings on 2 October 1685 (Scisco 1938).

Lands laid out for Walter, William, James, and Christopher Thompson consisted of the following tracts: the Nock, situated in what is now Southwest Washington, D.C.; Scotland, at the corner of Southeast Washington and Prince George's County; Thompson's Towne, Northwest Washington; Yarow, Prince George's County, just across the D.C. line; and Whitelaintine, located in Prince George's near Washington. All were laid out in the mid- to late-1680s (Heinton 1972). The positioning of these tracts suggests that these Thompsons may have been siblings.

George Lingan's first tract was laid out in 1671. Called Long Lookt For, it was located in the eastern portion of Prince George's that was part of Calvert County at the time. His second tract, Elizabeth, was laid out in 1680 and was further upcounty (Heinton 1972).

Thickpenny's tract, Penny's Choice, was a small section situated in the southeastern corner of present Prince George's County (Heinton 1972).

Captain, later Major, Boarman also acquired several tracts of land. Thompson's Rest was renamed Boarman's Rest (Kellock 1962:31). Heinton (1972) contends it was called Boarman's Content. He later increased his land base, owning "several tracts around Bryantown that were united into Boarman's Manor" (Kellock 1962:31). Bryantown is in Charles County and is squarely in the area of historic and contemporary Piscataway settlements.

The concept of "manor" is important to the understanding of this phase of Piscataway history,

A manor was a large grant of land of a thousand acres or more belonging to one individual who rented or leased out parcels of it to tenants (Hartsook and Skordas 1968:14).

Hartsook and Skordas state that leasing of manor lands was not that common in the seventeenth century but by 1755 Anne Arundel Manor rented for five pounds sterling for 1100 acres (1968:28). Apparently this was enough of a bargain to increase tenancy in the eighteenth century.

Several additional tracts of land are of particular interest and potential importance. Locations suggested here are approximate, based on a brief analysis of Heninton's map (1972). Basically, the tracts appear in two major locations, one from the section of eastern Prince George's County that was constructed out of Calvert County, the other from the western side of the County, constructed from Charles County.

Weston was laid out for Charles Boteler in August 1671. Its location was near Swan Point Creek in the immediate area of Croom, Maryland. This is but a short distance from the present county seat of Upper Marlboro.

Harry's Lot was laid out for Charles Boteler in July 1679, and was located just north of Black Swamp Creek, near Cedarville State Park.

A tract called Beals Benevolence was laid out for Edward Boteler in January 1683. His relation to Charles Boteler is uncertain. This tract was in the approximate area of present-day Largo, the seat of Prince George's County Community College.

Black Walnut Thicket was laid out for the team of George Lingan and Richard Marsham in May 1670. This tract appears to have been in the

vicinity of Aquasco, within four to five miles from the small community of Masons.

Leads Addition was laid out for Philip Masson in December 1686. This tract is almost adjacent to Blew Playne. A tract called Salom was laid out for Robert Mason in September 1685. The location was the Northwest section of Washington, D.C., near where the C & O Canal and Georgetown were later constructed.

A tract called New Bottle was laid out for John Watson, also in September 1685. It was located in the central section of what is now Washington, D.C.

What all these tracts have in common is that they were laid out and possibly occupied in the seventeenth century, well before any Piscataway had left the Colony, excepting possible desertions of individuals. Each landowner would have had the potential for interaction with the Indian population. All, excepting Boarman, Fox, and Marsham, share surnames which are found among the Piscataway today. The position of the Watsons is addressed below. Certainly, other colonists would have had an equal opportunity to have contact and interact with the Indians, this being truer for some people than for others. It should not be assumed that others did not also intermarry with or influence the Indians to the extent that their surnames were adopted, at least for purposes of interacting with the non-Indian community. To this point several names have been mentioned that were and/or are associated with the Indians. Some (Williams, Calvert, and Brent) are no longer found in the Indian population. The suggestion here is that the present Piscataway surnames came to dominate the group but did not entirely comprise the Indian population of the eighteenth, as well as nineteenth century.

This point deserves strong attention. The problem of trying to fully relate the present Piscataway surnames with the seventeenth century Indian population may in fact stem from a lack of knowledge or understanding of the wider range of surnames employed by the Indian population in the earlier years. The present names probably did not become dominant and clearly associated with the Indians until about the time of the American Revolution. This was concomitant with alterations in legal and social attitudes and definitions of the concept of "mulatto."

Acculturation

The "Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation" by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936) and the Social Science Research Council's more detailed "Exploratory Formulation" (SSRC 1954) stand out as classic guidelines for the study and understanding of acculturation and the associated processes.

Definitions offered are very similar, the SSRC defining acculturation as "culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems" (1954:974). It has been illustrated that the Piscataway responses to just such a contact were quite varied, a number of people opting to leave the colony in an attempt to maintain a lifestyle more similar to that to which they had become adjusted. Others had "spun off" into the English community. It is quite evident that other individuals had intermarried with the English and were living lifestyles which may have been intermediate between the traditional English and traditional Piscataway systems. Still other Indians continued in the Maryland Colony as a less acculturated people. The scarce records concerning Indians at this time and the absence of any that indicate the continuity of the traditional Indian lifestyle, (for example, the group

hunt) does not mean that all the Indians remaining in the Colony had adopted the outward appearances of the non-Indian population sometime during the eighteenth century before the American Revolution.

A better understanding of potential intermarriage between the Piscataway and the English population is illustrated in the following statement:

The impingement of masculine frontier culture on an aboriginal population with matrilineal exogamous clans will have a smaller theoretical effect on the native kinship system than if the system were patrilineal (SSRC 1954:980).

It has been illustrated that the Piscataway were matrilineal, although the extent to which marriage was forbidden within the clan is not known. What this statement does show, however, is that the acceptance of outsider males would not be especially detrimental, at least to the kin system.

Especially before the founding of the Maryland Colony, and even afterwards for some time, the situation in Maryland was one of English males coming into contact with the Indian population. Present Piscataway surnames (for example, Butler and Thompson) were found among some of Claiborne's men. Furthermore,

Lack of family ties, unsettled New World conditions, and the pressures of the sex ratio all contributed to a milieu of relative sexual freedom in seventeenth-century Maryland (Walsh 1979:132).

Boundary-maintaining mechanisms depend on whether the society in question is open or closed (SSRC 1954:976). The Piscataway would have qualified as a closed society in the sense of cultural traditions such as initiation rites through which the individual had to pass as he/she advanced in the social and age-grade hierarchy.

The concept of matrilineal descent, however, would make them a more open society, at least towards incoming males. The extent to which a non-Indian woman could or would be adopted into a clan is uncertain. If

this was more rigid, then the offspring of such unions would be theoretically more prone to move into the non-Indian population.

Partly in question is "how strong was the matrilineal system?" Indications from the factional disputes discussed are that a number of Piscataway showed a ready acceptance of patrilineal offspring, although it is clear that matrilineal descent was most strongly advocated and in the view of many Indians necessary to obtain the ultimate position of Tayac and perhaps that of Wiso.

The concept of "stabilized pluralism" is also important to the understanding of Piscataway historical relations with the non-Indian community. This is defined as "the failure of two cultures in contact completely to lose their autonomy" (SSRC 1954:990). Although it could be argued that "the failure of" should be altered to "the condition whereby," stabilized pluralism is a very good concept to use to better comprehend the Piscataway situation. Extensive evidence has been presented to this point supporting the contention that the Piscataway have always viewed themselves, and have always been viewed by others, as a distinct population. The remainder of this study provides additional support for the corollary contention that this condition is extant on the eve of the twenty-first century.

The nature of the contact history for the Piscataway and the English, as indeed for any two populations, can be viewed as one in which participants analyze the respective alien population in terms understandable to their respective cultural upbringing. The feelings of the Indian are difficult to ascertain, at best. Those of the English are less so. It has been seen that there was an awareness of and a mental categorization of Indians based on parentage, assumedly including both who

raised the individual, or with whom he/she lived, and mixed marriages. In addition to the flexibility of the Indian kinship system to accept the children of Indian/white unions, as well as non-Indian spin-offs into the Piscataway community, much probably depended on the extent to which such individuals moved in, lived with, and abided by the rules of the Indian community.

Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936:149) include political and social inequality in their outline of the acculturation process. For the Piscataway political inequality is exemplified by the Treaty of 1666. Social inequality is not so easy to pinpoint. For social equality to truly exist there must be two or more groups who share a similar or identical ideology of what the social situation should be. This cannot be indisputably argued as existing until the latter part of the nineteenth century. However, it can be effectively argued that from the English perspective such was the case in the very early eighteenth century. This is exemplified by the anti-miscegenation laws addressed above. These laws cannot be assumed to have been against the wishes of the Indians, although it is very unlikely that they had any input whatsoever in their formulation. To the degree that they were enforced they would effectively limit the population from which potential mates would arise.

Two important points made by Carr and Menard (1979) add support to the argument of an early openness on the part of the English and a later class consciousness. First they assert that during the seventeenth century

laborers, bound or free, who worked for small or middling planters were seldom isolated from the master's family. Such planters could not afford to maintain separate servants' quarters detached from their homes. Often servants and free laborers must have been fully integrated into family life, sharing meals, sleeping under

the same roof, being treated like poor relations or at times like sons or daughters (1979:228).

They argue here that the social status of freedman, along with their economic situation, deteriorated in the late seventeenth century. The "social distance between servants and ex-servants and their masters or landlords increased" (Carr and Menard 1979:230). Very importantly,

the growth of slavery and the growing identification of blacks with fieldwork may have led to a debasement of all labor and laborers (Carr and Menard 1979:231).

Further, the decrease in the number of English freedmen coming to the colonies in the latter part of the seventeenth century led to a heavier reliance on "women, American Indians, Irishmen, the poor, convicts, and, most important, Africans" (Carr and Menard 1979:239).

Piscataway Surnames: The Eighteenth Century

Harte (1963) and Porter (1984) are two of the few researchers to date who have attempted to trace the origins of the contemporary Piscataway population. Unfortunately, Harte underplays the role of the Piscataway Indians, focusing instead on early records of illegitimate births. He does argue, quite logically, that the anti-miscegenation laws discussed above are quite suggestive that interracial or ethnic unions had been taking place "at least by 1715" (Harte 1963:371). It was in response to these unions that opponents called for strong governmental intervention in the form of laws. As a result future unions "would of necessity be carried on clandestinely" (Harte 1963:371).

Examining Charles County Court records, he found that there were nine convictions of people with Piscataway surnames between the years 1702 and 1720. All were females, Harte explaining that such convictions against men were rare. Race was not always mentioned. One woman was

accused of having a "mulatto" child, another was referred to as a "mulatto." It has already been explained that "mulatto" was defined in Virginia as either a person of mixed white/black or white/Indian parentage. This presents a problem that is difficult to resolve, i.e. what kind of "mulatto" is being referred to. Evidence presented below will illustrate that the implied definition in the case of many people with Piscataway surnames is one of white/Indian, without a doubt the Indian origin of the population being implied.

Concerning Indian intermixtures with blacks, it would be naive and almost certainly erroneous to assume that none took place. This is especially true in light of the suggestive accusation found in the wording of many seventeenth century treaties that Indians may have been harboring runaway slaves, as well as runaway servants. The extent of Indian/white inter-marriages was undoubtedly much higher; these two populations had been in contact for a considerable period of time. The black population, especially in the early colonial period, was quite small.

Harte also notes the "absence of additional indictments or convictions of persons with Brandywine (Piscataway) names after 1720" (1963:373). Admitting "no direct evidence," he suggests that those convicted and their offspring may have "already isolated themselves . . . by segregating themselves in remote communities." He does, however, feel it unlikely that all "retired to a single isolated community" (Harte 1963:373). Without incorporating the Indian factor, Harte's thesis remains veiled in mystery. A better assumption would be that these women and their offspring merged into the communities from which the unions took place. If they are truly indicators of early Piscataway or mixed Indian unions, then there is little doubt that the communities to which they

removed themselves would be Indian.

Harte's contention that there would not have been a retirement to a single community is of importance. That the Piscataway lived in several distinct communities at the time of initial European contact and continued to live in distinct communities, to one degree or another, at least up to and shortly after some people left the Colony has been illustrated. The concept of "some" should be analyzed. It could be argued with some justification and support that the organized political body left the Colony. However, in light of the data gathered in this study reflective of the Indian/white relations at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, there is little doubt that a number of people remained in the Colony, people who were considered leaders of the Indian communities. It is true, however, that the Tayac and various allied officials left.

The key word is "some," the plural. That the Piscataway still reside in a number of distinct communities will be addressed later in this study. There is little doubt that they never retired to a single community during the course of their history. Therefore, by logic, the individuals who intermarried (legally or by common-law) with them would most likely relocate to the Indian communities. The probable spread-out nature of the Indians after the turn of the eighteenth century was suggested in Chapter VII. This would compound the number of communities that would later arise as the population increased via unions with non-Indians.

Witkop, MacLean, Schmidt, and Henry (Witkop et al 1966) also attempt to trace some of the individual families back to theoretical origins. Certain problems arise here due to the focus on race. The family surnames

are thinly disguised with one, Butler, being unveiled in the discussion of alleged origin.

It is stated that the Butler family "most likely had its origins" in 1678 or 1679 in a marriage of a black servant named Charles and an Irish maid named Eleanor "Nell" Butler. They resided on the William Boarman plantation in the area of present-day Bryantown (Witkop et al 1966:385). Evidently Eleanor was made a slave because of the marriage, her children being also committed to involuntary servitude. In 1763 two Butler grandchildren filed suit. The case was settled in 1770:

This court decision established the point of law known as the 'right of free issue' in that offspring of free women and slave men would be considered free, but offspring of free men and slave women would be slave (Witkop et al 1966:386).

Thirty-five people were freed as a result of this decision, being compensated with land and tobacco. However, a thirty-year gap in tracing the kinship lines leads these authors to admit that

positive identification of the lineage of the present Baxtor (Butler) family cannot be attributed to this source (Witkop et al. 1966:386).

Since the question of Indian admixture is not even addressed, their perspective unfortunately feeds claims that would deny the Piscataway their obvious Indian heritage. Further, the fact that Butler is a common English name is not addressed. Apparently, their viewpoint results from the strong focus of many contemporary researchers on suspected racial admixture, especially black, combined with an assumption that the term "mulatto," as employed in the 1790 Census (discussed below), had the same meaning it does today, that is, of mixed black/white ancestry. The possible relationships between this particular Butler family and any of the other surnames associated with the contemporary Piscataway is addressed in only a very indirect manner.

Racial admixture, real or imagined, is of importance to the understanding of exactly what happened to any specific group whose history is being researched. However, the point is not what people believe now, but what the non-Indian contemporaries believed at any particular point in time. As has been indicated, and will become increasingly clear, throughout the course of the history of the Piscataway who remained in Maryland the non-Indian community repeatedly reflects an ideology suggestive of the realization that the group is in some manner unique, that is, a group with definable boundaries.

Dominant societies' perspectives on racial or ethnic mixture are important sociologically and anthropologically as indicators of possible boundaries imposed by the non-Indian community, boundaries that could either cause or, at the least, re-inforce group endogamy.

Importantly, Witkop et al (1966:386) point out that people surnamed Proctor also resided on the Boarman plantation, from the turn of the eighteenth century until the advent of the United States with the American Revolution.

A Betty "Prockter" is mentioned as residing on the William Boarman plantation in his will made out in 1720 (Baldwin and Henry 1968:10). In 1740, one Elizabeth Proctor left her entire estate to her son Charles. Thomas Boarman signed his name as a witness to her will (Baldwin 1968:258). In neither case is there any mention or indication of ethnicity or race.

Data suggestive of some of the surnames being associated with the contemporary Piscataway come from the detailed compilation of the records of the Catholic Church in St. Mary's County by Beitzell (1960). There are generally no indications of race associated with any of these names.

Several examples are cited below. Those coming from the nineteenth century are addressed in the next chapter.

On November 9, 1770 James Queen and Rebecca Swan served as godparents at the baptism of James and Mary Murreir's daughter. In 1771 Sam Queen and Catherine Boarman served as godparents for the child of John and Elizabeth Hardesty. In that same year Sam Queen, listed as a widower, served as godfather, while a widow simply named Monica served as godmother to the son of Richard and Ann Boarman. In none of these cases was there any indication of race (Beitzell 1960:117, 119, 120). What these examples do is bring together two of the Piscataway surnames as well as another association with the Boarmans. The picture clears up, and the association between the surnames and the present group is quite evident, by the time of the American Revolution.

Some sound historical evidence can be found, beginning in the year 1778, to support the theory that the Brandywine [Piscataway] population already existed either as a unified isolate group or as a number of distinct isolate groups which later merged (Harte 1963:374).

These appear in Census figures acquired for Charles County in 1775-1778, the Oaths of Fidelity, the Tax Assessment of 1783, and the first Federal United States Census of 1790.

Harte's analysis of the 1775-1778 Colonial Census and the Oath of Fidelity listing revealed "an absence of racial identification for all but one entry on each list" associated with the surnames in question (Harte 1963:376). The exception in the Census was one John Butler who was listed as "mulatto." He lived in the Port Tobacco West Hundred (Brumbaugh 1915:299, Harte 1963:376). A John Butler in the Oath of Fidelity listing was not indicated by race but is believed to have been the same individual (Harte 1963:376). A second person with a Piscataway surname was also

listed as "mulatto." In this case, Harte argues that someone other than the census taker inserted the label after the name, it being in a different hand (Harte 1963:376). Harte concluded that these

two cases provide additional evidence for the point . . . that the absence of racial identification on the early records is no proof that the persons involved were whites or that they were popularly regarded as whites (1963:376).

Although I agree with him in principle, it is important to point out that what is being illustrated is a certain confusion over what to call, or how to classify, these people. The Piscataway were obviously viewed as a different category, no label being readily applicable.

A couple of additional cases provide further support and clearly show that they are the descendants of the seventeenth century Piscataway and the ancestors of today's population.

Looking at the 1783 Tax Assessment for the Third District of Charles County, one Mathias Butler is listed without racial markers. His household consisted of four people. He had no land holdings. A Richard Mason was listed as a non-white, the information provided revealing nothing further about his racial status. In addition, three Proctors were listed—Charles, Thomas, and Francis. In any other circumstances, the absence of racial markers would lead the analyst to assume they were white (Charles County Tax List, Third District, Scharf Collection 1783:3, 8, 10).

Although Mathias Butler does not appear in the 1790 Census, at least for Charles County, an individual named Richard Mason does. He is considered white. His household consists of seven white males aged sixteen and over. He owned twenty-four slaves. Among the Proctors listed were Charles, Thomas, and Francis. All were classified "mulatto."

Another example of this contradictory classification associated with people with Piscataway surnames is found in the case of Archibald Savoy. He was listed with no indication of race in the Oaths of Fidelity (Oaths of Fidelity, Blue Book 5, No. 30:15, Charles County). In the 1790 Census (Bureau of Census 1907) Archibald Savoy is listed as a "mulatto."

The insignificance of the time span between these events, Colonial Census, Oaths of Fidelity, first Federal Census, is such that there is little doubt that the individuals in question are one and the same in each case. The shift seems to favor placing people in the "mulatto" category with the 1790 census.

If Maryland mirrored Virginia, as it is suspected it did in the early eighteenth century, then it may have also altered its definition of "mulatto" in the early American Republic period. In 1792 a "mulatto" was defined in Virginia as

Every person other than a negro, of whose grandfathers or grandmothers any one is, or shall have been a negro, although all his other progenitors, except that descending from the negro, shall have been white persons, shall be deemed a mulatto; and so every such person who shall have one fourth part or more of negro blood, shall in like manner be deemed a mulatto (Shepard 1835:123).

This is considerably more black ancestry than would be allowed in the following decades, up to and including the present day, for a person to be considered black, at least socially. Socially, if not legally, the "one drop rule" was to take firm hold in the nineteenth century and become part of the American attitude towards race.

In a sense this is even more true today than in the 1800s due to the loss of popularity of using the "mulatto" category. In the deep south, for example Louisiana, the breakdown went even further with people being

considered quadroons and octoroons. Today they would generally all be considered to be simply black.

What the 1790 Census and the revised definition of "mulatto" show is that the Indian was viewed as either of such insignificant numbers as to not warrant special classification in the east, or perhaps more accurately, he was simply forgotten. Thomas Jefferson wrote in 1785 of the greatly reduced numbers of Indians in Virginia. He included his viewpoint that the Mattaponi were heavily mixed with blacks, while the Pamunkey were "tolerably pure from mixture with other colors" (quoted in Dippie 1982:33). It is clear that the early United States was a two-race society, albeit one in which members of the second race could be classified in some detail.

Regardless of actual intermixture, the development of a clearly defined biracial system would increasingly place the Piscataway, and other Eastern Indians, into the same classification as the blacks.

Harte calculates a Piscataway population of 190 people from the 1790 census (1963:376). If one only counts those who were classified as "mulatto," the following names would be applicable: Butler, Harley (perhaps variously spelled as Hayley), Linkin, Lenkin, Newman, Proctor, Swann, Savoy, and Thompson. The total population would be some 153 people. However, in accord with Harte's position that classification for census purposes as white does not categorically mean that a person was white, this figure, still based on just these names, could be increased to as many as 400 people.

If this is combined with the fact that the present names did not dominate the European surnames of the Piscataway found in the earlier records, and the suggestion that it was only in this latter part of the

eighteenth century that they did dominate, the population figures could be increased significantly. Thus, although actual population cannot be ascertained without a considerable amount of additional research, it can be stated with confidence that the Piscataway numbered at least 150 and probably over 200 people in 1790.

The picture is further complicated by looking at the 1790 Census for Prince George's County. The census-taker for this county was not as particular about listing race, i.e. Negro or "mulatto," as his contemporary in Charles County. He did, however, indicate as required the numbers of white, slaves, and "all other free persons." For Piscataway surnames, the vast majority were listed as white. Butler is not found, but the similar Boteler is. Likewise Harley is not listed, but Hurley is. Several people with the following surnames appeared: Gray, Newman, Queen, Swan, Mason, and Thompson or Tompson.

One Tobias Gray and the other two people in his household were listed as "other free persons." The Basil Hurley household included one free white male over age sixteen, one under sixteen, and one free white female, as well as one "other free person." A similar situation occurs in two of the Queen families, although both of them also own slaves. Which of these, whether any or all, were Piscataway families is difficult to determine without additional research.

Importantly, it is from his analysis of these records that Harte recognizes the clustering of people with Piscataway surnames. He concurs that:

It is hardly likely that this distribution can be attributed to chance alone. This finding lends some indirect support to Gilbert's hypothesis of a basic tribal and/or clan structure within the Brandywine [Piscataway] population and thereby to the theory of Indian ancestry of this population (1963:375-376).

The Gilbert article referred to was an unpublished manuscript, which was not accessed in this study. Harte's footnote summarizing the portion in question will, however, be addressed later in this study. Two facts are important here. First, the researchers associated with Father Harte were not focusing on Indian ancestry as previously indicated. Their studies are, nevertheless, very useful. They provide a considerable amount of information concerning the nature of the group, e.g. statistics on endogamous behavior. Second, and more important, the residential patterns suggested reflect with little doubt geographical continuity of various small groups of Piscataway. It is the intent of Frank Porter (1984) to look into the situation of geographical continuity among the Piscataway focusing on the various communities in which they presently reside and, if my understanding is correct, to trace residence back in time.

Late Eighteenth Century Marriage Records

Harte (1963:377) notes the paucity of eighteenth century Catholic Church records. St. Mary's in Bryantown, for example, provides records dating from 1793. Here Harte found five baptisms listed for Piscataway surnamed children between 1793 and 1795, all five having sponsors who shared Piscataway surnames.

A listing of St. Mary's parishioners shows several Queens and Butlers and two names which, although difficult to decipher, may have been Proctor. The exact date of this listing is uncertain, but it apparently was compiled just prior to 1800 (O'Rourke 1985:93-94).

In 1793, a John Butler obtained a marriage license for himself and Elizabeth Proctor, both apparently of Charles County. A dispensation was granted by the Church allowing the ceremony to take place, Butler and Proctor being second cousins once removed (Barnes 1978:31).

Similarly, Isaac Proctor and Elizabeth Butler, first cousins once removed, received a dispensation to marry in 1794. Again both were apparently of Charles County (Barnes 1978:182).

Barnes lists four marriages, at least one of which may have been an Indian union. These are for people named Williams. A Williams married a Gray in 1791 in Baltimore County and another married a Robinson in the same county in 1797. A Williams married a Williams in 1786 in Dorchester County on the Eastern Shore. The fourth case, and that may have been Indian-Indian, was between a Williams and a Thompson in Prince George's County in 1782 (Barnes 1978:249). The problem here is two-fold. First, the names are very common English names. Second, only one takes place in the Piscataway area. Their inclusion is to illustrate that the picture can be considerably more complicated than simply tracing the names commonly associated with the population today.

CHAPTER X

PISCATAWAY CONTINUITY: NINETEENTH TO TWENTIETH CENTURY

Introduction

This chapter presents data reflective of Piscataway continuity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Documentation, such as that collected by Mooney in the late 1800s and early 1900s, is included. Discussion revolves around topics such as surnames, communities, scholarly perceptions of the Eastern American Indian, and the concept of "folk culture." In addition, a number of studies undertaken on the analysis of various aspects of Piscataway lifestyle and social structure in the twentieth century are addressed.

Piscataway in the Nineteenth Century

While the presence of the surnames common among the present-day Piscataway evidences their possible dominance in the Indian population by the late eighteenth century, as discussed in the preceding chapter, it is the nineteenth century that provides substantial clarification of interactions among people sharing the various surnames. This is especially evident in Harte's (1958) research on Piscataway marriage practices for the period 1820 to 1956.

A Thompson-Thompson marriage is recorded for 1809, a Thompson-Queen marriage in 1814, and a Proctor-Savoy marriage in 1820 (Brown 1971:174, 175, 217). The problem with these early marriages is to prove that the participants were in fact Piscataway. For those requiring a dispensation

there is virtually no doubt. For most of the others the level of doubt increases in relation to the presence or absence of "core" names.

Harte (1958:216) argues that six family names comprise the core families, as noted above. To reiterate, these are Proctor, Butler, Harley, Newman, Swan, and Thompson. He states that the other families joined this core group after 1870. Many of the unions listed above, if documentation could be provided to prove their relation to the Piscataway, would refute this assertion.

To clarify my position, it is argued in this study that the Piscataway group was more diverse in the past than it is today, i.e. many more surnames were included in the Indian population of the Western Shore. Several Indian populations were in evidence in the Prince George's-Charles County area (which would extend into St. Mary's, Anne Arundel, possibly Calvert, and into Washington, D.C.). In other words, this study concurs with the Harte-Gilbert perspective that one unified group is not evidenced at this early date. However, it is also argued that what these people had in common was a common Indian ancestry, they were all Piscataway in the broader sense of the word.

Harte attempted to ensure that his study would clearly focus on the ancestral population of the present-day Piscataway by eliminating all doubtful unions from his tabulations. In the process he did not include the large majority of the 4,266 marriage and 9,255 baptism records analyzed. This narrowed the study population to 1,752 records. His results illustrating endogamy during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are, thus, highly informative. It should be borne in mind, however, that the perceptions of the Piscataway concerning the ethnic heritage of their spouses could influence Harte's findings. That is, if a

person was viewed as "other Indian," i.e. of having Indian ancestry albeit not directly part of the observable Piscataway group, the extent to which the union should be considered exogamous is open to question.

Looking at the marriage records, Harte determined percentages of endogamous unions among the core families, as well as among the so-called marginal families. The number and percentage of exogamous marriages was also determined. This was listed by surname and sex with percentiles and numbers covering the entire span from 1820 to 1956. The results immediately reflect the numerical dominance of the Proctor surname, as well as the endogamous nature of the population (Harte 1958:217).

Presenting his findings on core marriages, by number, sex, and percentage, for the period 1820 to 1909, the Piscataway were determined to have been endogamous in over 90 percent of the cases studied (Harte 1958:218).

In Brown's study (1971), it is interesting to note the almost total absence of racial classifications listed. A somewhat comprehensive collection of possible Piscataway marriages could be compiled (1971:38, 39, 100, 160, 161, 173, 174, 175, 188, 209, 216, 240, 241). In only one case involving a core marriage is the race listed, "colored." This is in a Butler-Savoy marriage of 1856. A Williams-Williams marriage of 1868 provides the only other example of any indication that the Piscataway were viewed as other than white. As an incidental aside, the name Hurley, as opposed to Harley, is listed in marriages with a Butler in 1848 and a Newman in 1851 (Brown 1971:38, 161). It is almost certainly a variant spelling.

Other records are more enlightening in showing that the Indians were obviously viewed as different and thus recognizable to the general

population as a group.

In a marriage between Henry Thomas and Catharine Butler on 13 February 1821, both are listed as "colored," as are their witnesses James Neale and Peter Warren. A marriage ten years later between Charles Butler and Mary McConelin listed both as "free people of color." Witnesses were Abraham Warren and Julia McConelin. A baptism of the six-week-old son of "Sarah Butler and Alexander, free people" was conducted on 17 August 1831; this was one month after the baptism of a two-month-old daughter of "Betsy Butler and James, both free people." The sponsor in the former case was one Mary Butler, race unlisted. In the latter case it was an individual simply named Sophia (Beitzell 1960:174, 176, 187).

On January 16, 1832 Henry Butler and Elizabeth Butler, "both free people of color," were married. The witness was Francis Mattingly (Beitzell 1960:176).

Again, it is difficult to tell which of these events were associated with the Piscataway, the best possibility being the last mentioned. The priests involved were not always the same individual, this playing some role on how a person was classified. There is little doubt that the phrase "free person of color" was used specifically for the Piscataway. This is not to say that it would not be used for other people, but the records clearly indicate a strong correlation between it and people of Piscataway surnames.

Blu (1980:46-50) discusses the classification of the Lumbee of North Carolina as "free persons of color," a designation she states was used in the 1790 census and one that later came to be synonymous with "free Negro." The indication is that the Piscataway, like the Lumbee and many other Eastern Indian populations, were being gradually classified in the

same group as the free black population. Nevertheless, the fact that no classificatory terminologies were employed in the earlier years and that this continued in later years, although to a lessening degree, combined with the use of temporarily specific labels, illustrates the fact that the non-Indian community recognized the existence of the Indians as a separate, distinct, and unique population. It is hypothesized that as time went by and the system of slavery and the resultant caste/class social structure became more firmly embedded into the fabric of the founding nation and the knowledge of the origins of the Indian population dimmed, the Americans were having an increasingly difficult time in trying to classify the Piscataway.

An article by William McLoughlin is pertinent. He notes that the Cherokee were placed in a position of having to defend their status as "men of color" as the "South moved toward the cotton kingdom" (1979:136). Secretary of War William H. Crawford called for Governmental encouragement of intermarriages between the Cherokee and the whites at a very early time in the new Republic's history. Crawford stated that "this cannot fail to preserve the race, with the modifications necessary to the enjoyment of civil liberty and social happiness" (McLoughlin 1979:140).

In 1805, an Indian Agent to the Cherokee Meiss stated that "the number of the real Indians and those of Mixed Blood are nearly equal" (McLoughlin 1979:143). This is the first mention uncovered by this research that used the term "real Indian." Obviously Meiss accepted the "mixed blood" as Indian, but not as Indian as the "real" Indian.

The 1850 Census showed a demographic breakdown in Maryland of 90,368 slaves and 74,723 free blacks (Fields 1985:2). This is a very high free to slave ratio and was probably another indication of why the white

community was increasingly viewing the Indians as part of the free black population.

Fields presents total population figures for Prince George's and Charles Counties for 1850, showing significant decreases in the number of whites. For Charles County the white/slave/"Free Colored" figures for 1850 were 5,665, 9,584, and 913 respectively (1985:13). For Prince George's the figures were 8,901, 11,510, and 1,133. Apparently a significant percentage of the "free colored," as well as the assumed white, populations would be Piscataway.

A total of twenty-two Proctors are individually listed for Charles and Prince George's Counties. In a census that appeared to be quite race conscious, none were listed as other than white according to Jackson and Teeples (1976:317-318). Two Proctors from Frederick County are listed as "mulatto," while one is listed as black.

For people surnamed Savoy, all were assumedly considered white. The Swan name showed one "mulatto" and one black, both in Frederick County. No racial classification was presented for the remainder, hence the implication would be that they were considered white. A number of Butlers were classified as "mulatto" or black, but, again, none in Charles or Prince George's.

These findings are in some contradiction to those of the Prince George's County Census for 1850 as presented by the Prince George's County Genealogical Society (1978). Here people of the various surnames are listed as either "mulatto," assumed white, or black. A detailed study would almost certainly show the same contradictory listings for the same individual as occurred in the earlier censuses.

Nell (1855:201) quotes from the New Orleans Picayune concerning a Thomas Savoy who fought with the Texans in their struggle for independence from Mexico. He was said to be a barber who went by the alias of Black Tom:

He was much fonder, too, of the company of white men than of that of persons of his own color. Tom was a native of Maryland, then a citizen of Washington, D.C. (Nell 1855:201).

Although there is no doubt that Nell believed him to be black, it is probable that Savoy was a Piscataway. I would suggest that Savoy's alleged preferance for white company over "that of persons of his own color" reflected the fact that he did not identify as black. This probably reflects an early Piscataway avoidance of being lumped in with the black population.

Backsheider (1965:25-26) lists six characteristics of the Piscataway which were compiled by Father Harte in an unpublished manuscript. The first is a belief in white or Indian ancestry "and/or freedom from enslavement." The "and/or" aspect is undoubtedly a result of the gradual lumping of the Indians with the blacks. It is a point worth a brief investigation, however. It should also be noted in passing that the Slave Statistics for Prince George's County (1867-1868, Vol 1, MdHR 6198) include a number of people who share the same surnames. This is not to say by any means that all these individuals were Piscataway. It is to say that Harte's assertion (1958:215) that four of the present surnames are "unique to the group" may be erroneous.

In 1826 a William Savoy, aged about 25, was termed "a free man and was born free . . . being the son of Katherine Savoy, a free woman of color" (Certificates of Freedom, Prince George's County, 1806-1829:232).

In 1827 a Thomas Savoy was listed as a "dark mulatto." This was crossed out, obviously by a different hand, and "black" inserted. Arguing that he had been born free being the son of Nelly Savoy a "free woman of color," he received his certificate of freedom (Certificates of Freedom, Prince George's County, 1806-1829:269).

In both instances, the freed individual was illegally enslaved. In both instances, the mother was a "free woman of color." Another example, associated with the name Boteler, refers to the mother as "negro Betsy a free woman of color" (Certificates of Freedom, Prince George's County, 1806-1829:281-282). As illustrated by Wright (1981) and referenced above, it was not unheard of to refer to an Indian as a Negro.

The picture presented in the nineteenth century is one of increasing confusion concerning the identity of the Piscataway, a situation in which there are increasing racial affixations associated with the common surnames, albeit affixations reflecting the existence and continuity of the Indians on the Western Shore of Maryland.

According to Berry (1963:35), the Piscataway came to be identified by the label "Wesort" by about 1880. He states that "tradition has it" that an "Aunt Sallie Thompson" first started using this term in the sense of "we sort of people" to differentiate the Piscataway from the freed slaves. It should be emphasized that the Piscataway find this term extremely perjorative when used by a non-Piscataway.

In light of the large numbers of blacks who were living as free people prior to the Civil War, Berry's "traditional" origin of the term does not appeal to logic. If the Piscataway felt the need for a group label to differentiate themselves, it follows that one would have developed before emancipation. If the "traditional" story is true, it

would be reflective of a significant change in the non-Indian conception of the Piscataway during the nineteenth century, an attitude change that had certainly taken place by the early part of the twentieth century. The Piscataway were no longer viewed as Indians, or as anything other than a group of mixed blacks and whites who maintained themselves as an endogamous community (or series of inter-connected communities).

Maynard (1941:76) offers an alternative hypothesis, that the term developed from the Algonquian word witchott meaning "house." This is a doubtful origin in my opinion, the linguistic change necessary to alter the word would be more extensive than with other available terms. One suggested, and mentioned by Gilbert (1945:237), is Wiso, the word for elder. Indicated in the usage is the concept of wisdom. Anglicizing this word to the English "Wesort" is a simple process. Gilbert argues, however, that it is unlikely that an "aboriginal name should have survived without some notice" (1945:237). Since the entire Indian population of the Western Shore, minus those who left the colony, has survived without any official notice since before the Revolution, I find Gilbert's position somewhat untenable.

At issue would be why the group's name for itself remained beyond the public eye until the late 1800s. The same reason offered in the Aunt Sallie story would be applicable here--an increasing pressure by the outside community to place the Indians with the blacks. If any records could be found that mention the term prior to the Civil War, the Wiso origin would be supported. In the absence of such records, it is difficult to be dogmatic on this point. What is important is that the Piscataway felt a need in the latter part of the nineteenth century either to affix a new or vocalize an old name for the Indian population.

Another possibility for the creation or vocalization of this name could stem from the influx of the marginal families into the Indian population. Although the origin could still be seventeenth or early eighteenth century, the meaning may have been altered due to language loss to the English "we sort of people." Use of the term could reinforce to the new families that they were to conform to the norm of the Indian group.

In discussion with contemporary Piscataway, it was evidenced that the use of the term "Wesort" has never been common in all the Indian communities, only people in certain areas use it. All the people do know the word and realize it as a name for the group.

In the Spring of 1889, one hundred and eighty-four years after the Piscataway "failed to return," the Indians of the Western Shore were about to be "rediscovered." James Mooney, working at the Smithsonian Institution, sent a circular out to physicians throughout the Eastern seaboard. Four questions were asked: (1) local place names of apparent Indian origin; (2) names and addresses of people of "pure or mixed Indian blood;" (3) nature of archaeological resources; (4) and the names and addresses of people who may be able to provide additional information (Mooney, National Anthropological Archives, No. 2190). For ethno-historical research into the Eastern Indian, the second question is critical.

Forty-seven responses came from Maryland, many being from the Eastern Shore and Western Maryland. In general the response to the question concerning the presence of Indians was, in essence, "There are none." For certain parts of the State, this response reflected the reality, as far as is known. For other parts it reveals that the myth of

the vanished Indian had firmly taken hold, this being true of some responses seemingly from the Western Shore.

There, however, were several notable exceptions. It was from them that the scholarly community was to learn that the Eastern Indian was not extinct.

At least four responses refer to people named Mail or Male in Western Maryland. These people are part of the so-called "Guinea" population. Two responses mention a family named Pearl or Perl, one of them also saying there was a "colony" of Patersons. These people were in the area of Catoctin Mountain. Who they were, or are, is uncertain.

For the Piscataway area, the most frequently mentioned name was Boswell, one response saying that two Boswells lived in Westwood, one in Brandywine, and one in Upper Marlboro. A total of three responses mention this name specifically. One writes of them in the past tense. One of the others states that they are "supposed" to be descendants of the Piscataway, the other that they "may be" descendants. The latter stated that he talked personally to one of the Boswells and that the family had no knowledge of their ancestry. What was probably meant is that they had no knowledge other than that they were Indian.

Five Boswells are listed by Skordas (1968:50), the earliest arriving in the Maryland Colony in 1657. Although the Suburban Maryland Telephone Directory shows a large number of Boswells, many of whom reside in the area of Charles and Prince Georges, Piscataway who were briefly canvassed on this issue knew of no Indians with this name. It is not found in Gilbert's work (1946) nor in Berry's (1963). I know of no Indian population in which it is found, at least as a common name. A Delaware

woman with whom the name was discussed has heard it but is uncertain as to which Indian group it is associated with.

Two more names come from Montgomery County, Randolph and Gingell. The former was "said to be" a descendant of Pocahontas; the latter was "said to be" of mixed Indian blood. No Randolphs or Gingells are found in Skordas (1968).

Two responses refer to the Piscataway by surnames associated with the present population. One, which came in a letter sent to Mooney in 1912, states that twenty-five years ago (about 1887) the author's mother had a tenant on one of her farms by the name of "Oswal Swann, who claimed to be half Indian" one quarter white and one quarter black. He was described as "good" and "industrious," descriptors often associated with the Piscataway. Swann had nine children, the first reflection of the Indian custom of having large families. It is interesting that several of his sons were said to have later moved to Pittsburgh and three of his daughters to Washington, D.C. This shows the presence of migration among the Indian community and suggests that these individuals may have later spun off into the non-Indian community. One daughter, however, married at Wiccomico and apparently remained in the area.

A response from a Doctor Stone of Pope's Creek states

No pure bloods in the Co. Some Proctors claim to be of mixed; and from gen. appearance, probably are (Mooney, National Anthropological Archives, No. 2190).

Piscataway in the Twentieth Century

The "rediscovery" of the Piscataway and many other Eastern Indians on the eve of the twentieth century was to herald a new wave of contact and recognition. Their initial encounters had been with explorers, followed by traders. This was in turn followed by colonists. All three

populations dealt with and recognized the Indian in manners documented in this study. With the dramatic increase in the white population, coupled with the spread of slavery and the end to formal governmental encounters with the Western Shore Indian, the Piscataway gradually lost their recognition as Indian by their white and black neighbors. The ensuing years of the twentieth century were to reveal the extent to which they would be recognized by the scholarly and literary communities.

Although Washburn's perspective must be qualified in this study, it bears repeating in order to help set the stage for the nature of scholar/Indian interactions in the East in general and among the Piscataway in particular:

despite their relatively value-free approach, anthropologists have tended to use the Indian in an exploitative way. Knowledge rather than furs or land has been the product sought by the anthropologists (Washburn 1971:228).

As will become clear, with few exceptions (and most of these in recent years) the manner in which the scholarly community has looked at the Eastern Indian has been one which would not meet with the approval of the vast majority of these people. Porter's aforementioned perspective that the focus has been on the mixed ancestry of the Indians is quite accurate. Some of the works that have been undertaken among the Eastern Indian include studies by Beale (1972), Berry (1963, 1978), Blu (1980), Evans (1979), Gilbert (1945, 1946, 1948), Griessman (1972), Harte (1958, 1963), Hudson (1979), Johnson (1939), Johnston (1929), Paredes (1979), Peterson (1971), Pollitzer (1971, 1972), Roundtree (1979), Stanton (1971), Witkop (1966), and Wright (1981). The extent to which the studies focus on mixed racial heritage is varied, as is the extent to which the authors apparently recognize the Eastern Indians as Indian people. It should be noted before continuing that the "rediscovery" did not include all the

Indian groups of the Eastern United States, but only specific ones, such as the Piscataway. Many others had been fully documented and recognized by the non-Indian community, to one degree or another, through their history.

The problem with the scholarly focus on the Eastern Indian stemmed from a cultural legacy defining what an Indian is and is not. Meiss's perspective, cited above, illustrates the difficulty that the Euro-American was having, from a very early period, with considering a person of mixed Indian/white descent as an Indian. Meiss used the qualifiers of "real" and "mixed blood." Evidence from the seventeenth century of different kinds of Indians was presented in the previous chapter.

The problem, in my opinion, revolves around recognition and acceptance of culture change, a realization that the responses of any particular people to the acculturation situation will be varied, as any anthropologists would attest. There is, however, a subtle judgement on the part of many scholars, including some anthropologists, that refuses to consider many Eastern Indian populations in the same category as other American Indian groups who have been undergoing different types of culture change. Sahlins states the problem well:

Anthropologists, except as they become interested in recent cultural changes, rather like to think that the natives still exist in their pristine state - or at least talk about them that way (1968:3).

This point could be expanded and termed the "Indians wear feathers" perspective. Berkhofer (1979:67) argues that it has been only in recent years that "anthropologists finally admitted in their general texts that the Native American no longer existed as a timeless Indian." In somewhat the same light, Deloria argues that

it would be wise for anthropologists to get down from their thrones of authority and pure research and begin helping Indian tribes instead of preying on them (1969:104).

However, as it was the events of history that caused many non-Indians to alter their perception of many Eastern tribes, probably due to the Indians' failure to fit the image of the stereotypic Indian, these same events helped to mold the perceptions of the scholarly community. Perhaps the major attribute of Harris' work (1968) is to show this very influence of historic events and philosophical trends on scholarly thinking.

In light of this, when talking about the "Changing American Indian," Julian Steward stated that "the Indian is virtually extinct in the eastern United States" (Steward 1945:282). He states that in those areas where the colonists engulfed the Indian he ceases "to be regarded as Indian" unless race prejudice is in existence. In actuality, it is the very presence of such prejudice, for want of a better word, that led non-Indians to cease viewing many of the Eastern people as Indian.

The extent to which Steward would have considered many of the Eastern people to be Indian is uncertain yet is indicated in the following statement: "Anthropologists are in general agreement that it is purely a question of time before all Indians lose their identity" (1945:290), although the Indian will remain as a folk culture of mixed people. This is the first reference located in the course of this research that suggests, even in such an implied manner, that the Eastern Indians be considered a folk culture. This matter is addressed below.

A reproduction of a J. Harry Shannon photograph of two Piscataway children can be found in Virta's pictorial history of Prince George's County (1984:166). The brief description included encapsulates the

scholarly and public conception of the Piscataway in the twentieth Century:

Many scholars believe they [Piscataway] are of mixed Indian, white, and black ancestry, and white society has generally regarded them as nonwhite (1984:166).

Importantly, Virta notes that Shannon, who took the photograph in the early twentieth century, termed the children pictured as Indian. At no time documented in the course of this research have the Piscataway ever been categorically denied their Indian identity by the entire non-Indian population.

Mooney's visit to Prince George's and Charles Counties in 1914 was mentioned in Chapter I of this study. At the time, he suggested that the Indian population of the Western Shore was probably Piscataway. He also suggested that the Indian ancestry probably predominated. Finally, he noted them to be a "blend of three races" (Hodge 1921:17). Scholarly interest in the racial ancestry of the Piscataway in specific, and the Eastern Indian in general, was underway.

The terminology employed has reflected both that used by the local populations, Indian and non-Indian, as well as attempts by scholars to reach descriptive and, later, non-insulting labels with which to identify Eastern Indian populations. Dunlap and Weslager (1947) provide a listing of some of the names that have been affixed to Indian groups in the East. Berry (1963) provides an excellent basic reference to such populations, although I disagree with his basic tenet--that the Eastern Indian has had a history of trying to be classified as white and in the absence of obtaining this goal he has "settled" for Indian.

While literary researchers engaged in generalistic studies of areal or topical histories have frequently mentioned the Piscataway, they have

evidenced little realization of the need for a name that would not be considered perjorative to use in reference to the Piscataway in specific, and the Eastern Indian in general.

In his monumental work Semmes limits any mention of the contemporary Piscataway to one short paragraph in which he acknowledges a tradition that Tayac Othotomaquah and "a few" of his followers returned to Maryland and that "some" of the "We-sort" may be his descendants (1937:503). This is somewhat paradoxical, as much of the support illustrating the undeniable fact that many Indians never left the colony is provided by Semmes, albeit inadvertently. Semmes, in fact, dedicated his book to "The Vanished Indian Tribes of Maryland." Two chapters, comprising fifty pages, are entitled "Vanished Tribes of Southern Maryland." The concluding paragraph states:

Vanished tribes of southern Maryland! The names of a few creeks and rivers in southern Maryland are our only reminders that this was once their home (1937:503).

This crystalizes and embodies the myth that the Indian had left the Western Shore and was probably the source used by Ferguson and Ferguson (1960) in their equally brief recognition of the contemporary Piscataway.

Semmes had apparently altered his perceptions several years later when, in a review of Weslager's work on the "Moors" and Nanticoke (Weslager 1943), he recognizes that the modern Piscataway are the descendants of the colonial population (Semmes 1944:86). Despite this recognition he continues to use the "Wesort" label.

Judge Graham (1935:10) also acknowledges the presence of the Piscataway. Nevertheless, more recently Toogood (1969:75) stated that Chief Turkey Tayac was the only "known" person who "claims direct descent from the Piscataway Indians."

The contemporary population is also acknowledged by Maynard (1941:76), Klapthor and Brown (1958:7), Brown, Diggs, and Jenkins (1976:307), as well as Harrison (1924:101) and Tilp (1978:161). Despite the use of the term "Wesort," which is used in most if not all sources, the limited comments are generally favorable to the Piscataway. This should not be viewed as a negative in that these researchers may have not been aware that contemporary Piscataway view the term as perjorative. Until recent years, the Piscataway quite certainly acknowledged "Indianness," but did not, at least generally, use the name Piscataway.

Stating that there are over 700 Piscataway in Maryland today and that they descend from Indians who did not leave the Colony as well as from those who may have returned, Brown, Diggs, and Jenkins add

to themselves they are what they are - descendants of Eastern American Indians, a people who have lived in Maryland under at least three nations: Piscataway, British, and American (1976:307).

Maynard shows an early recognition of the Piscataway stating:

There is . . . to this day in southern Maryland an Indian group (all of whom are Catholics) who have lost all record of their origins, their native culture, and of their language itself. These are now known as 'Wesorts'. . . and . . . are certainly the descendants of his [Father White's] converts (1941:76).

Dunlap and Weslager early recognized the need for a name for what they termed "ethnic islands." Such populations are not always of Indian origin, adding to the difficulty. They conclude that "there is no sign of the emergence of a proper name to identify as a whole these mixed blood groups" (Dunlap and Weglager (1947:87). Berry (1963) faced the challenge over a decade later, favoring the term "mestizo." More recently, he has again picked up the problem, noting that the terms employed to date are found objectionable by the people being referenced (Berry 1978:290). His

article is entitled "Marginal Groups," and the term "mestizo" is employed in the text.

Among the terms employed by scholars that Berry lists are: "tri-racial isolates," "metis," "racial islands," "Aframerindians," "marginal peoples," "quasi-Indians," and "mestizos" (1978:290). To this listing could be added "isolates" and "little people," and possibly "maroons." The listing could go on, but the point is clear. Not one term has been presented that would not be quite offensive to any number of people. Even less flattering is a term employed by a very small number of people, never in print: "wantabes," for "want to be an Indian." These terms clearly illustrate, implicitly and explicitly, directly and indirectly, the fact that some scholars deny the right of the Eastern Indian to be Indian.

Thus, not only has the general focus of much of the research on the Eastern Indian not been directly in his best interests (from the perspective of the Indian at least), but the difficulty of affixing a label has greatly magnified the problem.

Folk Culture

As noted, Steward (1945) provides the first indication of the feasibility of viewing the Eastern Indian as a folk culture. Harte (1958:215-216) argues that the contemporary Piscataway share a number of "folk society" characteristics. Porter (1984:89) argues that the Piscataway should be considered a series of "folk communities," corresponding to the communities in which the people are clustered. He provides four points to clarify his definition of a "folk community": group size, recognition of physical characteristics, subsistence-

sufficiency in the nineteenth century, and "a sense of close kinship" (Porter 1984:89).

As a folk society is defined by Redfield (1947), the Piscataway basically fit the definition, as much as most specified groups meet the concept of the ideal. Redfield considers the folk society to be the "primitive" society that can be contrasted with the modern urban society. Among the traits, already evidenced in Porter's definition, are small population size, isolation, having a local culture, and being homogeneous. Another factor, being nonliterate, is simply no longer applicable to many people who would otherwise largely qualify. Basically, the concept of folk society mirrors that of tribe, although in certain respects it is extended to include traditionally non-tribal people. The important aspect of this concept is its applicability to the American Indian population at large. Considering the Piscataway a folk society is thus a valid manner in which to analyze their past and present, but caution should be taken to emphasize that this in no way denigrates their aspirations to be identified as Indian.

The only problem with the concept is that, aside from being so idealized, it is rarely used in reference to American Indians despite Redfield's use of Indian examples. Indians are generally placed in their own particular category, regardless of the logic for including them among other categories.

One case in point is the concept of the ethnic group. As defined by Barth (1969:10-11) the ethnic group "is largely biologically self-perpetuating"; shares cultural values; "makes up a field of communication and interaction"; and, importantly

has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other

categories of the same order (Barth 1969:11).

That the Piscataway today, as well as in the past, adhere to all four of these "requirements" is evident. The shared values and field of communication among the contemporary population is clarified below.

What is important to note is that any Indian group that could be named qualifies as an ethnic group based on this definition. By extension, the American Indian population as a larger unit also qualifies.

Thus the Piscataway can be seen as an American Indian ethnic group that could be analyzed and viewed in terms of the folk society. Porter is also correct in stating that they could be viewed as a series of folk societies, i.e. corresponding to each of the Indian communities in the Prince George's and Charles County area. I would, however, clarify this somewhat. Each community, as will become evident, can be viewed as a unit on one level, but cannot be divorced from the large group on another. The Piscataway today, and by extension throughout the difficult to document years, function much like a tribe composed of a number of villages and clans. Some argument could be made for viewing them as a confederacy of tribes. The unity of the kinship network argues most strongly for the former position.

Piscataway Studies

A number of studies that have dealt specifically with the Piscataway in the twentieth century are quite revealing as to the nature and makeup of Western Shore Indian society. This section provides a brief overview of some of the more pertinent studies, noting where my research findings conflict with those presented.

Much of the information obtained by Gilbert and presented in his 1945 article is summarized in a later work (Gilbert 1946). From the

former, however, several interesting points are enlightening. First, he includes a map (1946:239) showing the locations of "principal points" in Prince George's and Charles Counties. Many of the communities listed correspond with areas of high concentrations of Piscataway, one exception being Suitland. I do feel, however, that research would show that it, too, was an area of Piscataway population concentration at the time of Gilbert's writing. Presently, it has evolved into a suburb of Washington, D.C. Vestiges of the Piscataway are to be found, however. A local major "short-cut" is called Swan Road, possibly named after the Piscataway family of that name. This area was farmland until and for a time after the building of the United States Census Bureau in the World War II era. A small clustering of Piscataway homes were, and may still be, located in the immediate vicinity. I have spent many years, both as a child and an adult, as a resident of the Suitland area. Based on my casual awareness of the Piscataway at the time, the dominant surname in the area seemed to be Proctor. Hence, the whites in the area who were aware of the Piscataway simply referred to them as "the Proctors."

Forms of employment are listed as being farming, farm labor, and domestic (Gilbert 1945:240). Gilbert also speaks of segregation in the Catholic Churches of the area, a situation which would, of course, no longer exist, excepting possible occasional continuities by choice and/or chance.

In his 1946 study, Gilbert notes that the Piscataway are one of the ten numerically largest groups of Eastern Indians. Several cultural attributes are noted (Gilbert 1946:446).

The population was seen as having a high birth rate, a finding borne out by later research (Sawyer 1961:12, Backsheider 1965:32). Although

this has continued to a certain extent, the indications now are that the family size is reflecting economical realities and changes in individual employment, i.e. family size would be estimated to be limited to about six persons for the nuclear body--parents and four children. This would be for people approximately aged forty and under. This is the perspective of a Piscataway interviewed during the field work conducted as part of this study and probably mirrors the actual situation.

Gilbert estimated the population to be between 3,000 and 5,000 people in the mid-1940s. He was shortly to modify this figure to "upward of 5,000" (Gilbert 1948:416). Slightly under a decade later, Beale was to lower the figure to about 4,000, "including those in Washington, D.C." (Beale 1957:189). Harte (1958:215) and his students (Sawyer 1961:1, Yap 1961:1) were to estimate a population of "approximately 5,000." More recently Porter has estimated 15,000 today (1984:89), while Piscataway interviewed during this research favor an estimate of as many as 8,000 to 10,000 people for the present population. My own estimate is only a rough approximation. By counting the listing of the various core names from the Maryland Suburban Telephone Directory, and multiplying the result by four, then adding a modest twenty-five percent in an attempt to account for the marginal families, it is postulated that there are as many as 7,000 Piscataway. Core names were only counted if the associated address was from one of the areas where the Piscataway are concentrated. These areas are discussed in Chapter XI.

Gilbert also points out various physical defects resulting from endogamous marriages, as do Witkop et al. (1966). He notes the schooling situation in the 1940s, one in which the Piscataway either went to black schools or did not attend. The Piscataway point out that a number of

these small, one-room, schoolhouses were essentially Indian schools. This was the case in several of the schools in which the student body was composed almost entirely, if not entirely, of Indian children.

Also noted is the difficult position the Piscataway were, and to a certain extent still are, in concerning racial classification. For draft status, Gilbert simply notes that some were classified as white, others as black. Field interviews revealed that this happened on more than one occasion--even within the same family. Again, what this reflected was the absence of a third category in a bi-racially oriented society.

Under a category of "cultural peculiarities," reflective of the scientific communities' not seeing the Eastern Indian as an Indian but somewhat differently, Gilbert lists folk medicine and herbalism, along with "animal nicknames" and an annual festival held every August 15th (1946:446).

Folk medicine and herbalism among the Piscataway was addressed by Raymer (1975) in the popular magazine The Washingtonian. The article discussed Chief Turkey Tayac, a medicine man and strong leader of the Piscataway prior to his death on 8 December 1978. Shortly after Turkey Tayac's death, another Piscataway who claimed to be a medicine man/herbalist visited the National Colonial Farm (personal communication, Richard Dent). Although very few Piscataway may practice herbalism and traditional medicines, the evidence indicates that some of this knowledge has been passed on to certain individuals.

The presence of nicknames is quite common, although my findings suggest that they do not always have to be associated with animals.

The annual festival held on the 15th of August has been argued to be a possible holdover of the aboriginal Green Corn Harvest (Gilbert

1945:245). It happens to be the Catholic Holy Day of Obligation commemorating the Assumption. The Piscataway are strongly Catholic; the Church has played a positive role in the social life of many of the Indians, perhaps more so in the past than the present. Nevertheless, the festival in question may have certain aboriginal aspects to it. Piscataway interviewed have said that it was actually the annual church picnic. This does not, however, negate the possible aboriginal influence on that particular Catholic Holy Day. The Piscataway may have focused their attention on the Assumption at an early date because it occurred at approximately the same time as the Green Corn Harvest.

Finally, Gilbert briefly addresses "social status" stating it was "somewhat above that of the Negro but below the white" (1946:446). It is the very status issue, so evident in much of the Eastern Indian research, that led Berry (1963) to develop his "almost white" hypothesis.

One of the key research interests of sociologist Father Harte and his graduate students from Catholic University in the late 1950s and into the 1960s was endogamy among the Piscataway. The extent to which endogamy is practiced is important to the understanding of how a group functions, in other words, the degree to which the presence of endogamy is suggestive of acting as an ethnic boundary maintenance mechanism. An endogamy index would also reflect that portion of the world view of the study population that relates to concepts of kinship relationships.

Harte, in his study of marriage records, concluded that the core families were endogamous approximately 93 percent of the time in the period 1820-1909. For men and women combined, this dropped to slightly under 87 percent in the period 1910-1939. It dropped significantly in the following period, 1940-1956, to almost an even 73 percent. His findings

were more significant for Indian women than men, with 69 percent of the female marriages being endogamous in this period compared to 77.3 percent of the male marriages (1958:218). In other words, the trend is quite evident. The Piscataway, although still strongly endogamous, are becoming increasingly exogamous. On finer scrutiny, however, Harte notes that women reverted during the period of 1950-1956 to being more endogamous than men.

Another important aspect of Piscataway culture, appearing as a footnote in Harte's work, is his observation that higher endogamy rates among women are at odds with general trends found in the various ethnic groups in America. This may be explained, Harte felt, by a pattern among the Piscataway for women to play "a vitally important role in conserving and transmitting basic group values" (Harte 1958:218).

Harte also found a correspondence between endogamy rates and whether a community was rural or urban/fringe. As would be expected, the rate of exogamous unions was significantly greater in the areas designated urban/fringe than for rural areas. Only 42.4 percent of the unions recorded between 1940 and 1956 for the urban/fringe areas were endogamous, the first listing to be under 50 percent endogamous (1958:219).

Finally, looking at the entire period of 1820 to 1956, the percentage of endogamous/exogamous unions was recorded in relation to community size: small, medium, large. Small was defined as under twelve Piscataway dwellings, medium as between twenty-five and thirty, large as forty or more. Again, as would be expected, there was a significant decrease in endogamy between the large and medium communities (81.5 to 73.8 percent). The difference between the medium and the small communities was quite dramatic at 73.8 versus 46.7 percent (Harte

1958:220). Harte concludes quite logically that group controls lessen as population decreases and by extension that the larger population areas provide a more ready supply of available partners.

Berry (1978:294) suggests that World War II caused an increase in exogamy and that this was heightened by urbanization, better transportation, and better communication. Adding these factors to Harte's community size and location helps explain the altering pattern of Piscataway marriages.

Speaking of marriage preferences, Sawyer (1961:45) states that the ideal is core to core, with core to marginal being "permissive," core or marginal out-marriages not being encouraged. Important to the understanding of the population today is her claim that the numbers are actually stable. Despite high birth rates, she argues, ostracization of people who marry blacks, combined with out-migration, balances the picture (1961:49).

Several other points from her research help elucidate an understanding of the Piscataway today. She notes that core families are considered to be of a higher status than non-core (1961:12-13), a point that some Piscataway may argue. The dominance of the core families is quite evident however. She also notes a practice of newlyweds building on the property of one or the other sets of parents (1961:4). This would naturally depend on land ownership. The Piscataway today, according to an in-depth interview conducted as part of this research, say that the tendency would be to move in with the wife's family rather than the husband's. This is a reflection of the strength and importance of the matriline.

Sawyer also notes the importance of Indian ancestry to the group. Unfortunately, although this is evident in an imbedded fashion in most of the Catholic University studies, the researchers were not looking for Indian continuity or identity per se.

Yap (1961) looks directly at the marriage relations among the Piscataway, searching for clues revealing the nature of endogamous unions. She presents seven forms of cousin marriage and determines that the preference, as indicated by the number of unions, was: second cousin, second cousin once removed, and third cousin (Yap 1961:25-26). Unfortunately, she does not reveal the nature of these cousins, whether they are in the matriline or patriline.

She adds that there were thirty-three cases of first cousin marriage; twenty-two were parallel (MoSi, FaBr), and eleven were cross-cousin (MoBr, FaSi). Importantly, of the twenty-two parallel cousin marriages, twenty were to the MoSi's child. This is the only time in her study when the matriline or patriline is indicated.

It should be emphasized that first cousin marriage came in number six in her seven category breakdown of forms of cousin marriage, accounting for only 7.3 percent of the marriages investigated (Yap 1961:26), and is not a preferred union.

What is important about the parallel cousin marriages being almost entirely to MoSi's child is the indication of the importance of the matriline to the Piscataway. If one knew nothing about the kinship system of the Indians in the early colonial days, parallel cousin marriages to the mother's line would be a strong indication of a patrilineal system, that is, the relatives of the mother would not be considered blood relations to ego.

Since it is known that the Piscataway were matrilineal, although the exact nature of the system is clouded, the indication is that the parallel-cousin marriages are reflective of the awareness on the part of the Indians of the importance of the matriline. That is, the cultural changes that the group has been undergoing may have lessened former taboos against marrying in the matriline--at least among some people or certain families.

Desmond's study of mortality among the Piscataway sheds additional light on the makeup of the Indian culture, as well as further gleanings concerning their social position before Civil Rights. Looking at the places of birth listed for 1,673 people who were determined to be Piscataway, Desmond found that 33.7 percent were born in Charles County, 12.1 percent in Prince Georges, and 12 percent in Washington, D.C. An additional 1 percent were born in Maryland but not in either Charles or Prince Georges County. Somewhat complicating matters, 39.6 percent listed place of birth as Maryland, but did not specify which county (Desmond 1962:17).

The indications from her data are that the principal place of birth is almost without doubt Charles County. This would be followed by Prince George's, then Washington. A check of the early City Directories for Washington, starting in the first decade of the nineteenth century, shows a number of people with Piscataway-associated surnames. As in Maryland, many are referred to as "mulatto" in the early years. A post-Civil War attempt at liberalism resulted in an end to the inclusion of racial classification from these directories, making constructive work along these lines more difficult.

The point is that a significant number of Piscataway were being born and raised in Washington, principally Anacostia, I would argue. These people are/were likewise basically in situ descendants of local Piscataway. Although group movements throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are not fully understood at this time, in their case the actual ancestry would have probably been Nacotchtanke. Of course, intermarriages among these colonial Indian populations led to the present situation. Thus, lumping under the umbrella label of Piscataway is justifiable. It appears, however, that many of the Indians residing in Washington have been lost to the Piscataway population, merging into the larger non-Indian community. This concept is supported by Harte's research concepts (1958) and by indications that many Piscataway in Maryland know of very few people living in Washington.

Concerning racial classification of the deceased as recorded on death certificates, 9.8 percent were listed as white, 88.9 percent as black, and only 1.5 percent as "mixed, mulatto, or yellow" (Desmond 1962:17-18). Since her sample came from the period 1898 to 1956 this gives a good indication of how the people who filled out these forms viewed the Indian population. Unfortunately, she does not break down these figures in terms of place, age, or sex. What is clear is that the people were not being viewed as Indian.

The kinds of employment engaged in by the Indian population between 1898 and 1956 were also determined from analysis of these certificates. She found that 38.5 percent of the men were listed as farmers, 24.9 percent as laborers, and smaller percentages as craftsmen, service workers, professionals, etc. For women, 51.2 percent were listed as housewives, and 23.6 percent as domestics (Desmond 1962:19).

Although these occupation categories are quite enlightening--they almost certainly reflect a continuity of the nineteenth century situation--perhaps the most significant finding from the perspective of the Piscataway is her observation that the "overall trend is one of increasing longevity" (Desmond 1962:41).

Backsheider (1965:52) points out that the Piscataway use "ostracism or avoidance" to reprimand people who do not conform to group rules, such as marriage proscriptions. She states that although not

empirically verified, it seems that prestige, power, and status within the Brandywine [Piscataway] social system are rewards to a family for pattern maintenance (Backsheider 1965:25).

This reveals a patterning of behavior reflective of Piscataway concepts of acceptable and unacceptable actions. This is a reflection of six characteristics of the population that Father Harte determined and listed in an unpublished manuscript. Backsheider summarizes them as: (1) "a belief" in white or Indian ancestry "and/or freedom from enslavement;" (2) being capable and hard-working; (3) not having trouble with the law; (4) endogamy; (5) being Catholic; and (6) a "belief in superiority over Negroes " (1965:25-26).

As noted above, the Catholic University studies did not focus on the Indian identity. Therefore, it is impossible to pull out data truly reflective of the intensity of the Indian identity among the Piscataway in their studies. The second through fifth characteristics seem quite applicable to the population today. The sixth is reflective of the racial situation of the times. I would argue, however, that what is really indicated is the determination of the group not to be lumped in with the black population and a determination to maintain as high a social position

as possible. The Piscataway today do not proclaim superiority over any other ethnic group.

Backsheider employs a four-way breakdown of the forty-two families she studied. These types can be viewed on a continuum based on their identity with the group (Backsheider 1965:69). This breakdown is important in the understanding of the total Indian population, i.e. the Piscataway can be and are viewed as a group, but they should not be viewed as a group in which all members are the same. Among all four of her groups the siblings are more exogamous than their parents (Backsheider 1965:86).

Concerning leadership, she contends that there is an absence of structured leadership, hence the family "becomes the primary unit of control" (Backsheider 1965:24). She argues that familial authority is "reinforced by two institutions": the extended family and the individual settlement (1965:24). Although this shows a recognition of possible information authority roles, she later basically rejects this idea.

There are no formally organized roles beyond the family level, and field work has not uncovered any universally accepted authority figures, operating in either institutionalized leadership roles or through a charismatic appeal (Backsheider 1965:276).

Either she realized but rejected the informal structure of the Piscataway (discussed in Chapter XI) or she had insufficient knowledge of the system to enunciate it. Regardless, based on my findings from Piscataway interviews, the situation is much more complicated than indicated by Backsheider.

Linguist Glenn Gilbert, son of the prominent anthropologist William Gilbert, has also worked with the Piscataway. He conducted a number of interviews with the Indians between 1978 and 1981 to study the form of English in use among this population.

Gilbert states that the Piscataway language "apparently died out by the beginning of the nineteenth century" (1986:102) but that up until that time it was probably situationally used, e.g. in the home and with kin and friend. It would have been part of a linguistic repertoire that included Creole English, standard English, and Latin (Gilbert 1986:103). The latter would have been associated with the Catholic Church. I would argue his point to a certain extent. Being Catholic means (or meant) being exposed to Latin in the Mass but not necessarily having a knowledge of the language. Also, the extent to which the Piscataway would have had a need to code switch from "Creole" to standard English must be questioned.

One finding was "the unexpected survival of Creole features reminiscent of Gullah or Liberian Creole English" (Gilbert 1986:104). One of these features is the "strikingly frequent deletion of final consonants" (Gilbert 1985:104). This is supportive of the hypothesis that the term "Wesort" evolved from the Piscataway word Wiso.

Gilbert says that Turkey Tayac commented that he could tell each Piscataway family by their manner of speaking (1986:103). A similar comment was made by a Piscataway interviewed for this study. If the manner of speaking can actually be correlated with where a person lives, the suggestion is unavoidable that considerable time depth is being exhibited by the various Indian communities. I would argue that it also suggests matrilocality in times past, albeit this is not as strong today.

CHAPTER XI

PISCATAWAY TODAY

Introduction

This chapter addresses various aspects of Piscataway culture as it exists in 1986. The topics discussed serve both to complement areas examined in the preceding chapter and to provide their own unique information. The subjects under scrutiny here are: community and population locations, employment, group/community social organization, and cultural revival. In addition, a final section provides highlighted conclusions to the study.

Indian Communities on the Western Shore

Several researchers have addressed, in passing, the issue of the number of Indian communities to be found in southern Maryland. Gilbert (1945:239) provides a listing of three "chief" locations in Prince George's County and eleven in Charles County. For Prince George's these are Proctorville, located near Brandywine; Thompsons, in the same vicinity; and what he calls "Swans" near Croom. For Charles County, the communities are Pomfret; La Plata; Port Tobacco; Waldorf and White Plains; Glymont and Indian Head; Pomonkey; Hill Top/Pisgah; Bel Alton/Chapel Point; Faulkner, i.e. Lothair; Pope's Creek; and Allen's Fresh, "at the mouth of Zekiah Swamp."

Backsheider (1965:87) differentiates between a settlement and an area; the former is defined as "a colony composed exclusively of member

familie.," the latter as an area of heavy Indian population. She states, without listing, that there are eight settlements and twenty-eight areas.

Porter lists twelve communities:

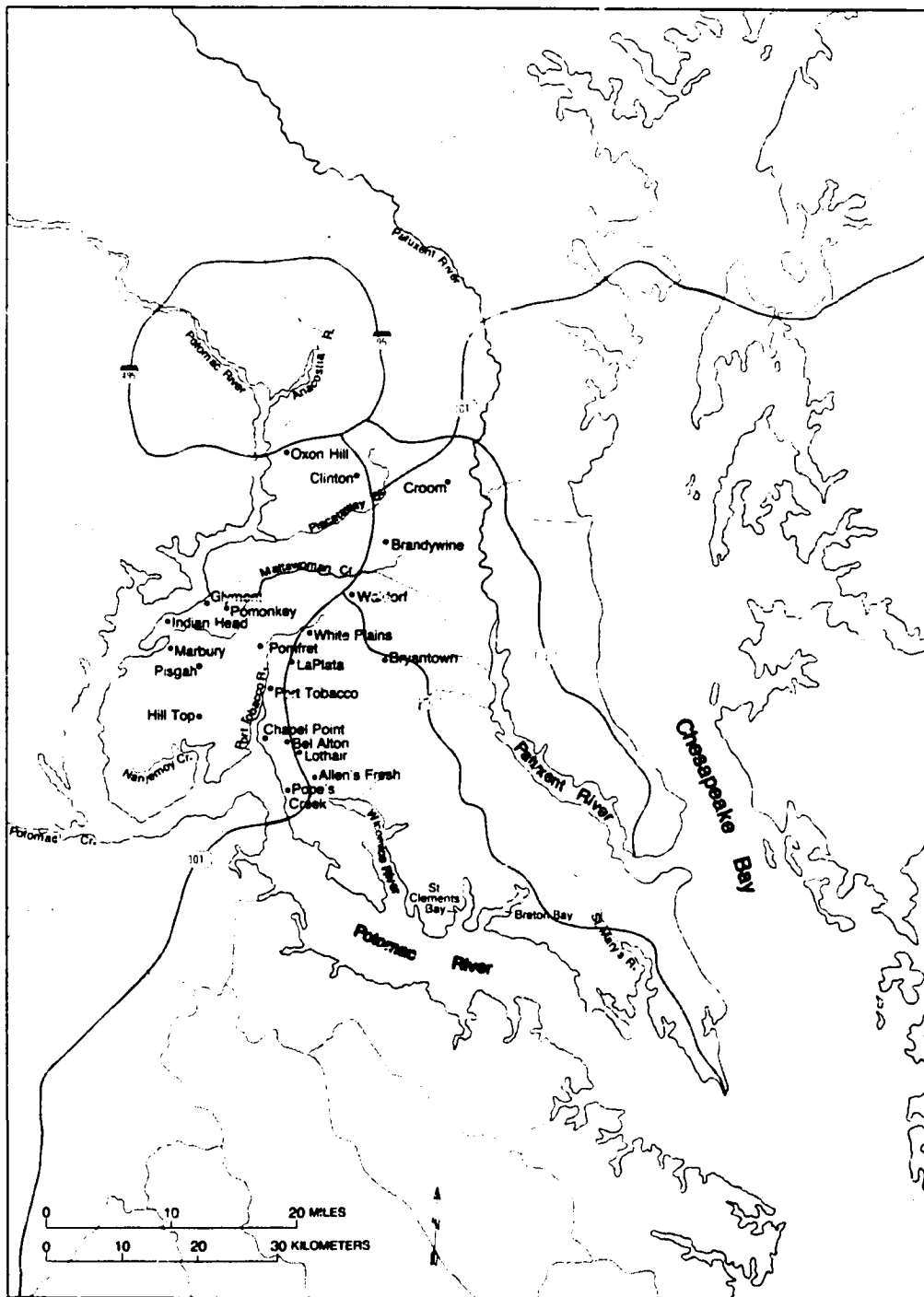
La Flata, Port Tobacco, Pomfret, White Plains, Waldorf, Indian Head, Glymont, Pomonkey, Allans Fresh, Zekiah Swamp, Bel Alton, Chapel Point and . . . Hilltop and Pisgah (1984:85).

Although Porter's listing is quite similar to Gilbert's, neither mentions the existence of a concentration of people in Clinton. Nor does Porter mention any of the clusterings in the Brandywine or Upper Marlboro areas.

While each researcher has a strong knowledge of the area, none, with the possible exception of Backsheider, includes all the areas which could be listed. Gilbert states that Indian "neighborhoods in the Chaptico Creek area of western St. Mary's County are not yet ascertained" (1945:239). Forty-one years after the publication of his article, they have still not been ascertained, although it is the intent of one of the groups of Piscataway to do so in the near future. During the course of this research, I compiled a map showing most of the present Indian communities and population concentrations (see Map 5). Indians are a minority in all the areas listed and are submerged in a much more numerous non-Indian population in some, for example, Waldorf and, especially, Oxon Hill.

Employment

Mention has been made concerning the nature of Piscataway occupations. It should be added that the picture has changed considerably in recent decades. The same is almost certainly true of educational levels also. Cahill holds that many jobs were closed to the Indians in the race-conscious area of southern Maryland and that there has been a marked decline in farming activities since World War II (Cahill 1966:56).



Map 5. Areas of contemporary Piscataway population concentrations.

At the time of his writing, the average Piscataway had obtained 7.5 years of schooling and tended to be employed in a variety of unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. The Federal Government and the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission (WSSC) employed most of his respondents (Cahill 1966:51-54).

Berry (1978:293) points out that in the 1970s only 15 percent of the Piscataway worked on farms, most holding clerical and unskilled jobs. My impression is that the decline in farming has continued in the ensuing years. However, in addition to WSSC and the Federal Government, the Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission has offered employment to a number of Piscataway (personal communication, Michael Dwyer). Many of the men engage in various forms of blue collar work, as well as service-industry jobs. Women are frequently employed in service-related industries or work as secretaries. Examples of employers would include area hospitals, food stores (e.g. Giant, Safeway), convenience stores (e.g. Higs), department and other retail stores (Montgomery Wards, Erols, etc.), and fast food and other restaurants. The past decade has seen a dramatic increase in the numbers of shopping centers and fast food/retail establishments throughout the Prince George's/Charles County area.

Community/Group Structure

The Piscataway interviewed express a very strong matrilineal focus, stating pointedly that power lies in the mother's line. Identity is most strongly associated with the matriline, descent being largely unilateral. However, like the dominant society, they are quite cognizant of bilateral descent and do not deny the paternal heritage. The focus is on the maternal side. The ideal is that, upon marriage, a couple will move in

with the bride's family if they can not afford their own place. As noted above, this would not always be the case.

In a community consisting to a certain extent of extended family settlements, each family has one senior woman who functions as the Clan Mother, although no title is employed by the vast majority of the Piscataway who are not presently taking part in the vocalized Indian movement. Her function is to solve familial disputes among her people. For the population at large this would assumedly be largely confined to people of her lineage. With the clan concept being employed by the vocal Indians in two, and possibly all three, of the Piscataway groupings, this function would extend to all the lineages within the clan. The position would traditionally be held by the eldest sister of the senior generation. In theory this is an authority figure who transcends the nuclear family, contrary to Backscheider's (1965) findings. It is uncertain as to the extent to which this position would apply to the Piscataway population at large, especially among the so-called marginal families. A more detailed investigation would be most enlightening and would help provide an understanding that would clear away some of the mystery that has traditionally been associated with Eastern Indian populations.

A social position very reminiscent of that of the tribal chief is found in each of the Piscataway communities. The man who obtains this position does so based on individual merit and social standing. It does not follow in the matriline or patriline, being a purely achieved position. In essence, a person will gradually "fall into" the position. Theoretically, he will hold this unofficial office for life. To my knowledge, none of these people have come into the vocal Indian movement.

Their function is to settle disputes between Indian communities and within the individual community. This latter duty will depend on the size of the community. In the case of a small settlement where the people are all of one extended family, this duty will fall to the equivalent of the clan mother (discussed above). Piscataway who are active in the cultural resurgence believe that all the Piscataway will benefit when the various leaders of the individual communities become active in the "Indian Movement."

A tradition that is apparently no longer practiced, possibly falling into disuse in the era of World War II, served to solve disputes between the Piscataway and their non-Indian neighbors. In the immediate area of each Indian community or collections of communities and settlement, a senior male in a dominant white family would act as an intermediary. This system mirrored the colonial mandate of the seventeenth century, discussed earlier in this study.

Piscataway Indian Movement

To this point it has been shown that the racial position of the Piscataway vis-a-vis the surrounding white and black communities has been a critical issue to the Indians. As a consequence of the historical legacy of being classed in categories other than that with which they identify, the Piscataway have largely gone underground, not vocalizing their Indianness. A number of Piscataway have pointed out the difficulty that people have in trying to classify them. This depends largely, but not entirely, on the individual phenotype. Outsider awareness of the existence of the group completes the picture. Some Indians will be assumed to be Anglo-American white, others Spanish, some Indian, and some black. A PBS program on the Potomac River, filmed in 1984, shows an

interview with a Piscataway girl who stated that people in school would consider her to be black. This was despite her Anglo-American phenotype. Some Indians will externally accept the outside world's categorization when in southern Maryland. When outside the area, however, they vocalize their identity.

Although Turkey Tayac, and most probably several other individuals, were vocally Indian at a very early period, it was not until the early 1970s that the Piscataway came to assert their identity to the outside world. The cause for this Indian movement is varied. Among the causal agents are: a strong desire to be classified and recognized as Indian; the influence of World War II, and to a lesser extent Korea and Vietnam, all of which served to bring the Indians into more contact with the larger universe; the overall effect of the Civil Rights Movement in America; the revival of ethnicity in the United States (in other words, it is now "okay" to be ethnic); the increasing Pan-Indian Movement; renewed public interest in the American Indian; Wounded Knee II; and finally, I would argue, the influence of Turkey Tayac and his son Billy "Red Wing" Tayac.

Revitalization

"We are still here."
(Piscataway elder)

A "Revitalization Movement" is defined "as a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (Wallace 1956:265). Based on Wallace's clear definition, the vocalized Indian Movement on the part of a number of Piscataway is a prime example of this type of culture change. While the Indians had largely gone underground, not vocally expressing their Indian heritage as a rule, the point of the vocalized Indian Movement is to do just that: to

reinforce to the Piscataway population itself its Indian heritage and to demonstrate to the outside world that the Indians of the Western Shore had never left the State.

The Piscataway were incorporated as the Piscataway-Conoy in 1974. Hugh Proctor served as the president of the corporation, the Tayacs spearheading the move to incorporate and bring the Indian heritage of Charles and Prince George's Counties into the open. A Piscataway-Conoy cultural center was opened in Waldorf in November 1975. Plans were to eventually have a school located at the center.

Also at this time, Billy Tayac contacted a number of area universities: the University of Maryland, George Washington University, and The American University. Work began on various aspects of Piscataway culture. Part of the focus at George Washington University was on folklore, while The American University analyzed the limited linguistic materials available. Using comparative Algonquian linguistics, the Ten Commandments were translated and submitted to the Piscataway.

Gilbert (1986:103) has noted the importance of the language to the Piscataway, seeing it as a "unifying force . . . more a matter of . . . positive attitude toward [it] than being able to speak it." Turkey Tayac spoke an uncertain amount of the language, but attempts to get together with him for linguistic interviews were unsuccessful.

In the early days of the Indian Movement, the Piscataway vigorously sought out Indians throughout the Charles-Prince George's areas and rapidly acquired up to and perhaps over 1,000 names on the new tribal roll.

The Piscataway have engaged in various cultural activities, e.g. Indian festivals and/or pow wows, and have received increasing

amounts of media coverage (print and video) in the ensuing decade. The first event in the Washington area that I attended took place at an out-door shopping center located near the University of Maryland. This event, an arts and crafts festival, was held on Labor Day weekend in 1974. Included were exhibits from Western as well as Eastern tribes: Powhatan, Shawnee, "Seneca," Chippewa, Pima, Papago, Sioux, Comanchee.

In 1975, the same year the cultural center opened, the first Indian festival was held at Cedarville State Park. This has become an annual event, held in the middle of July. In addition to getting the Piscataway together, it serves to educate the public on the existence of the local Indian as well as the nature and meaning of a wide variety of dances that are practiced. These dances reflect Piscataway cultural revival, they had not been maintained traditionally. Several are specific to Eastern Indians, others are more Pan-Indian.

The basic difference between the pow wows and the annual festival is that the former are more Pan-Indian in orientation, the latter Piscataway-specific. My impression is that "fancy dancing" dominated the early activities, but is being increasingly replaced by renewed "traditional" dancing. The former is best described as that kind of Indian dancing--and regalia--that non-Indians generally associate with Indian people. In other words, "fancy dancing" is perhaps more show for the public. "Traditional dancing," on the other hand, has stronger cultural and religious aspects to it. It is generally, but not necessarily always, slower and follows a story, often acted out by the dancers.

As noted above, Turkey Tayac, who was said to be the twenty-seventh hereditary chief of the Piscataway, died in late 1978. Eleven months after his death, on 11 November 1979, Turkey Tayac was interred in the ossuary at the Accokeek Creek Site on United States Park Service controlled lands. Although the Park Service initially opposed the burial, the Piscataway persisted until they received official approval. This was a key event in the recent history of the Piscataway, and one that gave them a certain semi-official recognition.

The funeral was well-attended, with a number of whites (among them several archeologists, including State Archeologist Tyler Bastian and then-State Administrator of Archeology Wayne E. Clark) included among the Indians. The latter included Piscataway, several Sioux, and representatives of the Lumbee and the chief of the Nanticoke-Leni Lenape.

At approximately the termination of the burial, which was conducted by a Sioux chief, the mourners were duly impressed by the arrival of four V's of geese, coming from different directions and coalescing into one flock above the grave.

It was at the conclusion of the ceremony, when the Sioux chief announced his intent to proclaim Billy Tayac the new chief of the Piscataway, that a protest was heard; the Piscataway had factionalized. The reasons for the factionalization are somewhat complicated, but of special importance was the familiar argument that the chiefhood passes in the matriline.

At this time, and for the following year, the Piscataway, again spear-headed by Billy Tayac, were to become increasingly interested in the activities of area archeologists. A burial from the Eastern Shore was returned to Tayac after an intensive struggle. The Committee on Maryland

Archeology formed an Ethics Concerns Committee that helped to formulate a policy on the treatment of Indian skeletal remains.

After the factionalization, the two groups formed separate incorporated organizations. Tayac, whom all Piscataway seem to recognize as a leading force in the initial days of the movement as well as a charismatic individual, formed the Piscataway Indian Nation, and Hugh Proctor, leader of the new faction, formed the Maryland Indian Heritage Society.

The Maryland Indian Heritage Society sees its function as serving the cultural needs of the Indian people living in the greater Washington, D.C. area, regardless of tribal affiliation. It also aims specifically at assisting the Piscataway in their cultural revival. Presently, it is conducting research in Piscataway history and has a goal of completing a demographic study of the entire Piscataway population.

For the past several years, they have had the use of an abandoned missile base, located at the border of Prince George's and Charles Counties (mostly in Charles). They have made good use of this center, utilizing the buildings and grounds for a variety of cultural, religious, and social activities.

In addition to continuing the Indian Festival held every July in Cedarville State Park, this faction sponsors and/or is heavily involved in two pow wows each year that are held on the grounds of the missile base. Attendance has varied considerably over the years, reflective of conflicting cultural events such as County Fairs, as well as the effectiveness of advertising methodologies employed. The overall atmosphere of most of these pow wows has been very Pan-Indian, with representatives coming from a considerable number of Western and Eastern

tribes. The pow wow not only serves to bring trade goods and an awareness of Indians to the public, but also to incorporate the Piscataway into the area Indian population and make their presence well known to numerous other Indian tribes.

In mid-1986 the Federal Government turned the missile base over to the Charles County Government. The Piscataway are presently awaiting a County decision on whether to continue leasing the land to the Indians or to use it for other purposes. The hopes of the Piscataway are to eventually acquire the land outright.

In the early 1980s the Maryland Indian Heritage Society factionalized over the question of where leadership should take the people and how this should come about. The new group, led by Mervin Savoy (reflective of the tradition among the Piscataway allowing women to hold chiefly positions), seems to center its activities in the lower part of southern Maryland in Indian Head, Charles County. Savoy has formerly been in charge of the Title IV-A program in Charles County and is very instrumental in teaching Indian awareness in the Charles County schools.

Tayac has been politically active, especially so with regard to archeological excavations of Indian burials, as well as in his attempts to have the Government return a portion of the Accokeek Creek Site to the Piscataway. Like many, if not all, Piscataway, Tayac sees this site as sacred.

The actual number of Indians involved in the Indian Movement among the Piscataway is difficult to determine. The best estimate would suggest a figure of about 400 people. The decline from the early days of enrollment illustrates the cautious nature of the Piscataway as a group. There is no doubt that many people will be joining the Movement in the

upcoming years. This is quite evident by observing the attendance at pow wows and festivals sponsored by the Maryland Indian Heritage Society. Recently, a number of Piscataway, who are definitely not members of any of the factions, have shown a renewed and/or increased interest in the Indian Movement. This is evidenced by their more frequent appearances at pow wows.

Gilbert (1945:238-239) notes that some Piscataway claim descent from specific tribes of the colonial era, e.g. the Nanjemoy and a group he calls the Za (from Zekiah/"Sacayo"). Harte (1963:376) references an unpublished manuscript written by Gilbert in which the latter stated that 178 Piscataway claimed affiliation with one of five clans and that 187 "identified their families with one of seven tribes." In contrast, Harte only located one person who claimed knowledge of clan and tribal affiliation of Piscataway families. I think the difference in data obtained reflects the difference in the focus of the research of the sociologists and anthropologist involved. The former was looking at an "isolate" and the latter trying to ascertain Indian aspects of a little-known Indian population.

A number of Piscataway do assert descent from particular tribes known from the colonial period. This is especially true of the people in the Savoy group, but there is at least one family that is recognized by the Maryland Indian Heritage Society as Wicomico. This group of Piscataway recognizes ten tribes as members and ancestors of the present population, all being part of the "Piscataway Confederacy:" Piscataway, Choptico, "Anacostian," Mattawoman, "Portobacs," Wicomico, Patuxent, Zekiah, "Potomac," and Nanjemoy.

For clan affiliations, the evidence gathered in this research shows three existing clans, one associated with each of the three factions: the Beaver Clan for the Tayac group, the Turtle Clan for the Savoy group, and the Wild Turkey Clan for the Proctor group. This information was gathered from one of the three groups. Since communications between them range from limited to non-existent, it is quite possible that additional clans are extant.

Finally, the Piscataway are applying for recognition by the State of Maryland. A bill sponsored by the Maryland Commission on Indian Affairs is presently before the State Legislature. It seeks recognition for the Lumbee population of Baltimore and for all three factions of Piscataway. The intent is that each of the three factions will provide a tribal roll. This will form the basis of the newly recognized Piscataway Indians. Other people from the larger Indian population who are not on the rolls at the time of recognition will be able to get admitted via any of the three groups.

Conclusions

This dissertation presented several goals, all of which have been met. First, the intent was to briefly review the nature of the archaeological knowledge of the study area (defined as the Western Shore of Maryland, including the Counties of St. Mary's, Prince George's, and Charles, as well as Washington, D.C.), to determine the time depth that can be effectively given to the prehistoric occupation of the Piscataway in this area. It was illustrated that at the present state of knowledge they could be subsumed under the rubric of Potomac Creek People, a categorization that extends considerably beyond the known ethnographic boundaries. Until archaeological research takes a different focus,

knowledge specific to the Piscataway must remain buried in the sea of data.

Second, the intent was to present a mini-ethnography of the Piscataway on the eve of European contact. This goal was met by using a variety of sources, many from early Virginia records, others from Maryland and more Piscataway-specific. This section included an analysis of the linguistic placement of the Piscataway among the Eastern Algonquian.

Third, the early pre-colonial history was presented, to better provide an understanding of the Piscataway and to set the stage for the colonial events about to take place.

Fourth, the colonial history was examined in some detail, using an historical approach to provide for better continuity and a clearer understanding of the nature of English/Indian interactions. It was during this period that data were presented that prove that at no time did all the Indians leave the colony, that the historical belief that the Indians of the Western Shore were gone was erroneous. The evidence shows that the colonial idea of who and what an Indian is both set the stage for later Indian/English and then Indian/American interactions and resulted in the development of the myth that the Indians had disappeared from the area.

Fifth, the history of the Piscataway who left the colony was traced--to Canada and into the early Twentieth Century. The history of the Piscataway who remained in Maryland was traced to the present-day.

It was changing conceptions of what an Indian is and is not that so greatly influenced, in fact determined, the course of Indian history in Maryland, especially in the period after 1705. These changing images lumped people of mixed, and perhaps full, Indian ancestry with the mulatto population. This sowed seeds that were to later include Indians in the

newly defined and now-familiar concept of mulatto.

In the late nineteenth century, the Piscataway were part of an established social system in Prince George's and Charles Counties. Indications are that they were being increasingly lumped with the black population; however, their rediscovery by Mooney set the stage for a new wave of contact: scholarly studies. In more recent years, resulting from a number of influences, the Piscataway have experienced a revival and have set sail on a course of vocal Indianness.

To date, it appears that their efforts are bearing fruit, i.e. they are getting the recognition so long desired, albeit bit by bit. Continuous contact with the European commenced at the settling of the Lord Baltimore's Maryland Colony. The Indians were largely, if not entirely, pushed out of St. Mary's County and largely confined to Charles and Prince George's Counties, where they have remained to the present day. Contemporary Piscataway are being faced with a new foe that, like many of their earlier opponents intends no harm: suburbanization. This is best exemplified by the increasing population radiating out of the new community of St. Charles, located just south of Waldorf. The increases noted in exogamy among the Piscataway will be complicated by the increased acceptance of them by the newcomers to Charles County. The problem now confronting the Indians is how to maintain their group identity and existence in the face of an endless tide of immigrants arriving on the wave of suburbia.

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