

ARCHEOLOGICAL OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT Piscataway Park

Volume I



**Megan D. Postemski, Ph.D.
Scott M. Strickland, M.A.
Garrett W. Ternent, B.A.
Julia A. King, Ph.D.
St. Mary's College of Maryland**

**Principal Investigator:
Julia A. King, Ph.D.
St. Mary's College of Maryland**

**National Capital Region East
National Park Service
Washington, DC**

2024

Cover image: Piscataway Park Marsh Boardwalk in the Rain, NPS Photo/Marcey Frutchev;
pendant fragment of slate.

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Prepared under Master Cooperative Agreement P18AC00901
Task Agreement No. P20AC00977

National Capital Region East
National Park Service
Washington, DC

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This is the first of three volumes comprising the Archeological Overview and Assessment (AOA) of Piscataway Park for the National Park Service (NPS). This AOA is the first to be completed for the park and was prepared by St. Mary's College of Maryland (SMCM) in consultation and partnership with NPS staff between September 2020 and December 2024.

Located along the Potomac River in Prince George's and Charles counties, Maryland, Piscataway Park was established in 1961 through an act of Congress to protect the viewshed from George Washington's Mount Vernon. Encompassing nearly 5,000 acres, the park contains 73 archeological sites. Of these sites, 67 lie on federally owned land within the park, while the remaining six are found on private land protected by scenic easements within the park. These sites—including camps, villages, quarries, forts, farmsteads, plantations, and more—date from the Early Archaic Period (9500 BC–7000 BC) through the twentieth century, attesting to the region's deep history before and after George Washington's era. The archeological record thus reflects the diverse people and communities who have inhabited and visited what is now Piscataway Park over time: Native Americans, Indigenous Piscataway, English settlers, indentured servants, enslaved and free people of African descent, planters, farmers, merchants, socialites, outdoor enthusiasts, and many others.

The purpose of the AOA is to provide an overview and assessment of these archeological resources for multiple audiences: the public, the park, NPS cultural resource managers, and the archeological community more broadly. To that end, the AOA is divided into three volumes. This volume (I) addresses the public, presenting a historical narrative of Piscataway Park based upon historical, ethnohistorical, and archeological research. To improve accessibility, technical jargon is avoided, and, to ensure site preservation, sensitive and specific site location information is omitted. In contrast to Volume I, which is for general readers, Volumes II and III are technical reports geared toward NPS staff, archeologists, and other preservation professionals. Volume II presents the results of the AOA in detail, including an overview of the park environment, history, previous archeological investigations, and collections, and provides recommendations for future research and management of the park's archeological resources. Volume III contains the report's numerous appendices, including transcriptions of archival records referenced in Volume II, site forms, artifact inventories, and other supplementary information.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Piscataway Park Archeological Overview and Assessment required the support and assistance of a number of organizations and individuals. Foremost among these are the National Park Service and National Park Service staff, including Justine Christianson, Michael Commisso, Marian Creveling, Tara Morrison, Karen Orrence, Jason Theuer, Dr. Joshua Torres, and Daniel Weldon. We are especially grateful to Marian, Joshua, Karen, and Daniel for their participation in monthly meetings concerning the project and for making information about the archeological resources at Piscataway available to the St. Mary's College of Maryland team.

We are also grateful to Dr. Stephen R. Potter, who generously met with us on a number of occasions and who provided an oral history of archeological work at Piscataway Park during his sojourn as Regional Archeologist for the National Park Service's National Capital Region.

Our debt to archeologists who came before us at Piscataway Park is enormous. Alice Ferguson and her husband, Henry, are, of course, well known for their work at Hard Bargain Farm in the 1930s, and Robert L. Stephenson was herculean in his effort to corral the material and information the Fergusons generated into a meaningful and still relevant synthesis. Later, the late Paul Cissna brought his broad understanding of Piscataway history and lifeways to bear on the work done on the property. Thomas McGarry undertook extensive surveys at the park and kept meticulous notes. Wayne Clark, R. Joseph Dent, June Evans, and Charles McNett have also left their mark on the park's archeological landscape.

More recently, Jeanne Ward of Applied Archaeology and History Associates and John Bedell of Louis Berger Associates have undertaken work at Piscataway Park and generously shared their findings. Still others have undertaken smaller but nonetheless important projects in the park and their contributions are found in Volumes II and III.

The Accokeek Foundation, the Alice Ferguson Foundation, and the Maryland Historical Trust also supported this project, responding to many requests concerning archeological resources at Piscataway Park and the proper recording of those resources.

Finally, we are grateful to the individuals behind the scenes who made sure agreements, timesheets, and all of the myriad sorts of administrative paperwork required for a project like this got done. At St. Mary's College, these individuals include Sheila Madison, Shelby Dieudonne, Sabine Dillingham, Jenn Kersch, Adam Malisch, Leslie Mangold, Lori Marks, and Lucy Myers.

Megan Postemski
Scott M. Strickland
Garrett W. Ternent
Julia A. King
St. Mary's City, Maryland

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Piscataway Park, located approximately 10 miles south of Washington, D.C. in Accokeek, Maryland, was created by an act of Congress on October 4, 1961 to protect the view from George Washington's Mount Vernon (Figure 1). While the eighteenth-century home of America's first president is characterized by an iconic, red-roofed mansion and carefully cultivated grounds overlooking the Potomac River (Figure 2), Piscataway Park lies across the river and gives the illusion of a pastoral landscape frozen in time, appearing largely as it did during Washington's age. In the mid-1790s, writer Isaac Weld observed that "the Maryland shore, on the opposite side, is beautifully diversified with hills, which are almost covered with woods; in many places, however, little patches of cultivated ground appear, ornamented with houses. The scenery altogether is most delightful." Washington agreed, declaring that "no estate in United America is more pleasantly situated than this... on one of the finest Rivers in the world."

Long before Washington, Piscataway Park was home to the Indigenous Piscataway people. Of the 73 archeological sites located in Piscataway Park, 61 have Indigenous components, ranging from short-term camps to lithic quarries to hamlets and villages. This includes the Accokeek Creek site (18PR8), a large Late-Woodland village thought to have been the location of Moyaone, the ancestral capital of the Pis-

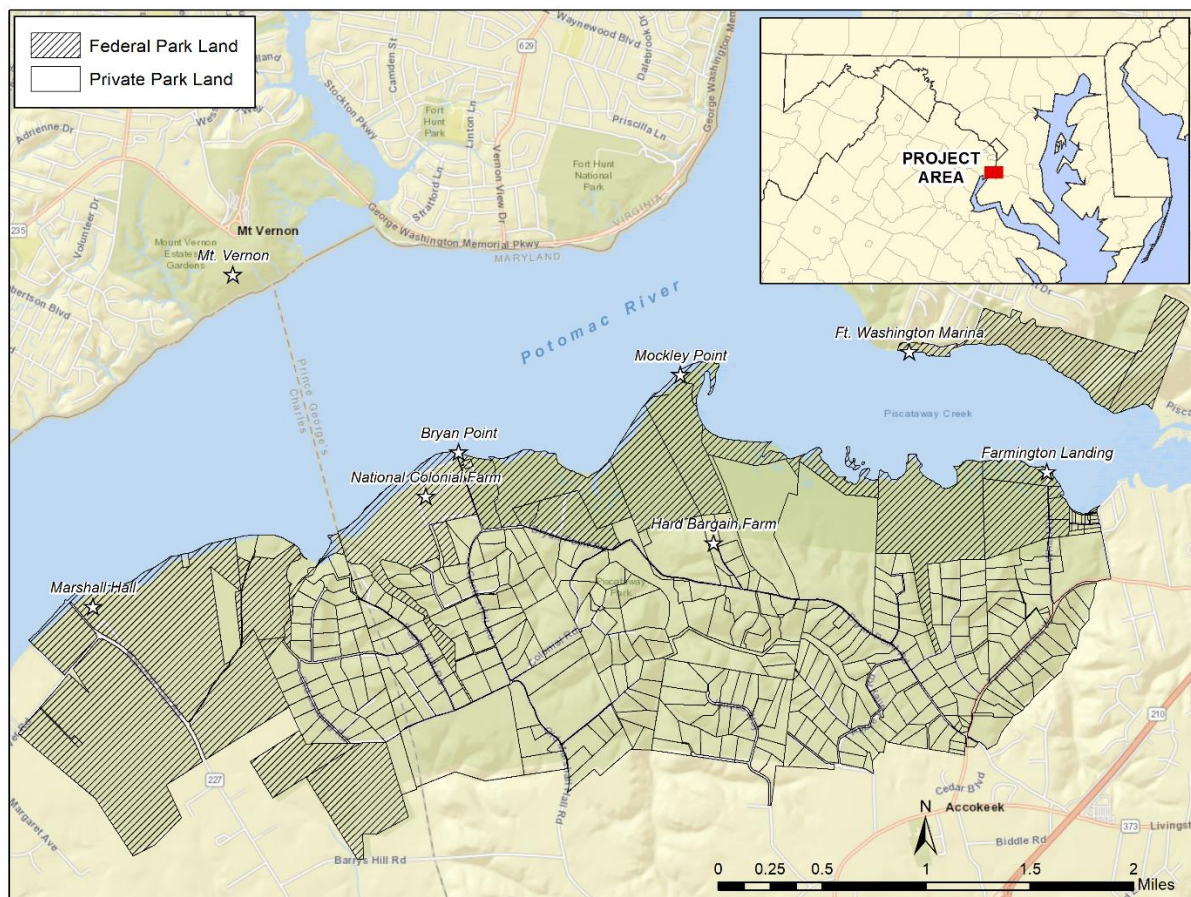


Figure 1. Location of Piscataway Park.



Figure 2. View of Mount Vernon from Moyaone, Piscataway Park (Julia A. King).

cataway (Figure 3). This and five other archeological sites are collectively listed as the Accokeek Creek Site on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) due to their historical and sacred significance to the Piscataway people. The Accokeek Creek Site is also a National Historic Landmark, the highest designation a historic property can receive. These sites were first identified by Alice and Henry Ferguson in the 1930s, who noticed artifacts in the plowed fields of their recently purchased Hard Bargain Farm. Unable to find a professional who would take interest, the Fergusons undertook extensive investigations themselves, revealing one of the largest precontact sites in the Mid-Atlantic region. While the fieldwork completed was not up to modern standards and disrespectful to Native Americans, especially the Piscataway Indian Community, the significance of the project and the archeological sites uncovered cannot be overstated. This project, which Robert L. Stephenson later synthesized in his doctoral dissertation, laid the groundwork for the region's culture history chronologies and continues to inform archeological research today.

Piscataway Park (PISC) represents the first unit managed by the National Park Service (NPS) to protect a viewshed or vista rather than on-site features. In total, the park encompasses 4,605 acres of land including wetlands, forests, agricultural fields, and residential developments along the shoreline of the Potomac River and Piscataway Creek (see Figure 1). The park straddles the border of Charles and Prince George's Counties, extending about six miles from Marshall Hall in the west to Farmington Landing in the east, and includes Fort Washington Marina, located on the north shore of Piscataway Creek.



Figure 3. The Accokeek Creek Site (18PR8).

Lands comprising the park are publicly owned (i.e., federally owned) and privately owned land under scenic easement. The NPS owns 1,925 acres (42%) in fee simple. For management purposes, the NPS has divided this land into five management units, moving west to east: Marshall Hall, Accokeek, Mockley Point, Piscataway Creek, and Fort Washington Marina. The remaining 2,680 acres (58%) are privately owned with easement restrictions that apply to the removal of trees over a certain size, the size of land subdivisions, and the types of allowable structures. This public-private arrangement was, for its time, innovative and has since become a model for many other national parks.

Chronology

Archeologists and historians alike develop culture history chronologies to better understand how the environment, human communities, and cultural traditions change through time. As more data is acquired, archeologists and historians reconsider and revise these chronologies. Here, we begin the history of Piscataway Park with what has generally been known as the *prehistoric* or *precontact period*. Prehistoric refers to the period before history was written, whereas precontact refers to the period before encounters between Native Americans and Europeans in the Americas (pre-1492). Although the terms are interchangeable, some Native Americans and archeologists prefer the term precontact since the absence of a written record does not mean people lacked history. Following the prehistoric/precontact period is the *historic period* when history was written; that is, when documents survive. Since delineating the prehistoric from the historic is complex due to contact and colonization, archeologists increasingly refer to the *contact*

period (1600 CE–present). Here, the terms prehistoric and historic are employed since they are likely more familiar to a popular audience, but their shortcomings are acknowledged.

Both the prehistoric and historic periods are in turn subdivided into cultural periods (Table 1). The earliest prehistoric period in North America is the *Paleoindian*, which extends from the near the end of the Pleistocene epoch (the time of the Ice Age) to the beginning of our current epoch, the Holocene. The time after the start of the Holocene is the *Archaic* period, which is typically divided into the Early, Middle, and Late Archaic. The final prehistoric period is the *Woodland*, which began around 1250 BCE and ended upon European arrival. Like the Archaic, the Woodland is divided into the Early, Middle, and Late stages. Dates for these three periods are often given in radiocarbon years before present, but for this volume the dates have been converted to traditional calendar years. Division of the historic period is more variable, but often revolves around watershed events such as wars (e.g., American Revolution, War of 1812, Civil War).

Table 1. Middle Atlantic culture periods.

PERIOD	DATES
Paleoindian	c. 11000 BCE – 9500 BCE
Early Archaic	c. 9500 BCE – 7000 BCE
Middle Archaic	c. 7000 BCE – 3750 BCE
Late Archaic	c. 3750 BCE – 1250 BCE
Early Woodland	c. 1250 BCE – 50 CE
Middle Woodland	c. 50 CE – 950 CE
Late Woodland	c. 950 CE – 1600 CE
Contact	c. 1600 CE – present

Table 2. Timeline of Relevant Historic Events

EVENT	DATES
Establishment of Virginia Colony	1607
Establishment of Maryland Colony	1634
Bacon’s Rebellion	1676-1677
French and Indian War	1754-1763
Revolutionary War	1775-1783
War of 1812	1812-1815
Civil War	1861-1865
World War I	1914-1918
World War II	1939-1945
Dedication of Piscataway Park	1968

Note on Geographic Terms

This volume primarily used the names of Maryland's geographical regions to describe the location and movements of precontact Indigenous peoples, rather than the modern convention of state and county boundaries. For sake of clarity the terms for these regions will be defined and discussed here.

Maryland is made up of six physiographic provinces, including, from east to west: (1) The Atlantic Continental Shelf (which is located off the coast), (2) The Coastal Plain, (3) The Piedmont Plateau, (4) The Blue Ridge, (5) The Ridge and Valley, and (6) The Appalachian Plateau (Figure 4). These regions extend in varying widths over virtually the entirety of eastern North America. It is important to remember that while Maryland is used as the focal point of these regions, Native groups living in these areas would have extended into the boundaries of modern-day Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Delaware as well. For the purposes of this report, only the Coastal Plain and Piedmont Provinces are relevant and will be discussed in full.

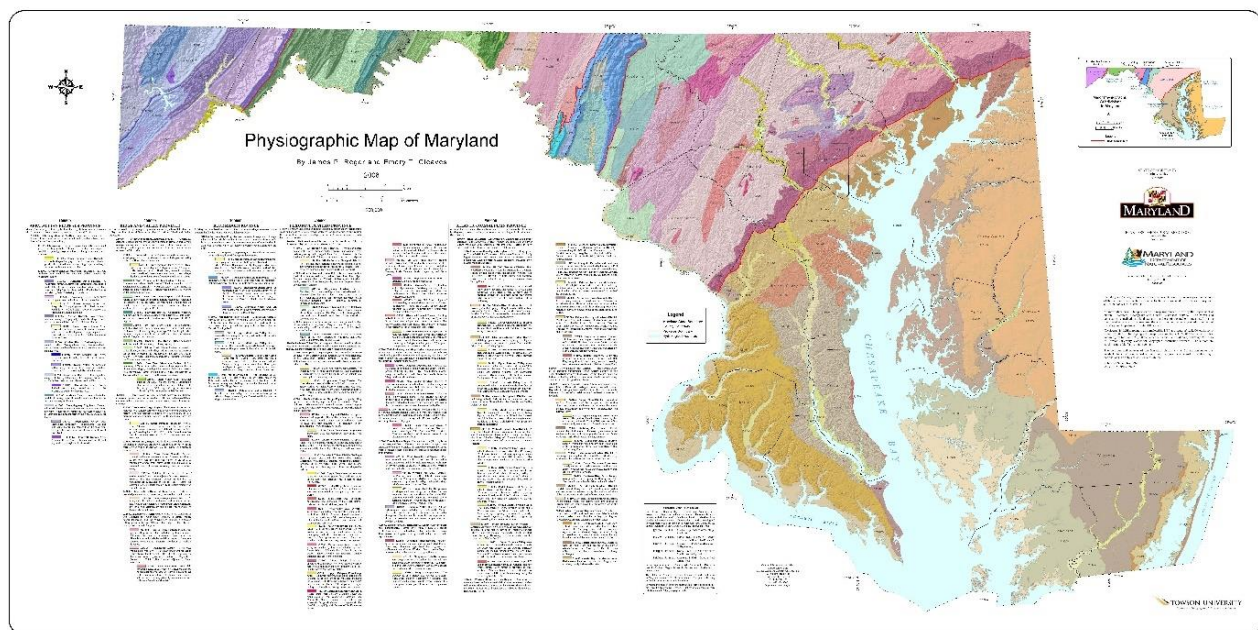


Figure 4. Physiographic provinces of Maryland (Garcia 1999; Maryland Geological Survey).

The Coastal Plain is composed of flat lowlands and gently rolling uplands which surround the Chesapeake Bay. It is in this region that Piscataway Park is located. The Coastal Plain province lies largely within Maryland's present-day counties of Anne Arundel, Prince George's, Charles, Calvert, and St. Mary's on the western shore and Kent, Queen Anne, Talbot, Caroline, Dorchester, Wicomico, Somerset and Worcester on the Eastern Shore. This volume refers primarily to the area of the Western Shore. This report also occasionally uses the term "Tidewater" as a synonym for the Coastal Plain; "Tidewater" referring to those estuarine regions whose waters are subject to tidal forces. The terms "Potomac" and "Chesapeake" also sometimes modify these terms in order to refer more broadly to the wider Maryland, Virginia, and Delaware region.

The Piedmont Plateau, referred to in this report simply as the Piedmont, marks the beginning of Maryland's more mountainous regions and is underlain by a bed of hard, metamorphic rock. Though not

as extreme as the regions further west, the Piedmont is characterized by low ridges and valleys of greater elevations and variation than those of the Coastal Plain. Modern Maryland counties included in this region include Frederick, Carroll, Baltimore, Hartford, Cecil, Montgomery, and Howard. The Piedmont can be further divided into highlands to the east, and lowlands to the west. These lowlands include the eastern portions of Carroll, Frederick, and Montgomery counties. The area dividing the Coastal Plain and the Piedmont is known as the “Fall Line” and is occasionally referred to in this report.

Volume Outline

Volume I integrates historical, ethnohistorical, and archeological data to develop a historical narrative of Piscataway Park for the public. In what follows, Chapter II opens with a discussion of Middle Atlantic history through 1600 CE, highlighting Native American life and landscapes during the Paleoindian, Archaic, and Woodland periods. This chapter lays the groundwork for the subsequent chapters addressing contact between Native peoples and Europeans and the reality of European colonialism (Chapter III) and the establishment of the plantation system and fishing industry during the colonial and early republic eras (Chapter IV). Chapter V discusses the African American presence at Piscataway Park, focusing on enslaved communities and their descendants. The following chapters discuss the development of the Piscataway Park area after the Civil War (Chapter VI), and the purchasing of Hard Bargain Farm by the Fergusons and the events leading to the creation of Piscataway Park (Chapter VI). The final chapter (Chapter VIII) summarizes the park’s history and considers its present and future.

While chapters and subheadings define the way in which that history has been organized here, this organization should not be construed to represent hard and fast boundaries or historical periods. The dates used in the subheadings merely reflect the timeframe discussed in text and are not meant to imply that people “disappeared” or that a particular historical process ended. For example, Piscataway people did not “disappear” when the first English invaded in 1608 but remained in the area and interacted on a regular basis with Europeans and Africans, just as African Americans continued living in the area following the Civil War and abolition. The African American history and presence is called out in this volume in part because of the historically under-reported status of Black history in southern Maryland. The project team recognizes that this organization is not perfect, and readers are invited to both use and critique the organization of these chapters as represented by these headings.

CHAPTER II

NATIVE AMERICAN LIFE AND LANDSCAPES

Native Americans have lived in the Washington, DC area for around 13,000 years, and to this day, descendant communities continue dwelling, navigating, creating, shaping, and imbuing their local landscape with meaning. Given the long human history in the area, the “natural” landscape visitors to Mount Vernon admired in the eighteenth century was in fact laden with archeological sites, places where evidence of past human activity is concentrated and preserved. Using evidence from these sites, this chapter explores Native American life from the Paleoindian through the Woodland period in what became Piscataway Park. No sites in the park have been identified which date to the Paleoindian period, but by the Archaic period, small groups of people were coming to the area, establishing camps, quarrying, making stone tools, and more. By the Woodland period, the area was home to hundreds who established camps, hamlets, and villages which they returned to time and again.

The First People (c. 11000 BCE–9500 BCE)

The first inhabitants of the Potomac River valley arrived about 13,000 years ago (11000 BCE), a time which archeologists call the Paleoindian period. At this time the temperature was cooler by as much as five degrees Fahrenheit and the climate was more humid than it is today. Sea levels were up to 340 feet lower, and the Potomac River was a freshwater tributary of the Susquehanna River. The landscape consisted primarily of open grassland and of spruce, beech, birch, hemlock, and oak forests. The earliest people were highly mobile. They probably moved in small bands for at least part of the year, hunting large and small game, fishing, and gathering wild plant foods according to the season (Dent 1995:75-82, 135-145; Kraft 1977:35-69).



Figure 5. Fluted Clovis point from the Paleoindian Period found in Charles County, Maryland (Diagnostic Artifacts of Maryland).

Paleoindian sites are often identified by the presence of distinctive “fluted” projectile points, so-called because of the characteristic notching of stone flakes from the point’s base (Figure 5). These easily recognized points, which includes the Clovis point, are found in association with Paleoindian sites across North America, and their relative uniformity over thousands of miles has intrigued archeologists for decades. For decades, researchers considered Paleoindian people to have a focal hunting subsistence strategy, meaning their diet relied heavily on the killing of large game. While this is a misunderstanding based on the better preservation of large bones and stone tools, it still seems that Paleoindian people had a somewhat less varied diet compared to later peoples.

Very few Paleoindian sites are known in Maryland, both because the population was small and because many early archeological sites have been inundated by the rising waters of the Chesapeake Bay. In Charles and Prince George’s counties, archeologists have identified—but not yet investigated—16 Paleoindian sites. In Charles County, most sites dating to this period are found in the Zekiah Swamp drainage or in the Potomac River valley west of the Route 301 corridor (Barse 1985:22-26; Wanser 1982:6). In Prince George’s County, archeological sites with Paleoindian components are found predominantly in the Patuxent River

valley. No sites dating to the Paleoindian period have been identified in Piscataway Park, but they may exist beneath alluvial deposits or on drowned terraces in the Potomac River (McNett 1989:32).

Archaic Period (c. 9500 BCE–1250 BCE)

Beginning about 10,000 years ago, temperatures worldwide began to warm, melting glaciers that, on the eastern part of the continent, had reached as far south as Pennsylvania. Over the next several thousand years, glacial melt would flood the Susquehanna River valley, creating what is now the Chesapeake Bay. As the waters rose, the Potomac River began to take its current shape, becoming recognizable about 3,000 to 4,000 years ago. The rising sea level created rich new swamp and marsh environments throughout the region, and warming temperatures encouraged the growth of a predominantly oak and hickory forest. Unlike the forests and grasslands of the cooler Paleoindian period, the changing terrain offered little open space. The cause of the warming is often debated, but one thing is certain: the familiar resources of the Paleoindian period disappeared, and, beginning some 9,000 years ago, human communities were forced to adapt to a new environment (Colman, Halka, and Hobbs 1991; Dent 1995:82-95; Kraft 1977).

Archeologists call this period the Archaic, organizing it into three divisions: the Early, Middle, and Late Archaic (see Table 1). The Early Archaic (9500 BCE to 7000 BCE) reflects the beginning of the Holocene geological epoch, with a cool and dry climate becoming warmer and wetter. Hardwood forests replaced spruce forests, and swamps formed in areas where none had been previously (Wanser 1982:70). The new conditions may have proved advantageous to those dwelling on the inner coastal plain, in places such as Piscataway Park. These climactic and environmental changes underpinned new settlement and subsistence strategies. Dozens of archeological sites survive in Charles and Prince George's counties from the Archaic period, suggesting an increased population. Evidence from the region reveals that, though Archaic people lived similarly to their Paleoindian forebearers, they harvested a much wider range of plant and animal foods and returned on a regular basis to places where these resources were found. This drive for resources propelled the development of increasingly diverse and specialized stone tools. In addition to chipping pieces of stone to make tools such as projectile points, Archaic-period people ground stone into axes and adzes for woodworking. They also made mortars, pestles, and manos (handheld stones or rollers) and metates (stone blocks with shallow concave surfaces) for grinding wild plant foods (Figure 6, Dent 1995:194-215; Wilke and Thompson 1977:22).

The rising sea level increased the importance of marine resources and helped to diversify and enrich food sources. Archeologists have uncovered evidence that fish weirs, or large nets staked in the water, were made and used during the Archaic period. Largely constructed of organic materials, these devices are seldom discovered in a preserved state but are evidenced by grooved stones which were used to sink the nets. In some cases, stone walls could also be used to impound fish. The expanded fishing enterprise helped drive people to form bigger and more cohesive groups, as large-scale fishing expeditions, would have required substantial cooperation, not just for catching but also for processing the harvested fish (Custer 1989:204; Dent 1995:204).

Many of the environmental and subsistence changes which occurred during the Archaic can be observed archeologically in sites in the Middle Atlantic region, such as the Indian Creek V site (18PR94). The Indian Creek V site is a seasonal Native American resource gathering site dating to the Early and Late Archaic and is located near Greenbelt Metro Station in Prince George's County, roughly 23 miles from Piscataway Park. The site contained the traces of a well-preserved, short-term habitation from the Early and Late Archaic periods, used during the annual settlement migration in Maryland and Pennsylvania. Native



Figure 6. Example of a grinding stone found within Piscataway Park (Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian).

people frequently returned to the site for short periods in order to harvest plants from the surrounding wetlands, resulting in one of the largest excavated Archaic assemblages in Maryland. This site also included the charred remains of plants and seeds, something rare for sites in the Middle Atlantic. The plant remains provide archeologists with a good idea of what people would have eaten during this time period. Over 80 percent of the floral remains associated with tuber-like plants, including ferns, with the remaining portion being composed of grasses, starchy seeds, fruits and hickory nuts. Though ferns were eaten both as a food and medicine, most of these remains likely come from their fronds being used to line cooking pits (LeeDecker and Koldehoff 1991:247).

In addition to plant remains, archeologists also used a technique on stone tools called blood residue analysis to determine the types of animals that were hunted. In doing so researchers found that while the people at the Indian Creek V Site mostly hunted large game such as deer and elk, other animals such as rodents, fowl and fish also constituted an important part of the diet (LeeDecker et al.1991:272). As the bow-and-arrow would not be invented until much later, people at this time likely hunted using spears, or by using a kind of dart thrower known as an atlatl.

Within Piscataway Park, 25 different Archaic-era sites have been identified, two of which date to the Early Archaic: 18PR203, also known as the Moran site and 18PR248. Both of these sites were dated by the discovery of a single bifurcate projectile point, which has a distinctive base (McNett 1989:34-35) (Figure 7). Like the Indian Creek V site, evidence shows that these sites were first occupied in short but frequent spans, with Native people often returning to procure resources. Evidence such as grinding stones found at 18PR248 suggests that the site would have been used for food processing and lithic manufacturing, similar to the Indian Creek V site. The Moran site, on the other hand, was likely used initially as a short-term hunting camp. However, by the Late Archaic, the site would evolve into a major lithic manufacturing area, as evidenced by a preponderance of tool blanks and unfinished projectile points (Dent 1980:39).

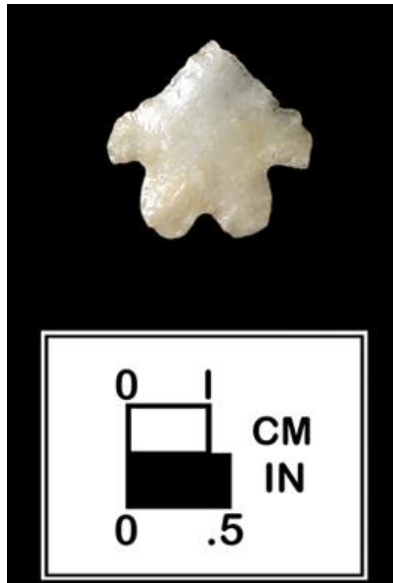


Figure 7. Bifurcate base Lecroy point dating to the Early Archaic. Similar projectile points were found at 18PR203 and 18PR248 (Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland).

As the Archaic went on in concert with an overall warming trend,¹ the population grew, and people continued to diversify their food sources. The Middle Archaic, as archeologists term the period from 7000 to 3750 BCE, appears to be a continuation and elaboration of trends which emerged toward the end of the Early Archaic. The subsistence base appears to have become larger, an adaptive strategy that not only would have fostered population growth but would have made existing populations less vulnerable to disruptions in the availability of a particular food source. Swamps, such as Zekiah Swamp located east of Piscataway Park, were rich with resources and became a focus of settlement. These settlements were occupied longer and by greater numbers of people.

Evidence of developing trade networks appears on Archaic sites in the form of rhyolite, a granite-like rock found in the mountains west of the Chesapeake piedmont. Rhyolite stone tools have been found on Archaic-period archeological sites over much of southern Maryland (Figure 8). Fashioned into projectile points, knives, and other tools, rhyolite probably came to the Tidewater through broad-based exchange networks between people living in the Coastal Plain and those living further west. Alternatively (or additionally), Archaic-period people from Maryland's Coastal Plain, may have traveled to the mountain region, collecting rhyolite and bringing it back to southern Maryland. How

rhyolite ended up in southern Maryland remains a mystery, but it is clear that exchange networks fostered social interaction over considerable distances (Stewart 1989:47-78; Wanser 1982:82).

Middle Archaic sites are also uncommon in Piscataway Park, with only four sites having been identified as dating to this time period: 18PR12, 18PR248, 18PR237 (also known as Moyaone South), and 18PR238. Rather than reflecting limited occupation during this period, the lack of Middle Archaic sites in Piscataway Park may stem from a lack of archeological fieldwork in interior wetlands or at the base of uplands where such sites are often found in the Lower Potomac Coastal Plain (McNett 1989:40). All four of the identified sites lie near either coastal or inland swamps, indicating that these areas were preferred for subsistence and navigation (McNett 1989:35-41). Like the Early Archaic sites, these sites demonstrate only brief occupation during the Middle Archaic in the form of basecamps or food and lithic processing sites.

¹ The overall trend was an increasingly warmer climate but characterized by significant fluctuations throughout the Holocene period.



Figure 8. An assortment of rhyolite points collected by O.N. Bryan in the Piscataway Park area in the late 19th century (Smithsonian Museum of Natural History Department of Anthropology Collections).

By the Late Archaic (3750 BCE-1250 BCE), the environment of the Middle Atlantic had completely changed from that of the Paleoindian. Where there were once grasslands and forests of spruce and hemlock, now sat woodlands of predominately oak and hickory. The climate was warmer and drier, and the Lower Potomac estuary had fully developed, with shellfish and anadromous fish plentiful (Wanser 1982:94). Hunting remained important to Late Archaic people, but the primary subsistence strategy was one of intensive foraging, as evidenced by a fluorescence of tool types. Archeologist William Gardner (1978:31) argues that, by the Late Archaic, most groups were leaving the swamps for oysters on the coast. Others have argued that, at least in the case of the Zekiah drainage, populations may actually have increased (Wanser 1982: 129). Wanser (1982) acknowledged that Late Archaic period coastal sites may be absent because they are inundated; nonetheless, the Zekiah and other wetlands were visited by Native peoples through the end of the Archaic.

By the end of the Archaic period, people throughout Eastern North America were practicing a diversified hunting and gathering economy, one made possible by the rich resources of the emergent Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries. Resources were so plentiful that the trapping of salt and freshwater fish, the hunting of small mammals, and the gathering of edible plants took place in an ever-dwindling geographical area; people could find or produce much of what they needed fairly close at hand. Wanser



Figure 9. Steatite vessel sherds from the Accokeek Creek site (18PR8) (Smithsonian Museum of Natural History Department of Anthropology Collections).

(1982:93) notes that “populations became larger, territories smaller, and more permanent habitation at certain sites was likely.” People remained mobile, but the range of their day-to-day roaming shrank, eventually giving rise to large, semi-permanent settlements, some of which were even fortified against other Indigenous groups.

Towards the end of the Archaic many groups began making bowls of ground steatite, a soft, greasy feeling stone commonly known as soapstone (Figure 9). Archeological evidence suggests these bowls were used for cooking. The emergence of these vessels reflects how technology grew along with the more efficient harvesting of available plant and animal resources, as additional pressure was placed on communities to harvest yet more food from the environment. The emergence of more permanent settlements would have also aided the development of these stone vessels, as people no longer needed to carry the heavy stone from place to place.

Late Archaic sites are more prevalent within Piscataway Park, with 21 identified to date. In general, these sites are located on the more western portion of the park, in areas such as Mockley Point, Accokeek Creek, and Piscataway Creek, indicating that Native people preferred to live on the shore of the Potomac River and its tributaries. Perhaps the most significant site in this area (and in Piscataway Park in general) is the Accokeek Creek Site (18PR8) on Mockley Point. This site is known as the location of a large Late

Woodland village, but during the Archaic was likely used as hunting and resource procurement camps (Stephenson et al. 1963:178).

Late Archaic artifacts found at the Accokeek Creek site include thirty to forty steatite bowl fragments and 505 projectile points of the Clagett and Bare Island types (Figure 10) (Stephenson et al. 1963:175-176). Most of these points were made of rhyolite, argillite, slate, and quartzite rather than quartz, which became the dominate lithic material during the Woodland period. Other artifacts from the Accokeek Creek Site which are attributed to the Archaic period include bannerstones, celts, choppers, three-quarter grooved axes, full-grooved axes, and polished stone pendants (Stephenson et al. 1963:179). While the Accokeek Creek site has one of the largest Late Archaic assemblages in Piscataway Park, the quantity of artifacts is modest compared to that of later time periods. The lesser quantity of Late Archaic artifacts indicates that “brief, intermittent occupations at irregular, and perhaps long intervals” were the norm during this period (Stephenson et al. 1963:175). Nonetheless, when compared to other Late Archaic period sites in Piscataway Park, the Accokeek Creek site contains quite a large number of artifacts, indicating that the area was still extremely important during the time period. The Accokeek Creek Site likely represents what archeologist Martin Gallivan (2016) has termed a “persistent place,” a place well-known to Native people to which they would return frequently over many centuries. Many other sites in Piscataway Park were also reoccupied in a similar manner and may also be deemed “persistent places.” Many procurement camps and other similar sites show signs of reoccupation over hundreds or thousands of years, showing that these places maintained their importance in the cultural memory of Native people.



Figure 10. Examples of Clagett projectile points recovered from the Accokeek Creek Site (18PR8) (Smithsonian Museum of Natural History Department of Anthropology Collections)

Woodland Period (c. 1250 BCE–1600 CE)

The end of the Archaic period and beginning of the Woodland period (1250 BCE to 1600 CE) (see Table 1) is marked by the emergence of ceramic vessels. Archeologists divide ceramics into types based on temper and surface treatment; these types can sometimes correspond to different cultural groups. Temper refers to materials such as quartz, sand, shell, or stone which are added to the unfired clay in order to improve its workability and the stability of the final product. Surface treatment refers to techniques used to help the clay coils of the pot bond, which often leave an impression on the finished product. Such visible marks include cord, net, and fabric impressions, as well as smoothing done with a potsherd or stone. Other elements, such as decoration and vessel form, also help archeologists create distinctions between types. Ceramic ware types commonly found at Piscataway Park include Marcey Creek, Accokeek, Selden Island, and Popes Creek types from the Early Woodland; Mockley from the Middle Woodland; and Potomac Creek, Moyaone, and Townsend from the Late Woodland (Table 3). The Early Woodland ceramics exhibit a variety of tempers and techniques, reflecting experimentation during this period, whereas Late Woodland ceramics are often more refined (thinner with finer texture) and decorated. While this ceramic typology and chronology is employed today throughout the Middle Atlantic region, it was largely developed from the excavations at the Accokeek Creek Site, as well as the Potomac Creek Site in Stafford County, Virginia.

Ware Type	Period	Calendar Years	Temper	Surface Treatment
Marcey Creek	Early Woodland	1000-750 BCE	Steatite	Smoothed
Selden Island	Early Woodland	1000-750 BCE	Steatite	Cord Impressed
Accokeek	Early Woodland	900-300 BCE	Sand/Crushed Quartz	Cord Impressed
Popes Creek	Early-Middle Woodland	500 BCE-300 CE	Sand	Net Impressed
Mockley	Middle Woodland	200-900CE	Shell	Net Impressed
Townsend	Late Woodland	950-1600CE	Shell	Fabric Impressed
Potomac Creek	Late Woodland	1300-1600CE	Sand/Crushed Quartz	Cord Impressed/Smoothed
Moyaone	Late Woodland	1300-1600CE	Sand	Cord Impressed/Smoothed

Table 3. Native ceramic types commonly found in Piscataway Park.

Early Woodland ceramics seem to have developed from Archaic-era steatite bowls. Not only were some of the earliest ceramics tempered with fragments of crushed steatite, but Marcey Creek ceramics are similar in size and shape as well, having flat bottoms, straight walls, and lug handles (Wise 1975:21). The development of pottery probably arose out of a need to easily cook and store excess foodstuffs. Evidence of seed use, which gave rise to crop cultivation, and subterranean food storage pits also appear in the archeological record during the Early Woodland. Native communities used storage pits, which were similar to root cellars, to preserve food surpluses (Dent 1995:229-230). Together, these elements suggest communities became increasingly sedentary about 3,000 years ago. In other words, communities began living in one place longer during the Woodland period rather than moving relatively frequently like during the Archaic period.

Trade and exchange, which is evidenced on Archaic period sites by non-local Rhyolite stone tools, remained important in the Woodland period. Rhyolite appears in even greater quantities during the Woodland, along with other artifacts that would indicate trade. Among them are the extraordinary objects



Figure 11. Mended Potomac Creek vessel from the Accokeek Creek Site (18PR8). Potomac Creek was the most common ware type found at the site (Colonial Encounters).

from about 2,500 years ago that are associated with the Adena “Mound Builder” tradition of the American midlands. These include large blades of non-local stone, tubular stone pipes, stone gorgets (neck pendants worn for decoration and defense), copper beads, red ochre (used as a pigment for body decoration), and other unusual objects. Adena objects are rare in Maryland, but have sometimes been found on the western shore at sites such as the Pig Point site in Anne Arundel County. No such sites have been identified within Piscataway Park. Many of these objects were likely used for ritual and ceremonial purposes, evidenced by discovery of Adena projectile points which had been “killed,” meaning they were intentionally broken and reburied (Dent 1995:231-235; Potter 1993:107-108; Stewart 1989:47-78; Luckenbach 2013:1-22).

The most influential trade goods in the Woodland period were not weapons and ceremonial objects, however, but seeds and plants. Maize, better known as corn, arrived in the region sometime around 800-900 CE, towards the end of Middle Woodland period (50-950 CE). Maize was first domesticated in

Central America around 5500 BCE from the grass teosinte, after which the crop spread slowly throughout the rest of North America. The maize raised by Native American groups in the Chesapeake Coastal Plain is thought to have come from trade with Piedmont groups, and local tribes soon adopted its cultivation as another subsistence strategy (Dent 1995:251-254; Turner 1992:107). The cultivation of crops such as corn, beans, and squash precipitated another rise in sedentary communities, and many new towns, villages, and hamlets arose during the Late Woodland period (950-1600 CE).

Despite settling in one place for longer periods, communities continued to hunt game and gather wild plant resources. The lithic toolkit therefore continued to expand alongside ceramic technology. The most significant development occurred in the Late Woodland when communities in the region began using bows and arrows. Compared to earlier points such as the Piscataway, Vernon, Rossville and Fox Creek Points from the Early and Middle Woodland, Late Woodland points, such as the Levanna, Madison, and the Potomac tend to be smaller and more triangular (Figures 12-13). While similar triangular points existed during the Archaic, these Late Woodland points were ideal for use with bow and arrows.

Woodland period archeological sites in Piscataway Park are numerous and varied. Of the 73 archeological sites in Piscataway Park, 36 were inhabited during the Woodland period. These sites ranged from sparse lithic scatters to hunting camps to large villages and towns. Many of these sites demonstrate the qualities of “persistent places”, and eleven sites show signs of continuous occupation from the Late Archaic to Early Woodland periods. Likewise, seven of the 36 sites were occupied repeatedly during Early, Middle, and Late Woodland periods.



Figure 12. Collection of Early Woodland Vernon Points from the Accokeek Creek Site (18PR8) (Smithsonian Museum of Natural History Department of Anthropology Collections).

A common pattern observed on many sites in the Potomac Tidewater is an occupation beginning in the Early Woodland period (c. 1250 BCE-50CE), followed by an abandonment during the Middle Woodland (around 200 CE) and a reoccupation beginning sometime around 800-900 CE (late Middle Woodland-early Late Woodland). Thus, Middle Woodland sites tend to be rarer than those earlier or later. Although many Woodland sites on the western half of the park seem to follow this pattern, many sites around Accokeek Creek and Mockley Point demonstrate occupation during this period. Interestingly, these are the same areas which seem to have been preferred during the Late Archaic period, though this could easily be due to a bias of testing, as these areas are among the most heavily studied areas of the park. Middle Woodland sites are often identified by the presence of Mockley ceramics (see Table 3) and in addition to nondescript artifact scatters, such sites at Piscataway Park include the remains of camps (18PR237 and 18PR240), hamlets (18PR247 and 18PR248), and villages (18PR8).

The Montgomery Hypothesis

During the Late Woodland, around 1350 CE, a series of events occurred whose causes are still not entirely understood by Chesapeake archeologists. At this time, many Native groups living in the Piedmont (in what is now Montgomery and Frederick counties) appear to have moved south into the inner Coastal Plain (present-day Prince George's, Charles, and St. Mary's counties). The archeological evidence for these



Figure 13. Collection of Late Woodland triangular points from the Accokeek Creek Site (18PR8) (Smithsonian Museum of Natural History Department of Anthropology Collections).

migrations is twofold: long-occupied village sites in the Potomac Piedmont were suddenly abandoned in the fourteenth century, and new styles of ceramics suddenly appeared in the Coastal Plain (Potter 1993:126-138; Slattery and Woodward 1992).

Throughout much of the Early and Middle Woodland, people living in the Potomac Piedmont created pottery tempered with crushed quartz, while those in the Coastal Plain tended to use oyster shell as a tempering agent. Around 1350 CE, these quartz-tempered ceramics begin to disappear from Piedmont village sites, replaced by new sites which predominantly used limestone-tempered ceramics. At the same time, the Coastal Plain's shell-tempered ceramics were augmented by those tempered with sand or quartz. This implies that Piedmont groups were pushed out by new migrants from the west leading to the Piedmont people, in turn, displacing communities in the Tidewater. Evidence for this demographic shift comes from hamlet and village sites which appear either newly established or have a population boom sometime around the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. Some of the earliest evidence comes from none other than the Accokeek Creek Site, where archeologists reported a radiocarbon date of 1150 CE for a piece of charcoal found adhered to a fragment of quartz-tempered Potomac Creek. Potomac Creek is typically dated 1300-1600 CE, so this early date may represent the beginning of migrations out of the Piedmont (Dent and Jirikowic 2000).

Known as the “Montgomery Hypothesis,” the interpretation for a wholesale displacement of communities in both the Piedmont and Coastal Plain Potomac is complicated by the fact that, besides ceramics, other material practices in the Coastal Plain, including house forms and burial programs, do not appear to have clear origins in the Piedmont. In addition, the late anthropologist Paul Cissna’s (1986:31, 41-48) analysis of a Piscataway translation of the Ten Commandments suggests that the Piscataway language was closely related to the Powhatan and the Lenape (Delaware) languages, but not with western groups. Studies of ossuary burials also suggest that these burials appeared first on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and later on the Western Shore (Curry 1999), possibly reflecting some kind of westward movement or migration.

Many of the Indigenous groups which existed at the time of European invasion were likely formed out of the population shifts which occurred during the early Late Woodland. Archeologists argue that the Piscataway people emerged from the large-scale migrations that mixed the people of southern Maryland people with those emigrating from elsewhere during this time (Slattery and Woodward 1992). The oral histories of the Piscataway provide important insight as to their origins and to movements of populations during the Late Woodland. In 1660, an unusual oral history was recorded between the unnamed brother of the Piscataway Tayac (leader), Uttapoingassinem, and then-Governor Phillip Calvert. This passage, recorded in the Proceedings of the Maryland Council by English colonists, recounts Uttapoingassinem’s brother’s story of Piscataway’s origins and the Native method of selecting a leader. The passage goes as follows²:

Long ago there came a King from the Eastern Shore who commanded over all the Indians now inhabiting within the bounds of this Province and also over the Patawomecks and Susquehannocks for that he did, as it were, embrace and cover them all. They called Uttapoingassinem this man. Dying without issue, [he] made his brother Quokonassaum King after him, after whom succeeded his other brothers, after whose death they took a Sister’s Son. The Government descended for thirteen Generations without Interruption until Kittamaquund’s time, who died without brother of Sister and appointed his daughter to be Queen. But the Indians withstood it as being Contrary to their Custom, whereupon they chose Weghucasso for their King, who was descended from one of Uttapoingassinem[’s] brothers (but which of them they known not). Weghucasso at his death appointed this other Uttapoingassinem to be King, being descended from one of the first Kings. This man they said was Jan Jan Wizous, which in [the Piscataway] language signifies a true King. And [he] would not suffer us to call him Tawzin, which is the Style they give to the sons of their Kings, who by their Custom are not to succeed in Rule, but his Brothers or the Sons of his Sisters (Archives Md. 3:402-403).

Calvert was interested in Piscataway rules of leadership succession, but this passage also provides information about Piscataway understanding of their history. Uttapoingassinem’s brother not only described the rules by which a new leader was chosen but how the Piscataway originated long before Europeans arrived in their homeland. Taken literally, the Tayac’s brother said some 13 generations ago, a leader from the Eastern Shore of Maryland united all the groups in the Maryland coastal plain as well as those on the south shore of the Potomac and in Susquehannock country (today, Pennsylvania). Average human generation length, including for pre-industrial societies, remains contested in the biological sciences, but many researchers seem to recommend a measure of 27 to 30 years. An analysis of individuals recovered

² This passage has been edited for spelling and punctuation.

from two ossuaries on Nanjemoy Creek indicate that a child who lived to the age of five could be expected to live at least another 24 years (Ubelaker 1974:63). Although some individuals in all societies live longer or die younger, the average length of a generation for the Piscataway people can be reasonably estimated as having been between 20 and 30 years of age. This estimate would place the first Uttapoingassinem's arrival from the Eastern Shore and the origin of the Piscataway as a political unit sometime between 1270 and 1400 CE.

These dates fit well with shifts seen in the archeological record. As previously noted, prior to about 1300 CE, the predominant ceramic type in southern Maryland was shell-tempered Townsend ware, whereas post-1300 CE the archeological record is dominated by sand- and quartz-tempered Potomac Creek ware. This would seem to suggest that Uttapoingassinem's arrival precipitated the shifts seen in the archeological record. There are problems with this assertion, however. Namely, while the archeological record demonstrates evidence of a migration from west to east, the Piscataway oral histories describe a migration which occurred from east to west.

Archeologist Stephen Potter (1993:138) has argued that, despite apparent contradictions, these varying sources of evidence are not necessarily in conflict. Potter points out that during the meeting of the Council when the oral history was recorded, Uttapoingassinem's brother was addressing a question from Governor Calvert as to he came to be "emperor" of the Piscataway, "whether by Succession or Election" (Archives Md. 3:403). Potter (1993:138) notes that, "if the brother's reply is taken to be a direct answer to a direct question, then he simply related that the position of Tayac passed by inheritance through thirteen rulers, the first of whom came from the Eastern Shore." The archeological evidence suggesting thirteenth- and fourteenth-century migrants from the Potomac Piedmont into the coastal plain, Potter continues, conceivably comports with an "intergroup alliance" forged by a leader who had come from the Eastern Shore, seated himself at Moyaone, and attempted to unite various groups (Potter 1993:138; Merrell 1979:550).

The Accokeek Creek Site

Regardless of the forces that precipitated it, around the fourteenth century many native groups reorganized into new towns and villages, several of which were larger and more heavily fortified than previous villages. Twenty-four Late Woodland sites have been identified within Piscataway Park including several villages or hamlets, such as 18PR4 (the Farmington Landing site), 18PR12, 18PR235, 18PR237, 18PR242, 18PR243, 18PR247, 18PR248, 18PR249, 18PR275 and of course, 18PR8, the Accokeek Creek site. While it remains contested among archeologists and historians, it is possible, if not likely, that the Accokeek Creek site represents Moyaone, the ancestral capital of the Piscataway Nation. The site lies at the approximate location of Moyaone as depicted in a 1608 map by John Smith (Figure 14) and was clearly a major Piscataway township. Alice Ferguson, who excavated the site with her husband Henry in the 1930s, initially considered the site to be Moyaone, though she later changed her mind. Ferguson decided that the site likely represented an earlier village due to an absence of trade goods that would have been brought by early European colonists. However, the town of Moyaone was abandoned not long after Smith's visitation, so any trade goods would have been few in number and could have easily failed to enter into the archeological record. It is also worth noting that a number of historic (Euroamerican) artifacts were recovered from the Accokeek site which were presumed to be more recent, but which have never been properly analyzed (Stephenson 1963: 168).



Figure 14. John Smith's 1608 *Map of Virginia*; red arrow shows approximate location of Piscataway Park (Library of Congress).

Whether or not the Accokeek Creek site is Moyoane or not, it remains an incredibly important archeological site. Throughout the Fergusons' excavations they uncovered over 70,000 artifacts dating to every period between the Late Archaic (3750 BCE-1250 BCE) to Late Woodland and Contact periods (950 CE-1600 CE). Over half of the 58,000 ceramics recovered however, date between 1200 and 1600 CE, indicating the growth of the settlement during that time. A brief summary of the artifacts is listed here in Table 4.

In addition to artifacts, the Fergusons unearthed hundreds of subsurface features (the non-artifactual remains of structures and pits). These included hundreds of post molds which revealed the locations of palisades and houses. These show that the town of Moyaone was surrounded by a large palisade made from cut sapling trees, which measured roughly 450 feet in diameter. Inside of this palisade would have been a series of smaller, concentric palisades (Figure 15). Many archeologists have suggested that the region's population growth around 1300 CE spurred inter-group hostilities that led many communities to reinforce their settlements. (Potter 1993:149-161). Archeologist Chris Shephard (2009), however, has suggested that these compounds, rather than reflecting defensive measures, served to separate sacred space, such as burial grounds, from everyday space. This may very well be the case, as within the Accokeek Creek site lie three large ossuaries (group burials) which contained the remains of at least 1,438 individuals. These three burials

Artifact Type	Count (per Stephenson et al. 1963)
Ceramic Sherds	58311
Beads	5057
Projectile points	4153
Lithic Tools (e.g. scrapers, handaxes, drills)	2202
Animal Bone	579
Tobacco Pipes	427
Bone Tools	392
Shell	312
Pigments (e.g. red ochre)	108
Gorget/Pendants/Ornaments	87
Other Artifacts	48
Grand Total	71676

Table 4. Summary of artifacts recovered from the Accokeek Creek Site.

were clustered within the innermost palisade of the settlement, suggesting that this area was demarcated as such a sacred burial space. Other, individual burials were located elsewhere in the town, however.

The Indigenous people of Maryland and Virginia were recorded by Europeans as having lived in arbor-like structures covered in reeds, which were called wigwams or longhouses. Though no clear outlines of these structures were visible at the Accokeek Creek site, archeological investigations have corroborated these descriptions with post mold patterns at places such as the Potomac Creek site, once a Patowomeck village around the same size as Moyaone. These buildings would have measured roughly twelve by sixteen feet and would have housed between six and twenty individuals (Smith 1986:162). Based on warrior counts given by John Smith in 1608, the town of Moyaone is estimated to have housed between 300 and 400 people. With this estimated population, within the palisade at Moyaone there may have been as many as 67 houses, or as few as twenty. A “typical” settlement is estimated to have contained between ten to 25 of these structures, perhaps suggesting a number at the lower end of this range (Potter 1993:114-125; William and Mary Center for Archeological Research 2009). These houses were probably organized cooperatively by age and sex within families to produce food and life’s other necessities.

Outside of the palisade at Moyaone were likely agricultural fields. Native people practiced a form of slash-and-burn agriculture that would have cleared the land for crops such as corn, beans and squash. Tobacco was also cultivated, primarily for ritual or spiritual purposes rather than recreational consumption. Small hamlets and individual households would have also existed outside the palisade, although they still would have been considered part of the larger town of Moyaone. Many of these small hamlets or households were probably located along waterways, which may have also been partially cleared for the growing of corn. Hunting and gathering also remained vitally important to the Late Woodland subsistence economy, and when residents left to hunt or fish at various times throughout the year, these settlements may have been temporarily vacated. Though places such as the Accokeek Creek site were returned to repeatedly, smaller settlements may have been abandoned for periods of 10 to 15 years once the soil in nearby fields was depleted and corn yields declined.

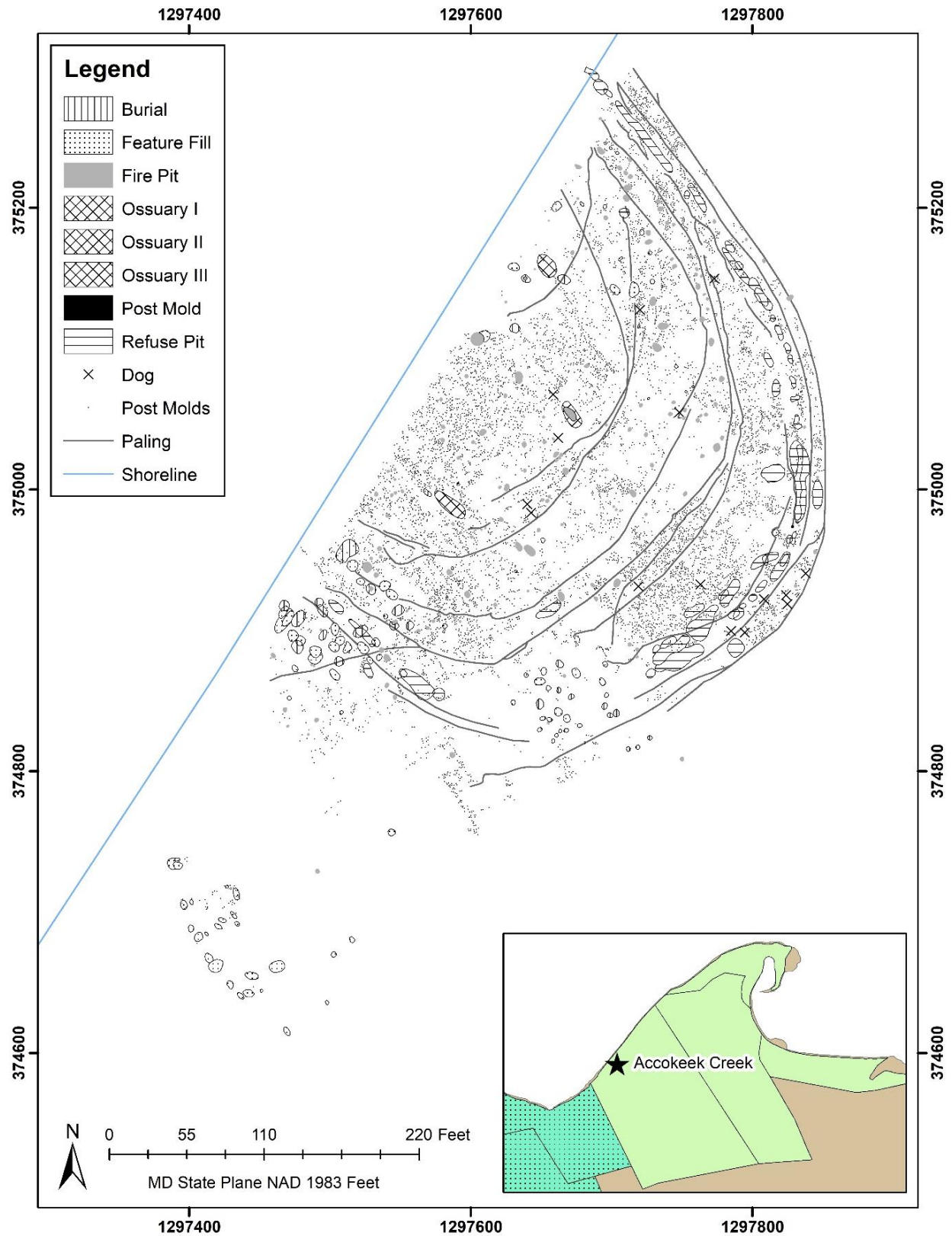


Figure 15. Map of the Accokeek Creek Site (18PR8) showing subsurface features uncovered by the Fergusons in the 1930s (Colonial Encounters).

Indigenous Polities in the Potomac Valley, 1200-1650 CE

The Piscataways were one of two powerful polities which emerged in the Middle Potomac River valley around thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the other being the Patowomecks. At the time of European colonization, the Piscataways controlled much of the north bank of the Potomac (present-day Maryland) while the Patowomecks controlled its south bank (present-day Virginia). The Piscataways and Patowomecks had a complex and fluctuating relationship, at times being at peace and other times warring with each other. In 1623, the Patowomecks were allied with the Virginia government when the colonists sailed up the Potomac and assaulted the Piscataways, “putt[ing] many to the swoorde” (Kingsbury 1935:450).

Although each village or town had its own leader or Tayac, all the settlements in the Potomac Valley at this time were probably tied in one way or another to Moyaone, as capital of the Piscataway chiefdom. The strength of the relationships would have weakened with distance, but even those groups outside Piscataway control would have had to reckon with this powerful polity (Potter 1993:149-161). The Piscataway Tayac controlled territory in what is now Maryland ranging from St. Mary’s County north to the Fall Line, with the exception of independent Patuxent towns and possibly the Yaococomico (in what is today St. Mary’s City). Subject to the Tayac were werowances, individual village or town leaders (Hall 1910:125). Matrilineal inheritance of these positions is believed to have been the norm (as suggested by the 1660 oral history), at least until the death of Kittamaquund in 1641 (Cissna 1986:62-68; Potter 1993:190). Among the other important positions in Piscataway political organization were war leaders, priests, shamans, and great men, who advised the Tayac or werowances (Cissna 1986:68-75).

The previously noted migrations of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the Chesapeake Tidewater were just the beginning of major movements of people throughout the region. Groups from the northeast were pressing into southern Maryland as early as the fifteenth century, traveling both down the Chesapeake Bay and along the Fall Line from what is now Pennsylvania and New York and raiding Algonquian communities they encountered along the Bay’s western shore. The Algonquians living there withdrew up the rivers, abandoning large tracts of land as they sought refuge from the Iroquois-speaking Susquehannocks and other northern groups. The remaining groups lived in or close by well-fortified village compounds. Meanwhile, from the south, Powhatan was working, by the late sixteenth century, to expand the reach of his power over Virginia Algonquian tribes in the vicinity of the James and York rivers and their tributaries (Clark and Rountree 1993:112-135; Fausz 1984; Potter 1993:174-179). Smith’s Map of Virginia suggests that Powhatan’s power extended well north of the Potomac although recent research has indicated that Powhatan’s power did not extend much farther than the York and James rivers (Strickland, King, and Busby 2016; King, Strickland, and Richardson 2023).

During Smith’s exploration of the Potomac, he counted the warrior populations for the towns he visited. Smith estimated 160 Patowomeck and 40 Tauxenant (Doeg) warriors on the Virginia side of the Potomac and on the Maryland side he estimated 40 warriors at Secowocomoco, 20 at Potopac, 60 at Pamunkey, 80 at Nacotchtanke (Anacostin), and finally, 100 at Moyowances (Moyaone) (Arber 1884:52). Using estimates provided by Smith and other explorers, as well as information extrapolated from archeological studies, anthropologists have long debated the population of the Piscataway nation at the time of contact, with estimates ranging from 2,000 to 7,000 individuals. These estimates reflect a number of methodologies in calculating population and are based on assumptions which may not always be warranted. Archeologist Paul Cissna attempted to reconcile these numbers, and calculated a range of roughly 3,600 to 5,760 people living on the Potomac’s northern shore in the early seventeenth century (1986:49-53).

These numbers must be considered in the context of major raids by the Massawomecks (Kingsbury 1933:19-20; Merrell 1979:552-554), a powerful Iroquoian group believed to be from the western Pennsylvania hinterlands. In 1607/8, Powhatan (Wahunsenacawh) told Captain Smith that the “Pocoughtronack [or Massawomecks] [are] a fierce Nation...war[ring] with the people of Moyaoncer [Moyaone] and Pataromerke [Patawomeck]” (Arber 1884:20). Powhatan reported that the Massawomecks, whose identity is still debated, had slain 100 Piscataways the previous year. This number pales in comparison with that relayed by Henry Fleet, who had been held captive by the Nancotchtanke (Anacostins) from 1623 until 1627. According to Fleet, the Massawomecks had formerly massacred 1,000 Piscataways (Neill 1876:26; Pendergast 1991:14). Although these numbers may be inflated, it is nonetheless evident that raids by these northern groups had impacted the Piscataway population by considerable numbers and influenced subsequent political developments.

The Susquehannocks, another Iroquois-speaking group, constituted another threat from the north. After moving to the lower Susquehanna River at the head of the Chesapeake Bay, the Susquehannocks traded furs for other goods with William Claiborne, a Virginian who had established a trading post on Kent Island in the early 1630s. The Susquehannocks’ increased influence in the region and their desire to protect their lucrative trade relationships brought them into conflict with the Piscataways and other groups on the lower western shore (Fausz 1984:13; Merrell 1979:552-553).

During the early seventeenth century, the Piscataways were in conflict with at least three other Native groups: the Patawomecks, the Susquehannocks, and the Massawomecks. The pressures on three sides had forced the Piscataways at contact to move their ancient capital of Moyaone further up Piscataway Creek to a more sheltered location. The absence of European artifacts at the Accokeek Creek Site could suggest that this town was vacated before Smith’s reconnaissance.³ Threats from Iroquoian groups to the north and the Virginia colony and the Patawomecks to the south that likely precipitated this move would also influence the subsequent Piscataway response to Leonard Calvert and the Maryland invaders just a few years later (Merrell 1979:554-555). It is also possible that Smith’s visitation itself may have influenced the Piscataways’ move, a cautious response to the impending European incursions. This trend of vacating settlements in anticipation of European invaders is not unknown; the Secowocomocos likewise vacating their town on the Wicomico River (in St. Mary’s County, Maryland) and the Powhatan vacating Werowocomoco on the York River (Dye et al. 2016; Gallivan 2016). Though the records do not suggest any direct encounters before 1608 between European explorers and the Indigenous people of southern Maryland, the groups living in the region were certainly aware of these strange new people from their reputation in Virginia and elsewhere. The Indigenous groups on the north bank of the Potomac may have even acquired glass beads, European copper, or other exotic items through trade with groups that had already encountered the Europeans.

³ As previously noted, Smith’s visit in the Potomac may not have generated enough artifacts to leave an archeological signature. It is also possible that Mrs. Ferguson overlooked these artifacts or mistook them for later artifacts. There is some evidence to suggest that Smith’s voyages and visits in 1608 precipitated the withdrawal of a number of Indian towns from exposed locations to locations up creeks.

CHAPTER III

CONTACT AND COLONIALISM

Long before Native people of the Piscataway Park region ever encountered European settlers, they would have heard stories and seen foreign goods brought by other tribes. The first Europeans to come to the region may have been Spanish explorers in the late sixteenth century. In 1588 a Captain Vincente Gonzales described a “large fresh-water river” located at a latitude of 38 degrees that he named San Pedro (Lewis and Loomie 1953:131-139). This matches well to the Potomac River, which begins at exactly 38 degrees in latitude. Recent evidence of a double-barred Spanish cross found at the 1634 St. Mary’s Fort may lend credence to the idea that Spanish explorers visited the region and traded with local Indigenous peoples (Ruane, 2022). English people first entered into the Potomac drainage in 1608, when Captain John Smith surveyed the river for his previously mentioned *Map of Virginia* (Rountree, Clark, and Mountford 2007). Smith’s map has since served as an important baseline for interpreting Native settlement in the Potomac River valley at the time of initial contact with Europeans, albeit through English eyes. Regardless of Smith’s problematic perceptions, his map presents to the viewer what was then a wholly indigenous world.

While collecting information for his map, Smith sailed into the Potomac in June 1608, briefly stopping at Cornfield Harbor on the river’s north side before traveling to Nomini Creek on the south side, in present day Westmoreland County, Virginia. At Nomini, Smith encountered Mosco, a Wiccocomico man with a heavy beard which may have indicated European ancestry from earlier interactions. Smith and his crew met with Chicacoan and Wiccocomico Natives, and peace was “made all around” before the English party continued their northward journey (Rountree, Clark, and Mountford 2007:94). After departing Nomini, Smith’s party traveled north to what would later be named St. Clement’s Bay and to the Wicomico River, in present-day St. Mary’s County. While leaving the Wicomico, it appears that Smith stopped at the chief’s town of Secowocomoco (Dye et al.2016). From there he continued north to the Port Tobacco River, then to Nanjemoy Creek, and then back to the south side of the river to Patowomeck. In all, Smith’s travels in the Potomac lasted a little more than five weeks and, while he recorded little about his visits in that river, his map depicts the location of settlements and their hierarchy as Smith understood them.

Smith’s generally positive encounters in the Potomac valley set the tone for Anglo-Native relations in the river’s drainage for the next two decades. The Virginians at Jamestown (1607) came to view the Potomac as a “granary..., peopled with intact and autonomous Indian communities capable of providing [corn and furs] to the small, struggling [Virginia] colony” (Rice 2009:82). For the Algonquian chiefs who typically controlled food surpluses, the arrangement worked well as the English became an important source of copper and glass beads and, as noted, an opportunity to keep other groups at bay (Rice 2009:82). Thus began friendly enough relations that brought Virginians on a regular basis to the Potomac and at least one trip by the Patowomeck werowance to Jamestown. This does not mean this relationship was without conflict, however, and relations between Natives and colonists grew tense enough for violence to break out on several occasions. In 1622, the Powhatan chief Opechancanough attacked Virginia settlements while in 1623 the Virginians and Patowomecks allied to launch an attack on the Piscataways. Still, these relations remained relatively stable throughout the first decades of the seventeenth century and, if not friendly, were at least not outwardly hostile (Fausz 1984; Rice 2009:2-91).

In 1634, a new wave of settlers entered into the Potomac with the arrival of the prospective Maryland colonists, led by Leonard Calvert. Wannas, then the Piscataway Tayac, received the Maryland

colonists guardedly at his capital on Piscataway Creek, with bowmen at the ready. When Calvert asked the Tayac where the English could take up land, Wannas' response to Calvert was "that he would not bid him goe, neither would hee bid him stay, but that he might use his owne discretion" (Hall 1910:72). The Tayac's statement was tactfully strategic as the Piscataway, while still a significant force, could not afford another enemy, given their relations with groups to their north and south. Nonetheless, their previous encounters with the Virginians necessitated extreme caution in attempting to ally themselves with new groups (Merrell 1979:554-555). For the Calvert party's purposes, they also could not afford to alienate the Native people living along the river's north shore. They used their own discretion to return downriver past the major towns of Secowocomoco and Monanauk to what is today St. Mary's City. This put the colonists some 15 miles downriver from St. Clement's Island, their initial landing spot, and well clear of the major Native towns that formed a kind of gateway to Indian Country. Although the Yaococomicos were living in the area, they traded access to the spot and relocated elsewhere, perhaps across the St. Mary's River (Ternent and King 2024).

Invasion of the English

Given this existing complex political geography, representations of early Maryland history have characterized Anglo-Native relations as generally peaceful, giving the credit to the Maryland colonists. This interaction has come to be characterized as an example of an imagined racial harmony. In reality, the relationship was far more complicated. While "invasion" is not a word often used to describe colonial settlement, an invasion and occupation are exactly what the "founding" was for the Piscataway nation and related groups. The Charter of Maryland justified the impending dispossession of Native land by describing the region as a "Country hitherto uncultivated ... [and] partly occupied by Savages, having no knowledge of the Divine Being." English subjects understood that uncultivated land was wasted land, and that non-Christian people could be enslaved or otherwise dispensed with for their failure to cultivate the land in an English manner. To be sure, Maryland may have avoided the bloody wars experienced in early to mid-seventeenth-century Virginia through the more diplomatic tone the Calverts took with the Natives, but the ultimate goal was still Native subjugation and, by the end of the century, Native removal (King 2012).

Despite initial interactions with the Yaococomico and the Patuxents being, by all accounts positive, relations generally between the English and Indigenous nations seem to have been cagey in the colony's early years. The 1638 Jesuit Letter, for example, reported that:

...the rulers of this colony have not yet allowed us to dwell among the savages, both on account of the prevailing sicknesses, and also because of the hostile acts which the barbarians commit against the English, they having slain a man from this colony, who was staying among them for the sake of trading, and having also entered into a conspiracy against our whole nation (Hall 1910:119).

Tense relationships with the English or not, the Indigenous people nonetheless continued to trade with the newcomers. The same year of the Jesuit account, in 1638, the Maryland Assembly passed a law requiring colonists to obtain a license to trade with the Indians both to prevent price inflation of Indian corn and goods and to prevent mistrusted individuals from conspiring with the Natives against the Calvert family's nascent Maryland enterprise (Archives Md. 1:42-44).

The following year, in 1639, a Jesuit Letter described Father Andrew White as living with the Tayac at "the metropolis of Pascatoa" since June of that year (Hall 1910:124). The Jesuit letter also related

the conversion of some Patuxent Indians and the Patuxent king's gift to the Jesuits of some land at Mattapany (on the Patuxent River). Some of the converted Patuxents may have even been living with the Jesuits at the Mattapany farm (Cissna 1986:139-140). A 1999 archeological survey of a portion of the Mattapany tract located a potentially early, post-Contact site that may represent an early missionary settlement (Chaney and King 1999).

Historian James Merrell (1979) attributes the initially reduced tension between the Piscataways and the colonists to the Tayac Kittamaquund who, in 1636, allegedly murdered his brother Wannas, and succeeded him in the position. In 1638, Governor Calvert referred to Kittamaquund as "my brother," writing to Lord Baltimore that the Tayac "is much your freind [sic] and servant" (Hall 1910:158). It was Kittamaquund who, in 1639, welcomed Father Andrew White to Piscataway, accommodating the missionary in his dwelling. The Tayac also converted to Christianity, was baptized in 1640, and, in 1642, sent his daughter, Mary Kittamaquund, to live at St. Mary's City with Margaret Brent. Mary Kittamaquund would later marry Giles Brent, Margaret's brother (Cissna 1986:140-142; Merrell 1979:555-557).

A significant contingent of Piscataway, however, did not view Kittamaquund as a lawful ruler because of his fratricide, a reality which may have forced Kittamaquund to look to the English to protect and consolidate his position (Merrell 1979:555-557). By 1642, there seems to have been a significant population of non-missionary English living or trading near Piscataway. Perhaps because of the tension within the Piscataway community, that year Governor Calvert and the Maryland Council commissioned Robert Evelin "to take the charge and Command of all or any the English in or near ab[ou]t Pascataway, and to leavie train and Muster them" to put the English "in a posture of defence" against the Native people (Archives Md. 3:102).

The 1648 "Act Touching Pagans" further reflects English anxiety about the Native people whose lands they had invaded. The law disallowed the provision of guns and ammunition to the Natives except at the Governor's discretion (Cissna 1986:145-146; Archives Md. 1:233). The following year, the "Act Touching Indians" prohibited the transportation of Native people out of the province and also reiterated the illegality of providing guns "to any Indian borne of Indian Parentage" (Archives Md. 1:250). Cissna (1986:146-147) suggests that this wording may signify a significant population of people with mixed English-Indian parentage or of Indians being raised in English communities. Additionally, the "Act Concerning Purchasing Land from the Indians" annulled individual land purchases directly from the Indians (Archives Md. 1:248). All of these legislative actions, taken together, suggest that as the English moved away from St. Mary's and began establishing plantations, contact with Native populations became more and more frequent. Such acts signify the Maryland government's attempt to regulate and normalize everyday relationships with the Indigenous groups; in other words, to extend colonial law and authority to the Indigenous population. The Natives, for their part, resisted English authority.

In 1651, a group consisting of Mattapanians, Yaococomicos, Patuxents, Lamasconsos, Kighahnixons, and Chopticos approached the Maryland Council, requesting that land be set aside for them (Archives Md. 1:329). Although the Choptico are believed to have been under Piscataway jurisdiction, Cissna (1986:148) believes that the joint request "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." Cissna also stresses that the wording of the record suggests that not all members of these groups were involved. The English plan that came out of this meeting was to establish a 1,000-acre reservation on proprietary manor land at the head of the Wicomico River, not only to protect land for the Natives but to "civilize" and christianize them as well. The colony appointed Robert Clark as "steward"

which authorized him to grant 50-acre parcels to individual Natives and a 200-acre parcel to the werowance, and also gave him the power to hold court (Archives Md. 1:329-331; Cissna 1986:147-149). From the documentary record it is unclear whether this plan ever came to fruition, although an archeological survey of this new manor land revealed the presence of a seventeenth-century Native town (King, Trussell, and Strickland 2014).

By 1659, rumors had reached the government at St. Mary's that the Piscataway Tayac, Weghucasso, was terminally ill or already dead (Archives Md. 3:360). The following year, the brother of the new Piscataway Tayac, Uttapoinassinem, accompanied by the great men of the Portobac and Nanjemoy, visited then-governor Philip Calvert at St. Mary's. It was at this meeting that the Tayac's brother related the Piscataway system of Tayac succession to the governor (Archives Md. 3:402-403). The 1660 meeting between Governor Calvert and the Tayac's brother had another purpose, however. The Piscataway representatives described how the "Cinigoes," or Senecas (a catch-all term for the Five Nations Iroquois also known as the Haudenosaunee), had recently killed five Piscataways and threatened their fort for their friendly relations with the English and the Susquehannocks, who were then at war with the Senecas. The Tayac's brother also requested the assistance of four Englishmen to help them rebuild and strengthen their fort (Archives Md. 3:403). This is the first mention of hostilities with the Five Nations.

Throughout the 1650s and during the early 1660s, the Five Nations launched several assaults on the Susquehannock, possibly because of Susquehannock willingness to ally with Maryland (Kent 1984:37-40). The Iroquois-Susquehannock warring stemmed from control of the fur trade and incompatible inter-colonial alliances (Kent 1984:37-39). In 1661, the Susquehannocks strengthened their treaty and military alliance with the Maryland government, and Governor Calvert pledged military support in helping them fortify and resist the Five Nations' attacks (Archives Md. 3:420-421).

By 1662, the Piscataway Tayac Uttapoinassinem had died. As was now the practice, Governor Charles Calvert and the Maryland Council traveled to Portobac to select a new Tayac. At that meeting, the Piscataways made known their preference for Wannsapapin, the son of Wannas (the Tayac killed by Kittamaquund), and assured Governor Calvert that they would erect an "emperor's" house at Piscataway for when the governor would return and install the new Tayac (Archives Md. 3:453-454). It was another year before Governor Calvert and the Council returned to Piscataway. Also present at the installation of the new Tayac were the weroances and great men of Portobac, Mattawoman, and Chingwoatyke. However, instead of Wannsapapin, as expected, the Piscataway presented eleven-year-old Nattowaso, the eldest son of Weghucasso, to be confirmed Tayac. The Piscataway described that there were two families from which Tayacs were chosen, including that of Wannas and that of Weghucasso, suggesting a contentious factionalism over control of the Piscataway nation (Cissna 1986:151-153; Archives Md. 3:482-483). The Piscataways also asked Calvert to protect the new Tayac, which he did by ordering "that they should not presume to wrong him upon any pretence, eyther by poysoning of him, or by other indirect wayes" (Archives Md. 3:482).

By 1664, the Five Nations had begun launching attacks against the English settled along the Maryland frontier, killing some Anne Arundel County residents. Governor Calvert declared war on the Five Nations, offering a reward of 100 arm's length of Roanoke to any Native or Englishman who captured or killed a "Cinigoe" (Archives Md. 3:502-503). Troubles with the Five Nations would continue intermittently for over a decade.

The Maryland government concluded a treaty with the Susquehannocks in late June of 1666, during which the Susquehannocks related that they had recently lost a number of warriors in skirmishes with the Five Nations warrior near the head of the Patapsco and other rivers. They also described the intention of the Five Nations to storm the Susquehannock Fort⁴ in August and, afterward, to attack the English plantations, and the Susquehannocks requested military assistance (Archives Md. 3:549-550). Although the profitability of the fur trade was diminished due both to the Five Nations-Susquehannock war and overharvesting of fur-bearing animals, fighting between the Indigenous groups continued. After successfully repelling a 1663 Seneca attack of their fort, the Susquehannocks continued to harass the Iroquois of the Five Nations, assaulting and conquering an Onondaga war party in 1666. An anticipation of reprisal likely explains the Susquehannocks' desire to reconfirm their military alliance with Maryland later that year (Kent 1984:38-40, 43).

Renewal of the Susquehannock alliance in 1666 was not the only major diplomatic event of that year. A major treaty which would restructure Anglo-Native relations was signed with twelve groups residing in the areas claimed by the Calvert family.

Native complaints of English encroachment were becoming common in the early 1660s as settlement pushed further west and north into what are now Charles and Prince George's counties (Archives Md. 3:489, 534; Archives Md. 49:139). With the continuing patenting and seating of lands ever deeper in Indigenous territory, Anglo-Native conflict increased, threatening both the stability of the Calverts' colonial enterprise and their indispensable alliance with the Piscataway nation. Amelioration of this issue and normalization of Anglo-Native interaction in the colony were the impetus for the treaty (Cissna 1986:156). This agreement would have an important impact for decades on the events which were to follow and the treaty would continue to be renewed (in amended form) even after the Calverts had lost political control of Maryland.

The treaty also provides insight into the state of Native affairs within the Maryland colony at this time. Parties to the treaty included the Piscataways, Anacostins (Nacotchtanke), Doegs, Mikikiwomans, Masquestends, Mattawomans, Chingwateicks, Nanjemoy, Portobacos, Sacayos, Pangayos, and Chopticos. There were only seven signers, however, for all twelve groups. Analysis of the signatory groups suggests that the Piscataways and the Sacayos, sharing two signers, were fully united, as were the Chingwateicks and Pangayos. The Anacostins, Portobacos, Doegs, Mikikiwomans, Masquestends, and Chopticos, having no one sign for them, may have been subsumed by one of the other signatory groups (Cissna 1986:157-158).

As part of the treaty negotiations, the speeches of some Native representatives to the Assembly's Upper House (or Council) are preserved in the Maryland record. On April 12, 1666, three speakers appeared before the House: Mattagund (speaking for the Anacostins, Doegs, and Patuxents), Choatick, and Isapatawn ("for the King of Nan[jemoy]'s son"). It is possible that Choatick, who spoke before the Upper House, was the same individual as Choticke, "Counciller" for the Chingwateicks and Pangayos and signer of the treaty. Mattagund also addressed the Upper House by stating that, "Your hogs & Cattle injure Us You come too near Us to live & drive Us from place to place. We can fly no farther let us know where to live & how to be secured for the future from the Hogs & Cattle."

⁴ The location of this fort was at the head of Chesapeake Bay, different from the fort located at Piscataway Park.

Mattagund's speech also references "all the other Towns here," lending credence to Cissna's theory that many of the groups were not distinct "sub-tribes," but instead groups subsumed by others, possibly seasonally occupied towns of the larger groups (Archives Md. 2:14-15).

Three articles of the treaty are of special significance for this discussion. The first article formally acknowledges the governor's power to select new Tayacs and also states that the Tayac, Nattowasso, who had taken his father's name of Weghucasso, had died and a new Tayac would be appointed. In his speech, Choatick conceded that the Piscataways "own [up to] the Power that Kittamagund gave to the English to choose the Emperour of Piscattaway & Submitt to it" (Archives Md. 2:15). This article (along with several others) formally subjected the Piscataways to English authority (Cissna 1986:159). The treaty's fifth article affirmed "That in Case of Danger the Governr shall appoint a place to which the Indians of the aforesaid Nacons [Nations] shall bring their wives & children to be secured from danger of any forreign Indians..." (Archives Md. 2:26). Choatick's speech indicated that some Natives desired this clause of the treaty based on fears of Five Nations raids (Archives Md. 2:15). Finally, the tenth article made provision for the governor to establish a reservation "within which bounds it shall not be lawfull for the sd nacons to entertayne any forreign Indians whatsoever to live with them without leave from the Lord Propr or his cheife Governor" (Archives Md. 2:26). The intention was to formally create a place where the allied Natives could expect some relief from English settlers. For the purposes of this project, two years later, in 1668, the Council ordered that no English were to take up land between the head of Mattawoman and Piscataway creeks; that reservation was formally surveyed the following year (Archives Md. 5:34; Marye 1935:239-240).

The treaty also required the signatory Natives to agree to its terms or be declared enemies of Maryland and denied them the ability to wage war or negotiate peace without English oversight (Cissna 1986:163). Such oppressive terms may have been unacceptable to some groups, instigating a significant Indian flight from the colony. A 1669 Virginia census reveals the presence of an estimated 240 "Potopaco" in the vicinity of the Rappahannock River, likely emigrants from Maryland (Cissna 1986:164). Augustine Herrman's Map of Virginia and Maryland, completed in 1670 and published in 1673, shows the Potobac settled on the south side of the Rappahannock River, near the Nanzaticos (Figure 16). If Cissna (1986:152) is correct in his assertion that the Chingwateicks are the same as the "Cinquateck" on the John Smith map (see Figure 14) then it is possible that this group may have also fled Maryland with the Potobacs, as there is a group called the "Chinquatuck" on the north shore of the Rappahannock near the Potobacs. A 1673 map by Augustine Herman (Figure 16) also shows the Doegs as having moved to Virginia by this time. It seems that the treaty also pushed the Anacostin further north, away from Maryland settlement, and they may have been living on Anacostin Island in the Potomac as indicated by the Herrman map (Cissna 1990:30-31, 1986:178).

By 1670, the Piscataways desired to "revive the League" with Maryland, telling the English that they were "now reduced to a small Number" (Archives Md. 5:65). Perhaps many Piscataways, like many other Maryland Natives, had fled to escape the heavy-handed terms of coexistence with the Maryland English (Cissna 1986:164-165). Others may have assimilated into English society, and Ferguson and Ferguson (1960:28-29) claim that some Piscataways had joined the Susquehannocks. The records along with archeological evidence are also clear that the Piscataways "now reduced" remained an organized nation based along Piscataway Creek (Ferguson and Stewart 1940).

In 1675, one of the more distressing episodes in colonial history took place on land now part of Piscataway Park. The Susquehannock Fort, located at Mockley Point in 1673, came under siege by the Virginia and Maryland militias with assistance from the Piscataways (Figure 17). The problems began early



Figure 16. Augustine Herman's 1670/1673 Map of Maryland and Virginia (Library of Congress).

in 1675 in Virginia when Doegs, angry that colonist Thomas Mathews had failed to settle a debt, took matters into their own hands. The feud escalated, resulting in the deaths of an English servant, and the Doegs were forced to flee to Maryland. Virginians pursued the Doegs into Maryland, killing a good number, and then accidentally opening fire not on Doegs but on Susquehannocks – at that time, friends of the two colonial governments (Rice 2012:3-8).

The Susquehannocks retaliated, and the Virginia and Maryland militia officers had no intention of letting them get away with these paybacks. Under the leadership of John Washington (great-grandfather of George) and Isaac Allerton for Virginia and Thomas Trueman for Maryland, the militias descended on the Susquehannocks at their fort at Mockley Point, beginning a siege that lasted six weeks. At the beginning of the siege, Susquehannock leaders invited by the English for a parley were brutally murdered by the colonists. Four hundred men, women, and children kept the fort until early November when, under cover of darkness, the Susquehannocks made their escape (Rice 2012:18-24). The site of the Susquehannock Fort was identified and excavated by Alice Ferguson in the 1930s (Figure 18; Ferguson 1941). During Ferguson's excavations she discovered a small ossuary containing the remains of at least 42 individuals as well as trade goods and artifacts definitively linking the site to the Susquehannocks. The number of individuals is staggering when considering the Susquehannock Fort's length of occupation (18 months) and meager population size (estimates place the number around 500 people). Ales Hrdlicka and T. Dale Stewart,

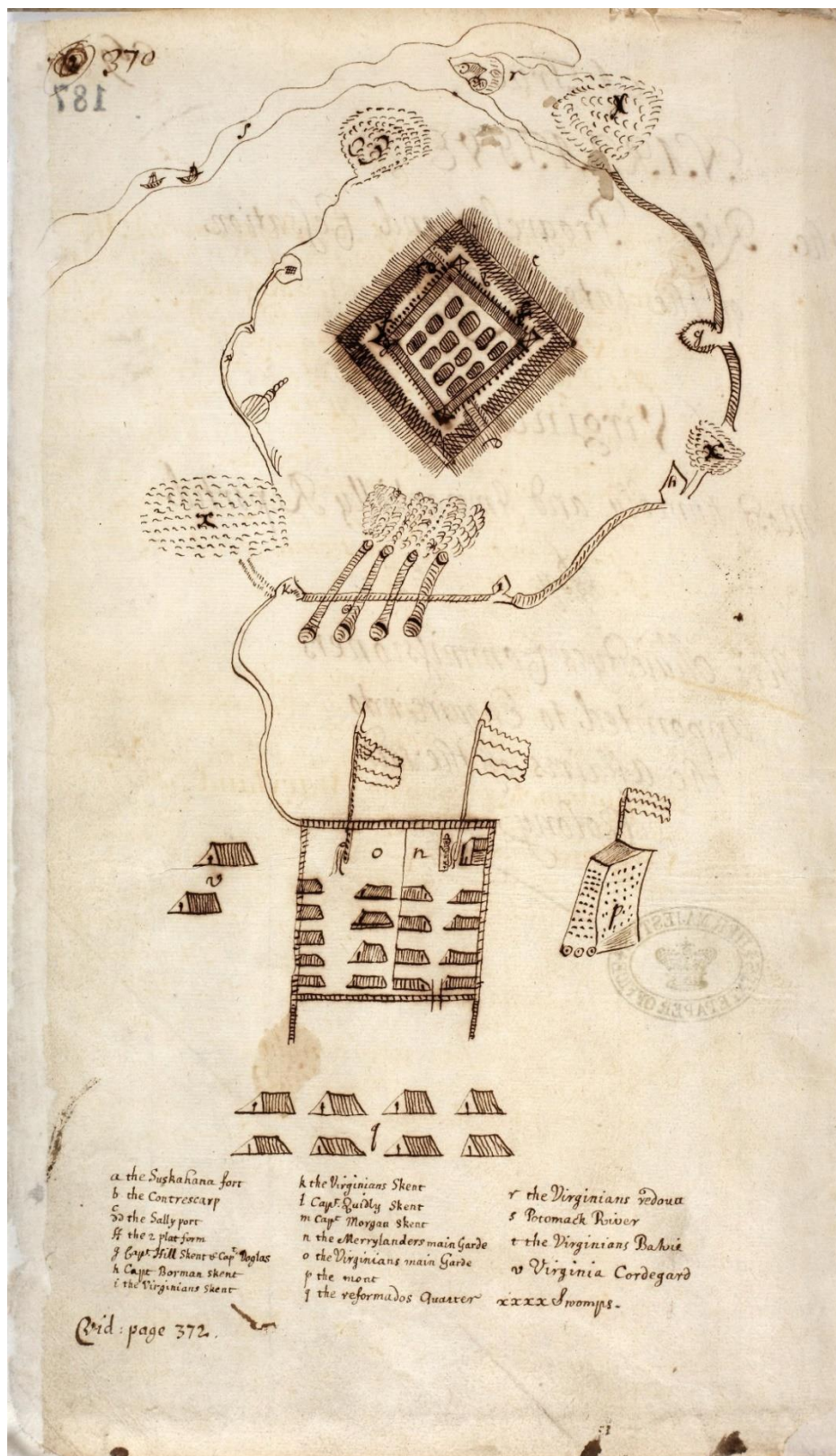


Figure 17. Contemporary illustration of the siege of Susquehannock Fort (The [British] National Archives CO5/1371).

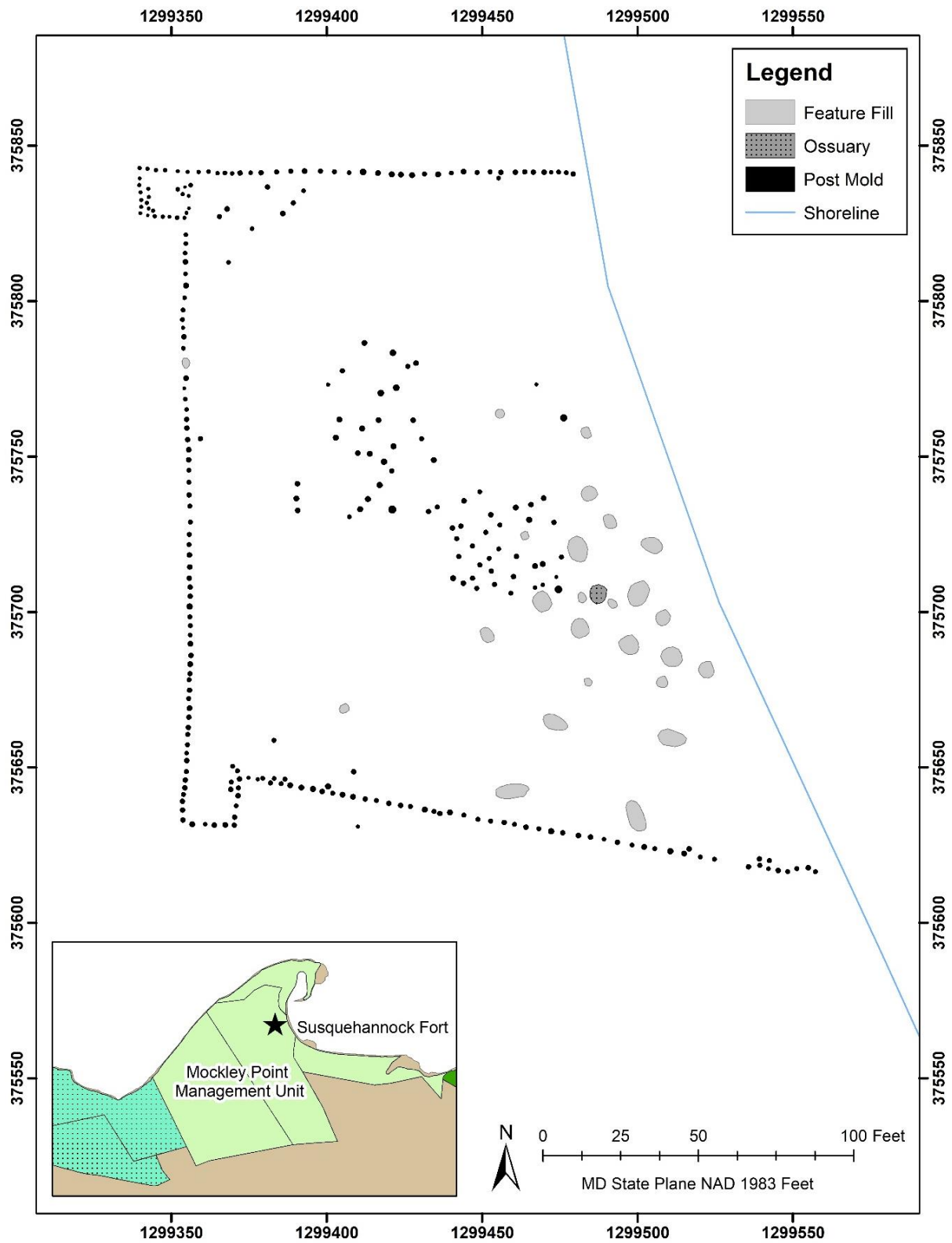


Figure 18. Map of the Susquehannock Fort site (18PR241) showing subsurface features uncovered by the Fergusons in the 1930s (Colonial Encounters).

physical anthropologists at what is now the Smithsonian Institution, examined the remains and identified at least seven young children among the individuals.

The end of the Susquehannock Fort episode did not mark the end of hostilities, however. The Susquehannocks began an effort ranging along the Virginia frontier, attacking colonists in their homes. These events precipitated Bacon's Rebellion, which broke out during the summer of 1676. The ease with which a rebellious colonist could topple the colonial government shocked the crown, which sent representatives later that year to investigate the chain of events leading to the rebellion (Rice 2012:29-51).

For the Piscataways, their participation in the siege of the Susquehannock Fort did not go unnoticed by the Susquehannocks. The Maryland assembly impeached Thomas Trueman for his role in the execution of the Susquehannock leaders although his punishment was only a fine (Rice 2012:57-58). The Susquehannocks nonetheless left the Maryland English alone but took their anger out on the Piscataways.

Continued pressure on the Piscataways at their base along Piscataway Creek by the Susquehannocks and other "northern Indians" led to their request in June of 1680 to "remove either to Mattawoman Choptico or Zachaiah." Charles Calvert, Lord Baltimore, considered the request and he and the Council concluded that a relocation to Zekiah was the best option for the Piscataways. The Council stated "the Zachaia is the most proper place for the said Indians at prsent to remove themselves their wives and Children untill such time as his Lspp can come to some treaty with the Senniquos and Susquehannohs" (Archives Md. 15:302-303). Calvert elected to send the Piscataways to Zekiah Manor, one of two proprietary manors in Charles County. The area of Zekiah Manor that was ultimately occupied by the Piscataways became known as Zekiah Fort.

On June 29, 1680, the Council had received intelligence from Colonel George Wells in Baltimore County that a sizable contingent of Susquehannocks and northern Native troops were determined to make a major assault on the Piscataways in either July or August. The Council appointed Jacob Young, a translator, to attempt to confer with the said Natives and discourage them from the attack (Archives Md. 15:310). The war parties of northern Natives which had previously attacked the Piscataways evidently remained in the area, however. In a letter written June 28, 1680, Captain Brandt reported that the Piscataways had been daily sending out scouts, and these scouts had recently "discovered the Enemy," presumably a northern Indian encampment. By Brandt's account, the Piscataways were concerned that the enemy would attack before construction of the Zekiah Fort was completed (Archives Md. 15:313). Brandt also informed Baltimore that the Mattawomans, who had remained in their own fort on Mattawoman Creek, were now even more exposed given the abandonment of the Piscataway fort on Piscataway Creek. The Mattawomans requested some English arms for their defense and Lord Baltimore complied with their request (Archives Md. 15:313-314).

At this point, the historical record goes silent for several months. It is unclear whether the predicted July/August assault occurred or not, but if such an assault had occurred, it seems likely that it would have been mentioned in Council proceedings. Instead, not until the following February does discussion of the Native situation resume in the Council. On February 19, 1681, Baltimore informed the Council that some Piscataway great men had recently met with him and notified him of their distressed condition. As the Mattawoman chief had earlier indicated, so too did the Piscataway great men attribute their present troubles squarely to their friendship and assistance with the English in the siege of the Susquehannock fort in 1675.

The Piscataways also pointed to the fact that the Mattawoman fort, which was southeast of what is now Piscataway Park near present-day Waldorf, had been recently attacked (in early January) and that “most of the Mattawoman Indians had been lately Surprised and cutt off[f] [killed] by the Susquehannohs” (Archives Md. 15: 329). Indeed, an attack in January was an unusual event for any Indigenous or English nation, both sides typically avoiding the disadvantage conferred by wintry weather (especially the cold and little vegetative cover) (Mansius 2013). Fearing an attack on the Zekiah Fort and anticipating “when it may be their owne turne being already at that passe that they dare not venture out of their ffort to plant their Corne for their sustenance,” the Piscataways requested from Baltimore a supply of corn (Archives Md. 15:329-330). Given that the Piscataways, when they moved to Zekiah in late June 1680, had likely abandoned their corn fields around Piscataway Creek, their need for corn in February was probably no exaggeration.

With news of the attack at the Mattawoman fort, the Council realized they needed to assist the Natives per the 1666 treaty. The Council suggested that the Chopticos, Nanjemoy, and remnant Mattawomans join the Piscataways at Zekiah Fort, “being the most proper place and secure way for to Defend themselves from their Enemie, and where they may be most capable of receiveing aid and assistance from the English.” If these groups did not wish to go to Zekiah, Baltimore and the Council directed them instead to Nanjemoy, placing them on the Charles County frontier (and not in Choptico, presumably nearer English plantations). The Council also agreed to send the Natives thirty pounds of powder and sixty pounds of shot, implying their Native allies already had guns. They further promised twenty barrels of corn (Archives Md. 15:330). Finally, the Maryland government began to organize and mobilize its own military forces, appointing Edmund Dennis “Marshall of all our Military forces both horse and foote” for Charles County (Archives Md. 15:333-334).

Relocation to Zekiah Fort did not make the Piscataways immune to future attacks. At least one skirmish with the “Sinniquos” took place on the night of August 28, with Captain Brandt describing that “there were a greate many Gunns shott in the night.” English messengers were sent to find the northern warriors, but they soon discovered that the Iroquois had absconded, leaving notice that their siege had ended. In the fighting the previous evening, nine Piscataway men, four women, and four girls were taken captive by the Iroquois. Another Piscataway man was killed, probably as revenge for the Iroquois scout previously killed by the Piscataways (Archives Md. 17:15).

This particular conflict continued its way south from Zekiah Fort into areas of English settlement. Among the reports was one from Thomas Hussey at Moore’s Lodge, the site of the Charles County courthouse. Apparently, some Piscataways had sought shelter from the Iroquois among the English plantations. Hussey’s report includes a statement that the raiding Natives had carried away eleven Piscataways (one man and ten women) from his plantation. In addition, Hussey had all of his linen, blankets, clothing, and rings stolen by a band of Natives. Similarly, Henry Hawkins of nearby Johnstontown, just south of Moore’s Lodge, reported that a Susquehannock man who had been living at his residence was captured by a party of northern Natives (Archives Md. 17:20).

Indigenous raiding along the English frontier had been, in 1676, a major catalyst of Bacon’s Rebellion in Virginia, and the present situation had the potential to play into the then-circulating rumors concerning a Catholic-Indian alliance in Maryland to destroy the Protestants. Fully aware of the risks at hand, Baltimore realized he would need to consult with the elected freemen of the Assembly’s Lower House on how to proceed with regard both to the raids by the northern Indians and Piscataway relations. On September 10, 1681, the Assembly met to consider sending a force of scouts and troops to Zekiah to help

defend the Piscataways. The Lower House took several days to respond to the Upper House (consisting of Lord Baltimore and his Council), ultimately reporting that “they have left the Affair of Warr or Peace in Relation to the Northern Indians to his Lordships Sole Conduct and Management and therefore think it inconvenient and improper for this house to be Consulted about any Mediums or Circumstances thereof the matter of the Protection of the said Indians” (Archives Md. 7:159, 177, 180). In other words, Baltimore and his advisors were in this alone.

As Baltimore considered how to protect his denizens and manage political perceptions, including a rumor that was as unlikely as it was believed, the Piscataways braced for another attack by the northern Indians. Baltimore ordered Brandt and his men to continue ranging on the frontier and to have twenty or thirty Piscataways accompany them should any northern Natives be discovered. He also ordered Brandt to garrison the fort with English rangers when the Piscataway men were out patrolling with him to protect the elders, women, and children at Zekiah. Interestingly, Baltimore also stated that “the Choptico Indians be required to joine themselves with the Pascattoway or Nanjemaick [Nanjemoy] Indians in one of their fforts if they expect protection from the English.” This may have been another attempt to force the Chopticos away from the English plantations in St. Mary’s County (Archives Md. 17:27-28) and, indeed, some Chopticos later joined the Piscataways at Zekiah Fort (Archives Md. 17:54).

To quell further violence against the Piscataways and the Maryland English, negotiations took place between them and the Five Nations Iroquois. A tentative peace was brokered with the Five Nations in 1682 (Archives Md. 17:96-97). Despite the successful conclusion of peace negotiations, some of the Five Nations informed the Maryland envoys that war parties had already been dispatched, asking the English to excuse them until word reached them of the peace. As late as August 24, 1682, Colonel Chandler was writing Lord Baltimore that the Mattawoman chief had recently approached him and informed him “they were not able to live in their ffort at Nanjemy the Sinniquo Indians did soe Oppress them, and they being weeke were in Inevitable danger of being utterly destroyed.” Evidently the Mattawomans had at some point moved to the Nanjemoy fort, which was still being attacked although “the English never takes any notice of them though the Enemy is almost every day upon them.” The Mattawoman leader requested a ten or twelve man garrison of English troops to help the Mattawomans and Nanjemoy defend their fort or he would either be forced to remove to Zekiah Fort or give himself up to the enemy. It seems that neither the Mattawomans nor the Nanjemoy had a particular desire to move to Zekiah. Chandler’s letter also described that, recently, the “Speaker of the Zachaja ffort” had come to his house, sent by the “Young Emperor” to tell him that the Piscataways had sixty or seventy deer skins to present to Baltimore and some other business to conduct with him, with the speaker requesting some English troops to defend their wives and children in the fort while they made the journey (Archives Md. 17:111-112).

In 1685, peace with the Senecas of the Five Nations was confirmed between them and the Maryland Government and Piscataways. During a conference of all three parties at the home of Colonel Wells in Baltimore County, the Senecas

...presented a Belt of Peake [a shell necklace] signifying that whereas much blood had been spilt between them and the Piscataway Indians, with great trouble, labour, and toil, they the said Pascattoway Indians might now remain secured of peace, and reign without molestation in their own territories (Archives Md. 17:366).⁵

⁵ This passage has been edited for spelling and punctuation.

Peace was also confirmed between the Maryland government and the Senecas, with the Senecas offering the Maryland authorities belts of peake⁶ and the English offering several matchcoats to the Senecas.

On August 7, 1685, three Piscataways Natives named Kanhia, Pasinsiak, and Achsaminnis, arrived in Albany and presented themselves to the New York government, the obligatory channel for negotiating with the Five Nations. The Piscataways made two statements to the New York authorities:

1. We are come here from Maryland to the house of Corlaer where usually propositions are made, and where the Covenant fire burns, to speak with all the Indians westward about the Covenant, do give a Belt of [peake] 10 deep.
2. We are come to stay here in Corlaer's house [un]till the Indians as far as Onondaga come here to speak with us about the Covenant, and desire that amount the Interpreter may go and fetch them. Do give 4 faddom of wampum to grease his horse's legs (Leder 1956:83).⁷

Three years later, in March 1689, Baltimore's deputy governors responded to provincial disturbances by sending "ten or twelve men and Armes to goe to the piscattaway fort to desire the Indians to keep the fort till things were settled" (Archives Md. 8: 4). The "piscattaway fort" is believed to be the Zekiah Fort (although this is not certain) and seems to suggest that the Indians had by this time moved out and dispersed from the fort to some degree, though the structure was still standing. Archeological evidence indicates that the Zekiah Fort was occupied at least into the early 1690s. It is also possible that this "fort" was back at Piscataway, since other evidence indicates at least some Indians returned there after peace had been made with the Senecas. Archeological site 18PR248, located at Piscataway Park, may very well be the Piscataway Fort referred to in 1689. Regardless, it seems that this site was inhabited around the same time as the Zekiah Fort. Archeological excavations of 18PR248 site have yielded artifacts associated with Native sites in the seventeenth century. These include black and red glass beads, both Indigenous and colonial ceramics, and white clay tobacco pipe fragments. The assemblage is similar to the artifacts recovered from the contemporary Zekiah Fort site (Figure 19; Flick et al. 2012).

The Calverts' tenure in Maryland soon came to an end when, in July/August of 1689, Lord Baltimore lost control of Maryland in an uprising of disaffected rebels (Carr and Jordan 1974). The rebels, or Protestant Associators as they called themselves, seized control of the government and set up shop at Mattapany, Baltimore's plantation on the Patuxent. Despite the Tayac's testimony denying the rumored Catholic-Indian conspiracy, the Piscataway were probably perceived by the new anti-proprietary government and the Protestant populace as allies of the deposed Lord Baltimore and not necessarily of the new government. It is unclear why the Piscataway had remained at Zekiah even after the threat of Iroquoian raids had ended, but proximity to the English and the Maryland government may have facilitated a mutually beneficial trade. With a new group of anti-proprietary Protestants in charge, however, and Lord Baltimore back in England, permanently as it turned out, Piscataway ties to Lord Baltimore were probably looked upon unfavorably and subsequent descriptions of interaction between the group and the Maryland English suggest much conflict.

In 1692, a royal government replaced the interim government of the Protestant Associators and the Anglican Church was declared the official religion of Maryland. This newly appointed royal government prohibited Englishmen from taking liquor to the Piscataway fort or other Native settlements, albeit at the

⁶ Shell beads.

⁷ This passage has been edited for spelling and punctuation.



Figure 19. Example of artifacts recovered from Zekiah Fort (18CH808) including glass beads, a copper triangle, a projectile point, pipe fragments, and military artifacts. Similar artifacts are reported to have been recovered from 18PR248 (Colonial Encounters).

Tayac's request (Archives Md. 8:328). It seems that, by the 1690s, a number of factors were pulling the Piscataways apart. The Tayac told the Maryland government that the Piscataway youth no longer respected the elders and were often making forays into Virginia, bringing back prisoners (Cissna 1986:175-176; Merrell 1979:569). The Tayac had also hinted in an earlier meeting that some were abandoning the group.

Records indicate that some Piscataways moved back to Piscataway from Zekiah Fort at some point in the 1690s, as recounted by John Hawkins and William Hutchison, who mention having lived "neer the Piscattoway ffort for some years" (Archives Md. 23:226). During this time Hawkins and Hutchison were living in Prince George's County near Piscataway and it was clear the colonists were taking up Indigenous land in the vicinity of what is today Piscataway Park. Some Piscataways probably left to join other groups, as appears to have been happening throughout the 1670s and 1680s, either voluntarily or by force/capture. The Tayac and a number of Piscataways soon left Maryland for Virginia on their own, while others remained in the colony, some assimilating with the English and others likely continuing traditional practices in isolated or fringe communities.

Throughout 1696, some Piscataways had been making forays into Virginia. Soon, the Tayac and a large contingent would move there. Some Chopticos and people from around the town of Pamunkey as well as some Piscataways remained in Maryland during this time (Cissna 1986:178-179; Flick and King 2019). In 1697, James Stoddert, who was living along "the Easterne branch of Potomack in Prince Georges County," or what was the Anacostia River, reported that, in February of that year, several Natives who lived "near the mountains" had come to his house to trade. "At this time," Stoddert noted, "there were some families of the Piscattoway Indians had their Cabins at my house" (Archives Md. 19:522). Cissna

(1986:179) interprets this passage as referring to a Piscataway winter hunting quarter, using this as evidence of continuity of the traditional seasonal round; the passage also suggests that some Piscataways had indeed remained in Maryland in February 1697. By May, however, the records indicate that the Piscataways, Mattawomans, and Chopticos, at least as organized polities, were beginning to withdraw into the mountains of Virginia (Archives Md. 19:557).

By June, a group of Piscataways including the Tayac and great men had left Maryland and settled in Virginia “betwixt the two first mountaines above the head of occoquam river lying neare sixty or seaventy miles beyond the Inhabitants where they have made a fort & planted a Corne feild” (Archives Md. 19:520). The Maryland government, which just two years earlier had worked to deprive Native people of land, now sent Major William Barton to find out why the Tayac had left Maryland and to determine his interest in returning. The Tayac told Barton that the Piscataways had experienced much conflict with their English neighbors while in Maryland and were being blamed for killing livestock and a host of other problems. The English were also destroying Piscataway corn, tearing down their fences, buying up their lands, and threatening them. Upon his return, Barton reported to the Maryland Council that the Tayac and great men were strongly opposed to returning to Maryland, although they “desire to live peaceable there & to passe too & froe without trouble as formerly and that the English should be welcome to come to their ffort as often as they please” (Archives Md. 19:520-521). Major Barton also reported that while the Tayac and great men opposed a Piscataway return, “the greatest part of the Indians are inclinable to returne back to Maryland, especially the Comon sort of men & woemen & that severall of them are already come back & more resolved to come suddenly provided they may live peaceably & quietly & that they see the English are not angry with them” (Archives Md. 19:521).

One of the primary catalysts for Piscataway abandonment of Maryland was the murder of one of James Stoddert’s enslaved Africans on April 3, 1697 (Archives Md. 19:568-569). It is unknown who committed the murder, but the Piscataway Tayac feared his people would be blamed by the Maryland government, as they were already being accused of mischief in Virginia. A June 29, 1697 letter from George Brent to the Maryland governor provides much more detail on the situation. Brent reported that he had recently met with an Indian named Choptico Robin, who told him that several months earlier an Indian named Esquire Tom was at the falls of the Potomac with a group of Piscataways and Senecas. Among the group was a Susquehannock great man named Monges, who secretly gave Esquire Tom a large belt of peake and told him “that his Nation was Ruined by the English assisted by Piscattoways, & tht now they were no People, that he had still tears in his Eyes when he thought of it and...he must take his Revenge in private by his money & therefore if this Esq Tom would kill some English where he Could...and most probable to be lay’d upon the Emperors People, he would give him great Rewards...for tht the English would ffirst bleed & then Revenge it upon his Indian Enemies also this Esq Tom promiseth to do” (Archives Md. 23:187-188). Esquire Tom told Choptico Robin that the murder was to be committed in Maryland, but since Robin claimed that he had not participated, he could not confirm that Esquire Tom was responsible for the murder of Stoddert’s enslaved African. Nonetheless, Esquire Tom was guilty of the Virginia murders, according to Robin. Choptico Robin did state confidently, however, that it was the murder of Stoddert’s enslaved African that “Caused both the [Piscataway] Emperor & Pomunkey Indians to ffly to Virga tht the Emperr sate down there where now he is but the sd Pomunkeys soon Return’d to Maryland” (Archives Md. 23:188).

The Maryland government was anxious to get the Piscataways to return, at the very least so they could keep tabs on them. Virginia records report that, in July 1697, the Piscataway Tayac entertained a number of Senecas at his settlement in Virginia and the two nations declared that they were “now all one

people” (Cissna 1986:183-184). Maryland eventually succeeded in getting the Piscataways to agree to resettle either at Piscataway Creek or Rock Creek. Virginia officials were also trying to get the Piscataway to return to Maryland. Cissna describes a series of murders in both Stafford County, Virginia and Prince George’s County, Maryland for which the Piscataways received blame and efforts to bring them back to Maryland were likely an attempt to better control the group’s actions (Cissna 1986:184-185). The Maryland government even considered capturing and holding hostage the son of the Piscataway Tayac, who was at Choptico, in an effort to gain leverage in their dealings with the group (Archives Md. 25:76).

It is unclear whether the Piscataways returned to Maryland as the colonists desired. Several Pamunkeys who had been with the Piscataways in Virginia returned to live near English plantations “att Pomunkey” (Archives Md. 22:328-329; Cissna 1986:186). No doubt some Piscataways also returned to southern Maryland, as the Tayac’s son was staying at Choptico and, as Major Barton noted earlier when visiting the group in Virginia, many of the “Comon sort” were eager to return to their homeland and some already had.

By 1699, many Piscataway, including the Tayac, had moved to Conoy Island (later known as Heater’s Island) in the Potomac River, near Point-of-Rocks, Maryland (Figure 20). This site is well above the fall line and distant from the English settlements. By this time, the Piscataways were most frequently referred to as the Conoy (Cissna 1986:191-192). Virginia’s governor, hoping to arrange a meeting with the Piscataway Tayac and learn of the group’s disposition toward Virginia, sent two emissaries to visit the group on Conoy Island. Burr Harrison and Giles Vandercastle made the long journey through the Virginia wilderness to meet with the Tayac in April 1699. The two Virginians described an unfinished fort on the northern edge of the island, about fifty to sixty meters on a side. They estimated the Piscataway population to be about eighty bowmen/warriors (300 people total) and learned from the Tayac that there were also “Genekers” (Senecas) who sometimes lived with them “when they are at home.” Eighteen cabins were described inside the fort, with another nine outside. The Tayac and great men also declined the governor’s request to meet with him in the Virginia capital, as they “were very Bussey and could not possibly come or goe down.” Instead, they invited the governor to the island, affirming that they desired to live in peace (Palmer 1875:62-65).

Later that year, in November, another pair of Virginians, David Straughn and Giles Tillet, traveled to Conoy Island to meet with the Piscataway Tayac. The Tayac reported that the Piscataways were anticipating an attack by the French-allied “Wittowees,” who had been seen in the area by some Piscataway women. The pair also confirmed that some Senecas were living at the fort and that the Susquehannocks occasionally came to the island (in peace) as well. When asked if he would come live among the English again, the Tayac responded that he would be willing to, but was afraid that the “foreign Indians” would follow them and commit mischief or violence against the English for which the Piscataways would be blamed. The Tayac stated that, despite fears of Witowee attacks, the Piscataways would stay at the fort for now (Palmer 1875:67).

In 1700 and 1701, John Accatamacca, or Othotomaquah, the Piscataway Tayac, sold some tracts of land between Mattawoman and Piscataway creeks to Englishmen, including land that was outside the bounds of Piscataway Park. These documents are in effect quit-claims, a legal form of ensuring total dispossession of the land by Native people (Strickland 2015). Around this time, the Maryland government was attempting to establish a reservation for the Piscataways, promising that the English would vacate the area if the Piscataways would return (Archives Md. 24:72-72, 79). The Maryland government was also appointing “mediators” for Native groups in Maryland, likely to keep a watchful eye on the Natives on the

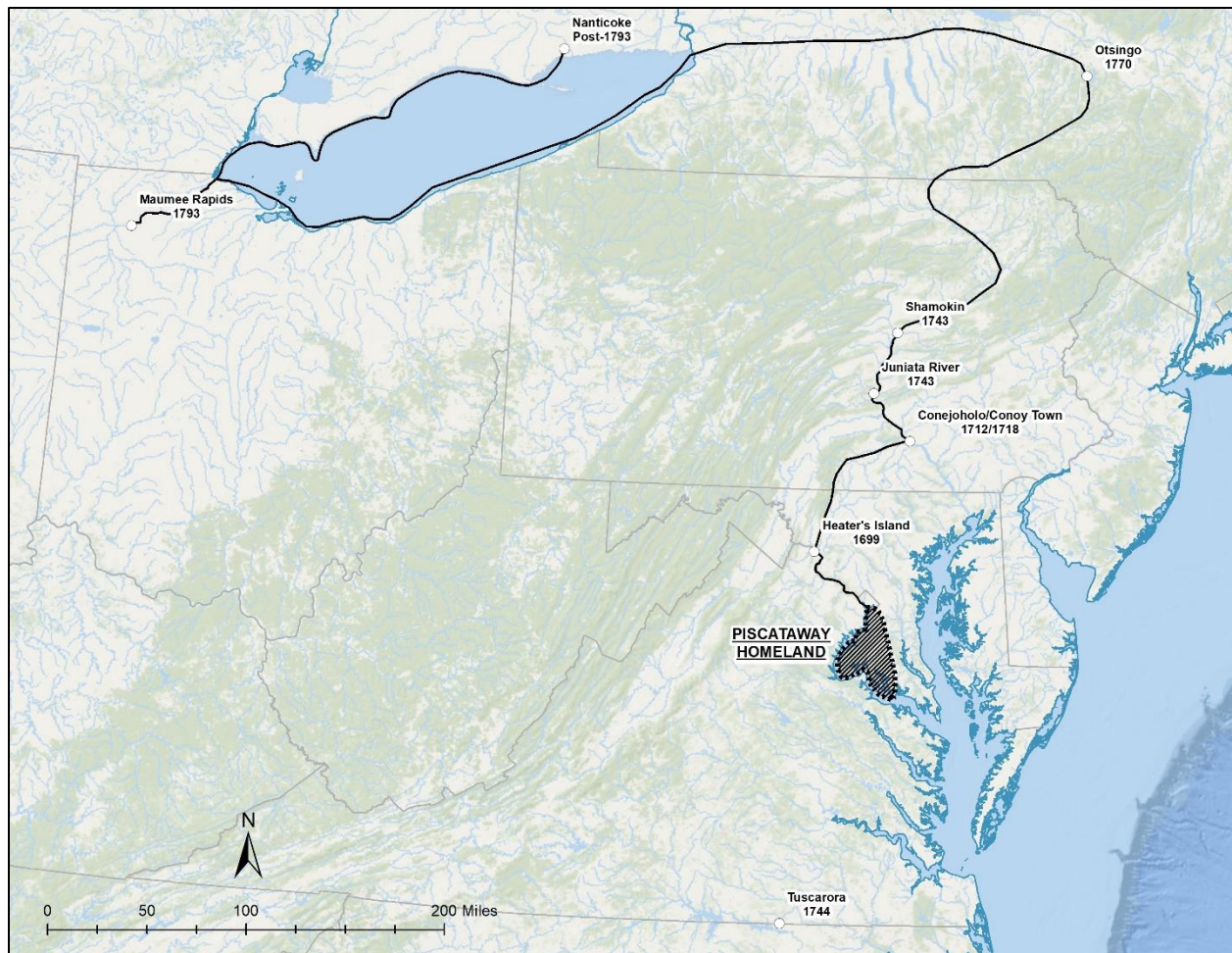


Figure 20. Map of Piscataway diaspora and displacement out of their homeland.

planned reservations. This act recognized four groups of Southern Maryland Indians at this time: Choptico, Piscataway, Accokeek, and Pamunkey (Cissna 1986:188).

A large contingent of the Piscataway group remained on Conoy Island, however, and it is unlikely that the reservation was established as planned. The Maryland government appeared to have gotten Tayac Othotomaquah to agree to return to Southern Maryland with his group in July 1700, but over a year after this agreement, the Piscataways still had not returned (Cissna 1986:188; Archives 24:147-148). The Maryland government appeared mistrustful of the Tayac at this time, ordering rangers to protect the colony's frontier (Archives Md. 24:147-148).

In September 1704, the Piscataways on Conoy Island were visited by Colonel Smallwood, a Native interpreter named Robin, and a small troop of men. Smallwood learned that 57 Piscataways had died during a smallpox outbreak, including Tayac Othotomaquah (Archives Md. Md. 26:376-377), and the group was to select a new Tayac (Cissna 1986:189). Smallwood reported that "they had left their Forte," leaving much corn unharvested, although this may have been temporary, as the group remained on the island and in the area (Archives Md. Md. 26:377). Some Piscataways may have left the island after the smallpox epidemic, going to live at Conejoholo on the Susquehanna River (see Figure 20) (Cissna 1986:192).

Many Piscataways continued on the island, however. In 1712, the Piscataways, still at Conoy (or Heater's Island), were visited by Christoph von Graffenreid, a Swiss colonist looking to establish a community in the New World. Graffenreid described visiting the island of "Canavest" (phonetically similar to "Ganowese," or Conoy, the Iroquoian term for the Piscataway) where a group of Indians were then living. A Frenchman from Canada named Martin Chartier had married an Indian woman and was present on the island when Graffenreid arrived there. The Piscataways built several bark canoes for Graffenreid and his group and took them down the Potomac (Todd 1920:247, 383-385, 391).

Sometime between Graffenreid's 1712 visit and 1718, the group abandoned Conoy Island and resettled in Pennsylvania (see Figure 20). According to a brief oral history of Piscataway chief Old Sack recorded in 1743, his predecessors had "brought down all their Brothers from Potowmeck to Conjoholo," indicating that the Piscataways (who had left Conoy Island at this time) may have joined previous migrants at Conejoholo for a brief period (quoted in Kent 1984:70). By 1718, the Piscataways had resettled at Conoy Town on the Susquehanna River where they remained until European encroachment in 1743 again forced them to move to either the Juniata River or Shamokin (see Figure 20) (Van Doren and Boyd 1938: 67-69; Cissna 1986:192-193).

Piscataway Displacement, Relocation, and Diaspora (c. 1700–1800)

The Piscataway appear to have maintained close ties to the Nanticokes and, following their move into the Pennsylvania colony, were party to numerous treaties between the colonial government and the Indian nations throughout the eighteenth century. At this time, the Piscataways were under the influence of the Haudenosaunee Iroquois and maintained extensive contact with many mid-Atlantic Indigenous groups.

During the negotiations for these treaties, concerns of the Piscataways/Conoys were sometimes raised. At the 1744 Treaty of Lancaster, for example, the Piscataways described "that they were ill used by the white People," forcing them to move from Conoy Town and requesting "some small Satisfaction for their Land" (Van Doren and Boyd 1938:67). At the same meeting, Iroquoian speaker Canassatego conferred with commissioners from Virginia on behalf of the Piscataways. Canassatego told the commissioners that "among these Tuscaroraes there live a few Families of the Conoy Indians, who are desirous to leave them," asking the commissioners for safe passage of these Piscataways on the road through Virginia (Van Doren and Boyd 1938:77). Canassatego's request reveals that some Piscataways had resettled south of Maryland among Tuscarora remnants who had not migrated north to join the Haudenosaunee at the conclusion of the Tuscarora War several decades earlier (see Figure 20). Canassatego referred to a recent agreement with the Cherokees necessitating the reopening of a Virginia road to Iroquoian messengers. The Pennsylvania governor responded on behalf of the Virginia commissioners, stating that they "would prepare Passes for such of the Conoy Indians as were willing to remove to the Northward" (Van Doren and Boyd 1938:78).

At the 1761 Treaty of Easton, Piscataway and Nanticoke-specific concerns were again addressed with the colonial Pennsylvania government:

We the Seven Nations, especially the Nanticokes and Conoys, speak to you. About Seven Years ago we went down to Maryland, with a Belt of Wampum, to fetch our Flesh and Blood, which we shewed to some Englishmen there, who told us they did not understand Belts, but if we had brought any Order in Writing from the Governor of Pennsylvania, they would let our Flesh and Blood then come away with us but as this was not done, they would

not let them come Now we desire you would give us an Order for that Purpose (Van Doren and Boyd 1938:260).

Both the Lancaster and Easton treaties demonstrate the geographical extent of the Piscataway diaspora. Not only did some Piscataways migrate north into Pennsylvania, some split and went south to live among the Tuscaroras (remaining there as late as 1744), while some also stayed behind in Maryland (as evidenced by the 1761 Easton treaty).

In August 1769, a conference was held at Shamokin by Colonel Francis of Pennsylvania for the condolence of Seneca George, “a leading Chief, and faithful Friend of the English,” whose son had recently been murdered by an Englishman. Attending along with Seneca George were an Onondaga chief, the “Conoy King,” and roughly fifty more Natives, “principally Nanticokes and Conoys.” These Natives were described as “inhabiting in and near Shanango,” in New York. When Seneca George became too “oppressed with grief” during the proceedings, the Conoy King spoke on his behalf (Pennsylvania Gazette 1769).

Cissna notes that some Piscataway may have made their way to Otsiningo, New York after leaving Juniata (see Figure 20). At a major conference held with Sir William Johnson in 1770, 193 of the estimated 2,300 Native people in attendance were believed to be Piscataways and Nanticokes and, in 1779, when the Otsiningo Indian settlement was abandoned, 120 Nanticokes and 30 Piscataways were counted in a census at Fort Niagara (Cissna 1986:199-200). Some of these Nanticokes and Piscataways would later move with the Six Nations to a reservation in Canada, while others migrated west with other Native groups (Cissna 1986:200).

Piscataway representatives were also part of the Northwest Indian council held at the rapids of the Miami River in Ohio in 1793. White settlers had begun settling on Native territories north of the Ohio River by this time and President George Washington hoped to peacefully end US-Indian hostilities in the area while also securing Native land concessions. Washington commissioned Benjamin Lincoln and two others to negotiate a peace with the Indian Confederacy with the goal of pushing the boundary line further into Indigenous territory, effectively forcing the Natives further west. At a meeting at the mouth of the Detroit River, a Wyandot messenger presented Lincoln with a document outlining the position of the Northwest Indian Confederacy, which demanded adherence to the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, recognizing the Ohio River as the boundary between white settlement and Indian lands. Among the tribes signatory to this document were the “Connoys,” who signed with a Turkey (Massachusetts Historical Society 1836:109-176; for “Connoys,” see 143). These negotiations fell through, however, and hostilities between the groups resumed with a US offensive led by General Anthony Wayne. According to oral history, some of the Piscataways joined other Native groups fighting against Wayne’s forces during his Fallen Timbers campaign in 1794 (Tayac 1988:7).

While some Piscataways migrated north with Iroquois groups and others west with other nations through the eighteenth century, others remained in Maryland. Cissna (1986:205-206) describes some additional land transfers in 1713 and 1717 between Englishmen and Piscataways. Despite indications in the archival record of a withdrawal of the Native population from the areas around Piscataway, Pomonkey, Mattawoman, and Nanjemoy creeks, reading between the lines indicates that many Native people remained. Although the adoption of English names makes it difficult to locate Indigenous people in the historical record, one especially notable case was brought before the Maryland Council in 1736. George Williams, the son of the Pamunkey “Queen,” contested the ownership of land then in the possession of Charles Pye, an English colonist. This land was located on Mattawoman Creek. Williams’ argument was that the land

had been designated in 1666 as an Indian reserve. The Council agreed, ordering Pye to allow “him the said Indian and his family [to] live quietly upon the land where they are now settled” (Archives Md. 27:94-96). Pye countered that, in 1654, prior to the creation of the Indian reserve, the land in question had been granted to Thomas Cornwallis (Archives Md. 2:26). Pye also cited the decline in overall Native population in the area presumably suggesting that reserve lands were no longer necessary. Eventually the Council agreed that the 1654 Cornwallis patent superseded the 1666 Indian reserve and rescinded its previous order, allowing Pye “remedy at law against the said Indian” (Archives Md. 28:96).

The dispute between Williams and Pye and the recordation of land transfers between Natives and English during the early part of the eighteenth century is indicative of a major change in Anglo-Native interaction. Through much of the seventeenth century until ca. 1690, most interactions between English settlers and Native populations, especially with regards to land rights, were conducted as inter-organizational negotiations involving treaties and the creation of Indian reserves. By the eighteenth century, these interactions were most often manifested as disputes between individuals, with the dispute between Williams and Pye a prime example of this shift. Williams’ filing of the initial complaint against Pye indicates his familiarity with the English colonial legal system, and he was able to initially mount a successful defense for the right and claim of the land before the Council. Ultimately, Pye fiercely contested this initial judgment and was able to demonstrate, to English legal eyes, at least, his prior right to the land. Throughout the Council proceedings, it was revealed that Williams was also engaged in typically English practices, including the marking of hogs, keeping livestock, and recognizing the monetary value of raising animals beyond his immediate and personal use. What is especially noteworthy is that Williams also cultivated and sold tobacco, linking him directly to the colonial economic system of trade like his English counterparts. It is perhaps the adoption of otherwise unremarkable English practices that allowed for Williams to remain in the area and make a living, but these practices did not make him any less of an Indian in the eyes of the Maryland Council.

The aforementioned 1761 Treaty of Easton also references both Nanticokes and Conoys returning to Maryland in a failed effort to “fetch [their] Flesh and Blood,” a reference to their relatives remaining in Maryland (Van Doren and Boyd 1938:260). The colonial records contain numerous references to Chopticos and Pamunkeys remaining in the colony into the eighteenth century. References to the remnant Piscataways in the eighteenth century may be scarce because the tribal leadership, including the Tayac and great men, had left the colony. Major Barton’s visit to the group in Virginia in 1697 had revealed that the Tayac and great men “utterly refuse[d]” to return, while “the greatest part of the Indians are inclinable to returne back to Maryland, especially the Comon sort of men & woemen” and some of them already had (Archives Md. 19:521). Because the Maryland government largely ceased interaction with Piscataway leadership after their move to Pennsylvania, this likely explains the dearth of documentary references to the group’s remaining members.

Archeologist and ethnohistorian Thomas Davidson (1998:135-136) notes that “most of the tribal chiefs...reacted to [the] loss of power and autonomy by leaving the Maryland colony” and those who remained could either maintain Indian identity on reservation lands or move off reservations and find a place in English society. He also argues that the Maryland government did not regard “Indian” as a racial classification, instead deeming it a cultural, and thus mutable, trait (Davidson 1998:135-136). The implication is that once a Maryland Indian stopped acting in a manner the English viewed as overtly “Indian” – demanding treaty rights, etc. – they effectively ceased to be so in the eyes of the colonial government, which often defaulted their racial classification to white or Black based on the community to which they had closest ties. This administrative erasure of Indigenous identity continued into the nineteenth

century and would have long-lasting effects on the Piscataways and other Native groups who remained in southern Maryland (Davidson 1998), and suggests the quiet kind of cultural violence precipitated by the records and archives of colonial powers. However, it must also be noted that individuals such as George Williams adopted English habits and practices and yet were still regarded by themselves and others as Indian.

The overall continuation and survival of Native culture in southern Maryland has been the subject of repeated sociological research efforts dating from the late nineteenth century to the present. Prior to 1960, Thomas J. Harte documented Native populations using census, parish, and other documentary records. Harte concluded “with reasonable certainty they [the native population] originated in Charles County, Maryland prior to 1778” (Porter 1980:44). James Mooney of the Smithsonian Institution stated that, in 1898, a “remarkable” number of families of Native American origin were living in southern Maryland at that time (Porter 1980:42). The occupation of marginal lands along with endogamous marriage (that is, marriage within a given group) practiced by a core group of families through time allowed for the continued survival of Native people in the region. Throughout this period, Native people understood their identity as not African American or white but Indian. It is this maintenance of their identity that has allowed their survival as a cultural unit to this day (Gilbert 1945, 1946; Harte 1963; Harmon 1999:16).

Even as descendants of the seventeenth-century Piscataways remained on the margins of society in southern Maryland in the nineteenth century, the artifacts of the ancestors were being collected by planters who had taken Native places. In 1869, O.N. Bryan, part of the Bryan family in the region, donated a relatively large collection of lithics and ceramics to the Smithsonian Institution (Figure 21). This donation marks an unusually early recognition of the importance of these materials and suggests that nineteenth-century residents viewed these objects as “antique.” In particular, Bryan (1875:387) describes “[taking] great pleasure in gathering up everything... bearing evidence that it can be referred to human ingenuity,” as “I have become deeply interested in the subject, and earnestly desire to add my mite [sic] toward developing the history of the ancient people who lived upon the ground which I now call my own.”

While much research remains to be done on Piscataway life in the homeland after ca. 1700, what appears certain is that, not only did Piscataway people remain in southern Maryland, they, unsurprisingly, recognized a landscape rooted in history. This interpretation comes from a visit in 1882 by Dr. Elmer R. Reynolds, a co-founder of the Anthropological Society of Washington (D.C.). Reynolds visited “Indian Hill,” a place he described as an “old Indian town ... situated on the head waters of the Wicomico River, twenty-five miles from its junction with the Potomac” (Reynolds 1883:310-311). Reynolds, who was interested in documenting the region’s pre-Contact archeological sites, also described “Bead Hill,” which was nearby and “where glass beads... had been plowed” out of the ground. Although Reynolds’ descriptions are vague, archeologists are fairly certain that he in fact visited the former site of the Zekiah Fort.

Reynolds was taken to the old town by a self-identified Indian man by the last name of Swann, who, as far as Reynolds could tell, was of the “original, unmixed Wicomico [Piscataway] blood” an observation Reynolds made based on his appearance and habits (Reynolds 1883:313-314; Reynolds 1889:259). Swann does not appear to have lived near Indian Hill but about 18 miles away, suggesting his memory of the old town was based not on finding artifacts himself but on a broader awareness of an earlier landscape that, to western eyes, remained invisible. For Swann, however, Indian Hill and Bead Hill were remembered places and carried meaning for him; these places were not invisible. Reynold’s description provides a rare but perhaps not unusual glimpse into how one Indigenous man living in nineteenth-century southern Maryland recognized what would today be considered the Indigenous Cultural Landscape.



Figure 21. Collection of Indigenous pottery collected by O.N Bryan in the Piscataway Park region and donated to the Smithsonian in 1869. (Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History Department of Anthropology Collections).

CHAPTER IV

THE PLANTATION ERA

The colonial history of Piscataway Park reveals the challenges Native people had with encroaching settlers, many of which are discussed in the previous section. In 1663, the same year that Governor Charles Calvert traveled to Piscataway to select a new Tayac for the tribe, his father Cecil Calvert granted his nephew William Calvert approximately 3,000 acres on the south side of Piscataway Creek—acreage that was clearly part of the Piscataway homeland. Under William's ownership, this property was referred to alternatively as Piscataway Manor or Calvert Manor. William does not appear to have personally occupied the lands provided by this grant, but the writing was clearly on the wall. Though Native people would continue to live in the area that would become Piscataway Park for centuries to come, from this point onwards it would be transformed into an increasingly colonial landscape.

Marshall Hall Plantation

An eighteenth-century plantation house that is still partially standing, Marshall Hall (18CH75) is among the most significant cultural resources in Piscataway Park (Figure 22). The house is one of two areas in the park to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places, the other being the Accokeek Creek Site. Until recent history the house was still intact, however it was damaged by an arson fire in 1981 and again by a runaway truck in 2003. Over its history, the house has served as the home of the Marshall family, as a



Figure 22. The Marshall Hall plantation house before being damaged by arson in 1981 (National Park Service).

picnic ground taking advantage of the views of Mount Vernon, as an amusement park, and now as a part of Piscataway Park. In addition to the house ruin, a dependency, cemetery, and remnant landscape survive.

The land of the Marshall Hall plantation first entered into English hands through Randolph Hanson, who had come to the Maryland colony in the 1650s as a servant. Shortly after William Calvert patented the land for Calverts Manor—the same year in fact—Hanson obtained these two properties immediately to the south. These properties were then named Hansonton and Charley. Hanson’s acquisition of these properties may have drawn the ire of Piscataways as, in 1675, his house near Chaptico was reportedly raided by Indians (Md. Archives 2:483). Hanson does not appear to have moved to his property on Piscataway Creek until 1688 and in 1696, Hanson sold these properties to John Fendall and Joshua Marshall. Here, the properties were described as “two tracts of land near an old Indian town called Aquakeeke” and being “near the fort” (possibly 18PR248).

Not long after his purchase of the property, in 1700, Joshua Marshall secured a quitclaim deed to Charley from John Accatamacca, the Piscataway “emperor.” John Fendall, who had purchased Hansonton, also received a quitclaim deed at the time. The Piscataway leader, John Accatamacca, in turn, accepted 3,000 pounds of tobacco in exchange for his signature on the quitclaim deed for land already assigned by colonial authorities to Fendall and Marshall. Scott Strickland (2015) argues that this transaction was “conciliatory in nature,” perhaps designed to get any remaining Piscataways on the land to depart. The transfer shows how dispossession involved not just physical occupation and displacement, but legal structures designed to sever any residual rights to the land.

The properties of Hansontown and Charley eventually passed to Thomas Hanson Marshall, the nephew of Joshua Marshall and the stepson of John Fendall. As Thomas is a common name in the Marshall family, for the purposes of clarity, this Thomas Hanson Marshall will be referred to as Thomas Marshall I. By the time of his death, Thomas Marshall I, who had started his adult life as a carpenter, was a wealthy planter and merchant. His estate at his death was worth £1,856, a large sum by mid-eighteenth-century Maryland standards. The inventory taken of his personal possessions at his death in 1759 is “among the most extensive and detailed [inventory] dating from mid-eighteenth-century southern Maryland” and reveals an especially wealthy man (Rivoire 1972:12). Thomas I’s inventory includes such furnishings numbering seven beds and/or bedsteads, 32 chairs, three tables, a desk, and a chest (Table 5). Farm tools and equipment suggest a heavy investment in agriculture as do livestock including horses, cattle, pigs, and sheep. The inventory also notes that the Marshall’s plantation produced 11,161 pounds of tobacco in 1758 and over 9,000 pounds in 1759 (Hughes and Hughes 1985:45).

Artifacts especially revealing of Thomas Marshall’s efforts to display his wealth include the many teacups, teapots, bowls, saucers, and spoons listed in his inventory. In particular, a milk pot and teaspoons made of “Pollish’d silver” were among the most highly valued items in the inventory. By the eighteenth century, the consumption of tea and the ceremonies this consumption involved had become fashionable in England and the colonies. The social consumption of tea “was a sign of politeness and hospitality,” a place where young men and women might court, news and gossip were shared, and social relations and relations of power reproduced (Roth 1961). The equipment for a “proper” tea ceremony was expensive, and a silver tea pot was required for the most fashionable tea table.

A less pleasing part of Thomas Marshall’s I inventory is the fact that he owned 31 enslaved individuals, including men, women and children. These people and the labor they put into Marshall’s plantation were a major source of his wealth. As stakeholders in the plantation economy, the Marshall

Table 5. Household goods listed in Thomas Marshall I's probate inventory, 1759.

Item(s)	Comment
9 beds	Includes 5 feather beds and bedsteads, 2 feather beds and no bedsteads, 1 old bed, 1 "trunnel" (trundle) bedstead; the beds ranged in value from 2 to 8 pounds.
23 leather chairs	Described as "half-worn," "damaged," or "old"
2 flagg chairs	Reed or rush seats
8 new Russia Leather Chairs	An expensive leather chair; the leather is prepared through a special process
1 2-armed walnut chair	
4 tables	2 oval, 1 square, 1 square associated with a looking glass
3 chests	1 with drawers, 1 "large" and "old," 1 ironbound
1 small desk	

family owned many enslaved individuals, and this number would increase in the coming decades. The lives of enslaved individuals and their descendants at Piscataway Park is a topic worthy of its own designated section and is discussed in-depth in the following chapter, but is touched upon here briefly.

After Thomas Marshall I died in 1759, the property passed to his widow, Sabine Marshall, and then to his son, Thomas II upon her death in 1768 (Figure 23). The Marshall Hall house may have been built before 1768, as upon inheriting the property Thomas II realized that the house was not located within the original bounds of the patent. Thomas II corrected the error, naming the additional reparented property "Mistake" (Patent certificate 56; Hughes and Hughes 1985). In addition to being a successful plantation owner, Thomas II has been described as "a man committed to the political welfare of the country" (Rivoire 1972). Indeed, Thomas II served as a justice in the Prince George's County Court through 1773 and also participated in various Continental Congresses and Provincial Conventions. He also appears to have had a personal relationship with George Washington.

By the time Thomas II owned Marshall Hall, the plantation house had certainly been built. The date of the house's construction is unclear but it was likely built during the ownership of Thomas Marshall I, sometime between 1721 and 1759. In 1972, architectural historian J. Richard Rivoire examined the fabric of the dwelling and concluded that the original section of the house had been built c. 1727,⁸ not long after Thomas Marshall I married his first wife, Elizabeth Stoddert. This first section was a square brick house five bays in length with brick laid in a fashionable Flemish bond (Rivoire 1972). Rivoire also credits Thomas Marshall I with the two-story addition appended to the east side of the original section, which he concluded was added c. 1750. This addition was connected to the original section by a door on the first floor but there was no communication between the two second floors.

Other historians, however, have argued that the house was built after Thomas Marshall I's death in 1759 (Hughes and Hughes 1985). Documentary evidence for the house is frustratingly thin. The earliest mention of the house is in a 1783 tax assessment describing "One very good brick dwelling house, Kitchen, Barn, Corn House, Meat House and ten other necessary Houses" (Hughes and Hughes 1985:24). If the earlier construction date of 1727 is accurate, then Marshall Hall represents one of the largest houses built before 1740 in southern Maryland. The house's plan – two larger front rooms and, in the back, a short center hall flanked by two rooms – would be, in 1727, the earliest documented use of this plan (Figure 24). Additionally, the house would be one of only two surviving early eighteenth-century examples that are "true one and one-half-story buildings" (Rivoire 1972:7:5).

⁸ It is extremely unlikely the house predates 1750.

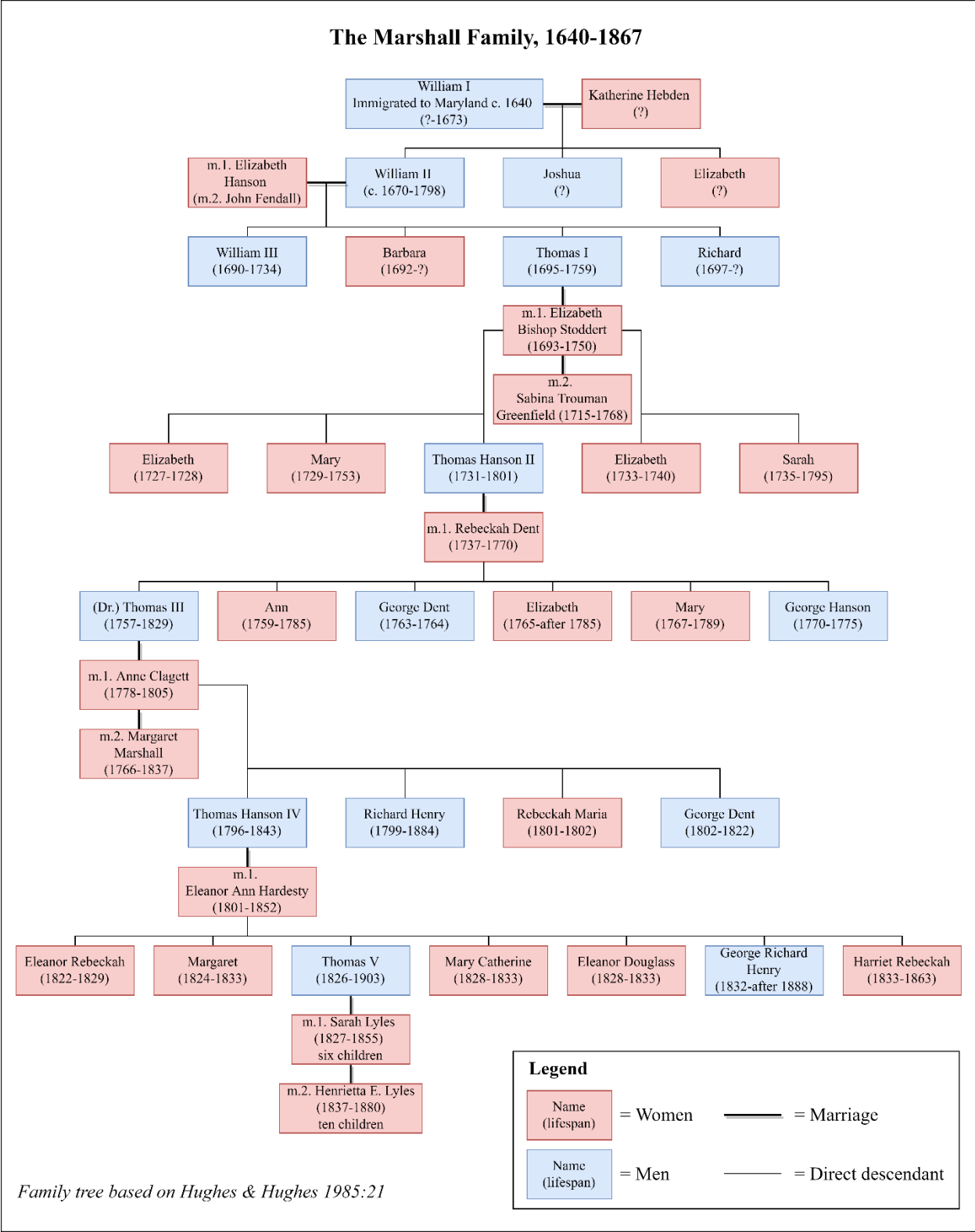


Figure 23. The Marshall Family Tree (Based on Hughes and Hughes 1985:21).

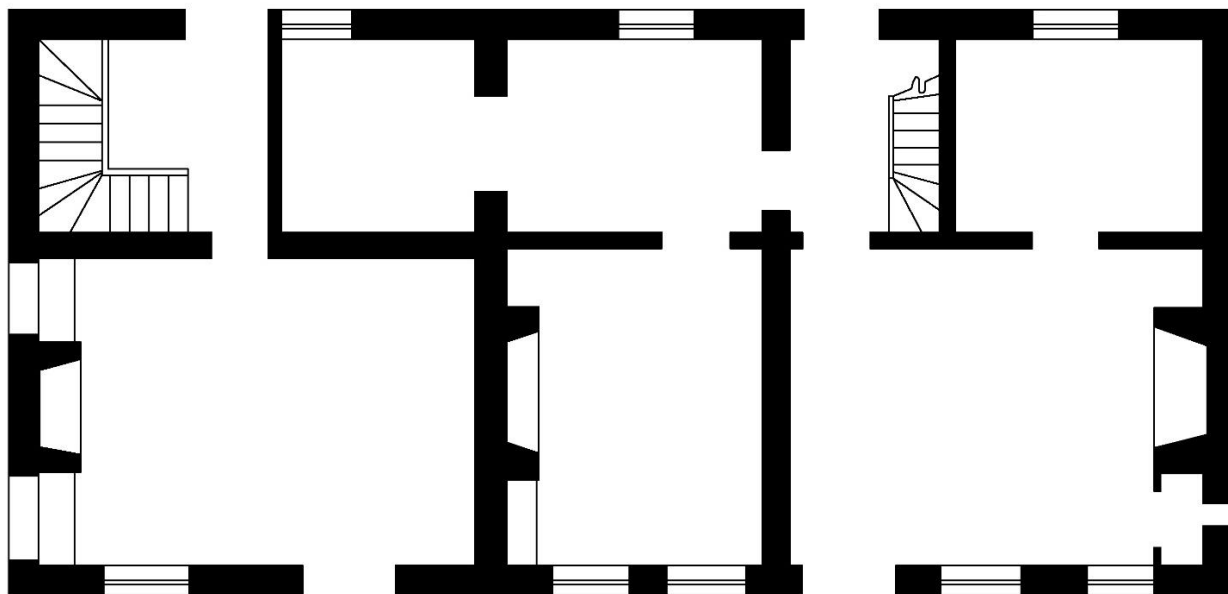


Figure 24. Floor plan of the Marshall Hall house (after Rivoire 1972).

Along with the main house one outbuilding survives from the original Marshall Hall; this probably served as either a kitchen or a general plantation office (Hughes and Hughes 1985:29). Rivoire (1972:7:5) observed that the brickwork on this still-surviving service structure is similar to that observed for the addition to the house, suggesting a date of around 1750, as per Rivoire's assessment. Traces of the other outbuildings listed in the 1783 and 1798 tax documents probably survive as archeological sites. In the Federal Direct Tax of 1798, the property was described as including seven "outhouses" [outbuildings] which, along with two acres of land, were valued at \$1,770. The average value of a house in Charles County at that time was \$385, revealing the wealth required to build and maintain a house like Marshall Hall (Hughes and Hughes 1985:24).

One of the more unusual outbuildings on the property, although now no longer standing, was a large, brick stable and carriage house (Figure 25). The brick was laid in Flemish bond with arched doorways and a high gable roof. The stable's date of construction is a mystery and may range from the mid-eighteenth century to the early 1800s. Brick stables were rare landscape elements which projected wealth and status. To date, brick stables have only been documented at Sotterley Plantation (1757; Patuxent River, Maryland), the Upton Scott House (c. 1765; Annapolis, Maryland), Warner Hall (c. 1750; York River, Virginia), and Shirley (c. 1770; James River, Virginia). A local legend claims that the brick stable at Marshall Hall was sometimes used as a prison for "unruly" slaves, and that, decades later, leg irons were found in the building by park employees. Though this claim is of questionable veracity, nonetheless the building certainly could have been used for management of enslaved laborers. It would have at least been a useful place for the enslaved population to assemble on occasions such as the writing of Thomas III's probate inventory. The brick stable at Marshall Hall may have much to reveal about plantation operations at the plantation during a period that was the height of the domestic slave trade (Deyle 2005).

In addition to the house ruin and outbuildings, the Marshall family cemetery survives in the Marshall Hall landscape (Figure 26). The cemetery contains 18 flat stones in varying states of disrepair.



Figure 25. The brick stable and carriage house at Marshall Hall in 1918. The structure has since been demolished (College of Southern Maryland; original: Library of Congress).

The earliest marked stone is of “Mrs. Elizabeth Marshall,” the wife of Thomas Marshall I who died in 1750 and who Rivoire believes built the surviving house. The latest marked stone is of “Eleanor Ann Hardesty Marshall,” the wife of Thomas Marshall IV, who died in 1852. Other, unmarked graves may exist in the cemetery. A living member of the Marshall family, Peggy Marshall, currently maintains the cemetery and has raised funds for its maintenance.

Thomas Marshall III, the eldest son of Thomas Marshall II, inherited the house and property when his father died in 1801. Thomas Marshall III (also known as Dr. Thomas Marshall) was born in 1757 and probably spent his early years at Marshall Hall. As did his father, Thomas III served as a justice on the Prince George’s County Court and, during the Revolutionary War, served as a senior surgeon in the Hospital Department. In 1795, at the age of 38, Thomas III married Anna Claggett and together they had four children, including Thomas Hanson Marshall IV (b. 1796).

Like his father and grandfather, Thomas Marshall III maintained the Marshall Hall estate during a period when tobacco farming had exhausted the region’s agricultural fields. While difficult to divine from



Figure 26. The Marshall family cemetery.

the surviving records, it appears that Thomas Marshall III may have maintained his wealth in part by participating in the domestic slave trade. Thomas III lived during the period in which thousands of enslaved men, women, and children were transferred from the Upper South to the Lower South (Deyle 2005) and, at his death in 1829, Thomas III owned 161 enslaved men, women, and children, an extraordinary number even for the wealthier planters and farmers in the vicinity. Many of these individuals may have been destined for points south.

After Thomas Marshall III died in 1829, the land passed to his son, Thomas Marshall IV, who had married Eleanor Ann Helen Hardesty in 1821. It was during Thomas Marshall IV's ownership that the Marshall Hall property appears to have reached its peak, with the family at one point owning over 3,443 acres. Like his father, Thomas Marshall IV was involved in the slave trade, and sold at least 55 enslaved people in 1836. This was a short two years before the Jesuits at Georgetown College sold 272 enslaved men, women, and children from their Maryland plantations to support the school. The Jesuits' slaves left Alexandria, Virginia, sailing past Mount Vernon and Marshall Hall, bound for Louisiana to their new owners who, like the Jesuits, were also Catholic.

After Thomas Marshall IV's death in 1843, the land was divided among four surviving members of the family in a court case in 1846-48. Of that land, 377.25 acres including the house went to Thomas Hanson Marshall V (at the time 17 years old), 758 acres to his brother, George R. H. Marshall (then nine years old), 772 acres to his sister, Harriet R. Marshall (then seven years old), and 1,536.63 acres to a dower for Thomas Hanson Marshall IV's widow, Eleanor (Hughes and Hughes 1985). In 1850, Thomas Marshall

V, now of age and a merchant in Alexandria and a partner in Blalock, Marshall and Company, began to sell both the land he had inherited and the land of his siblings as their trustee (Charles County deed RHM 1/15; JS 2/19; JS 1/301).

At the time the 1860 agricultural census was recorded, the 377.25-acre part of Marshall Hall that included the manor house, was owned by Seton and Abbey Norris, who had acquired it from John Augustine Washington in 1859 (CCLR JHC 1/322). In the agricultural census, the land size was estimated at 375 acres, 300 of which were improved. Interestingly, the property is assessed only for livestock, with no crops reported. Whether this is a reflection of the Marshall family's abandonment and selling off of the property or because the property had recently transitioned to new ownership is uncertain. Decades of tobacco farming may have also depleted the nutrients in the soil to the point that profitable crop production had become untenable. Seton Norris does appear in the population census that year as a planter, suggesting he had every intention of farming at Marshall Hall.

Marshall Hall plantation passed through several different owners before being bought back at auction by Thomas Marshall V in 1863 (Charles County Deed GWC 1/266). Despite repurchasing the land, Thomas Marshall V does not appear to have done anything with it, and a year later, the ownership of enslaved individuals had been outlawed, putting an end to the plantation system. In 1866, Thomas V again sold the property and Marshall Hall passed out of the hands of the Marshall family permanently, only retaining the rights to the family graveyard.

The Potomac River Fisheries

While the Marshall family grew rich off the plantation economy, another industry was growing in the area—the fishing industry. This area of the Potomac was long-renowned as a spawning ground for fish such as herring and shad, something that likely attracted the first Indigenous inhabitants to the region. By the late nineteenth century profitable fisheries existed at Bryan Point, Mockley Point, and Fort Washington within modern-day Piscataway Park itself and at Pomonkey, Chapman Point, and Mount Vernon on lands near the park. Indeed, by the end of the century, the U.S Commission of Fish and Fisheries was even using some of these fisheries as hatcheries and breeding grounds in order to replenish depleted fish populations.

The earliest recorded fishery at Piscataway Park was established sometime before 1789 by William Clagett and Samuel Bond. This fishery was located at present-day Mockley Point, on land then-referred to as Bond's Retreat and later known as Clagett's Landing. It is likely that this and other, similar fisheries existed along this stretch of the Potomac before then and are simply unrecorded in the documentary record. Indeed, sisters Elizabeth Cawood and Sarah Beall had established another fishery just downriver at Bryan Point by 1793; it is possible that either of these fisheries may have been first. The Bryan Point fishery was later purchased in 1855 by brothers William and James Bryan and thus is referred to as either the Cawood or Bryan Point fishery, depending on the time period (Figure 27). These fisheries likely served to supplement the income earned by plantation farming, as both Samuel Bond and Elizabeth Cawood (with her husband, Moses Cawood) owned plantations adjacent to their fishery operations. Only William Clagett may have relied on the fishery as his primary income, as he is not listed as owning any buildings in the 1798 Federal Direct Tax, did own eight enslaved individuals, who likely worked at the fishery.

Clues to the fishery operation are evidenced in Moses Cawood's 1811 inventory, his wife Elizabeth having predated him in death. Cawood's inventory lists many items associated with a fishery including 5,000 herrings, 29 empty tubs, twelve empty barrels, a boat and oar, a soak trough, an old seine net, rope,



Figure 27. Martenet's 1861 Atlas of Prince George's County showing the fisheries at Bryan Point and Mockley Point.

and a set of floats. The most common form of fishing in the eighteenth century employed traditional hook-and-line methods but the listing of an “old seine net” in Cawood’s inventory indicated that their fishery used, at least in part, seine-hauling methods, where a large net was cast from a boat or along the shore. This method was often used by wealthier landowners such as George Washington, who were able to invest more into their fishing operations. While hook-and-line fisheries needed few, if any permanent structures, structures at seine-hauling fisheries could include boat houses, docks, and salt-houses. The herring, barrels, and tubs in Cawood’s inventory imply the existence of at least a salt house, which was used to preserve fish. Washington’s Mount Vernon also had a salt house and fish caught there were shipped as far away as the Caribbean.

The other fisheries located on the Potomac would have held similar amenities. Activities located at these fisheries would have included using seine nets to catch shad and herring, these fish being the most sought-after by seine haulers. Hook-and-line fishing may also have been employed, and fishers would have taken boats out into the Potomac to cast nets and lines. Fish brought ashore would then be cured either by smoking or salting.

Fishing was probably a seasonal profession, undertaken in the spring when tobacco and other crops were being planted. The fishery work would have also been done primarily by enslaved laborers. By the turn of the century the Washingtons had diversified their plantation from tobacco production to wheat, which was much less labor-intensive. As a result, Washington’s enslaved laborers were set to different tasks which included fishing. Whether the Cawoods followed Washington’s diversified model is not entirely known. Moses Cawood’s inventory mentions five barrels of whiskey, a copper kettle, and a grindstone, which may indicate the processing of wheat or rye for distilling. Notably absent are hogsheads of tobacco, items which certainly would have been noted at that time.

The Clagett family operated the land east of Accokeek Creek as a fishery in a similar manner to that at Bryan Point. “Clagett’s Landing,” as it was called, might not initially have been the location of seine hauling fishing activity. The landing is depicted on nineteenth-century maps as being somewhere along the shore between Accokeek Creek and Mockley Point near Mockley Point Road (see Figure 27). Land records describe a 50-acre tract directly at Mockley Point as containing a “fishing shore.” The use of the term fishing shore implies hook-and-line methods of fishing rather than offshore seine hauling as was demonstrably practiced at Bryan Point. The 1798 Federal Direct Tax for Samuel Bond, who owned the fishery at the time, mentions several outbuildings at his nearby plantation, including a kitchen, meat house, carriage house, two stables, four tobacco barns, an overseer’s house and two enslaved quarters, but none of these are expressly related to the fishery. It is possible, however, that seine hauling could have also taken place at the Clagett’s Fishery. If it were the site of a seine hauling operation, then an outbuilding may have later been repurposed as a boathouse and/or a salt house for the storing of equipment and preservation of fish hauls.

By the 1840s, Clagett’s Landing would evolve into an important hub of additional economic activity related to the town of Piscataway beginning in the 1830s/40s. In 1836, the citizens of Piscataway began a petition to establish new ports downstream from the existing ones, closer to the town. This followed an engineering survey of Piscataway Creek completed by John Henry Alexander the previous year. By this time siltation within upstream portions of Piscataway Creek had made it “for the last three or four years it appeared to be almost impossible for boats to pass up and down” (Clagett 1992:410). The answer to this problem was the creation of a public wharf at Farmington along with road infrastructure leading from the wharf to Piscataway. This action also had the effect of drawing additional activity to other areas of Piscataway Creek such as at Clagett’s Landing.

In 1846, a lumber inspection port was established at Clagett’s Landing. An act passed by the Maryland General Assembly in that year listed Clagett’s Landing along with Queen Ann, Mount Calvert, Green Landing, and Wapping as places “whose duty it shall be to inspect all lumber that shall be brought to said places for sale” (Archives Md. 610/177). Infrastructure needed for the landing to serve as a lumber inspection port would have included road access via Mockley Point Road, a pier or wharf, and a warehouse (likely a large barn) used for storing and inspecting lumber shipments. Members of the Clagett family, who still operated the fishery, became involved with the port, and a William D. Clagett was named lumber inspector at the landing in 1870 (Archives Md. 188/2446).

Bryan Farm and Plantation

Bryan’s Point, where the Cawood fishery was located, gets its name from the Bryan family, who operated a plantation and farmstead on the property from the 1820s through the early twentieth century (Figure 28). In 1821, Osborn Bryan acquired the Elizabeth Beall Cawood land from William H. Lyles (PGCLR AB 2/104). This deed to Bryan included 250 acres of land, as well as the fishery and landing at Bryan Point. It was under the Bryan family that the property became a major fishery operation appearing on maps made as late as the 1860s and 1870s. Due to unpaid debts however, the Bryan family would lose the fishery in 1870.

From Osborn Bryan the property would pass to his sons, William and James Bryan. Apparently, William Bryan managed the fishery, while James Bryan managed the family farm, and would continue to do so until his death in 1900. According to the 1860 agricultural census, at that time the Bryan Farm included six horses, two mules, two cows, three other cattle, and 30 pigs. Produce and crops included 200 bushels of wheat, 90 bushels of rye, 500 bushels of corn, and 7,000 pounds of tobacco. It appears that the

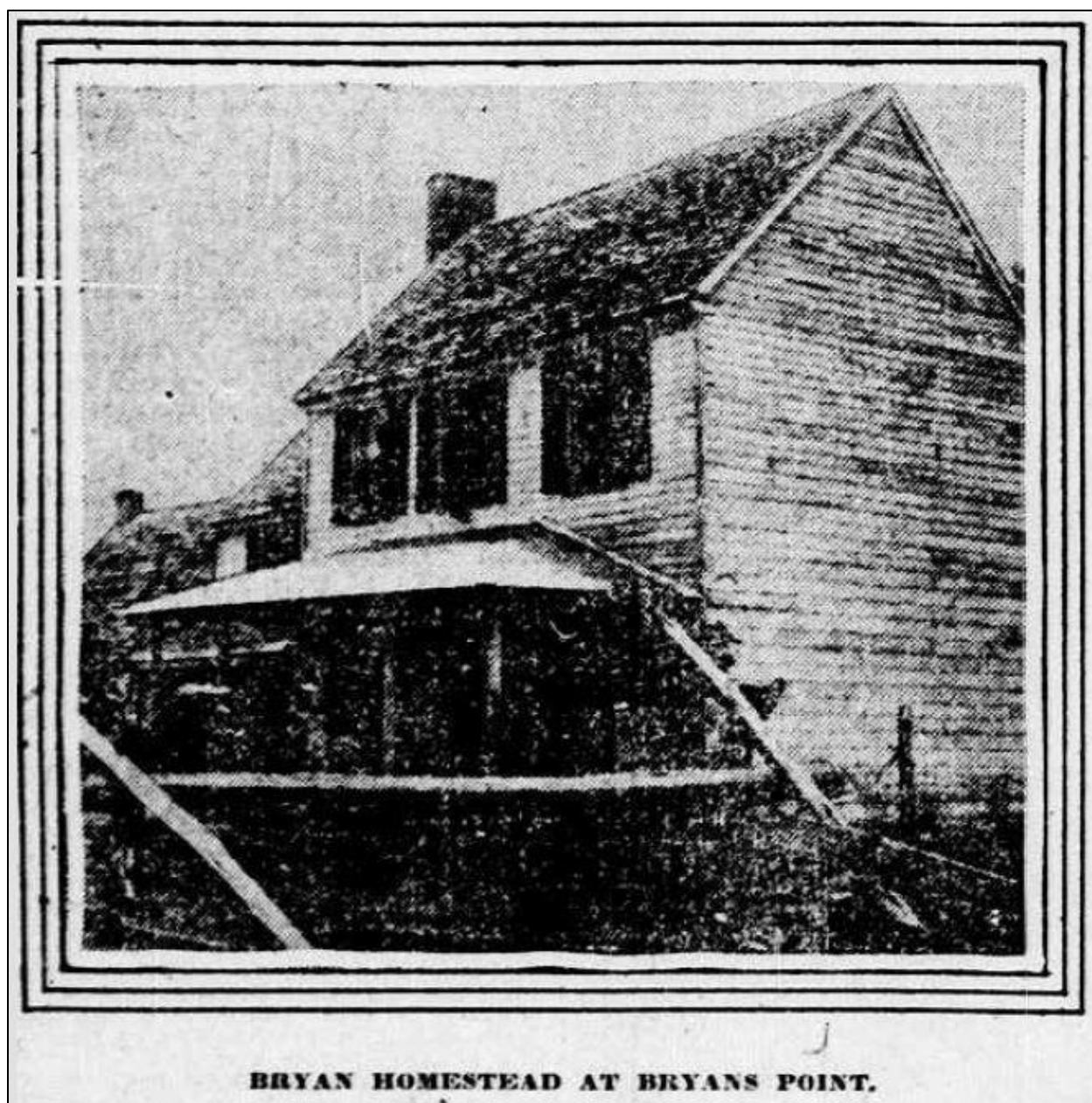


Figure 28. The Bryan family homestead, as depicted in *The Sunday Star*, 1916.

farm specialized in tobacco production and in the raising of pigs. The Bryan brothers also appear to have used the fishery to house some of their animals, as in the same census an additional two horses, two cows, four pigs, and \$100 worth of corn and potatoes are noted as being within the fishery tract.

In the 1850 slave census, William Bryan is mentioned as owning a sizable number of enslaved individuals, 51 in total. These people would have likely worked James' tobacco plantation during the growing season and William's fishery during the off-season. Structures associated with this farm would have included a barn for the curing of tobacco, possibly a second barn for the storing of grain, and a corn crib outbuilding, and cabins for the enslaved. These early structures, however, do not survive, and the



Figure 29. The Bryan barn at National Colonial Farm (National Park Service).

location and layout of these buildings is currently unknown. A later barn built during the late nineteenth century by James Bryan does survive and is today part of National Colonial Farm (Figure 29).

Farmington Plantation and Landing

The area on the south side of Piscataway Creek is known as Farmington, and, like much of the surrounding area, was once part of the 3,000-acre tract known as Piscataway or Calvert Manor. The Farmington properties were once known by the name Elizabeth Manor, presumably for Elizabeth Calvert Neale, the sister of Charles Calvert. Neither Elizabeth nor her husband, James Neale lived on the property however, and the land went unimproved during their lifetime.

The first occupant of this tract was likely George Noble, who owned the property during the first half of the eighteenth century. Noble's probate inventory (Prerogative Court Inventory 21/393) does not explicitly list any of the buildings on his property except for a separate quarter and a water mill. The items listed therein do provide clues as to life on his estate. At his death in 1735, Noble owned fine tableware, teas, refined sugar, stockpiles of rum, books (including law books), maps, and artwork. His total estate was assessed at just over 1,018 pounds sterling, a hefty sum for the time. By comparison, in 1759, Thomas Marshall I's estate was assessed at 1,392 pounds. At the time of his death, Noble held 24 people in bondage (Table 6). Noble's estate likely included his dwelling house and associated outbuildings, at least one quarter, slave quarters, stables, and barns. The precise location of the structures on the Noble plantation are unknown at this time but may be revealed through future archeology. Though the location of Noble's dwelling house is not known, given his wealth, it would have been well appointed and likely similar to Marshall Hall in grandeur and scale.

Name	Description	Name	Description
Forester	Man	Peter	Boy
Jack	Man	James	Boy
Tom	Man	Joe	Boy
Short Jack	Man	Ned	Boy
Roger	Man	Nan	Woman
Samboo	Man	Bess	Woman
Carlile	Man	Sukee	Girl
Cockermoth	Boy	Colsee	Girl
Sam	Boy	Lainder	Girl
Dick	Boy	Sara	Girl
Ben	Boy	Joana	Girl
Harry	Boy	Nalsee	Girl

Table 6. Enslaved individuals listed in George Noble's Inventory

George Noble II's immediate heirs likely remained on the farm until it was sold to William Lyles, Jr. in 1779. When the property was sold to Lyles, Jr. by George Noble II, it was no longer occupied, George II residing in Frederick County, Virginia. Lyles, Jr., however, lived at the property until his death in 1816. During the Revolutionary War, Lyles, Jr. served as a Lieutenant Colonel of the Prince George's County militia and was charged with protecting plantations along the Potomac River from enemy ships. Events during this time indicate that there was already a boat landing on the property. In 1781, a British ship landed at the property demanding provisions but was refused. As a result, it was reported that 100 men from the ship came ashore and burned all of Lyles, Jr.'s buildings. Harassment continued for several days, with British ships using the landing to come ashore to kill hogs (Hienton 1972:192-193).

The 1798 Federal Direct Tax lists five "dwelling houses" on a total of 547 acres at Lyles, Jr.'s dwelling estate at Piscataway Creek. This suggests that, in addition to his own home, Lyles had four additional dwellings, probably for tenants or enslaved persons. Outbuildings and other farm-related structures are not included in this total. The tax record also noted that Lyles, Jr. had 25 enslaved persons on the property, 13 of whom were taxable, meaning they were between the ages of 12 and 50. It is uncertain the number of occupants in each quarter, but it can be inferred that, if the additional dwellings were for enslaved people, between six and seven people occupied one of the four dwelling houses assessed on the property.

William Lyles, Jr. also appears in the 1798 Federal Direct Tax record as owning an additional 489 acres within Piscataway Manor. This second tract was occupied by John Pumphrey, who was probably employed as an overseer. The tract included an overseer's house, corn house, five quarters for the enslaved, and five tobacco barns. Thirty-one enslaved people lived on this tract, suggesting that there were between six and seven people occupying the five quarters assessed.

Portions of the land remained in the Lyles family for decades. Fendall Marbury and Samuel Hance, trustees of the estate of William H. Lyles, Jr., would go on to sell 250 acres of the land to John H. Underwood. Lyles, Jr. died in 1850, implying that the transfer to Underwood happened sometime shortly thereafter. The original conveyance to Underwood went unrecorded until 1877 when the heirs of the then-

deceased John H. Underwood recorded a new deed on the property (PGCLR Deed JWB 1/188). The Underwood family, beginning with John H. Underwood, would go on to own additional lands around Farmington Landing until as late as 1971, when it was acquired by the Federal Government for Piscataway Park.

Farmington Landing first appears in the 1861 atlas of Prince George's County within the community called "Old Farmington" (Figure 30). In 1836, when the citizens of Piscataway petitioned for the establishment of new, deeper water, ports downstream, Farmington Landing became a public wharf. In 1841 the Maryland General Assembly passed "An Act to Make Public a Road in Prince George's County" (Archives 592/119). The act called for both the establishment of a wharf at Farmington and to declare a road running through the land of Thomas H. Clagett of the Mockley Point/Accokeek Creek area, as a public highway. Today this road consists of Wharf Road, Farmington Road, and portions of Livingston and Piscataway roads.



Figure 30. Martenet's 1861 Atlas of Prince George's County showing Old Farmington and the Farmington Landing.

Fort Washington

The north side of Piscataway Creek traces its early history to Warburton Manor, a 1200-acre tract granted to Luke Barber in 1661 (Patent Record 4/601). At the time the patent was issued to Barber, the Piscataways were still living on the opposite side of Piscataway Creek. The origin of the name and why it was chosen by Barber is unknown. Barber was born in Yorkshire, England, and the Warburton family has links to neighboring regions of northern England near Manchester and Cheshire. Whether Barber himself was related to the Warburton family is uncertain.

In 1717, Charles Digges acquired a portion of Warburton Manor. The Digges family was part of a wealthy, prominent political dynasty in Maryland and Virginia during the colonial period. Charles Digges, the first to own Warburton Manor, was the son of William Digges, a son-in-law of Charles Calvert, the third Lord Baltimore. William was also the son of Virginia Governor Edward Digges. The Digges family were one of several prominent Charles County families who began moving to the newly formed Prince George's County in the early eighteenth century. These families were leaving behind lands at least partially exhausted from almost a century of tobacco cultivation. Warburton Manor would pass through various members of the Digges family throughout the decades. In the 1770s, George Digges, a close friend of George Washington, served as a representative for Prince George's County during the Constitution Ratification Convention. Washington's diaries indicate that the two would frequently visit one another's plantations. At his death, George Digges owned 8,229 acres in Prince George's, Charles, and Montgomery County – all land he had inherited from his father, William Digges II. He also owned 105 slaves (Archives 426/272).

The Digges family kept a wharf near Fort Washington where, during the Revolutionary War, a British ship had run aground. William Digges II would have been a target for the British forces since, in 1775, he had served on the Committee of Observation for Prince George's County. The Committee of Observation was a form of shadow government created under the authority of the Continental Congress. The Prince George's Committee of Observation was tasked with raising and recruiting militia forces within the county. Among others that served were William Lyles Jr., who lived directly across Piscataway Creek from Digges near Farmington. Warburton Manor appears to have been spared from damage, but the buildings at Lyle's landing were all burned after he refused to provide the British forces with provisions.

The remnants of Fort Washington do not lie within the modern boundaries of Piscataway Park but nonetheless form an interesting piece of the region's history (Figure 31). The first fortifications that would come to be known as Fort Washington were built on Warburton Manor in 1808. Records from the War Department that year mention that compensation was made to Thomas Digges for the fortifications built at Warburton. Approximately three acres of land were deeded by Thomas Digges to the federal government in 1808 (PGCLR Deed JRM 12/579). Warburton Manor was an ideal location to place a military fort, as any vessels sailing into the nation's capital would have to pass by the defenses. Its strategic significance became increasingly apparent when war once again broke out with the British 1812. In 1813, the War Department sent Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant to assess the fort, then known as Fort Warburton. L'Enfant found the fort to be woefully unprepared and ill-designed from the start. These sentiments were echoed by General James Wilkinson, who described the fort's defenses that same year as "a mere water battery of twelve or fifteen guns bearing upon the channel in the ascent of the river, but useless the moment a vessel had passed. This work was seated at the foot of a steep acclivity, from the summit of which the garrison could have been driven out by musketry; but this height was protected by an octagonal block-house, built of brick and of two stories altitude, which, being calculated against musketry only, could be knocked down by twelve-pounds" (Morgan 1940:10).

This assessment did not faze Secretary of War John Armstrong, however, who believed that the natural shoals and reefs of the Potomac would be enough to stop a British naval invasion. Then-President James Madison agreed with these sentiments, and the two men believed it more likely that the British would trek overland to attempt to reach the capital. They were wrong however, and of course British forces sailed into the Potomac in August of 1814. By August 27, rumors of an impending British attack on Fort Washington had reached local residents; these rumors were brought to the attention of the garrison by Thomas Marshall III of Marshall Hall. When it became clear that a British fleet was attacking, the troops



Figure 31. Fort Washington (National Park Service).

at Fort Washington voted to abandon the fort, deciding they were too ill-supplied to mount a proper defense. During the attack, Fort Washington was blown up when gunpowder in the fort's magazine ignited. It is unclear if this explosion was the result of British bombardment, or if U.S troops intentionally rigged the magazine prior to their departure. Regardless, with the fort destroyed, British forces continued their advance upriver towards Washington, D.C.

The following year, 1815, the fort was reconstructed, the redesign being made by Pierre L'Enfant, who also designed much of Washington, D.C. An indenture for payment for "Fort Warburton," as it was then called, was made in 1815, Thomas Digges, William Dudley Digges, and Robert Brent being parties of the first part, and President James Madison being party of the second part. The 1808 deed and 1815 indenture include a clause that the federal government could not "obstruct or in any way trespass upon the now high and public ridge road ... down to the wharf and fishing landings" and that the fort should "in no ways...obstruct or inure the fishing and fishing shores adjoining the fort lot," while additionally providing repair services for the existing wharf (Kreider et al. 2018:568-570). Though little is known about it, this indicates that the fishery and wharf, similar to the ones at Bryan Point and Mockley Point/Clagett's Landing, existed at Warburton Manor by this time. Though Fort Washington itself does not lie within modern Piscataway Park boundaries, the remnants of the fishery and wharf, existing today as Fort Washington Marina, do lie within park boundaries.

Following the death of William Dudley Diggs in 1830, the land of Warburton Manor, was split into several pieces and sold off. Unlike properties on the south bank of Piscataway Creek, the terrain on the north bank of the creek is considerably variable. There are few low-lying accessible flatlands directly adjacent to the water, with steep slopes and high banks transected by gullies, streams and ravines. The area which eventually became incorporated into Piscataway Park, specifically, was not well suited for agriculture, and likely went undeveloped during most of the nineteenth century. The lack of arable land in the immediate vicinity coupled with operational landings and wharves at Fort Washington, Farmington, Clagett's Landing, Bryan's Point, and Marshall Hall throughout the century made a landing on the north bank unnecessary. Major commercial landing operations on the north side of Piscataway Creek would have been conducted at the public wharf at Fort Washington. Today, the wharf still exists as Fort Washington Marina.

CHAPTER V

THE AFRICAN AMERICAN PRESENCE AT PISCATAWAY

People of color, including individuals of African descent and of mixed race, constituted a significant—and quite possibly the largest—portion of the population in the Piscataway Park area in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This large population is sometimes hard to see, their agency often muted in the records. For many enslaved individuals, the only records we have for them come from the probate inventories of their white enslavers or from bureaucratic tax documents. Still, historical documents provide a considerable amount of information to help identify the names of the individuals and families who lived in the area. These same documents reveal the wealth that enslaved people generated for their owners as well as the extent of the free Black population and their ability to carve out space in a society where free men of color were often regarded with suspicion.

Of course, the first people of color in the Piscataway vicinity were the original inhabitants of the various Piscataway towns and hamlets. While the Piscataway as an organized polity had, by the end of the seventeenth century, relocated to Heaters Island in present-day Frederick County, it is also the case that many Piscataway remained in southern Maryland (Flick and King 2019). Strickland (2015) suggests that their presence may have been a motivating force for the quitclaim deeds signed in 1700 and 1701 between John Fendall, Joshua Marshall, and John Accatamacca, the latter the leader of the Piscataway. A similar quitclaim between James Stoddert and Pepicoe and Robin, two Indians acting on behalf of the Piscataway great men, was recorded in 1714 for Southampton, a property south of Piscataway Park along Pomonkey Creek. Archeological site 18PR248, located on the Potomac River just south of Piscataway Creek, appears to be a late seventeenth-/early eighteenth-century Native occupation, suggesting that Piscataway people remained in the area, participated in the local economy, and yet maintained familiar practices as suggested by the recovery of Native-made ceramics, lithics, and glass beads. George Williams' 1736 case against Charles Pye suggests those Indians who had remained behind became versed in colonial legal structure.

For their part, Africans had been in Maryland beginning with the arrival of the Calverts in 1634. The colony's wealthiest white families, including the Calverts, owned relatively large numbers of slaves through the first century of occupation. Africans were a critical part of the force brought by Europeans to this portion of the Potomac as the colonists began carving farms and plantations from land previously controlled by Native people.

As mentioned earlier in Chapter IV, many prominent families in the Piscataway area owned slaves, including the Boarman, Bryan, Chapman, Clagett, Cook, Dyer, Gardiner, Lyles, Marshall, and Posey families. In the Piscataway vicinity, plantations lined the shores of the Potomac River and Piscataway Creek with nearby landings and ports. These landings were points where ships would dock to receive hogsheads of tobacco from the plantations. Enslaved men and women provided the labor to grow and pack tobacco and roll it to the numerous landings in a relatively small area. The largest plantations in the vicinity of Piscataway Park were those operated by the Marshall, Bryan, Clagett, and Lyles families.

The Enslaved Community at Marshall Hall

Like so many other southern Maryland properties, Marshall Hall operated from its early days as a tobacco plantation. An important cash crop from the beginning of the English occupation, tobacco was also

a tough taskmaster, a labor-intensive crop that, as early as the mid-seventeenth century, required enslaved labor on the larger farms. Tobacco was also a land-hungry crop, placing heavy nutrient demands on soil, which planters hesitated to manure because of a belief that soil amendments imparted an undesirable taste to the leaf. Corn followed tobacco (food for the family, the enslaved labor force, and the livestock), placing different but still heavy nutrient demands on the soil. To manage this nutrient loss, crops were rotated – a practice taken early on from the colonists’ observations of Indigenous farming. Between soil exhaustion and the cost of land and labor, by the second half of the eighteenth century, many families were abandoning southern Maryland for cheaper and better land north and west of the region.

The Marshall family produced some of the largest amounts of tobacco in southern Maryland, at least early on. In 1758, Thomas Marshall I’s labor force produced 11,161 pounds of tobacco; in 1759, this figure was 9,221 pounds. Together, those two years of production generated a crop worth £189 (roughly \$46,000 today). With a smaller work force in 1768, Sabine Marshall, Thomas’s widow, produced 5,387 pounds of tobacco. This reduced quantity of production still placed the Marshall family among the top tobacco growers in Charles County, but the trend was clearly to less tobacco. The family also grew corn and wheat and received income from the production of wool, cider, hides, and wood planks. Livestock, including cattle, sheep, horses, and hogs, formed large parts of farm production (Hughes and Hughes 1985).

While the Marshall family no doubt relied partially on indentured labor in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, by the mid-eighteenth century, the chief source of labor was enslaved Africans and people of African descent. In 1759, Thomas Marshall I owned 31 enslaved individuals, some probably acquired from his marriage to Elizabeth Stoddert. In 1783, Thomas Marshall II is listed in the tax register as owning 49 enslaved people. This increased to 82 slaves by 1798, 56 of whom were probably living at Marshall Hall while the others were located on quarters elsewhere. In the years that followed, the slave population fluctuated, peaking at 161 in 1829 and dropping to 84 in 1830.

These differences in the enslaved population may be explained in a few ways. The variations could have been a result of divisions of property through wills or other conveyances. It is possible that, due to the fluctuating amounts of land owned by the Marshall family, the number of people kept in slavery also changed. As mentioned previously, the exhausted soils at Marshall Hall during the nineteenth century severely limited the amount of tobacco that could be produced, so the Marshall family may have increasingly relied on the sale of enslaved individuals as a source of income. Like many other wealthy planters in the Upper South, the Marshall family was involved in the buying, selling, and sometimes gifting of enslaved people, probably from the beginning decades of the property’s creation.

The Marshall family owned land in both Charles and Prince George’s counties that at one point included all of the land along the shore from Marshall Hall to Bryan Point. Since the land remained within the Marshall family for multiple generations, Marshall Hall has perhaps the most well-documented records of all properties within what is now Piscataway Park, including the enslaved people mentioned in probate, census, and tax records. These documents are a powerful statement of the control planters exercised over their human property. The numbers of men, women, and children held in bondage and the structures of the estates suggest an active participation in the domestic slave trade. An analysis of probate inventories, census data, and tax assessments provides important demographic information about the African and African American population at Marshall Hall in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and, by inference, the greater Piscataway vicinity. Table 7 lists the number of enslaved individuals owned by the Marshalls at Marshall Hall in years for which information survives in the documentary record. The number more than

Table 7. Number of enslaved individuals owned by the heads of the Marshall family.

Year	No. of Enslaved Individuals
1759	31
1783	49
1790	49
1798	82
1800	57
1810	75
1820	54
1829	161
1830	84
1840	72

doubles between 1759 and 1798 and, between 1798 and 1840, fluctuates. 1829 stands out, with 161 enslaved people on the farm, a number that drops by almost half the following year.

The first mention of enslaved families at Marshall Hall was in 1753, when Thomas Marshall I recorded a gift of 16 slaves to his son, Thomas Marshall II (Table 8). Thomas Marshall I's gift included at least two family units. Grimagen, Nan, Harry, Samson, and Debrough form the first family while Harry, Moll, and their child form the second. The list suggests an effort perhaps to keep families together, although several individuals are listed who do not appear to be part of the two families.

Table 8. Individuals enslaved by Thomas Marshall I and given to his son, Thomas Marshall II, 1753.

Name	Comment	Name	Comment
Grimagem		English	
Nan	Grimagem's wife	Harry	
Harry	Nan's son	Mol	Harry's wife
Samson	Nan's son	Unnamed	Child of Mol
Debrough	Nan's daughter	Jack	Old
Will		Stephen	Boy
Nan	Girl	Augon	Boy
Dick		Unnamed	Wench

In 1759, 31 enslaved people were working at Marshall Hall, including five "old" men, two "old" women, three men, four women, thirteen boys, and four girls (Table 9). Ages in years are not given. Though surnames are not listed, it is likely that family relationships exist among the enumerated individuals. Several of these individuals were still attached to Marshall Hall ten years later in 1768 and are listed in the inventory of Sabine Marshall (Table 10). The eight individuals who were mentioned both in Thomas Marshall I's inventory and Sabine Marshalls inventory include Nell, Ben, Nanny, Alexander, Flora, Jane, James, and Job. The other individuals listed in the 1759 inventory may have been distributed among Thomas Marshall I's heirs. If the Ben found in this inventory is the same Ben in Thomas Marshall I's inventory, then the category, "old," appears to have included people 45 years old or older. Likewise, based on Nell's age in the 1768 inventory, the category "very old" appears to include individuals 69 years or older.

Table 9. Names of enslaved individuals listed in Thomas Marshall I's probate inventory, 1759; *present in the 1768 inventory of Sabine Marshall.

Name	Age	Name	Age
Coffee	Old	Job*	Boy
Bermingem ⁹	Old	Jacob	Boy
Alexander*	Man	Esaus (?)	Boy
Ceesar	Lad	Moll	Girl
Jack	Lad	Jane ¹⁰ *	Girl
Scipio	Young	Flora*	Girl
Ben*	Old	Harry	Old
Nan*	Woman	James	Man
Lydia	Woman	Frank	Man
Nell*	Very Old	Ichoes (?)	Woman
Patt	Woman	Sarah	Girl
Harry	Boy	Les (?)	Child
Charles	Boy	Illegible	Boy
James*	Boy	Tom	Very old
Will	Boy	Deborah	Very old
Brumoningem	Boy		

Table 10. Individuals enslaved by Sabine Marshall included in her probate inventory, 1768; *present in the 1759 inventory of Thomas Marshall I.

Name	Age	Name	Age
Rachel	9	Job*	11
Nell*	78	James*	16
Ben*	54	Bodman (?)	8
Nanny*	40	Ben	4
Martha	36	George	5
Alexander*	30	Will	7
Flora*	18	"Child"	11 months
Jane*	Unknown	Susanah	6 months

In 1783, the number of slaves throughout Charles County were enumerated according to individual slave holders. That year, 49 enslaved people were listed in Thomas Marshall II's tax assessment (Table 11). Of these 49 enslaved persons, nine were children, and six were males above the age of 45 or females above 36, which was considered "old." The remaining 34 were of working age, though one was listed as "infirm."

In 1820 and 1830, census records record the number of enslaved persons at Marshall Hall by sex and age group (summarized in 12). In 1820, a total of 30 male and 24 female individuals are listed for a total of 54. By 1830, this number had increased to 88 total individuals, 40 male and 44 female. While unnamed, some of those enumerated in 1820 were likely counted in 1830 as well.

⁹ Probably Bromagen; "originally: a counterfeit coin. In later use more generally: anything which is not genuine; a fake, a counterfeit" (Oxford English Dictionary). Possibly the origin of the name Brumoningem as well.

¹⁰ Jane is listed as an "Idiot" (severe intellectual disability) both in the 1759 and 1768 inventories of the Marshall family.

Table 11. Enslaved people listed in the 1783 Tax Assessment.

Description	Number
Males and females under 8 years old	9
Males and females, 8 to 14	14
Males, 14 to 45	11
Females, 14 to 36	9
Males above 45 and females above 36	6
Total	49

Table 12. Age and sex breakdown of Marshall slaves in 1820 and 1830.

	0-9	0-13	10-23	14-25	24-35	26-44	36-54	45+	55+	Total
Males 1820		11		8		4		7		30
Males 1830	13		14		7		3		3	40
Females 1820		8		5		5		6		24
Females 1830	11		12		9		7		5	44

Just prior to the 1830 census, Thomas Marshall III died. His inventory, recorded in 1829, lists a total of 161 individuals (Table 13). This is obviously a massive increase from the number of enslaved people listed in the 1820 census, and represents the largest enslaved population known at Marshall Hall. The 1830 census lists 73 fewer individuals than Thomas III's inventory the following year, meaning it is likely that many of the enslaved were distributed among his heirs. Thomas Marshall III's inventory provides the names and ages for all the enslaved persons he owned. Though family units are not apparent through this record, several women, including Matilda, Milly, Minty, Lucy, Sarah, Mary, Susan, Milly, Kyer and Chloe are listed along with their (probably infant) children. Cato senior (age 50) and Tom senior (age 74) are also probably the father or grandfather of Catoe (age 23) and one or more of the younger Toms (ages 8, 11, and 60). Two individuals, Savannah and Argyle, also have their occupations listed (blacksmith and carpenter, respectively), indicating the specialized labor they performed within the plantation landscape.

Two sales of slaves were recorded in 1836 and 1847, including several individuals listed in the 1829 inventory of Thomas Marshall III (Table 14). In the 1836 sale, this included Jumager, Milly Gage (and child), and Minty King (and children). In 1829, Milly Gage's child was named Ann, but in this sale her child is named Sally. It is possible that Ann was not part of the sale or had been sold prior to 1836. The unknown number of children of Minty King mentioned in the sale likely included her child Ann. As surnames are not listed in Thomas Marshall III's inventory, it is likely that additional individuals appear in both the 1829 inventory and 1836 sale.

The 1847 sale lists 16 individuals with an age range of three to fifty (Table 15). Six of these individuals were also listed in the 1829 inventory, including Grandiron (or Granderson), possibly Blind Henry (though the age may be incorrect), Washington Boarman, Savanna Payne, Letty (or Let), and Old Alsie (or Alsey).

In the 1850 census, a detailed slave schedule was included in the record (Table 16). At the time the 1850 census was recorded, 39 enslaved people were listed as living at Marshall Hall. This is a considerable drop in the number of enslaved people held in bondage on this plantation and may be indicative of the changing fortunes of the Marshall family, the impact of the domestic slave trade, or both. In 1840, the number of enslaved was 72, while it was higher in 1830 at 84 enslaved. This gradual and then steep decline

Table 13. Enslaved individuals listed in Thomas Marshall III's inventory, 1829, arranged by age.

Name	Age	Name	Age	Name	Age	Name	Age
Robert	1	Dick	10	George	19	Deborha	35
Dary	1	Joanna	10	Hanna	19	Let	35
William	1	Caroline	10	Jim	20	Minty + Child Ann	37
William	1	Tom	11	Charles	20	Savannah (a Blk smith)	40
Washington	2	Kitty	11	Matilda + Child Juliet	20	Ossy	40
Unnamed	2	Susan	11	Harriet	20	Syntha	40
Henry	2	Joe	12	Larry	21	Esther	40
Delia	2	Fiat	12	Kell	21	Minty	40
Beck	2	John	12	Jim	21	Sofy	40
Daniel	3	Nace	12	Charles	22	Nancy	40
Henry	3	Jim	12	Henny	22	Minty	42
Huke	4	Luke	12	Chloe	22	Argyle (a Carpenter)	44
Frederick	4	Maria	12	Catoe	23	Isaac	45
Mary	4	Washington	13	Resin	23	Bill	45
Charlotte	4	Ailsey	13	Philip	23	Joe	48
Salina	4	Rose	13	Milly + Child Sally	23	Charity	48
Margaret	4	Caroline	13	Henny (Sickly)	24	Mary	48
Martia	4	Let	13	John	25	Harry	50
Columbus	5	Betsey	13	Letty	25	Cato sen ^r .	50
John	5	Austin	14	Peter	26	Hercules	50
Betty	5	Mark	14	Mima + Child Chloe	26	Alsey	50
Bob	6	Lizza	14	Kitty	27	Betty	50
Abram	6	Juba	15	Jim Ditto	28	Ned	54
Elizabeth	6	Celia	15	Sam Ditto	28	Adam	60
Kitty	6	Susan	15	Henry (Blind)	28	Harry	60
Caroline	6	Joe	16	Susan + two infants Mary + Martha	28	Tom	60
Forrester	7	Lery	16	Milly + Child Ann	28	Maria	60
Clarissa	7	Lucy + Child Diner	16	Rachel	29	Betty	60
Tom	8	Nace	17	Fider	30	Deborha	65
Walter	8	Anthony	18	Granderson Ditto	32	Nan	70
Hendly	8	Jomager	18	Len	32	Chloe	70
Nan	8	Stephen	18	Kyer + Child Eliza	32	Kyer	70
John	9	Nelly	18	Mary	32	Tom sen ^r .	74
Mark	9	Sarah + Child Liddy	18	Granderson Gage	33	Moses	74
Betty	9	Martia	18	Chloe + Child John	33	Jack	75
William	10	Mary + Child Sophia	18	Jim	35		
Henry (diseased)	10	Judy	18	Phill	35		
Gusty	10	Ben	19	Juliet	35		

Table 14. Sale of enslaved persons, March 29, 1836; *present in Thomas Marshall III's probate inventory, 1829.

Name(s)	Name(s)	Name(s)
Sam [illegible]	Lucy Dade & child Henry	Margaret & 5 children
Jumager*	Rachel	Martha
Ben	Lizza	Minty King & children*
Dand [David?]	Walter & 3 children	Margah
Joe Crain	Milly L & child Ann	Jonah
James Plater	Caroline	Bett
Joe Dorsey	Eliz & 4 children	Mary Parn & 1 child
John Gage	Sam	Henny Gage
James Hawkins	Milly Gage & child Sally*	Caroline Hawkins
Fayette Boarman	Henry & 2 children	Nelly Calvert
John Speak	Feder Car & 1 child	Clarissa Calvert
Henry Gage	Kitty	

Table 15. Sale of enslaved persons, 1847; *present in Thomas Marshall III's probate inventory, 1829.

Name	Age	Name	Age
Grandiron, carpenter*	50	Chloe	18
Blind Henry*	15	Letty & child*	29
Washington Boarman*	18	Mary Douglas	18
Sam Gage	12	Rich Lewis	3
Luke Tyler	8	Jane	12
Juby Alexander	6	Henry Riley	8
Savanna Payne"	58	Old Alsie*	63
Kisk	17	Dennis	5

Table 16. Individuals owned by the Marshall family in the 1850 Census, Slave Schedule.

Sex	Age	Race		Sex	Age	Race		Sex	Age	Race
M	1	B		M	16	B		F	35	B
F	3	M		F	19	M		M	38	B
M	3	M		F	22	B		M	45	M
M	4	M		M	25	B		M	60	B
M	5	B		M	27	M		M	60	B
M	5	B		F	28	B		F	60	M
F	6	M		F	28	B		F	60	B
M	6	B		F	30	B		M	65	B
F	8	B		M	35	B		M	65	B
M	8	M		F	35	M		M	65	B
M	8	B		M	35	B		F	65	B
M	9	M		M	35	B		M	70	B
M	10	B		F	35	B				

is highlighted by the above mentioned 1836 and 1847 sale of slaves by the Marshall family. It was in 1850 that Thomas Marshall V began selling off parts of the Marshall family landholdings as well. His business ventures were not going well, and Thomas Marshall V had accrued a lot of debt.

The Enslaved Community at Piscataway

In the wider Piscataway vicinity, many of the most prominent plantations had their own nearby landings and ports. These included Clagett's Landing at Mockley Point, Farmington Landing, and the Fort Washington Wharf. These landings were a crucial part of the tobacco industry, as at these points ships would dock to receive hogsheads of tobacco from the plantations. Enslaved men and women provided the labor to grow and pack tobacco and roll it to the numerous landings in a relatively small area. Along with the tobacco industry, the other largest exploiter of enslaved labor along this stretch of the Potomac was the fishing industry. As mentioned previously, many of the most prominent fishery-owners, including the Cawoods, Bryans, and Clagetts had their own plantations near their fisheries. As tobacco-farming is a largely seasonal endeavor, a likely arrangement is that the enslaved laborers would work in the fields during the spring and summer, and work at the fisheries and wharves for the rest of the year.

The Cawood plantation near Bryan Point is recorded in the 1798 Federal Direct Tax as including eight outbuildings in addition to the main dwelling house; these included an overseer's house and two quarters for enslaved laborers. At this time Moses and Elizabeth Cawood were apparently in possession of nine enslaved people, though their identities are not given in the 1798 tax records. The following year, 1799, Elizabeth Beall Cawood died. Her will lists three enslaved people (Rose, Henry, and Charlotte) to be given to her husband, Moses, and four enslaved people (Elizabeth, Nelly, Soly, and Dumont) to be given to William Lyles II. If the Cawoods did not acquire any more enslaved people between 1798 and 1799, then these individuals account for seven of the nine people mentioned in the 1798 tax records and suggest that Elizabeth was the primary slaveowner at the Cawood estate. Moses Cawood would later die in 1811, at which time his inventory lists 22 enslaved persons living on his property (Table 17). Two of these individuals, Rose and Scharlotte, appear to be the same individuals given by Elizabeth in 1799. Another two, Elizabeth and Dumont, may be the same individuals whom Elizabeth bequeathed to William Lyles II. This may suggest that Moses Cawood later purchased these individuals or inherited them after William Lyles II's death.

Table 17. Enslaved individuals listed in Moses Cawood's 1811 probate inventory; *present in Elizabeth Beall Cawood's will.

Name	Name
Joseph	Ana
Jack	Scharlotte*
Dumont*	Eleanor
Leas	Harriet
William	Caroline
Stephen	Susanna
Robert	Sophia
Hannibal	Mary
Rose*	Mary Ann
Fanny	Kitty
Elizabeth*	Elizabeth Margaret

The previously mentioned Lyles family were another prominent plantation dynasty in the Piscataway area. A William Lyles, Jr. owned at least four plantation properties Prince George's and Charles Counties, the largest of which was his Piscataway Creek Plantation. In 1798, in the Federal Direct Tax

record, William Lyles was reported to have had a total of 25 slaves at the property in Piscataway. By his death in 1816, William Lyles, Jr. owned 74 enslaved people across his four properties, including 31 people on his Piscataway property (Table 18). Lyles' son, William H. Lyles, is later listed as owning 17 enslaved people in his 1850 probate inventory (Table 19).

Table 18. Enslaved individuals at William Lyles' Piscataway Creek plantation, 1816.

Name	Age	Name	Age	Name	Age	Name	Age
Jack	65	Frank	12	Matilda	20	Andrew	6
Pompey	60	Peg	52	Huke	10	Dilsy	6
Jim Loggins	35	Charlotte	30	Anny	8	Sally	2
Bill	30	Phillis	31	Tom	6	Anny	3
John	25	Judy	40	Joshua Barvey	2	Rose	4
Enoch	20	Rachel	28	John	2	Robert	2
Harry	20	Dily	25	Sueky	4	Rachel	1 month
Nelson	15	Hannah	18	Osburn	5		

Table 19. Enslaved individuals listed in William H. Lyles' probate inventory, 1850.

Name	Age	Name	Age	Name	Age
Aaron	65	Susan & infant	35	Agnes	5
Jim Dade	40	Cordelia	15	Anne	5
Henry	46	Jane	28	Hannah	2
Henry	22	Milly	35	Frederick	19
Sylvia	15	Preston	14	Polly Dade	9
Nancy	65	Judy	7		

The next piece of information we have about enslaved communities comes from the 1867 slave statistics. Following the Civil War, the Maryland government appointed commissioners to compile slave statistics for each county. The goal of the commission was to create a record establishing who had owned slaves and the value of those former slaves, with the intention that the record would be used if there were to be any compensation by the federal government due to lost "property" following emancipation. Among the surveyed (former) slaveowners were the Bryan and Claggett families. William Bryan, who was listed in the 1850 slave schedule as owning 51 enslaved individuals, claimed that, prior to emancipation, he owned nine slaves (Table 20). This included at least two family units, with one headed by Anne Johnson with her two children and the other by Emily Scott and her children, Buck and Laura.

Table 20. Enslaved individuals reported by William P. Bryan prior to emancipation, 1867.

Name	Age	Name	Age
Anne Johnson	36	Edmonia Duckett	9
Sallie Johnson	4	Henry Hatton	17
Selina Johnson	2	Buck Scott	4
Emily Scott	18	Laura Scott	1
Elmira McPherson	17		

William P. Bryan also acted as agent for Robert D. S. Bryan, Symphronia C. Bryan, L.H. Bayne Bryan, and Susanna P. Bryan in the same record, who are all no doubt related. Many of the enslaved people held by Bryan family relations bear the surnames of Duckett, McPherson, and Johnson, names of people found in William P. Bryan's inventory. These individuals are listed in Table 21.

Table 21. Enslaved individuals reported by Bryan family relations prior to emancipation, 1867.

Name	Age	Name	Age
As agent for Robert Bryan			
William Clements	54	William Duckett	2
Adeline Duckett	30	Charles Johnson	12
Simon Duckett	7	Wilson McPherson	12
As agent for Symphronia C. Bryan			
Mike Butler	50	Adelaide Hagan	3
Milly Hagan	27	Jno. A. Hagan	1
Eleanora Hagan	9	Martha Johnson	16
Stephen Hagan	5	Jim Washington	13
As agent for L. H. Bayne Bryan			
Hezekiah McPherson	45	Kitty McPherson	6
Cecilia McPherson	40	Peter McPherson	4
Elizabeth McPherson	24	Hezekiah Mcpherson	2
Aggy McPherson	8	Sandy Johnson	7
As agent for Susanna P. Bryan			
George Roberts	63	John Johnson	18
Daniel Duckett	40	Noble Johnson	9
Kitty Johnson	40	Cordelia Johnson	4
Susan Johnson	20	Susan Johnson	1 month
Rachel Johnson	18	Ned McPherson	17
Harriet Johnson	16	Wash. Washington	17
Kelly Johnson	14	William Washington	11
Alfred Johnson	22	Clem Washington	20
Bradley Johnson	25	John Mundell	75

Catherine J. Claggett appears in the 1867 slave statistics of Prince George's County owning a total of 22 enslaved persons, many of whom bear the last name Marshall. This may represent enslaved people belonging to families formerly owned by the Marshall family at Marshall Hall. The details of her claim are included in Table 22. Henry H. Claggett is also listed in the record with 54 slaves, but his relation to Catherine and the location of his landholdings are unknown.

Table 22. Enslaved individuals reported by Catherine J. Claggett prior to emancipation, 1867.

Name	Age	Name	Age	Name	Age
John Bonds	46	Wallace Marshall	7	Mary Campbell	13
Sandy Ford	42	Thomas Marshall	4	Dillia Marshall	13
Dennis Dulaney	42	Edward Dulaney	4	Caroline Dulaney	2
Robert Logins	37	Eliza Dulaney	46	Eleanor Jordan	11
Anthony Oden	30	Georgina Ford	40	Mary Ellen Marshall	3
Jim Campbell	15	Jane Dulaney	38	Rebecca Marshall	11
Harvey Lewis	14	Maria Marshall	33		
Bill Marshall	9	Rachel Jordan	26		

Surnames of the Enslaved

Surnames or family names of the enslaved families near Piscataway are not known for the majority of individuals mentioned in the records. However, available probate records and post-Civil War slave statistics provide greater detail than other records and often include surnames, especially for family units. A total of 37 unique surnames from 92 individual names of enslaved people are found within these records and are summarized in Table 23.

The most common surname, McPherson, was found only within the slave statistics records for members of the Bryan family. Marshall and Gage were the next most frequent names, with Marshall surnames appearing in the slave statistics records for Catherine J. Clagett and Gage surnames appearing in the inventories and bills of sale associated with Marshall Hall. Some names appear in multiple areas, which suggests slaveholders separated enslaved families, causing them to be dispersed across the local landscape. Enslaved people were often given the surnames of the enslaver, so that in the case of an enslaved person with the surname of, for example, Marshall who is located at Mockley Point, it can be surmised that they or their ancestors were originally enslaved by the Marshall family. Tabulations of the most common names and their presence in either Marshall Hall, Bryan Point, or Mockley Point are shown in Table 24.

Table 23. Surnames and their number of occurrences in documents listing enslaved people.

Surname	#	Surname	#	Surname	#	Surname	#	Surname	#
Alexander	1	Clements	1	Gage	7	Loggins	2	Riley	1
Barvey	1	Crain	1	Hagan	5	Marshall	7	Scott	3
Boarman	2	Dade	4	Hatton	1	McPherson	10	Speak	1
Bonds	1	Dorsey	1	Hawkins	2	Mundell	1	Tyler	1
Butler	1	Douglas	1	Johnson	4	Oden	1	Washington	4
Calvert	2	Duckett	5	Jordan	2	Parn	2		
Campbell	2	Dulaney	5	King	2	Payne	1		
Car	2	Ford	2	Lewis	2	Plater	1		

Table 24. Surnames and farms with which they were associated.

Surname	Count	Marshall Hall	Bryan Point	Mockley Point	Surname	Count	Marshall Hall	Bryan Point	Mockley Point
McPherson	10	-	X	-	Calvert	2	X	-	-
Gage	7	X	-	-	Campbell	2	-	-	X
Marshall	7	-	-	X	Car	2	X	-	-
Duckett	5	-	X	-	Ford	2	-	-	X
Dulaney	5	-	-	X	Hawkins	2	X	-	-
Hagan	5	-	X	-	Jordan	2	-	-	X
Dade	4	X	X	-	King	2	X	-	-
Johnson	4	-	X	-	Lewis	2	X	-	X
Washington	4	-	X	-	Loggins	2	-	X	X
Scott	3	-	X	-	Parn	2	X	-	-

Surnames shared at multiple locations include Dade, Lewis, and Loggins. Dade surnames appear at both the Marshall Hall and Bryan Point properties. Lewis surnames appear in records associated with Marshall Hall and Mockley Point properties. Loggins surnames are present at Bryan Point and Mockley Point.

The agency of these individuals sometimes fails to come through in these documents even as their existence and survival has become memorialized in probate and census records. Their agency does come through, however, in other documents, including War of 1812 reparation documents and runaway slave ads. In September 1814, Dick, about 22 years old, escaped from Sarah Marshall and joined the British Navy in exchange for his freedom. Dick went on board the British vessel “then at anchor in the Potomac River opposite Mount Vernon” and onto his freedom. A decade and a half later, twenty-five-year-old Cato Gantt, the “dining room servant” of Thomas Marshall IV, made his escape from Marshall Hall on August 8, 1832. Thomas IV had inherited Gantt from his father in 1829. Thirty-two-year-old Ned Sanders escaped from William Bryan’s farm on October 9, 1828. Sanders was married, with “a wife in [Bryan’s] neighborhood.” Bryan “has no doubt that [Sanders] obtained his father’s freedom papers” and changed them to match his age. Bryan promised that if Sanders returned of his own volition, he would “never sell him except it be to himself.” These runaway ads for owners in the vicinity reveal a critical agency: those who were able and had the opportunity would escape.

CHAPTER VI

AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

The end of the Civil War marked the final nail in the coffin for many of the plantation estates in the Piscataway area. Many of these, such as Marshall Hall, had already been in decline for the past decade, due to decreasing crop yields because of nutrient-depleted soils. Now that they were unable to rely on the exploitation of enslaved laborers, many plantation owners were forced to downsize or sell off their estates. While the plantation industry crumbled, other industries, particularly the fishing industry, began to take off. Many formerly enslaved African Americans found work at the fisheries, along many Indigenous people and immigrants.

The Rise and Fall of the Fisheries

The decline of the plantation system can be seen in the financial difficulties faced by the Bryan family at Bryan farm. Where they were once a prospering plantation, by 1870, crop yields at the farmstead had fallen drastically. Whereas in the 1860 agricultural census the Bryans are listed as having 200 bushels of wheat, 90 bushels of rye, 500 bushels of corn, and 7,000 pounds of tobacco, the 1870 census lists only 45 bushels of wheat, 40 bushels of rye, 250 bushels of corn, 65 bushels of oats and no tobacco. The Bryans also seemed to have decreased their number of livestock, going from thirty pigs to just eleven. The fishery at Bryan Point undoubtedly helped to supplement their income, though it too suffered financially. In 1870 the fishery was seized by sheriff Daniel Dyer as payment for outstanding debts. The five-acre fishery tract was then sold to Conrad Faunce of Washington along with one boat named the *Ben King* (PGCLR HB 3/762). Faunce too had the property seized from him after failing to pay taxes on the property from 1880-1884. The land was put up for auction in 1888 and was purchased by F. Snowden Hill, a resident of Upper Marlboro and Baltimore, though his deed was not processed until 1892.

The lackluster performance of the Bryan Point fishery in the 1870s and 1880s can be seen in comparison to the other fisheries in the area. Between 1880 and 1892 shad-egg production yielded 7,816,000 eggs from Bryan Point, compared to 103,170,000 at Fort Washington and 110,185,000 at Mockley Point. Fort Washington and Mockley Point accounted for nearly 24% of all shad eggs produced in the Potomac. Indeed, by the end of the nineteenth century the area around Accokeek and Piscataway Creeks had become a major hub of fishing operations in the Potomac. The area became a particular interest of the United State Commission of Fish and Fisheries, partially because of an 1885 law entitled “An act to protect the fish in the Potomac River in the District of Columbia, and to provide a spawning ground for shad and herring in the Potomac River.” The law prohibited the use of nets for fishing in the Potomac River within the bounds of Washington, D.C. as well as banned the dumping of tar, oil, ammonia, or other waste as a means to conserve fish resources. In order to restore shad and herring populations in Washington, fisheries downriver, such as at Bryan Point, were used as breeding grounds. Eggs were then transported upriver to Central Station within the city where they could be spawned.

In 1891, a new battery was being installed at Fort Washington, which would have an adverse effect on shad fishery operations in this area of the Potomac. The Bryan Point fishery was secured as a replacement location for the hatchery at Fort Washington. This area was chosen because of its pre-existing fishery operation and for its environmental conditions. It was described as containing “a proper shore for the operation of a seine for the collection of parent fish” and that the “water is deep and well adapted to the development of eggs.” Nearby Accokeek Creek, which separated the Bryan Point fishery from the one at

Mockley Point, provided ample water supplies for the construction of rearing ponds to be associated with the Bryan Point hatchery. The report stated that there were four existing buildings in dilapidated condition at the Bryan Point fishery, including a “large boat shed, which was utilized for boat and general storage, and quarters for the seine haulers” as well as two unnamed frame structures that were repurposed as a mess room and kitchen (USCFF 1892:XXXI). These structures were most likely wood frame buildings located directly at the shore within the five-acre tract at the end of Bryan Point Road. The unnamed frame structures may have once been the barns and stables that housed the horses and pigs noted in the 1860 agricultural census.

In 1892, equipment and small buildings were moved from Fort Washington to Bryan Point. The buildings moved were a small hatchery, boiler and pump house, and a small quarter for the seine captain. It described existing buildings at the Bryan Point fishery consisting of a large boat shed and several quarters. A mess hall and kitchen were also constructed at this time. The work of relocating these buildings was described as “very difficult” but accomplished “in good order.... without even disturbing [the boiler and pump house] asbestos covering.” The work was aided by James Bryan (1836-1900), who was then owner of the Bryan Farm located directly adjacent to the fishery operation.

The relocation of the Fort Washington fishery to Bryan Point was accomplished under the ownership of F. Snowden Hill, who had only recently obtained the property. Indeed, the turnaround from when the deed for Hill was recorded to the start of dismantling and relocating the Fort Washington fishery was a stunning seven days. Hill paid \$354 to purchase the fishery. An agreement with the Commission of Fish and Fisheries meant that Hill would receive \$100 annually from the federal government to operate the hatchery on his property, with the option to buy it after a five-year lease for \$1300 (PGCLR JWB 20/585). Hill potentially stood to gain \$1800 total from his initial investment of \$354 for the property.

The lease for the fishery was signed on behalf of the government by Marshall McDonald, who served as the United States Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries from 1888 to 1895. In addition to serving in this capacity, McDonald (1835-1895) was known for innovation in hatchery and fish farming operations. A follow-up report by the Commission of Fish and Fisheries in 1896 stated that output at the fishery and hatchery there exceeded all other years except 1888. Between April 20 and May 29, 1895, the Bryan Point fishery produced 49,898,000 eggs. This is a drastic increase in production from the previous report, evidence of a very active operation following the relocation of the Fort Washington fishery.

Despite this success, subsequent reports imply that the fishery at Bryan Point was plagued with problems. In 1893, the first year of the new full-scale fishery operations, conditions were poor. Weather was particularly harsh, with ice blocking up the river until early February. A lack of a building designated as quarters meant that employees were paired up in tents furnished with heating stoves made of sheet iron. Several pieces of equipment were worn and sold at auction in 1897. That same year, ice reportedly damaged parts of the wharf and necessitated repairs. A well had to be dug on site because a nearby natural spring was causing sickness. Further, in 1898, reports from the Bryan Point fishery indicate that productivity declined due to severe storms, unseasonable weather, and the laying of submarine mines in some of the best spawning grounds in the vicinity of Fort Washington. A blockade against ships entering the area around these mines meant that it was “impossible to secure any eggs between there and Alexandria, as the launch was unable to go up and down the river at the proper time.”



Figure 32. The Bryan Point Fishery as it appeared in 1923.

Sometime before 1903, the Mockley Point fishery at Clagett's Landing ceased functioning, as evidenced by a Coast and Geodetic survey map made that year. By 1911, the Bryan Point fishery also appears to have been in decline. At this time the property was still in the possession of F. Snowden Hill, implying that the offer to buy was not taken up by the Commission of Fish and Fisheries. The initial five-year lease appears to not have been renewed. Hill took up a mortgage for the property for the sum of \$2000 which was repaid in 1919 (PGCLR 65/218-220). That same year Hill sold the fishery lands to Harry K. Bliss (PGCLR 137/401). The fishery remained in operation until 1930, but subsequent reports by the Commission of Fish and Fisheries recount bad conditions and poor output year after year. An article in the *Sunday Star* dated April 10, 1927 recounts the woes of the fishery at Bryan Point, stating "the notable Bryan Point shad hatchery owned by Uncle Sam will be forced to close its experimental doors in the early future unless something drastic is done to safeguard the shad....," blaming overfishing and seine haulers for disrupting the work the hatchery was doing to repopulate shad in the Potomac. Figure 32 shows the fishery operation as it appeared in 1923.

Marshall Hall Amusement Park

The man who purchased Marshall Hall from Thomas Marshall V was John Little, a businessman who envisioned Marshall Hall as a recreational location. Little, who was from Pittsburgh, may have intended to capitalize on the popularity of steamboat tours to Mount Vernon and Fort Washington, which had begun in the early 1850s. By 1866, with the Civil War over, river traffic to Mount Vernon became so busy that trips to the estate were taking place three days a week. After purchasing Marshall Hall from Thomas Marshall V, John Little converted the old plantation house and grounds into a picnic grove where the residents of Washington, D.C. could come for a day to leisure on the banks of the Potomac River (Scott-Childress 2010). This was a period when members of an emerging middle class sought to define themselves through engagement with natural and cultural features symbolic of a collective American identity. Mount Vernon had emerged as one of the most important historical symbols in the early Republic. “Wilderness” picnics were also becoming fashionable, typically in well-maintained venues that could provide similar views and experiences without the negative aspects of traveling to a real wilderness. Marshall Hall, with its plantation landscape yet relative seclusion, fit both of these trends. John Little moved his family into the Marshall Hall house and managed the former plantation as a destination venue until he sold the property to Levi Blake and Joseph C. McKibbin in 1884 (Scott-Childress 2010:241-243).

Levi Blake was born in New Haven, Vermont in 1830 and spent much of his early life adventuring and traveling, including time spent fighting in the Mexican-American War, mining in California during the gold rush, working on railroad surveys, and helping to open a wagon trail to Walla Walla in present-day Washington, among other things. Eventually he returned east and settled in Washington, D.C., becoming the master of the steamship *Mary Washington*, which had the exclusive right to ferry passengers between Washington, D.C. and Mount Vernon (Scott-Childress 2010:245). Blake’s business partner, Joseph McKibbin, was also well traveled. Born in 1824, McKibbin had also spent time in California during the gold rush, studied law, won a seat in the California state senate and operated steamships along the coast. He eventually returned east to serve in the Civil War as a Union soldier. He rose to the rank of colonel but his time in the army was cut short, perhaps by alcoholism. McKibbin returned to Washington and was reunited with Blake, who he had probably met in California during the gold rush.

Together, the two ran steamships on the Potomac, including to Mount Vernon, one of the most lucrative locations for travel on the Potomac. Blake’s steamship, *The Mary Washington*, had exclusive rights to ferry passengers between Washington, D.C. and Mount Vernon (Scott-Childress 2010:245). In 1884, the pair decided to expand their business interests by purchasing Marshall Hall, giving them control of another destination to which they could carry passengers. In 1889, McKibbin and Blake formed a new corporation, the Mount Vernon and Marshall Hall Steamboat Company, providing some legal protection as they tried to develop Marshall Hall as a destination for steamboat traffic. The McKibbin/Blake group continued to operate and develop the park until they passed ownership to the Mount Vernon and Marshall Hall Steamboat Company in 1895 (Scott-Childress 2010:245-246).

It is Blake and McKibbin who really transformed Marshall Hall into a tourist destination. Like Little before them, Blake and McKibbin initially continued to operate Marshall Hall as a picnic destination. In 1890, Blake became the captain of the *Charles Macalester*. The *Charles Macalester* was a side-wheeler which operated for more than 40 years. The boat was a “pleasure steamer” that also carried music bands which “never failed to play ‘Nearer My God to Thee,’ or some other fitting piece, as they passed Washington’s home ... and always, ‘toll[ed] their bells in honor of the Father of Their Country,’ as they passed” (Close n.d.). These boats became crucial for getting visitors to Mount Vernon and Marshall Hall

and the *Mary Washington* could (reportedly) transport up to 1,500 passengers. McKibbin, meanwhile, moved into the house at Marshall Hall, where he lived from 1888 until his death in 1896.

During this time Marshall Hall hosted a plethora of groups and events. Groups that held gatherings at Marshall Hall included Civil War regiments, various fraternal groups, former miners of the gold rush, religious groups, the Bar Association of the District of Columbia, and the Knights of Labor (Figures 33-34). The Marshall Hall recreation area was primarily marketed towards adult leisure with only occasional events for children. There was, however, a day set aside each year when orphans from D.C. were brought to the picnic grove (Scott-Childress 2010:248-250).



Figure 33. Unidentified picknickers at Marshall Hall, 1893 (National Park Service).

Under Blake and McKibbin, the park began to shift from a picnicking grove to a modern amusement park. Some of the early additions included shooting galleries, bowling alleys, and merry-go-rounds (Scott-Childress 2010:248-249). Shad bakes were also a popular activity. The Marshall Hall house was an additional draw for visitors, especially those groups that might be reluctant to participate in the amusement park type of leisure. The property's history – and its view of one of the most iconic landscapes in the nation – was attractive to many groups. Playing on this history, in 1893, 140 men from the third battalion of the District National Guard came to Marshall Hall and performed reenactments of Civil War battles (Scott-Childress 2010:256).



Figure 34. A Civil War regiment hosting a reunion at Marshall Hall, 1893 (National Park Service).

In his study of Marshall Hall as recreational space, historian Reynolds Scott-Childress (2010:267) found that, during this time, Marshall Hall served as a “middle-class site for finding secular salvation in nature’s nation.” As the squire of Marshall Hall, McKibbin appealed to history in ways beyond reenactments and reunions. He was aware of Joshua Marshall’s purchase of the property and the quitclaim deed executed by John Accatamacca, the Piscataway emperor, but embellished Marshall’s status as an emigrant with a large slave population (Scott-Childress 2010:255). After McKibbin and Blake purchased the *River Queen*, the steamer that had taken President Lincoln to a conference with Confederate negotiators, McKibbin took the chairs, desk, and two Japanese vases from the boat and placed them in Marshall Hall as a shrine to Lincoln (Scott-Childress 2010:255).

Through an appeal to history eventually emerged one of the most popular annual events held at Marshall Hall: the jousting tournament (Figure 35). Introduced during the ownership of Marshall Hall by Blake and McKibbin, the jousting tournament was a revival of a medieval sport that aimed to reconfigure the event as a long-standing tradition.¹¹ McKibbin even linked the annual jousting tournament with the

¹¹ According to the Maryland State Archives, jousting does have a colonial history in Maryland but took off after the Civil War. Eric Hobsbawm and Terry Ranger (1983) might define the jousting tournament as an “invented tradition,” or one that claims to be grounded in history. They argue that such traditions are critical in the definition of nations, creating a national identity formed around presumably “shared – and deeply historical – tradition.” No doubt the



Figure 35. A jousting tournament sign at Marshall Hall in 1961 which recognizes the tournament's creation in 1885 (National Park Service).

Piscataway Indians, who, he claimed, were the first to engage in sports showcasing athletic skill and prowess. These tournaments became one of the most popular events at the park with as many as 8,000 people attending in the 1890s and four to five thousand in later years (Scott- Childress 2010:257). Years later, visitors to the park still recall attending the jousting event and remember the places in the park where they were held. The tournaments themselves involved competitors or “Knights” on horseback aiming their lances for increasingly smaller rings. Visitors camped out ahead of time to ensure that they secured a good spot to view the competition. The competition was usually followed by a dinner, dance, and, in Blake and McKibbin’s day, fireworks. So popular was the event that Maryland declared jousting the official state sport in 1962. The tournaments continued to be held at Marshall Hall until 1965.

McKibbin also hosted Civil War reenactments. Significantly, these mock battles and encampments memorialized Union military events, not Confederate ones. During one event, two local residents with the names of Clagett and Depro “had insulted some of the soldiers’ wives and attacked two of the Guardsmen.” These locals may have been Confederate sympathizers, something very possible as these reenactments took place fewer than thirty years after the end of the war itself.

jousting tournament fit well with the post-Civil War “Lost Cause” phenomenon that promoted reconciliation through, in part, white supremacy (McCarthy 2016).

Despite the popularity of Marshall Hall, the Mount Vernon and Marshall Hall Steamboat Company suffered financially during this time, and this as well as the illness of Joseph McKibbin led Blake to lose control of the company in 1895 (Scott-Childress 2010:259). The company persisted but with a new board of directors. This new board saw Marshall Hall's future in "children as an income-producing constituency" while still being aware of Marshall Hall's historical roots. Reflecting their new child-oriented market, this revamped board later built roller coasters at Marshall Hall (Figures 36-37).



Figure 36. The entrance to the roller coaster at Marshall Hall (National Park Service).

In 1957, the Mount Vernon and Marshall Hall Steamboat Company sold Marshall Hall to Mary Mertens and Frederica Galloway. The park was then bought and sold by several different entities which continued to build the park, completing its transition into a modern amusement park. The park also continued to make itself more child and family friendly and added Ferris wheels, rollercoasters, and bumper cars (Scott-Childress 2010). Marshall Hall Amusement Park reached the height of its popularity after World War II, appealing not just to upper- and middle-class white adults but to all income levels. Perhaps contrary to their focus on children and families, slot machines were added in 1958, meant to entertain adults while their children played games and rode the amusement park rides. Later that year the Marshall Hall lease was purchased by Joseph Goldstein, who would own the park either personally or through various corporations until it was incorporated into Piscataway Park in 1974. Goldstein, the brother of long-time Maryland Comptroller Louis Goldstein, had an ambitious plan to build a "Spirit of America" amusement park modeled on Disneyland. This plan went nowhere and Goldstein, in considerable debt, sold the property to the Federal government but retained "concession rights" until 1979 (Hodge 1977).



Figure 37. Wide shot of the roller coaster at Marshall Hall (National Park Service).

Throughout its operation, the park faced financial challenges but managed to hold on in one form or another until it finally closed in 1980. The park's popularity declined soon after slot machine gambling was outlawed in southern Maryland in 1968. Racism also probably played a part in the park's decline following its integration in the 1960s. Still, owner Joseph Goldstein was opposed to the inclusion of the Marshall Hall property in Piscataway Park. Though included in the original plans for acquisition, negotiations with Goldstein went nowhere and the decision at the federal level was made to include Marshall Hall in the easement area instead. Goldstein rejected the price offered for the land and violated the easement, threatening to cut down a tree a day until the National Park Service met his demands. Goldstein then made good on that threat. The roller coaster later collapsed after a windstorm in 1977 by which time the park appeared in a dilapidated condition. Still, the *Washington Post* reported "crowds of more than 1,000 children fill Marshall Hall almost every weekend" (Hodge 1977).

The situation was nonetheless not sustainable, and the park closed in 1980. There are reports that, following Marshall Hall's acquisition in 1976, the National Park Service intended to see the plantation house restored (Hodge 1981). Those plans, however, were set back in October 1981 when unknown persons breached the fence surrounding the house and intentionally set it on fire. The arson also destroyed a turn-of-the-century carousel from the property's amusement park. The rest of the amusement park buildings were eventually torn down a few years later. Although the house was severely damaged, in 1983, historical architect Susan Long completed a Historic Structure Report for the building (Long 1983). This was followed by a historical study of the property by Brady and Sarah Hughes in 1985. Though it is undoubtedly

a significant site, no systematic archeological investigations appear to have taken place at Marshall Hall and the property does not appear to have been the focus of much development or research after 1985.

Despite an apparent lack of interest in the house following the 1985 research, various people still continued to advocate for the building's restoration. In 1999, Peggy Marshall, a descendent of the Marshall family, Clinton Addison, whose family managed the amusement park, and NPS ranger Don Steiner were three people advocating the house's restoration. Mrs. Marshall even suggested the house would make a good Visitor Center for Piscataway Park. Gary Scott, an NPS historian, was quoted in *The Washington Post* as saying that, as much as NPS would like to restore the house, "not enough people are interested in it. It's way down in the country. Marshall Hall just has not been that much of a public interest, and [NPS] always has other priorities. I don't see national visitors from Washington, D.C. going out there" (Bombardieri 1999).

Four years later, in 2003, the Marshall Hall ruin was damaged again, this time when a truck driver with WEL Companies, a Wisconsin-based trucking company, drove his 18-wheel tractor-trailer through the building's shell. The driver, reportedly suicidal, went through a nine-foot chain link fence on both sides of the house and through the walls. The truck stopped short of plummeting into the Potomac River. NPS repaired some of the damage from the crash by rebuilding portions of the walls. The decision disappointed Marshall family descendants who were holding out hope for a complete restoration. Today, NPS classifies the Marshall Hall plantation house as a ruin (Figure 38; Maryland Historical Trust 2020).



Figure 38. The ruins of the Marshall Hall house as it stands today (Julia A. King).

CHAPTER VII

THE FERGUSON YEARS AND THE CREATION OF PISCATAWAY PARK

During the early twentieth century, a new wave of people—a new kind of settler—arrived in the Piscataway area. Leading this wave were Alice and Henry Ferguson. Alice Ferguson, the daughter of a Navy admiral, was an artist who trained at the Corcoran School of Art. Her husband, Henry, was a geologist with the U.S. Geological Survey (Hanssen 2007). The couple had married in 1914 and, motivated by a desire to have a place outside the city, began a search for property in the country within a reasonable distance of the city. In 1922, Alice Ferguson purchased a 138.39-acre tract of land in Prince George's County she named Hard Bargain Farm (Figure 39; Prince George's County deed 178/241; A. Ferguson). Mrs. Ferguson wrote of finding the farm that,

One Christmas eve an agent took me over a dreadful road¹² that wandered down to a farm of 130 acres. A tumble-down house and barn perched on the edge of a hill that fell away sharply to the flat fields along the Potomac. The view was breath taking. Upstream the distant white city glimmered in the mist. From the city the river swept down past Fort Hunt and Fort Washington, was joined by Piscataway Creek, bent a little, swept on past Mount Vernon and on down into the mist again with the distant water towers of Quantico just showing in the distance. Across the river the terraced hills of Virginia wave back and up toward the Blue Ridge. Over all was uninterrupted sky. It was not the place we had pictured, but it was a place where one could stretch and breathe. The day after Christmas I took my husband down to see it. His verdict was that it was “a very pretty place.” The next day he went away. A week later when I met him at the station I told him that the papers had been signed and we owned the farm (Ferguson 1941:12-13).

The Fergusons' new farm had seen better days. Many of the buildings were in need of repair and the fields were overgrown. The buildings that stood on the property included an old farmhouse, a cabin that may have housed enslaved workers, a barn, a tobacco barn, and a detached kitchen. The Fergusons initially planned to renovate these buildings but both the cabin and the farmhouse collapsed before they could begin work. After the first building fell, a new one was built in its place and used by the Fergusons until they finished construction of the new house. Both buildings were designed by Mrs. Ferguson.

While the Fergusons enjoyed the farm and believed in the notion of a rural ideal, they hired someone from the community to handle most of the day-to-day work. In 1924, the Fergusons expanded their land holdings by purchasing a neighboring farm, Long View, and built a house there in the hopes of selling it to a like-minded individual who they hoped could help them get things done in the community. Unfortunately, there were not any takers so they rented the house out instead (Ferguson 1957).

The Fergusons' desire to improve the community was tempered with their desire that it retain the characteristics that had drawn them to the area in the first place – perhaps an early example of rural gentrification. During the Depression, for example, the Fergusons hired local men, many of whom were struggling to find work, to assist with the improvement of their land. Mrs. Ferguson also purchased and

¹² One of the oral history informants, George Gray, recalled that, in the 1920s and 1930s, “there was no good roads from here [Charles County] to Washington, probably was dirt roads. There was good summertime road for those [who] had cars.”



Figure 39. Hard Bargain Farm, Alice Ferguson Foundation (Preservation Maryland).

donated the land on which the first fire station was built and she provided the funds to purchase a fire truck (Ferguson 1941:128-130).

The Fergusons, especially Alice, are perhaps most remembered for the archeological work they conducted on their property (Figure 40). Soon after buying the farm in 1922, the Fergusons became aware of the presence of a significant archeological site on the property. Initially, they and their guests collected artifacts as they walked along the fields. They soon realized that the sheer quantity of artifacts they were finding signaled a major site on the property. After failing to interest professional archeologists in their finds, Mrs. Ferguson decided that she would investigate the site herself (Ferguson 1941:157). She began work in 1935 and continued working on the site until 1940, uncovering a large and complex set of Native American burials and residential sites. This would later be known as the Accokeek Creek site, the large Piscataway town discussed in Chapter II. The Fergusons' investigations also uncovered the nearby Susquehannock Fort, the site of the 1675 siege that precipitated Bacon's Rebellion, as well as archeological sites on other farms located along Piscataway Creek.

Although Mrs. Ferguson's field methods fall short of modern standards, the excavations at the Accokeek Creek Site were substantial and have had a lasting impact on the understanding of Native peoples in the area and the history of archeology (Ferguson and Ferguson 1960; Stephenson et al. 1963). The resulting collection was the focus of a doctoral dissertation by Robert L. Stephenson at the University of Michigan and his findings formed the basis of an archeological understanding of the Piscataway that generally stands to this day. Still, the treatment of the remains of the people interred in the ossuaries was problematic, especially so to the descendants of the Piscataways. A cinderblock house constructed by the Fergusons to display the human remains at the site became a major source of contention for Piscataway people (Figure 41). After pushback from the Piscataway, this structure was eventually demolished in 1976



Figure 40. Alice and Henry Ferguson excavating the Accokeek Creek Site (Alice Ferguson Foundation).



Figure 41. The concrete blockhouse which covered a Piscataway ossuary at Moyaone, Piscataway Park (Source: National Park Service).

and the remains reburied. The disposition of the archeological collection, which also contains human remains and is currently housed in Michigan and at the Smithsonian Institution, also remains an issue to this day.

Perhaps the largest project undertaken by the Fergusons and the one with the greatest impact was the role the couple played in creating what is today known as the Moyaone Reserve. A community of approximately 180 homes organized around the protection and conservation of the local environment, the Moyaone Reserve began as the Moyaone Company in the late 1940s. Following the end of World War II, the Fergusons became concerned when the land across the road from their farm came up for sale. The Fergusons purchased the 480-acre tract known as Bond's Retreat and developed plans to subdivide and sell the land themselves. Part of this community would be made up of the friends and visitors the Fergusons had entertained in their home in Washington, D.C. They divided the land into smaller pieces with no parcel less than five acres in size to preserve its natural characteristics and avoid county subdivision requirements for parcels less than five acres.

As a post-World War II development, Moyaone Reserve was part of the suburbanization of Prince George's and Charles counties, even if this particular development little resembled the many other subdivisions popping up across the region. Indeed, historian Denise Meringolo (2008) noted that "the Fergusons' most frequent visitors were predisposed to distrust suburban development." Suburbs were appearing near Washington, D.C. as early as 1854 and, as the federal bureaucracy grew and the government itself adopted policies encouraging home ownership, suburbs appeared across the region (Jackson 1985:233). Moyaone Reserve was different, not necessarily because of its large lot subdivisions (which limited infrastructure requirements) but because of its commitment to forest and wetland protection (Reed 2019). From early on, the Moyaone community was determined to assemble residents sharing a concern with preserving the natural characteristics of the landscape in which they lived, including forests, wetlands, and topography, and incorporating these features into the design of the community's houses. To ensure their vision for the community, covenants were established in the 1950s. Today, the federal government holds scenic easements consisting of 14 restrictions found published on the Moyaone Reserve website. These easement restrictions are shown in Table 25.

As noted at the beginning of the report, the principal reason for the creation of Piscataway Park was to protect the viewshed from Mount Vernon, which was increasingly threatened by development on the Maryland side of the Potomac. Other organizations, however, understood the potential for broader benefits and supported and/or joined the effort. The residents of Moyaone Reserve, for example, wanted to protect their community with its emphasis on environmental protection.

The first indication of a threat to the area – and therefore a threat to the Mount Vernon viewshed – may have been the rides at Marshall Hall which were visible from Mount Vernon (Figure 42). According to Clinton Addison, a resident of the Piscataway area whose parents worked at the amusement park, the people at Mount Vernon did not appreciate the Ferris Wheel at the park which was "lit up like a Christmas tree at night." A proposal in 1954 to build a housing development called Hoffman City, while located closer to Waldorf, would contain 1,000 homes whose sewage would be carried in pipes through Moyaone Reserve and then discharged into the Potomac River. The threat to the environment was obvious. The Moyaone Reserve residents opposed the plan and vigorously fought the development, finding a useful ally in the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association. Cecil Wall, then the resident director of Mount Vernon, and Charles Wagner, the architect and a leader in the Moyaone Reserve community, joined forces after their individual efforts failed to stop the development (Meringolo 2008:52). Other groups protesting the development

Table 25. Easement restrictions for Moyaone Reserve (Source: <https://www.moyaone.org/easements>).

The restrictions hereby imposed upon the use of the within described lands, and the acts which the fee simple owners thereof covenant to do and refrain from doing upon their said lands in connection therewith, are and shall be as follows:

- The land shall not be used for any professional or commercial activities except such as can be and are in fact conducted from a residential dwelling without alteration of the dwelling.
- No trailer shall be used on the land as a substitute for a residential building or other structure except on a temporary basis, not to exceed one year.
- The lands shall not be used as a site for any of the following: airports, hotels, taverns, dancehalls, apartment houses, flats, boarding homes, cemeteries, schools, nurseries, golf courses, hospitals, churches, sand, gravel or clay pits, sawmills, skeet or golf driving ranges, commercial swimming pools, tourist homes or cabins, trailer camps, entertainment centers, dumps, junkyards, greenhouses not attached to dwellings. Nothing herein, however, shall be deemed to prohibit the use of residential dwellings for purposes which can be and are in fact conducted therein without alteration of the dwelling.
- The land shall not be used as a site for any major public utilities' installations such as electric generating plants, electric power substations, high tension electric power transmission lines, gas generating plants, gas storage tanks, water storage tanks or reservoirs, sewage treatment plants, microwave relay stations, or telephone exchanges. Nothing herein shall, however, be deemed to prevent the construction or maintenance on, over, or under the land of facilities usual to a residential neighborhood such as telephone and electric lines and water mains.
- No advertising signs or billboards shall be displayed or placed upon the land, with the exception of professional name plates and signs not larger than two square feet advertising home occupations or products or the sale or lease of the land.
- No mining or industrial activity shall be conducted on the land.
- No part of any of the lands is to sold or leased in lots smaller than five acres, or otherwise conveyed or divided into lots smaller than five acres.
- No building shall be erected, altered, placed or permitted to be built or remain on the said lands, except that on each five-acre parcel thereof there is permitted to be one detached single dwelling and such guesthouse, garage, stable or other outbuildings which may be required for the need of the owner or occupant of such residence. In no case is any building to be constructed on the lands described herein which, when completed, is to be used for any of the purposes which are expressly prohibited in this instrument.
- No tree larger than six inches in diameter and thirty feet in height shall be cut down without the written permission of the Secretary of the Interior or his authorized representative.
- Plans for the removal of the trees for the clearing of homesites shall be submitted to the Secretary of the Interior or his designated representative for approval. In passing upon such plans, the Secretary of the Interior or his designated representative shall take in to consideration not only the needs of the landowner, but also the extent of clearing around similar homesites in the vicinity.
- Permission need not be obtained for the removal of trees by or upon advice of the appropriate utility company or other organization for the purpose of protecting utility lines or water or sewer mains. Likewise, permission need not be obtained for removal of dead, diseased, or injured trees when such removal is necessary for reasons of safety.
- Approval of a requested action shall be deemed to have been granted if the Secretary of the Interior or his designated representative has not responded to a written request within thirty days.
- No dump, of ashes, trash or any unsightly offensive material shall be placed upon the land except in eroding areas of a drainage system where surface water runoff is destroying the natural ground cover, heavy fill may be so placed as to control and prevent further erosion, provided said fill is covered by arable soil or humus.
- It is understood and agreed that the imposition of the covenants and restrictions set forth herein are in no way intended to nullify, supersede, or amend any covenants or restrictions which have heretofore or which may hereafter be set upon said lands.
- It is also understood and agreed that the authority of the Secretary of the Interior in passing upon homesite clearing shall be used to prevent clearing that would materially affect the natural wooded appearance of the area, but that the authority shall not operate to deny the owner a suitable clearing or clearings totaling about one-half acre on each five acre tract for a house, lawn, garden and other such approved uses.



Figure 42. The Marshall Hall Amusement Park as viewed from Virginia (National Park Service).

included the Accokeek Citizens Association, the Accokeek Parent Teachers' Association, the Citizens Association of Calvert Manor, and the Isaac Walton League.

A second threat soon emerged that pushed the various organizations to consider the creation of a park as a strategy for land protection. A large tract of land (485 acres) directly across the river from Mount Vernon and once part of the Bryan family holdings but now owned by Vaughn Connelly was rumored to be for sale to Standard Oil of New Jersey (the Esso Corporation), which planned to build an oil storage tank farm on the property. If a housing development created anxiety, an industrial petroleum storage facility pushed people over the edge. Charles Wagner and Cecil Wall began to work together in earnest, hoping to find a sympathetic buyer to protect the land or identify some other strategy to prevent Standard Oil from settling on Piscataway Creek (Hanssen 2007). The Moyaone Association initially considered buying the land but the asking price was beyond its ability to pay. The Association's ongoing efforts to find a friendly buyer or alternative solution were coming up empty.

It was from the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union that one of the most important people in the protection effort became involved: Congresswoman Frances Payne Bolton. Bolton, a Vice-Regent for the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, watched the fight over Hoffman City and soon took a leading role in the fight to protect the view from Mount Vernon. It was Bolton who introduced the bill to create Piscataway Park. She stepped in and used her considerable wealth to purchase the land. After meeting with representatives of the Moyaone Association, Bolton and the other parties agreed that it would be necessary to protect the entire stretch of land across the river from Mount Vernon. Bolton then donated the

land that she had purchased to a non-profit formed in partnership with the Moyaone Association. This new organization, the Accokeek Foundation, was incorporated on April 10, 1957 and was among the earliest land trusts in the country (Meringolo 2008:53).

Throughout those years, there was some discussion of creating a national park, an idea that was suggested as early as 1955. The use of scenic easements for land protection was being explored as early as 1956. The Moyaone Association approached the local government to discuss zoning as a tool and the possibility of formalizing the covenants already in place (Meringolo 2008:53). Mrs. Bolton's purchase alleviated some of the urgency. But ultimately, the event that finally pushed these organizations to seek the creation of a park was a proposal by the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission (WSSC) to build a sewage treatment plant at Mockley Point, one of the most important archeological sites in the nation. All of the interested parties agreed: they absolutely did not want a sewage treatment plant at Mockley Point. A "strategic but fragile" alliance between the residents of Moyaone Reserve and local farmers recognized that the only solution to preventing a sewage treatment plant on this part of the creek could be the intervention of the federal government (Meringolo 2008:54).

President John F. Kennedy signed Public Law 87-362 on October 4, 1961, authorizing the acquisition of the land for Piscataway Park. The effort was not yet over, though, as legislation would be necessary to secure the appropriation for the land's purchase. It was not until February 22, 1968 that the park was formally dedicated (Figure 43). A few years after that, in 1974, the park would reach its current boundaries by adding the land of Marshall Hall and the Fort Washington Marina. At the time of its creation Piscataway Park was unique among national parks in that it was only a thin strip of land that was owned by the government surrounded by a buffer of land that was held privately but under covenants and scenic easements to help insulate and protect the area (Hanssen 2007; Meringolo 2008). The initial donation of scenic easements was also the largest ever with approximately 100 owners out of 190 donating easements from the surrounding area.

The fragility of the strategic alliance promoting the park's creation was evident in the many people who opposed its creation, some bitterly. For example, Robert Straus of the Moyaone Association recalls how "one of them had turned me in as violating the laws of the United States, and subject to a jail sentence because I was not a registered lobbyist, which is a criminal offense." The National Park Service itself was initially reluctant to see the park created. This was at a time when the park service was growing increasingly concerned with the number of properties coming into its possession with few resources to care for them (Sprinkle 2014). Park opponents also included nearby farm families who were not a part of the Moyaone Reserve and who were skeptical of the park and what it might mean for their property values. Many of these families did not trust the government to manage the land (Meringolo 2008:55-56).

A group of people opposed to the park formed ROUR, or Respect Our Rights. The group, which claimed to be made up of 50 of the 156 landowners in the Moyaone Reserve, wanted compensation for donating the scenic easements on their properties. ROUR was successful, persuading the government to agree to their conditions and their opposition evaporated (Hanssen 2007:63). The owner of Marshall Hall, Joseph Goldstein, was also opposed to the park's creation. Initially included in the proposed park, Marshall Hall was eventually excluded because of Goldstein's protests. Later, Goldstein became dissatisfied that his property would be included in the scenic easement area and as noted, threatened to remove trees. He ultimately followed through on the threat, taking down trees until his demands for compensation were met. A deal was eventually reached, and Marshall Hall was included in the park boundaries (Hanssen 2007:64).



Figure 43. The dedication of Piscataway Park, 1968. Left to right: Congresswoman Francis Bolton, Chief Turkey Tayac, Belva Jensen, Robert Ware Straus, Rosamond Bierne, Gladys Spellman, and Rep. Harvey Machen (D-MD) (Source: Accokeek Foundation).

In 1963, the year Cooperative Agreements were signed with the Accokeek Foundation and the Alice Ferguson Foundation, respectively, NPS's National Capital Region staff prepared *Land Use Survey of Piscataway Park* (NPS 1963). The *Land Use Survey* was prepared "as a basis for recommendations for preservation and use of the authorized Park." The land to be acquired included 1,152 acres of land (a 94-acre difference from the 1961 legislation) with seven miles of river shore and 2,596 acres under scenic easement. The plan found that, at the time of the survey, the lands were "devoted almost entirely to farming." The *Land Use Survey* identified ten different kinds of habitat at the park, including (1) cultivated fields of tobacco and grain; (2) meadow; (3) wet thicket; (4) dry thicket; (5) artificial pond; (6) deciduous forest; (7) stream shore; (8) marsh; (9) swamp; and (10) sand spit. The plan noted that, at the time, the only paved roads in the vicinity were Farmington, Bryan Point, and Marshall Hall roads with no internal circulation between them.

The authors of the *Land Use Survey* proposed that 400 acres of the proposed park continue in agricultural use; this area included National Colonial Farm, previously having been created in 1959 as a "living demonstration of 18th-century Tidewater farming and husbandry." The remaining approximately

800 acres, including the shoreline, would be divided into two areas, including (1) the Historic, Cultural, and Natural Environment Area (596 acres) and (2) a General Outdoor Recreation Area (209 acres). The Historic, Cultural, and Natural Environment Area included “sites of major historic and cultural significance and sites of outstanding scenic, scientific, and natural interest.” The Accokeek Creek Site and Marshall Hall were in this area. Minimal development was specified for this area, primarily trails, vistas, possibly camping, and development that did not intrude on this area’s “colonial and pre-colonial atmosphere.”

Piscataway Indian Involvement

Although Piscataway Chief Turkey Tayac was present at the 1968 dedication of Piscataway Park, Piscataway Indian concerns do not appear to have been more than a footnote in park discussions before then. This began to change as many Piscataway people in southern Maryland became involved in AIM, or the American Indian Movement. The concrete block house built by Mrs. Ferguson over exposed Native American human remains at Moyaone and now owned by NPS quickly became a flash point. Such features were not uncommon at important Native sites elsewhere in the country and were presumably meant to be educational. In fact, they were disrespectful. “We began to raise the concern to the Park Service that this isn’t right,” Piscataway-Conoy Tribal council member Mario Harley recalled. “To have human remains displayed that were dug out of their burial, laid on top the ground for schoolchildren to come and see. For people to desecrate, they would throw beer cans, soda cans inside there. Totally disrespectful. We needed to make it right.” After considerable pressure, NPS agreed to remove the block house in 1976. “They brought in a bulldozer,” Mr. Harley continued. “They allowed us to go inside and re-inter the remains of our ancestors. They tore down the block house. We had the drum there. We had the pipe there. We did a ceremony. We did a song and then all the construction materials were removed” (Harley and Gray 2018).

Tribal chairperson Francis Gray recalled the day Turkey Tayac, who had been deeply involved with having the block house removed, came to the Grays’ farm with his son, Billy Tayac. Chief Tayac’s purpose was to ask Francis’s father to provide a cedar tree to plant at Moyaone. “My father had a tremendous amount of cedar trees on the farm, and so [Turkey] asked my father, could he have one to put on the burial ground [at Moyaone] and asked, could you get one of these boys to go out there and dig the tree?” Mr. Gray’s father turned to his son and asked him to help Chief Tayac find a tree. “Turkey and a couple other elders came to me and they picked out which tree they wanted. They also said to me, watch where the sun travels before you dig. Mark the tree on the north. That way when we put the tree back into the ground, the tree is not confused on which direction it lives.” Mr. Gray later elaborated, “so, I ended up digging the tree [up] and I marked it as I had been taught to, to turn around and plant the tree.” Mr. Gray went on to say that, “Turkey says that this is where our ancestors come from. This is where our ancestors rest. This is who we are as a people. If we plant this red cedar here and this red cedar survives, the Piscataway people will survive as well” (Harley and Gray 2018).

Billy Tayac later struggled with the Federal government in his effort to have his father, Turkey Tayac, who died in 1978, buried at Moyaone. At the dedication of Piscataway Park in 1968, Turkey Tayac had made a verbal agreement with Stewart Udall, then Secretary of the Interior, to be buried at Piscataway Park. When Chief Tayac became seriously ill, the family contacted the Department of the Interior but were rebuffed. The Tayac family pointed out that Chief Tayac had helped with the preservation of the park. “Imagine the pain of saving your land ... this is our mecca, right? It’s your deepest, most historical land, the bones of your grandparents, sold to the Federal government which has almost eradicated you. The only reason he [supported the creation of the park] was to be buried here.” Without the support of the National Park Service or the Department of the Interior, the family turned to Maryland’s congressional delegation,

which pushed through legislation authorizing the burial. In November 1979, Public Law 96-97 allowed Tayac's burial at Piscataway Park. "And then," Billy Tayac recalled, "even when it was time to get buried here by act of Congress, the Park Service blockaded the roads and [the funeral procession] had to hike through the swamp with his casket, carrying his casket by hand because they wouldn't even let the hearse in." It is a procession recreated every fall (Tayac n.d.).

Mario Harley, who was at the burial, recalled that "there was just as much law enforcement there as there was Native people wishing Turkey well" (Harley and Gray 2018). A Lakota Sioux medicine man, Bill Eagle Feather, attended the burial and oversaw the interment. The burial took place near the cedar tree Francis Gray had planted a few years previously. With law enforcement present and tensions already high, however, the announcement that Billy Tayac, Turkey's son, would inherit his father's position as chief was met with loud resistance from those in attendance. Park law enforcement personnel stepped in, but the declaration created deep divisions within the Piscataway community, divisions that persist and are today reflected in the existence of two state-recognized tribes, including the Piscataway Indian Nation and the Piscataway Conoy Tribe.

Obviously, Piscataway Park is a sacred place but, for many, getting to the park in the early to mid-twentieth century was a challenge, especially given that roads and other forms of transportation were not well-developed. This lack of mobility no doubt impacted community memory which is so often tied to place. George Gray, for example, had only been to the park once in his younger days (Gray and Gray 2013). His wife, Ellen, had attended Turkey Tayac's funeral at the park (Gray and Gray 2013). Francis Gray had worked with Turkey Tayac to plant a cedar tree at the park and Mario Harley had attended the funeral (Harley and Gray 2018). Conversely, Gladys Proctor, when asked if Piscataway Park meant something special, responded, "not to me" (Proctor, Proctor, and Proctor 2012). This diversity of attachment to the park may not be surprising given the property's acquisition in 1961 and the purpose for which it was acquired – to protect a colonial viewshed. Indeed, for many Piscataway members, it is troubling, even galling, that tribal members are required to apply for permits to conduct their ceremonies on the burial grounds (Medina-Tayac 2018). The strength of attachment may also reflect divisions among the Piscataways, divisions that could have had their origin in the colonial period, have been exacerbated by the racism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, or have come out of a struggle for leadership after the death of Turkey Tayac. Still, many Piscataway see the property as an important place not just for its sacredness but for the opportunity it provides to maintain tribal memories and practices. The preservation of Moyaone is paramount, and the plant resources and waterways located there are important to the Piscataways.

CHAPTER VIII

PISCATAWAY PARK: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

Today Piscataway Park is managed via a collaborative agreement between the National Park Service (NPS), the Accokeek Foundation (AF), and the Alice Ferguson Foundation (AFF). The park strives to maintain its natural beauty and keep its viewshed free from modern development and encroachment. The park serves over 20,000 visitors per year who enjoy such activities as fishing, boating, and walking the park's many trails. The park is also home to National Colonial Farm, which specializes in the conservation of heritage livestock breeds. Piscataway Park and the Accokeek Foundation has made a commitment to the contemporary Piscataway, including members in all aspects of program development. Most recently, the Foundation issued this statement in response to events taking place in the Spring of 2020:

The Accokeek Foundation commits to creating space for Black, Indigenous, and People of Color to share the truth, in their own voices, from their own perspectives. We believe that for transformation to happen, we need to listen and learn from the BIPOC community, and follow their lead in taking action to make real change (Accokeek Foundation 2020).

The history and archeology of Piscataway Park tells a uniquely American story, from the land's occupation for millennia by Indigenous people to the land's reconfiguration into plantations and later its reconfiguration yet again as a federal park. The Park's history and archeology are a microcosm of the greater narrative of American history, from the colonialism that disrupted Indigenous lives and enmeshed captive Africans in slavery to the struggles for Black freedom, Indigenous recognition, civil rights, and environmental sustainability. A little more than a stone's throw from the nation's capital (on a clear day, the Washington Monument is visible from the Fergusons' Hard Bargain Farm), Piscataway Park's story continues to unfold.

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