National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Cultural Anthropology Program
National Capital Area

Cultural Anthropology Report

Piscataway Park

Ethnographic Overview & Assessment

Prepared by

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2021

US Department of the Interior • National Park Service • National Capital Region • Resource Stewardship and Science • Washington, DC

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ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT

Piscataway Park

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As the Nations's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally-owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering sound use of our land and water resources; protecting our fish, wildlife, and biological diversity; preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places; and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The Department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people by encouraging stewardship and citizen participation in their care. The Department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under US administration.

US Department of the Interior
National Park Service
Resource Stewardship and Science
Washington, DC

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Civil Rights Movement	CRM
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Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative	CITI
Community Organizations	COMM ORGS
Congress of Racial Equality	CORE
Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Unit	CESU
Critical Race Theory	CRT
Department of Interior	DOI
District of Columbia	D.C.
District/Maryland/Virginia	DMV
Does Not Equal	≠
Experience Unlimited	EU
Federal Housing Administration	FHA
Franklin Delano Roosevelt	FDR
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Young Men's Christian Association	YMCA

Executive Summary

An Ethnographic Overview and Assessment (EOA) was undertaken for Piscataway National Park, an approximately 5,000-acre park located ten miles south of Washington, D.C. Piscataway Park, which is managed by the National Park Service, was created in 1961 through an act of Congress in order to protect the viewshed from Mount Vernon. The purpose of the EOA was to create a historical and ethnographic context for the park, to identify community-associated groups and other stakeholders. And to review, collect, and synthesize ethnographic information about those groups.

The project began in January 2018 and concluded in May 2019. The work was undertaken by St. Mary's College of Maryland (SMCM) in consultation and partnership with the National Park Service's National Capital Region's Cultural Anthropology Program. The project had four primary objectives:

1. documentation of the park's ethnohistorical context;
2. documentation of contemporary Native American associations;
3. documentation of traditional associations and users related to the park; and
4. documentation of other park users.

To accomplish these objectives, project staff secured approval from SMCM's Institutional Review Board. Staff also reviewed the secondary literature concerning Piscataway Park and its environs; examined selected primary historical resources; hosted group meetings and driving tours; identified, reviewed, and sometimes transcribed previously-collected more than two dozen oral histories; collected an additional ten oral histories; conducted fieldwork, including participant observation; and used NVivo, a data analysis software, to analyze the oral histories and field notes.

Ten groups, communities, or organizations with an association with or an interest in the park were identified. These included:

1. the Piscataway Indian community;
2. the Moyaone Reserve community;
3. the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association;
4. the Alice Ferguson Foundation;
5. the Accokeek Foundation;
6. National Park Service employees;
7. the African American community;
8. Marshall, Bryan, et cetera family descendants;
9. the fisher community;
10. Marshall Hall Amusement Park interest groups.

The report includes a detailed historical background of Piscataway Park beginning some 10,000 years ago and extending into the twentieth century. A synthesis of the ethnographic information for each of the ten identified communities/groups as provided in a separate chapter. Finally, the report concludes with a list of recommendations for the National Park Service to consider in its management of Piscataway National Park.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We are grateful to a number of individuals, organizations, and agencies for the assistance we received during the preparation of this report.

Foremost are the many people who shared their stories with previous researchers beginning in 1971 and with us for the present project. For the Piscataway, these individuals include Dolores Currie, Aimee Gray, Ellen Gray, Tribal Chair Francis Gray, George Gray, Sr., Tara Gray, Mario Harley, Rico Newman, the late Gladys Proctor, the late James Hugh Proctor, Joan Proctor, Julian Proctor, Sheila Proctor, former Tribal Chair Mervin Savoy, Jesse Swann, Chief Billy Redwing Tayac, Dr. Gabrielle Tayac, Sebastian Medina Tayac, and the late Chief Turkey Tayac.

For the Moyaone Reserve community, individuals who shared their histories and stories include the late Belva Jensen, Sara Lilly, Karen Miles, Vivian Mills, Kathryn Newcomb, the late Robert Ware Straus, Harold Vance, Holly Wagner, the late Nancy Wagner, the late George Bernard "Bernie" Wareham, Bernard "Bud" Wareham, and the late Hank Xander.

For the African American community, these individuals include Margaret Washington Allen, the late Theresa Clark Briscoe, the late Enolia Slater Marshall, and Delores Smith. For Marshall Hall Amusement Park, these individuals include Clinton Addison, the late Harry Lehman, Damon Nock, John Sprague, and the late Edith Adele Wright Winkler.

We are also grateful to the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, especially Mrs. Virginia Lane, vice-regent and chair of the Viewshed Committee, and Dr. Luke Pecoraro, Director of Archaeology, who allowed us to interview them about the history of viewshed protection at Mount Vernon. Retired National Park Service archaeologist Stephen Potter also sat for an interview with us, describing his long history with Piscataway Park. Finally, we are grateful to the many unnamed fishers and their companions who talked with us about fishing along Piscataway Creek.

Equally important are the many interviewers who volunteered their time to capture the "Beloved Community." These include Elizabeth Clark-Lewis, Ben Collins, Shirley Fiske, Nancy Gasparovic, Michael

Kline, Lucie Kyrova, Dorothy Odell, Scott Odell, Susan Shaffer, Susan Thompson, the late Nancy Wagner, and the late John Wearmouth. Their efforts – interviewers and interviewees – have created a remarkable record of life in this part of Charles and Prince George's counties.

The Accokeek Foundation and the Alice Ferguson Foundation very generously provided meeting space, allowed us to participate in tours and other events, and met with us to describe their everyday work. For the Accokeek Foundation, Anjela Barnes, Shemika Berry, Virginia Busby, and Laura Ford were especially helpful. For the Alice Ferguson Foundation, these individuals included Lori Arguelles and Karen Miles, both of whom were very helpful. Without the assistance of these two long-time organizations, we would not have collected or accomplished as much as we did.

The Hon. Thomas V. Mike Miller, Jr., president of the Maryland Senate, learned of our work through the Accokeek Foundation and very generously sent us information about his ancestor, O.N. Bryan, who, in 1869, donated a large collection of Native American artifacts to the Smithsonian Institution. This is an especially early date for such a donation and this information has been and will continue to be useful for interpreting Native history in the area. We are also grateful to Sen. Miller's brother, Mark, who showed us archaeological sites he had found in the area.

The National Park Service (NPS) very generously funded this study and shared the expertise of its staff, including anthropologists Eola Dance and Noel Lopez. Ms. Dance and Mr. Lopez along with Piscataway Park Superintendent Christine Smith were an important source of information and support, participating in meetings, providing access to relevant materials, and assisting with the collection of information. NPS staff Michael Commisso, Joshua Torres, and Daniel Weldon were also of critical help to the project. We thank the National Park Service for providing us the opportunity to participate in this project.

The Accokeek Foundation, the Southern Maryland Studies Center at the College of Southern Maryland, the Accokeek Heritage Project, and St. Mary's College of Maryland have each contributed enormously to the collection and preservation of the region's diverse voices. We are especially

grateful to Anjela Barnes and Laura Ford at the Accokeek Foundation, Anna Kephart at the College of Southern Maryland, Scott Odell with the Accokeek Heritage Project, and Kent Randell at St. Mary's College of Maryland with their assistance providing access to previously collected oral histories.

Finally, we owe much gratitude to Dr. Sabine L. Dillingham and Adam Malisch, both of SMCM's Office of Sponsored Research, for their hard work to develop the project. We are also grateful to Irene Y. Olnick, Morgan Smith, and Lori Marks for their administrative assistance.

As always, we hope that the narratives presented in this report capture the rich, diverse, and complex history and present of Piscataway Park. Any errors in fact or in interpretation remain our responsibility.

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St. Mary's City, Maryland

Chapter I

Introduction

Introduction

Piscataway National Park, located approximately 10 miles south of Washington, D.C. in Accokeek, Maryland, was created by an act of Congress on October 4, 1961 (Figure 1). The park occupies approximately 5,000 acres of land in two Maryland counties, including Prince George's and Charles counties, and consists of wetlands, forests, agricultural fields, residential development, and the shoreline of the Potomac River and Piscataway Creek. A boat landing at Marshall Hall and marina at Fort Washington also occupy a portion of the park. Piscataway Park, which was created for the primary purpose of protecting the viewshed from Mount Vernon (located on the opposite bank of the Potomac River) (Figure 2), includes both publicly-owned land and privately-owned land under scenic easement. Easement restrictions 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.

While created for the purpose of protecting the Mount Vernon viewshed, the park lands themselves have their own complex and rich history, with many National Register and National Register-eligible properties located

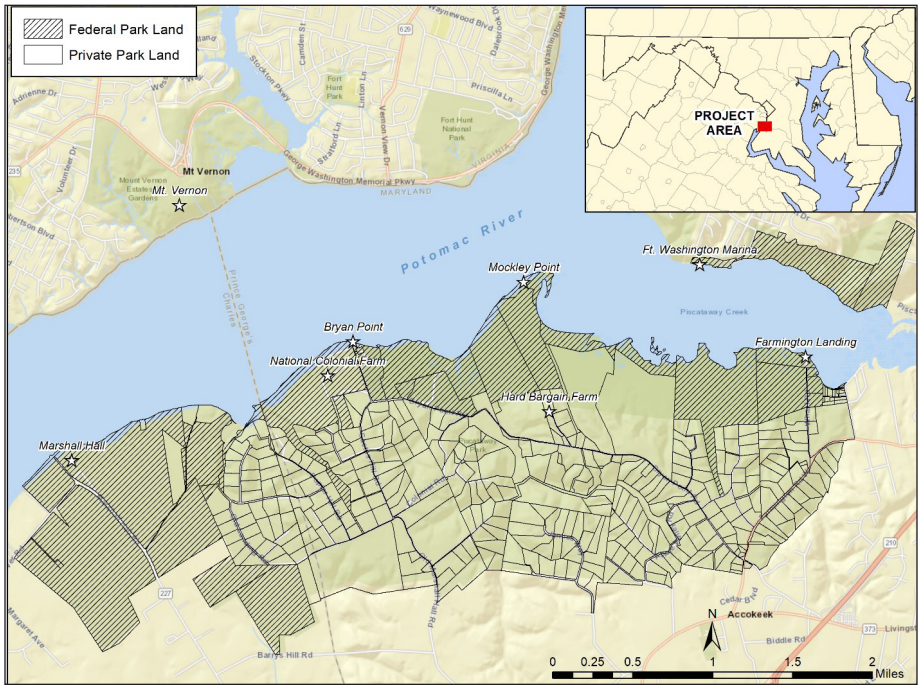

Figure 1. *Location of Piscataway National Park.*

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

within park boundaries. The Accokeek Creek Site, located within the Federally-owned portion of the park and containing traces of a major residential and sacred precinct associated with the Native Piscataway people, is a National Historic Landmark (Figure 3). Marshall Hall, the ruins of an eighteenth-century plantation house, is listed on the National Register (Figure 4). Hard Bargain Farm, the country retreat property of Alice and Henry Ferguson who were such an important part of the area's twentieth-century history, was listed on the National Register in 2014 (Figure 5). A number of mid-century modern homes associated with the Moyaone Reserve residential development are either on or eligible for listing on the National Register. The histories represented by these sites and places give meaning to the park well beyond its important viewshed role.

The protection and use of park lands (including the aforementioned historic places) is a collaborative effort between multiple stakeholder organizations, including the National Park Service (NPS), the Alice Ferguson Foundation (AFF), and the Accokeek Foundation (AF) as well as members of the Moyaone Reserve residential community. Other stakeholders are attached to the park through historical connections to the land. To the Piscataway people, whose historic presence predates all others, the park includes the site of a

major Indian town and cemetery and continues to be a place of spiritual significance. To the early English settlers and their descendants, the land represented a location to be claimed and cultivated for building wealth. For the Africans forcibly brought in to work these fields, the land represented toil and lifelong bondage with little opportunity to share that wealth. To the descendants of these settlers and laborers, this area was the location of several farms, many of which were passed down through or worked by

Figure 3. *The Accokeek Creek Site (Moyaone), Piscataway National Park (Maryland Historical Trust).*

generations of their families. To the mid-twentieth-century employees of the expanding Federal government, it represented a place to which they could escape from the confines and perceived problems of city living. And to the park's present-day residents, it represents a place where they can live close to the city while enjoying both privacy and the beauty of nature.

Two educational organizations, both of which predate the park, operate within the park, including the Alice Ferguson Foundation and the Accokeek Foundation. Both organizations are, in this report, considered as important communities for ethnographic study. The Alice Ferguson Foundation, located at Hard Bargain Farm and, on clear days, within view of the Washington Monument, primarily focuses on environmental education.

Figure 4. *The Accokeek Creek Site (Moyaone), Piscataway National Park (Maryland Historical Trust).*

Figure 5. *The ruins of Marshall Hall, Piscataway National Park (Julia A. King).*

The Accokeek Foundation operates the National Colonial Farm which interprets an eighteenth-century middling planter's farm. The planter's farm was intended as a contrast with Washington's elite plantation across the river. The National Colonial Farm also focuses on the preservation of heritage breed animals. The National Colonial Farm is open to the public with regularly scheduled times while the Alice Ferguson Foundation focuses on planned and structured visits by school and other groups from Prince George's County, Washington, D.C., and other jurisdictions.

There are additional groups and communities with an interest in protecting, preserving, or simply enjoying park land. Fishers, boaters, hikers, and visitors are some of the many people who make use of the park today. An interest group focused on the former Marshall Hall Amusement Park also exists, with a Facebook page curating images from the park's earlier use as a late nineteenth- and twentieth-century site of recreation (https://www.facebook.com/marshallhallpark/).

Through the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, this project seeks to identify and document these historic and contemporary park associations, relationships, and uses in order to help the National Park Service make management decisions that account for all the potential communities and stakeholders with an interest in the park. Many of the park-associated groups took the opportunity represented by the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment to raise issues of concern, suggestions for improvement, and requests for changes. In short, the collection of additional ethnographic data was seen by many participants as an opportunity to review current conditions and a request from them for the National Park Service to consider changes or alternatives in certain polices or practices. These comments, concerns, and suggestions are included in this report in the spirit of assisting the National Park Service with its ongoing commitment to manage its resources with the input, assistance, and cooperation of its stakeholder audiences.

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT

An Ethnographic Overview and Assessment is programmed when park resources are known or thought to be culturally and historically associated with park neighbors, a contemporary ethnic group or groups, or entire

communities located in or near a park. The primary research emphasis is on the collection, evaluation, and analysis of pre-existing data and literature of all types, including demographic, ethnohistorical, and ethnographic studies and archival sources that document the associations with, and traditional uses of, resources in the park or surrounding area by park-associated groups. Depending on the availability of pre-existing data, a secondary research emphasis is placed on the collection of information through ethnographic and oral history interviews.

The term, "park resources," includes all forms and types of naturally-occurring and human-modified or constructed geographical features, landscapes, ecosystems, species of plants, fish and animals, places, structures, and objects. The Ethnographic Overview and Assessment focuses on those resources with traditional and ongoing significance or importance to peoples, groups, and communities and fosters understanding of the people who have formed these attachments. This information is used to inform park management and interpretation and to assist park managers in consultation with the appropriate groups and communities when particular resources are the subject of management consideration and decision-making.

The Ethnographic Overview and Assessment uses historical, anthropological, and sociological methods to identify and describe the park neighbors, park residents, ethnic groups, or others with historical and cultural ties and associations with, or special knowledge of, park resources, including former residents and their descendants who remain attached to the area despite having relocated. Through this type of research project, the park learns which people(s) have traditional cultural practices, values, histories, and identities associated with park resources, and it develops specific information and understanding about the meanings and importance of park resources to these people and groups.

The National Park Service's Cultural Anthropology Program was developed to document relationships between park resources and park-associated peoples and groups. These associated groups are defined in NPS Policies as those who 1) ascribe cultural importance to a National Park or the natural and cultural resources within the park; 2) whose associations precede the establishment of the park and have endured for at least two

generations (approximately 40 years); and 3) whose attachments to places and resources are understood through their traditional practices, values, beliefs and identity as a coherent group or people. The NPS provides further definition to aid in the identification of associated peoples:

> Traditionally associated peoples generally differ as a group from other park visitors in that they typically assign significance to ethnographic resources—places closely linked with their own sense of purpose, existence as a community, and development as ethnically distinctive peoples. These places may be in urban or rural parks, and may support ceremonial activities or represent birthplaces of significant individuals, group origin sites, migration routes, or harvesting or collecting places. While these places have historic attributes that are of great importance to the group, they may not necessarily have a direct association with the reason the park was established, or be appropriate as a topic of general public interest (NPS Management Policies 2006, Section 5.3.5.3).

Park-associated communities and groups can be identified as coherent social groupings and communities (that is, with shared sociocultural traditions, values, beliefs and identity) and are distinguished from other categories of park users such as visitors, constituents, interest groups, and members of the general public due to the nature of the group and the basis of their attachment to the park. Thus, they are differentiated from self-selected groups such as user groups or recreational users like bicyclists and model airplane enthusiasts. Park-associated peoples or groups may include park neighbors, kinship units (such as members of extended family groups), Native Americans, and/or ethnic and religious groups with traditional uses and associations with park places and resources arising from the sociocultural patterns and practices of their communities.

THE STUDY AREA

Piscataway Park is located in Accokeek and straddles the border of two Maryland counties, including Prince George's and Charles counties (see Figure 1). The majority of the land lies in Prince George's County (3,423 acres) with a smaller but not insignificant portion in Charles County (1,182 acres). The park extends from Farmington Landing on its northern boundary to Marshall Hall on its southern end. The park also includes Fort Washington

Marina, located on the north shore of Piscataway Creek. The park is made up of and surrounded primarily by land that is classified as rural, agricultural, forested, and/or low-density residential. The Federally-owned portion of Piscataway Park is no longer classified according to local zoning laws since Federal property is not subject to those laws and their associated regulations.

Prince George's County, which shares a border with Washington, D.C., has the second highest population of all counties in Maryland and is predominantly urban in character. In 2010, the date of the last census, Prince George's County had a population of 863,420 with an estimated 2018 population of 909,308. The county is considered majority minority with the white population at 26.8 percent, the black population at 64.6 percent, the Latino population at 18.5 percent, and the Asian population at 4.6 percent. The median household income in 2010 was $78,607. The majority of the work force is employed in retail and the poverty rate is 8.6 percent. The area of Prince George's County immediately surrounding and including Piscataway Park is considerably more rural in character with a higher percentage of seniors and a lower unemployment rate than the rest of the county (Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission 2013).

Charles County is a demographically smaller county with a population in 2010 of 146,551 and an estimated 2018 population of 161,503. Charles County is also a majority minority county with 44.3 percent of the population identifying as white, 47.5 percent as black, 5.8 percent as Latino, and 3.4 percent as Asian. The median household income in the county in 2010 was $93,973 with most of the work force employed in retail. The poverty rate for Charles County in 2010 was 7.5 percent.

Maryland Highway 210 (also known as Indian Head Highway) is the major roadway that brings people into the Accokeek area, where Piscataway Park is located, and provides a major commuter route to and from Washington D.C. Development of Indian Head Highway began in the early 1940s to accommodate traffic between Fort Washington and the Indian Head Naval Powder Factory (Figure 6)[1]. Before then, roads were narrow and unpaved

[1] Today, the Naval Support Facility, Indian Head Division.

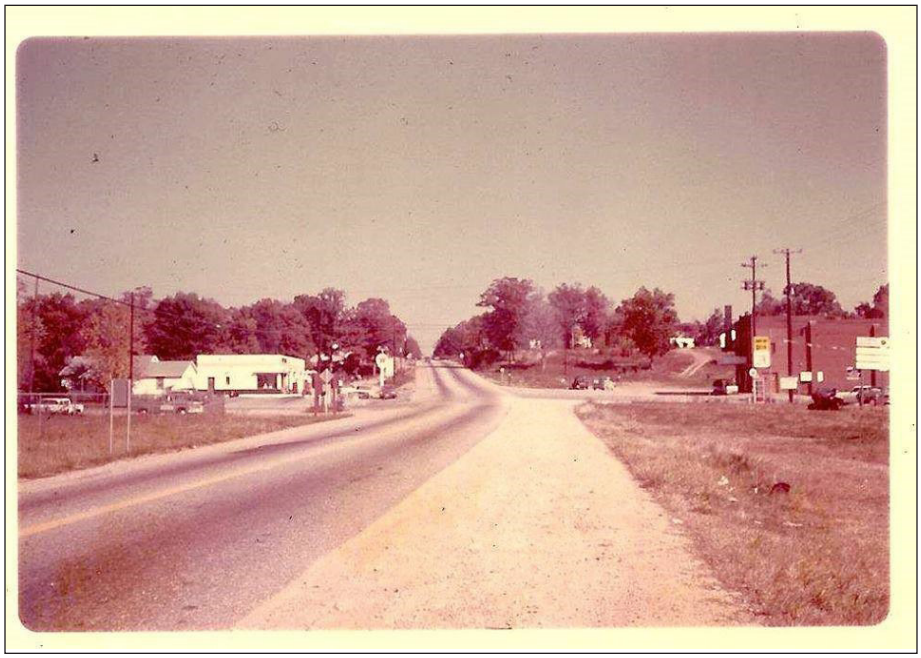

Figure 6. *Indian Head Highway (MD Route 210). The photograph was taken of MD Route 210 in the Indian Head vicinity by Robert Wilson, Sr. in July, 1968. The image was posted by his son on Facebook in 2014*

(Figure 7). The new highway, formed using sections of existing Livingston Road, facilitated economic development and population growth of the wider area. This was especially true when, from the 1940s through 1968, slot machines were legal in southern Maryland and Indian Head Highway brought gamblers to Charles County on a regular basis. People passing through on their way to vacation destinations or simply commuting from their work at Indian Head would stop along the way to rest, eat, and play the slot machines (Shaffer 1983). Indian Head Highway also brought city workers to Moyaone Reserve. Indian Head Highway from the D.C. line to Bryan's Road was constructed by the Bureau of Public Roads (a Federal agency) with transfer to the state in 1954 (State Roads Commission 1957).

STUDY PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose and objectives of this study were outlined in a Scope of Work jointly prepared by St. Mary's College of Maryland and the National Park Service. The purpose is to assemble, collect, analyze, and synthesize ethnographic information concerning the people, places, and resources associated with Piscataway Park and related areas. The following objectives were developed to achieve the project's purpose:

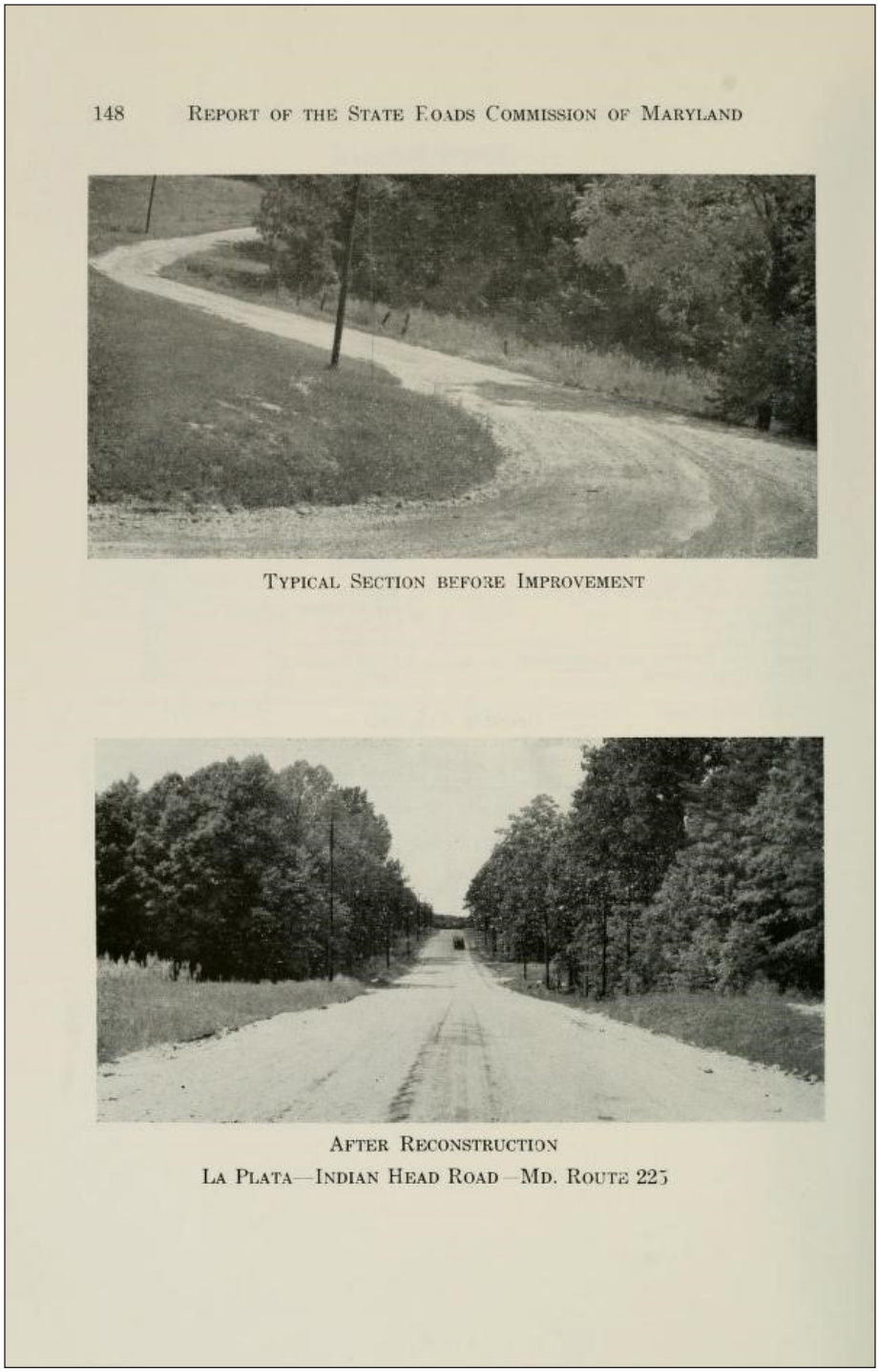

Figure 7. *La Plata-Indian Head Road (MD Route 225). Although not Indian Head Highway, the image is of a nearby feeder (State Roads Commission 1950).*

1. Document the ethnohistorical context of Piscataway National Park.

   Prepare a history of the formation, changes, growth, and decline in the communities in the area around the park from the earliest occupations to the present. The different phases of settlement in the area will be summarized based on their locations and the factors that differentiate them with special concern paid to how those communities have continued into modern times.

   Some attention will also be paid to the connections between the nearby communities and major historical events both of a national and regional scale, such as Captain John Smith's exploration of the Potomac; the establishment of the plantation economy; the War of 1812; transportation and the turnpike; local industries; the Civil Rights Movement; and the establishment of Piscataway National Park. These connections will be documented, as appropriate.

   These historical connections will serve to establish context for the primary focus of the study: people and groups with contemporary park connections. Historical context will provide a framework for the description and analysis of continuity in patterns of traditional uses and associations.

2. Document contemporary Native American associations.

   Piscataway National Park is named for the Piscataway people whose principal settlement was located on what would, in 1961, become Federa; land. This project describes the connections between members of the two state-recognized Piscataway tribes and the various resources located in and managed by the park. Archaeological,

documentary, and oral history evidence provides the context for understanding these connections.

Part of the project will be to document any existing connections between the resources of Piscataway Park and any of the state-recognized Native American tribal groups.

3. Document traditional associations and uses related to the park.

A third objective of the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment is to document those resources, places, or things within the park that are culturally significant, important to, and used in a specific way by one or another of the related communities. These uses can include recreation, subsistence, and religious activities that involve or are related to one or more of the park's resources. Plants, fish, wildlife, open land, farms, waterway, and other places and sites can all be considered among these resources that have been traditionally used by any of the related communities.

4. Document other park users.

Through ethnographic analysis of traditional associations with park resources, some groups may not ultimately be identified as park-associated groups (for example, visitors, fishers, or those who feel a strong connection to Marshall Hall Amusement Park). Nonetheless, information on these park users should be collected and documented.

As part of the documentation of contemporary peoples and groups with an association with Piscataway Park, the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment will:

a. Provide demographic, cultural and historical characteristics of the communities and neighborhoods from which traditional users (and others with uses related to their cultural practices) of the park are drawn and differentiate these groups from other groups of park users.

b. Determine any contemporary and current associations with Piscataway National Park on the part of individuals or groups of Native American descent.

c. Identify and describe the park sites and resources that are being used by park-associated (ethnographic) groups, including how, when, and why. Where appropriate, collaborate with the NPS to gather and update park Geographic Information System (GIS) data sets to document (and map) ethnographic sites and resources.

d. Document the values and significance that ethnographic groups place on the park's sites and resources for these uses.

e. Describe the nature and significance of the continuity and longevity of association with the park of these park-associated communities.

f. Provide information about the perceptions of the park and the effects of park management on the traditional practices and uses of these communities and groups.

g. Index ethnographic resources that can help inform future Indigenous Cultural Landscape studies.

Chapter II

Project Methodology

Project Methodology

A primary purpose of this research is to identify, document, and, to the extent possible, interpret the groups and communities with an association with Piscataway Park. Some of these communities, such as members of the various Piscataway Indian groups and residents of Moyaone Reserve, were known from the start while others, including fishers and those who curate material related to Marshall Hall Amusement Park, were more carefully studied during the research process. Learning more about all of these groups requires an ethnographic approach to the subject. This chapter describes that approach and how it was applied to learning more about the groups and communities with interests in Piscataway Park.

THE VALUE OF ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

Ethnographic research is central to documenting and interpreting the human condition. Ethnography involves the systematic collection of typically qualitative information about human behavior, practices, and worldviews. At one time, ethnographic fieldwork was construed solely as observing groups that were often culturally different and geographically distant from contemporary Western society. Today, ethnographers recognize the value of studying groups in all societies, including contemporary Western groups. The focus can be self-identified groups or groups identified by researchers. Although the focus is on groups regardless of how they are identified, the ethnographer's interaction with the individual as a source can provide valuable information about decision-making practices, subjectivity, agency, and meaning-making. For informants, participating in ethnographic work allows them to talk about their experiences in their voice in a forum that is not always available to them (Bessant 2007).

Ethnographic research draws on a variety of methods involving active engagement with members of a group to generate empirical evidence. These methods include participant observation, the use of structured and semi-structured interviews, and surveys. Although much of the information collected is qualitative in nature, quantitative evidence, especially that collected from surveys or census data, is also critical for producing an informed ethnography. Qualitative data, however, can also be quantified to observe trends or patterns evident in the aggregate. Ethnographic methods also include the study of documents, material culture, landscape, and so on.

Oral histories form a major data set for this report and are here considered a form of ethnographic data. While traditional ethnographic fieldwork typically involves a researcher spending time immersed in the group or culture being studied, oral histories tend to be singular events that take place in settings often removed from the context of the narrated story. In a participant-observer situation, the researcher has far more cues from which to collect data. In an oral history, the researcher is much more dependent on the narrator's words, words which could be shaped by faulty memory, personal agendas, or the interviewer-narrator dynamic. While some researchers perceive these differences as large, for this project, staff found the oral histories to be an exceptional source of information, perhaps because so many oral histories have been collected. In the case of this Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, oral histories, particularly for some of the Piscataway, provide their narrators a bit more control over the story told, an issue of concern to many Native people.

Ideally, ethnographic research should take place over a period of time in order to gain a broader, more contextualized view of the group under study and to place the findings in their larger economic, social, and cultural context. Constraints such as funding and/or time, however, will always shape the nature of the methods used.

CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY

Ultimately, ethnographic reports – syntheses of the findings generated by these methods – are prepared by researchers who bring their own perceptions, biases, and ways of knowing the world to the people, groups, and communities they study. From an undoubtedly biased set of evidence, the ethnographer must synthesize her findings and report – or represent – the individuals, groups, and communities of her study. These representations are a kind of text or, perhaps more precisely, a kind of narrative that constructs the reality of any group or community as much as it may discover that reality (Clifford and Marcus 2010). They are as much political documents as they are scholarly documents.

Since James Clifford and George Marcus (2010) invited ethnographers and those researchers who study culture to adopt a more critical approach to cultural representation, many resources have focused on writing, itself a powerful act as it brings into existence the ethnographic subject. H.L. Goodall provides direction for "writing the new ethnography" beginning with fieldwork (which probably began with some earlier text, and so on). Like ethnographies, field notes are "partial, partisan, and problematic;" in other words, interpretations (Goodall 2000:86-87). Field notes (and, for this project,

oral histories) mediate between lived experience (what is culturally and socially real) and ethnography. Field notes are also clues not just to a group or culture, but to the ethnographer and her position in the world (see also Geertz 1988).

This report is not intended to be an autoethnography, but it does aim to be thoughtful, careful, reflective, and ethical. The first three aims concern how the interpretation will be formed and shaped. The final aim – ethics – begins with the principles of professional responsibility published by the American Anthropological Association in 2012. Project staff also drew on ethics in fieldwork outlined by Goodall (2010:153-154), from gaining entry to a site to issues of cultural appropriation to the issue of compensation.

PROJECT METHODS

The available ethnographic data for this project—principally previously-collected and new field notes and oral histories—are an important source of data on what people say they do (or have done), or think, or feel. Field notes previously collected by NPS staff concerning observations of the park's fisher community were made available to project staff (Callaway and Fiske 2019). Early to mid-twentieth-century field notes and reports about the Piscataway are also available at various repositories. Opportunities for participant observation as part of this project were limited by time constraints, although notes were taken at all meetings and community events.

The methods used in this study were developed in collaboration with the National Park Service. The selected methods emphasized the assembling of already existing work along with the collection of additional primary data to address gaps in the record. These methods included:

1. Review and approval of the project's purpose and research methodology by St. Mary's College of Maryland's Institutional Review Board.
2. Review of the secondary literature concerning Piscataway Park and its environs.
3. Examination of selected primary historical resources, including deeds, census records, probate inventories, genealogical databases, photographs, and previously collected ethnographic field notes.
4. Group meetings and a driving tour with members of the Piscataway Indian community and with residents of the Moyaone Reserve community.
5. The assembling of oral histories found to exist in various repositories, including the National Park Service, the Southern Maryland Studies Center at the College of Southern Maryland, and St. Mary's College of Maryland Archives. Oral histories not previously transcribed were transcribed. Oral histories from the Accokeek Heritage Project were also consulted (with permission).
6. The collection of an additional ten oral histories, including transcription and archiving.
7. Limited fieldwork involving participant observation and semi-structured interviews at the Accokeek Foundation, the Alice Ferguson Foundation, and with the fisher community.
8. The use of NVIVO to analyze oral histories and field notes.

The following paragraphs provide additional details on the methods selected for this project.

1. **Review and approval of the project's purpose and research methodology by St. Mary's College of Maryland's Institutional Review Board.**

   Because a portion of the research would involve observing and interviewing human participants, the proposed project and its methods were reviewed by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at St. Mary's College of Maryland (SMCM). Institutional Review Boards are committees established to review research projects using human participants to ensure that the proposed methodology is ethical and the participants' rights and welfare are protected. This project was

approved by the SMCM IRB on May 18, 2018. A copy of the material provided to the IRB for review can be found in Appendix I.

2. **Review of the secondary literature concerning Piscataway Park and its environs.**

Project staff compiled a bibliography of material relevant to the history and ethnography of the park, beginning with the accepted arrival date of humans in the area some ten to twelve thousand years ago. A majority of this material consists of unpublished reports or articles in journals focused on local or Maryland history. This bibliography forms a part of the References Cited section of this report.

3. **Examination of selected primary historical resources.**

Primary historical documents included a review of land deeds, census records, genealogical databases, tax assessments, wills, and probate inventories. Only those primary source documents available in customary places were collected and evaluated (NPS, College of Southern Maryland, Maryland State Archives, online databases). The search was not exhaustive.

Deed research was undertaken at an early stage of the project. Deeds are legal records that document property ownership. The deed research, which should be regarded as preliminary, involved identifying and tracking the ownership history of individual parcels of land within the boundaries of Piscataway Park. The histories were traced as far back in time as possible. This research provided names of past and current landowners in Piscataway Park and was especially helpful in attempting to identify members of enslaved communities and their descendants.

Census records, genealogical databases, and probate inventories provided important information about earlier communities in the Piscataway Park vicinity, especially concerning the large African American population in the area before and after the Civil War.

Probate inventory data is also useful for exploring past lifeways, social practices, and social structure as well as the material conditions of life. Other records, both in original form and in photocopied or transcribed form, were found at the Southern Maryland Studies Center at the College of Southern Maryland (CSM) and the Maryland State Archives.

During the course of the primary document research, project staff identified important collections of photographs at CSM's Southern Maryland Studies Center. The Marshall Hall photograph collection consists of material donated primarily by Clinton Addison, whose parents, aunt, and uncle operated the Marshall Hall Amusement Park in the 1960s. Photographs or copies of photographs from other donors and sources are also in the collection, including images from the National Park Service. The photographs are primarily twentieth century in date, ranging from 1897 until 1978 with the majority from the 1930s. The Hungerford collection consists of 71 images, predominantly of Marshall Hall and nearby vicinity. The earliest images in the Hungerford collection date to 1911.

An important source of primary data included field notes previously collected by National Park Service ethnographers concerning the large fisher communities that fish on park property along the Potomac and Anacostia rivers and Piscataway Creek. These notes were collected by three ethnographers during the summer and fall of 2015 and were made available to project staff in 2018.

More detailed citation information for primary sources can be found in the References Cited section.

4. **Group meetings and driving tours.**

A scheduled group meeting was held with members of the Piscataway Indian community (June 29, 2018) and with members of the Moyaone Reserve community (August 18, 2018) (for a total of two group meetings) (Figures 8 and 9). The meetings were designed to both inform the members of the community about the project

Figure 8. *Group meeting held with members of the Piscataway Indian community, June 29, 2018. This meeting was held at the Accokeek Foundation.*

Figure 9. *Group meeting held with members of the Moyaone Reserve community, August 18, 2018. This meeting was held at the Alice Ferguson Foundation.*

Figure 10. *Driving tour with Piscataway Indian members, June 29, 2018*

Figure 11. *Building pointed out on driving tour with Moyaone Reserve residents on August 18, 2018.*

and solicit their input and knowledge about Piscataway Park. The group meetings also served to identify other groups or individuals with associations with the park. A driving tour was incorporated into each group meeting, with researchers and meeting participants physically visiting sites, places, and locales of interest or importance to community members (Figures 10 and 11). Driving tour stops were initially developed by project staff and edited and adjusted by participants during the group meetings. Upon arriving at each stop, researchers invited participants to explain why the stop was important and share perspectives of those places.

To capture information for further analysis, coordinates of meeting stops were captured using a Global Positioning System available on an iPhone (Mobile Data Collection [MDC] by GIS Cloud). Notes from these meetings and driving tours can be found in Appendix II.

5. **Assembling known oral histories.**

Previously collected oral histories were identified in the collections of the Southern Maryland Studies Center at the College of Southern Maryland, the Accokeek Foundation archive, the SlackWater archive at St. Mary's College of Maryland, the National Park Service, and the Accokeek Heritage Project, including 32 oral histories representing the voices of 38 individuals (not including interviewers).[2] The majority of these oral histories had been transcribed; those that were not, were transcribed as part of the present project. All of the previously collected oral histories with the exception of the nine collected by the Accokeek Heritage Project (AHP) were edited, collated, and can be found in Appendix III. While project staff were granted use of the AHP interviews, the material is in the process of

[2] Several individuals were interviewed twice but are only counted once for the purposes of this paragraph. In a few cases, two or more individuals participated in a single interview.

being formatted for transfer to the College of Southern Maryland and the decision was made to exclude them from the appendices.

Some of the older interviews requiring transcription had audio-recordings which had deteriorated, impacting the quality of the sound and the ability to recognize all that was said during the interview.

6. Collection of an additional ten oral histories.

Project staff collected an additional nine oral history interviews representing the voices of eleven individuals. These interviews were with three Piscataway Indian tribal members, three Moyaone Reserve residents, a vice-regent and staff member from the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, a recently retired National Park Service employee, and two individuals with interest in Marshall Hall Amusement Park. The eleven interviewees filled in gaps in the existing oral history record and were carefully selected with the intention of including individuals from as many of the park-associated groups as possible.

Before beginning each interview, project staff explained the nature of the project and the importance of the interviews and asked each interviewee to review and sign the consent form. Each interview was recorded in digital form and then transcribed. The questions asked varied based on each interviewee's relationship to the park. Interviewees were also encouraged to share what they think is important about the relationship or association with Piscataway Park or information that the researchers should know. Oral histories do have their flaws in that they rely on memories that can be inaccurate. Nonetheless, they provide important insight into subjectivity,

what individual members of a community value, and an important opportunity for interviewees to shape the narrative.

The oral histories collected as part of the present project can be found in Appendix IV.

7. **Fieldwork involving the Alice Ferguson Foundation, the Accokeek Foundation, and the fisher community.**

To learn more about the practices of three important communities who use Piscataway Park on a daily basis – the Alice Ferguson Foundation, the Accokeek Foundation, and a large fisher community – project staff undertook participant observation and semi-structured interviews at the three respective sites. Field days were limited in number but sufficient for collecting information for the purposes of this report. The interviews conducted as part of this effort were not recorded but notes were kept.

Researchers shadowed members of the staff of both the Alice Ferguson Foundation and the Accokeek Foundation to get a sense of the day-to-day work of each organization and how visitors to the park are served by these organizations. For the Alice Ferguson Foundation, project staff joined a group tour of the Foundation lands and later asked questions of the executive director about her experiences working for the foundation. For the Accokeek Foundation, shadowing involved observing tours and demonstrations presented by the interpretive staff, observing staff interactions with visitors to the park, and asking questions of staff.

As noted, the fishing community at Piscataway Park had been previously documented in 2015. For this project and to increase the material about this community, staff made a total of five site visits to fishing locations between June and November 2018. These visits were memorialized in field notes archived for this project. Conversations with fishers were informal and were designed to solicit information

how often a fisher uses the park, how they learned about the fishing spot, their companions, and their practices.

The field notes collected for this project and notes previously collected in 2015 can be found in Appendix V.

8. The use of NVivo to analyze oral histories and field notes.

NVivo is a data analysis software developed to manage, search, code, and organize qualitative data for greater precision in the identification of themes and relationships not readily apparent in otherwise unstructured information. NVivo was useful in an initial sort of themes but ultimately the most valuable coding and theme identification was done by individual researchers with experience in the region who could appreciate the subtleties and nuances found in the interviews.

The methods used for this project ultimately generated a large database of mostly qualitative information that is analyzed, synthesized, and interpreted in the following chapters.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORICAL AND ETHNOHISTORICAL CONTEXT OF PISCATAWAY NATIONAL PARK

The Historical & Ethnohistorical Context

Piscataway National Park was created on October 4, 1961 when President John F. Kennedy signed Public Law 87-362 establishing the park on land across the river from Mount Vernon. As noted in Chapter I, the park was created to protect and preserve the view from Mount Vernon, and Piscataway Park became a model for viewshed protection across the nation. The lands comprising the park, however, also have their own important history, with the Accokeek Creek Site, Marshall Hall, and Hard Bargain Farm listed on the National Register of Historic Places and properties within Moyaone Reserve in the process of being nominated to the National Register. The Accokeek Creek Site is a National Historic Landmark in addition to being listed on the National Register.

This chapter pulls together historical and ethnohistorical material related to the history of the park's lands, including primary and secondary evidence, to develop a context for interpreting the park's human history and for identifying potential community and group associations with the park. While subheadings define the way in which that history has been organized, it is important to note that this organization should not be construed to represent hard and fast boundaries or historical periods. For example, Piscataway people did not "disappear" when the first English colonists began to claim land in the vicinity, but remained in the area and interacted on a regular basis with Europeans and Africans. The African American history and presence is called out in this document in part because of the historically under-reported status of black history in southern Maryland. Project staff recognize that this organization is hardly perfect, and readers are invited to both use and critique the organization of this chapter as represented by these headings.

THE PISCATAWAY INDIAN PEOPLE: A HISTORY

The Piscataway (Piscatawa) have called southern Maryland home for centuries. Several thousand modern Piscataway, including members of the state-recognized Piscataway Indian Nation and the Piscataway Conoy Tribe of Maryland, are concentrated on the western shore of Maryland (their ancient homeland), although a large Piscataway Diaspora well beyond the homeland also exists (Curry 2011). The Piscataway today include business owners, civil servants, educators,

and health care professionals among many more occupations, all contributing substantially to the communities in which they live.

All Piscataway are conscious of a history that reaches back long before Europeans invaded and occupied their homeland. Despite having endured the effects of settler colonialism for nearly 400 years, the Piscataway continue to thrive and prosper, their history having left its mark on the region. Many place names throughout the region, for example, are derived from Algonquian words used by the Piscataway. This chapter presents Piscataway history through a synopsis of the archaeological and historical record from about 900 AD to the present, including a focus on the Piscataway Park locale. Much of the information contained within the text is based on secondary sources, summaries of archaeological investigations, and a review of key primary source documents, including records found in the Maryland State Archives.

THE ORIGIN OF THE PISCATAWAY

An unusual oral history recorded in 1660 by the colonial Maryland government provides one of the most important accounts of the origin of the Piscataway people. In a meeting with Governor Philip Calvert, the unnamed brother of the Piscataway tayac, Uttapoingassinem, recounted Piscataway origins as he informed Calvert about the Native method of selecting a leader. The passage bears full inclusion in this report:

> That long a goe there came a King from the Easterne Shoare who Comanded over all the Indians now inhabiting within the bounds of this Province (nameing every towne severally) and also over the Patowmecks and Sasquehannoughs, whome for that he Did as it were imbrace and cover them all they called Uttapoingassinem this man dyeing without issue made his brother Quokonassaum King after him, after whome Succeeded his other brothers, after whose death they tooke a Sisters Sonn, and soe from Brother to Brother, and for want of such to a Sisters Sonne the Governmt descended for thirteene Generacons without Interrupcon untill Kittamaquunds tyme who dyed without brother or Sister and apoynted his daughter to be Queene but that the Indians withstood itt as being Contrary to their Custome, whereupon they chose Weghucasso for their King who was descended from one of Uttapoingassinem brothers (But which of them they knowe not) and Weghucasso at his death appoynted this other Uttapoingassinem to be King being descended from one of the first Kings this man they sayd was Jan Jan Wizous which in their language signifyes a true King. And would not suffer us to call him Tawzin which is the Style they give to the

> sons of their Kings, who by their Custome are not to succeede 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 thirteen generations ago, a leader from the Eastern Shore of Maryland united all of the groups in the Maryland coastal plain as well as on the south shore of the Potomac and in Susquehannock country. 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 (although genealogists often recommend an average generation length of 20 years). An analysis of individuals recovered from two ossuaries (large secondary burials) on Nanjemoy Creek indicates a child who lived to the age of 5 years could be expected to live 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 can be reasonably estimated to have been between 20 and 30 years of age. Using these lengths as the multiplier, then, this would place the arrival of the leader from the Eastern Shore and the coalescence of groups in the Potomac River valley sometime between around 1270 and 1400 AD.

These dates fit well with shifts seen in the archaeological record, although the exact meaning of these changing patterns in material culture is also a subject of some debate. Prior to about 1300 AD, the predominant ceramic type in southern Maryland was Townsend ware, shell-tempered ceramics produced from about 950 AD through the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Beginning about 1300 AD, however, grit- and/or sand-tempered ceramics, including Potomac Creek and, later, Moyaone ware types, also appear in the region's archaeological record. The radiocarbon dates associated with the earliest appearance of Potomac Creek ceramics (ca. 1300 AD) roughly corresponds with the date suggested by the Piscataway oral history (ca. 1270-1400 AD). This

is also the period when the Indian town at what is now Piscataway Park, sometimes referred to as Moyaone, began its growth (Potter 126-138).

A number of archaeologists have pointed out that, at about the time grit-tempered Potomac Creek ceramics began to appear in the inner coastal plain, palisaded towns west of the fall line in the piedmont on both sides of the Potomac River were being abandoned; the inhabitants of these towns made and used a crushed quartz-tempered ceramic analogous to Potomac Creek types. As these towns were being abandoned, others in the piedmont were being established by people producing predominantly limestone-tempered ceramics. Archaeologists infer that the appearance of Potomac Creek ceramics in the Middle Potomac valley may reflect migrations from the piedmont into the coastal plain, possibly spurred by migrations into the piedmont from the west. Moyaone would have been one of these migrant settlements.

There are problems with this model, based in part on incomplete understandings of how archaeological artifact patterns reflect cultural practices and events. First, the model equates groups of people with ceramic ware types, an assumption that may not be warranted given what is known about ceramic manufacture. More problematically, the archaeological evidence appears to conflict with the 1660 oral history. The archaeological evidence suggests a migration from the west while the oral history evidence suggests a migration from the east. In addition, the late anthropologist Paul Cissna's (1986:31, 41-48) analysis of a surviving Piscataway translation of the Ten Commandments (housed at Georgetown University's Lauinger Library) suggests strong affinities with the language spoken by both the Powhatan and the Delaware and not with western groups. And, a study of ossuaries from throughout the Maryland coastal plain suggests that ossuary burials appeared first on the Eastern Shore and slightly later on the western shore (Curry 1999), a phenomenon which could be interpreted as possibly reflecting some kind of westward movement or migration.

Archaeologist Stephen Potter (1993:138) has argued that the varying sources of evidence are not necessarily mutually exclusive. During the meeting of the Council when the oral history was recorded, Potter points out, the tayac's brother was addressing a question from Governor Calvert as to how Uttapoingassinem 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 archaeological 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 CENTURIES BEFORE INVASION

The southern Maryland region reveals the appearance of a range of archaeological site types containing both sand- or grit-tempered and shell-tempered ceramics dating to between 950 and 1700 AD (classified as the Late Woodland or Contact-period by archaeologists). Many of the sites appear to have been short-term camps from which hunting and gathering expeditions were launched. Several were large enough to warrant identification as villages or towns, as evidenced by thick deposits of oyster shell, animal bones, ceramics, and stone artifacts.

The people living in these villages and towns were recorded by European chroniclers as having lived in arbor-like structures covered in reeds and known as wigwams or longhouses. Archaeological investigations have corroborated these descriptions with cases where post mold patterns found at a number of sites suggest the traces of former dwellings. These houses were probably organized cooperatively by age and sex within families to produce food and life's other necessities. As at the Potomac Creek and Accokeek Creek (Moyaone) sites, many of these town sites were palisaded, with houses surrounded by a ring of upright posts cut from sapling trees. Perhaps the region's growing population increased the competition for resources and led to inter-group hostility, thus spurring communities (probably the elite) to protect their domestic compounds with wooden barriers (Potter 1993:149-161). Archaeologist Chris Shephard (2009), however, has suggested that these compounds, rather than reflecting defensive measures, served to demarcate sacred space, including burial grounds, from everyday space.

The Piscataway were one of two powerful polities emerging in the Middle Potomac River valley in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Piscataway controlled much of the north bank of the Potomac while the Patawomeck controlled its south bank. The Piscataway and Patawomeck had an on again-off again relationship, with relations fairly cool at the time of European invasion. There were other smaller, less powerful groups in the drainage that also resisted Piscataway efforts to control them. Although each village or town had its own leader, all or most of the southern Maryland settlements at this time were probably tied to Moyaone. The strength of the relationships, however, would have weakened with distance (Potter 1993:149-161). But the fact of the matter was that even those groups outside Piscataway control nonetheless had to reckon with this powerful polity. The Piscataway leader or tayac controlled territory in what would later become Maryland ranging from St. Mary's County north to the fall line. Subject to the tayac were werowances or 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 (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 Accokeek Creek Site, located on the Potomac River at the mouth of Piscataway Creek, is today a part of Piscataway Park. The site, a National Historic Landmark, was extensively mapped and excavated in the 1930s by Alice Ferguson and her husband, Henry. The Fergusons' methods were poor, although enough records survived that Robert L. Stephenson, a graduate student at the University of Michigan in the 1960s, was able to prepare a map of a large residential and spiritual complex repeatedly enclosed for generations (Figure 12). Mrs. Ferguson initially thought this extensive complex with its thousands of ceramic fragments was Moyaone ("Moyans"), the town John Smith mapped in this vicinity in 1608. She later changed her mind because of a complete absence of European trade goods. Mrs. Ferguson's reasoning may be correct but it is also possible that Smith mapped or even visited the site and, if any goods were exchanged, they could have easily failed to make it into the archaeological record. Immediately post-Smith, the Piscataway abandoned the town for good and withdrew up Piscataway Creek or elsewhere. This trend is not unknown; the Secowocomoco abandoned

their town on the Wicomico River (in Maryland) and Powhatan abandoned Werowocomoco on the York (in Virginia) (Dye et al. 2016; Gallivan 2016).

Before its abandonment, whether that was before or immediately after Smith's voyage, the Accokeek Creek Site/Moyaone was an important Native center for centuries. Artifacts recovered by Mrs. Ferguson and now in the custody of the University of Michigan indicate that people were in the vicinity as early as 4850 BC. While these earlier occupations do not appear large, they do suggest that this area was what Martin Gallivan (2016) would call a "persistent place," or a place known to Native people and to which they would return. More than 58,000 ceramic fragments are in the collection with more than half dating between ca. 1200 and 1600 AD. Hundreds of post molds revealed the locations of palisades and houses. Perhaps most remarkable are the remains of at least 1,438 individuals the Fergusons removed from the ground. Unfortunately, the methods used to excavate the Accokeek Creek Site and the artifacts' curation in Michigan make it challenging to interpret the site's history and use.

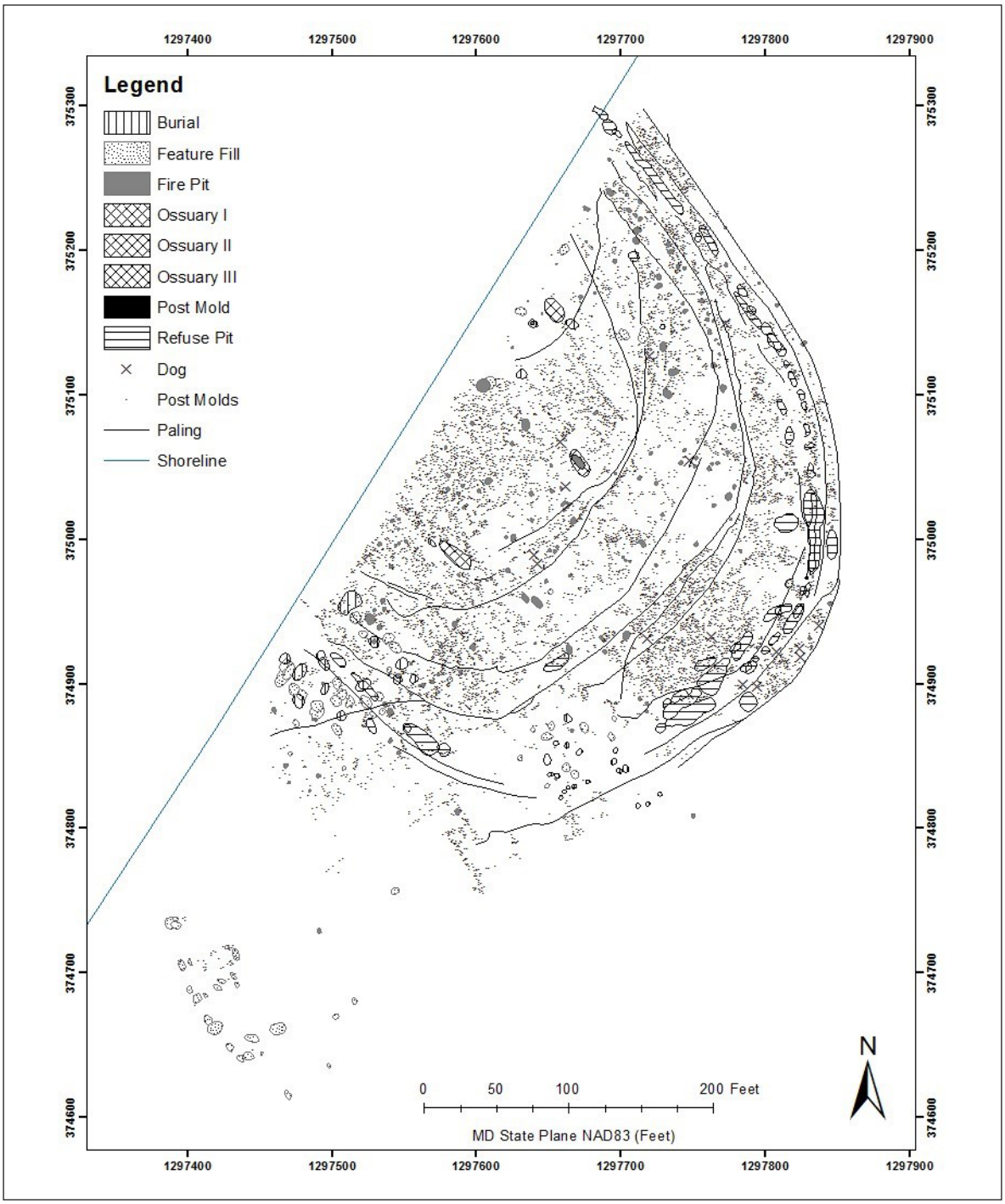

Figure 12. *Plan view of the Accokeek Creek Site (18PR8) (Scott Strickland after Stephenson and Ferguson 1963).*

On the eve of the invasion of Piscataway by the Europeans, the indigenous people of southern Maryland were practicing a form of slash-and-burn agriculture to clear land for planting corn, beans, and squash (a method subsequently adopted by the colonists). Tobacco was also cultivated, primarily for ritual or spiritual purposes and not for recreational consumption. Hunting and gathering remained vitally important to the subsistence economy, and when residents left to hunt or fish at various times throughout the year, town populations would decline temporarily. Settlements might be relocated once the soil in nearby fields was depleted and corn yields declined.

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. Iroquois 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. 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).

Nations even less familiar than the Iroquois began to appear in the Chesapeake region in the late sixteenth century with the arrival of, first, the Spaniards and then the English. Although the records do not suggest any direct encounters early on between European explorers and the indigenous people of southern Maryland, the groups living in the region were almost certainly aware of these strange new people and their even stranger customs. The indigenous groups may have even acquired glass beads, European copper, or other exotic items through trade with groups that had come into contact with the Europeans.

INVASION OF THE ENGLISH

It is possible that early Spanish explorers were in the Potomac River in the late sixteenth century. A description by Captain Vincente Gonzales in 1588 described a "large fresh-water river" located at a latitude of 38 degrees that Gonzales named San Pedro (Lewis and Loomie 1953:131-139). The Potomac River begins at exactly 38 degrees in latitude. The earliest surviving record of an English presence in the Potomac drainage dates to 1608, when Captain John Smith entered the river for the purpose of creating his now famous Map of Virginia (Rountree, Clark, and Mountford 2007) (Figure 13). Smith's map has since served as an important baseline for interpreting Native settlement in the Potomac 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, traveling from Cornfield Harbor on the river's north side to Nomini Creek on the south side. He and his crew engaged Sekakawons (Chicacoans) and possibly Wiccocomicos, with peace "made all around" before the English party continued their northward journey for the falls (Rountree, Clark, and Mountford 2007:94). At Nomini,

Figure 13. *John Smith's Map of Virginia, 1608, published 1612, showing Piscataway vicinity (Library of Congress).*

Smith encountered Mosco, a Wiccocomico man with a heavy beard; the beard may have indicated European ancestry from earlier interactions. After departing Nomini, Smith's party traveled north to what would later be named St. Clement's Bay by the English and, just north of St. Clement's, the Wicomico River. While leaving the Wicomico, it appears that Smith stopped at the chief's town of Cecomocomoco. From there he continued north to the Port Tobacco River, then Nanjemoy Creek, and then back to the south side of the river to Patawomeck. 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 settlements and their hierarchy as Smith understood them (see Figure 13).

At the time of first contact, the Piscataway tayac controlled much of Maryland's lower western shore south of the Fall Line, with the exception of independent Patuxent towns and possibly the Yaocomico, who were nonetheless influenced by the Piscataway chiefdom (Clark and Rountree 1993:112-116; Potter 1993:19-20; Merrell 1979:552, footnote 12). During Smith's exploration of the Potomac, he gave the warrior populations for the towns he visited, each depicted on his Map of Virginia (see Figure 13). While he estimated 160 Patawomeck and 40 Tauxenant (Doeg) warriors on the west or south side of the river (that is, in Virginia), numbers on the Maryland side were 40 at Secowocomoco, 20 at Potopaco (Portobac), 60 at Pamacacack (Pamunkey), 80 at Nacotchtanke (Anacostin), and finally, 100 at Moyowances, or Moyaone, the capital of Piscataway (Arber 1884:52).

Using estimates provided by Smith and other explorers, as well as information extrapolated from archaeological 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. Cissna (1986:49-53), attempting to reconcile the numbers, calculated a range of roughly 3,600 to 5,760 people living on the Potomac's northern shore in the early seventeenth century.

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 told Captain Smith that the "Pocoughtronack [or

Massawomecks] [are] a fierce Nation. . .war[ring] with the people of Moyaoncer and Pataromerke" (Arber 1884:20). Powhatan reported that the Massawomecks, whose identity is still debated, had slain 100 Piscataway 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 Piscataway (Neill 1876:26; Pendergast 1991:14). Although these numbers may be inflated, it is nonetheless evident that raids by these northern Indians had reduced the Piscataway population by considerable numbers and influenced subsequent political developments.

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

To the Piscataway's south, there were the Virginia Algonquians and the Patawomeck, a group seemingly independent of other Indian nations but nonetheless hostile to the Piscataway and with tepid relations with the fledgling Virginia colony. The Patawomeck were allied with the Virginia government in 1623 when the colonists sailed up the Potomac and assaulted the Piscataway, "putt[ing] many to the swoorde" despite the Piscataways' previously amicable encounters with John Smith (Kingsbury 1935:450).

Figure 13 depicts Smith's understanding of the geopolitical realities in the Chesapeake at the time of his exploration in 1608. His map illustrates the locations of the various settlements and nations hostile to the Piscataway. The pressures on three sides had forced the Piscataway at contact to move their ancient capital of Moyaone on the Potomac River further up Piscataway Creek to a more sheltered location. This is based on archaeological evidence that indicates a major Piscataway town (the Accokeek Creek Site) located at the mouth of Piscataway Creek (now Piscataway Park) and excavated in the 1930s (Stephenson and Ferguson 1963). The absence of European artifacts despite

extensive excavations could suggest that this town was abandoned before Smith's reconnaissance.[3] Threats from Iroquoian groups to the north and the Virginia colony and the Patawomeck 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).

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 2008:82). Thus began friendly enough relations that brought Virginians on a regular basis to the Potomac and at least one trip by the Patawomeck werowance to Jamestown. Opechancanough's 1622 defensive attack in Virginia and both Native and colonial fears and uneasiness about who was allied with who required constant diplomacy, but relations between the English and the Patawomeck remained stable into the late 1620s and early 1630s (Fausz 1984; Rice 2009: 2-91).

In 1634, 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; 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).

[3] Smith's visit in the Potomac may not have generated enough artifacts to leave an archaeological 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.

Because of 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 (for example, the Woodland Indian Hamlet at Historic St. Mary's City describes "native peoples and English colonists living together, peacefully, until the colonists could establish their own settlement"). In reality, the relationship was far more complicated, and 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 and the Calverts may have struck a more diplomatic tone with the Natives, but the ultimate goal was Native subjugation and, by the end of the century, Native removal (King 2012).

Despite these accounts of friendly interaction with the Yaocomico and the Patuxents, 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).

The Jesuit letter indicated that at least some Native people were not receptive to the invaders.

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). Some of the converted Patuxents may have even been living with the Jesuits at the Mattapany farm (Cissna 1986:139-140); an archaeological survey of a portion of the Mattapany tract located a potentially early, post-Contact settlement that may represent an early missionary settlement (Chaney and King 1999).

Historian James Merrell (1979) attributes the initially reduced tension between the Piscataway and the colonists to Kittamaquund who, in 1636, allegedly killed his brother, the tayac 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, to live at St. Mary's with Margaret Brent. Mary Kittamaquund later married Giles Brent, Margaret's brother (Cissna 1986:140-142; Merrell 1979:555-557).

A significant contingent of Piscataway did not view Kittamaquund as a lawful ruler because of this 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 Picataway, that year, Governor Calvert and the Council commissioned Robert Evelin "to take the charge and Command of all or any the English in or near ab[ou] t Pascatoway, and to leavie train and Muster them" to put the English "in a posture of defence" against the Indians (Archives Md. 3:102).

The 1648 "Act Touching Pagans" reflects English anxiety about the Indians whose lands they had invaded. The law disallowed the provision of guns and ammunition to the Indians 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 Indians 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 act may signify a significant population of people of 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, they were coming into more regular contact with the local Native population. Such acts signify the Maryland government's attempt to regulate and normalize everyday relationships with the Indians; 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 of Mattapanian, Wocomocon (Yaocomico), Patuxent, Lamasconson, Kighahnixon, and Choptico Indians requested that some 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 was to essentially establish a 1,000-acre reservation at the head of the Wicomico River (probably somewhere between present-day Chaptico and Allen's Fresh) on proprietary manor land, not only to protect land for the Native population but to "civilize" and Christianize the Indians as well. They appointed Robert Clark "steward" and authorized him to grant 50-acre parcels to individual Indians and a 200-acre parcel to the werowance, or chief, and to hold court baron and leet (Archives Md. 1:329-331; Cissna 1986:147-149). It is unclear whether this plan ever came to fruition or not, although archaeological survey of a portion of this new manor revealed the presence of a major seventeenth-century Indian 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, Uttapoingassinem, 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 described how the "Cinigoes," or Seneca (a catch-all term for the Five Nations Iroquois), had recently killed five Piscataway and threatened their fort for their friendly relations with the English and the Susquehannock, who were then at war with the Seneca. 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 Susquehannock 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 Uttapoingassinem 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 Piscataway 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 Piscataway also asked Calvert to protect the new tayac, which he did by ordering "that they should not presume to wrong him uppon 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 arms length of Roanoke to any Indian 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 Susquehannock in late June of 1666, during which the Susquehannock related that they had recently lost a number of warriors in skirmishes with the Five Nations Indians near the head of the Patapsco and other rivers. They also described the intention of the Five Nations to storm the Susquehannock Fort[4] in August and, afterward, to attack the English plantations, and the Susquehannock 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 Indian groups continued. After successfully repelling a 1663 Seneca attack

[4] The location of this fort was at the head of Chesapeake Bay.

of their fort, the Susquehannock continued to harass the Iroquois of the Five Nations, assaulting and conquering an Onondaga war party in 1666; anticipation of reprisal likely explains Susquehannock desire to reconfirm their military alliance with Maryland 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 Indian-English relations was signed with twelve Indian groups residing in the areas claimed by the Calvert family.

Indian 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 Indian 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 English-Indian 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 Indian affairs within the Maryland colony at this time. Parties to the treaty included the Piscataway, Anacostin (Nacotchtanke), Doeg, Mikikiwoman, Masquestend, Mattawoman, Chingwateick, Nanjemoy, Portobacos, Sacayo, Pangayo, and Choptico. There were only seven signers, however, for all twelve groups. Analysis of the signatory groups suggests that the Piscataway and the Sacayo, sharing two signers, were fully united, as were the Chingwateick and Pangayo. The Anacostin, Portobaco, Doeg, Mikikiwoman, Masquestend, and Choptico, 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 Indian 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 Anacostin, Doeg, and Patuxent), 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, "Counceller" for the Chingwateick and Pangayo and signer of the treaty. Mattagund 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." Mattagund's speech also makes reference to "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. As Choatick conceded in his speech, the Piscataway "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 Piscataway 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 shall bring their wives & children to be secured from danger of any forreign Indians…" (Archives Md. 2:26). Choatick's speech indicated that some Indians desired this clause of the treaty based on fears of Five Nations raids (Archives Md. 2:15).

And, 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 Indians 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; the reservation was formally surveyed the following year (Archives Md. 5:34; Marye 1935:239-240).

The treaty also required the Indians 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 Nanzattico (Figure 14). If Cissna (1986:152) is correct in his assertion that the Chingwateick are the same as the "Cinquateck" on the John Smith map (see Figure 12), then it is possible that this group may have also fled Maryland with the Potobac, as there is a group called the "Chinquatuck" on the north shore of the Rappahannock near the Potobac. The Herrman map also shows the Doeg 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 Piscataway 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 Piscataway, like many other Maryland Indians, 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 Piscataway had joined the Susquehannock. The records along with archaeological evidence are also clear that the Piscataway "now reduced" remained an organized nation based along Piscataway Creek (Ferguson and Stewart 1940).

Figure 14. *Augustine Herman's Map of Maryland and Virginia, 1670, published 1673, showing Piscataway Park vicinity.*

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 15). The problems began early 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 fled 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

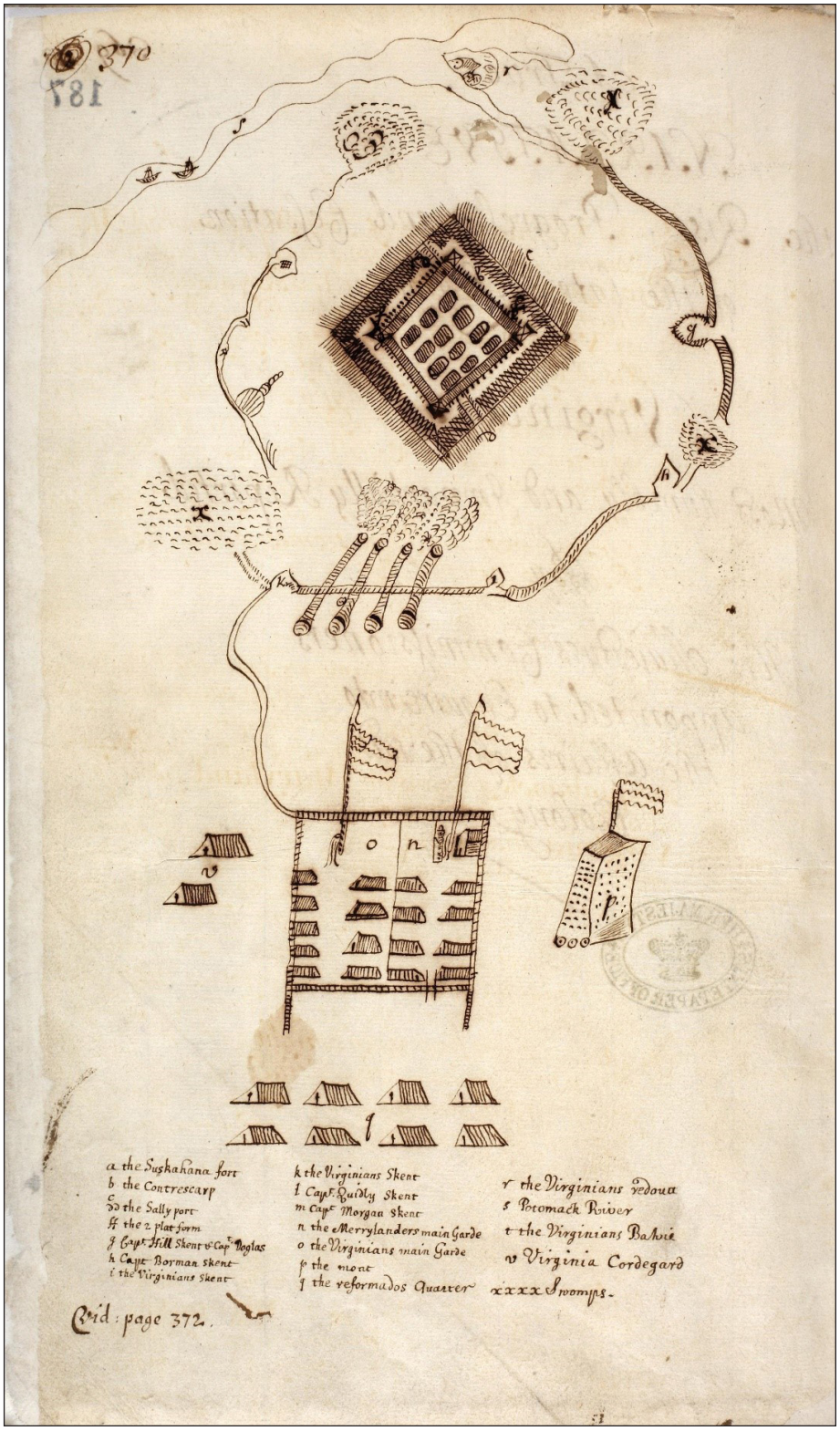

Figure 15. *Siege of Susquehannock Fort (The [British] National Archives CO 5/1371).*

colonists. Four hundred men, women, and children kept the fort until early November when, under cover of darkness, the Susquehannock made their escape (Rice 2012:18-24).

But this was not the end of it. The Susquehannock 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 Piscataway, 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 Piscataway.

Continued pressure on the Piscataway at their base along Piscataway Creek by the Susquehannock 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 Piscataway. 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 Piscataway to Zekiah Manor, one of two proprietary manors in Charles County. The area of Zekiah Manor that was ultimately occupied by the Piscataway 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 Susquehannock and northern Indian troops were determined to make a major assault on the Piscataway in either July or August. The Council appointed Jacob Young, a translator, to attempt to confer with the said Indians and discourage them from the attack (Archives Md. 15:310). The war parties of northern Indians which had previously attacked the Piscataway evidently remained in the area,

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however. In a letter written June 28, 1680, Captain Brandt reported that the Piscataway had been daily sending out scouts, and these scouts had recently "discovered the Enemy," presumably a northern Indian encampment. By Brandt's account, the Piscataway 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 Mattawoman, 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 Mattawoman 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 Indian 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 Piscataway also pointed to the fact that the Mattawoman fort had been recently attacked (in early January) and that "most of the Mattawoman Indians had been lately Surprised and cutt of[f] [killed] by the Susquehannohs" (Archives Md. 15: 329). Indeed, an attack in January was an unusual event for any Indian 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 Piscataway requested from Baltimore a supply of corn (Archives Md. 15:329-330). Given that the Piscataway, 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 Indians per the 1666 treaty. The Council suggested that the Choptico, Nanjemoy, and remnant Mattawoman join the Piscataway 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 Indians thirty pounds of powder and sixty pounds of shot, implying the Indians 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 Piscataway immune to future attacks. At least one skirmish with the Iroquois 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 Indians, 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 Piscataway (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 Piscataway had sought shelter from the Iroquois among the English plantations. Hussey's report includes a statement that the raiding Indians had carried away eleven Piscataway (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 Indians. Similarly, Henry Hawkins of nearby Johnsontown, 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 Indians (Archives Md. 17:20).

Indian 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 Piscataway. 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 Piscataway 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 Piscataway accompany them should any northern Indians 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 Choptico away from the English plantations in St. Mary's County (Archives Md. 17:27-28) and, indeed, some Choptico later joined the Piscataway at Zekiah Fort (Archives Md. 17:54).

To quell further violence against the Piscataway 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 Mattawoman 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 Mattawoman 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 Mattawoman 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 Piscataway 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 Seneca of the Five Nations was confirmed between them and the Maryland Government and Piscataway. During a conference of all three parties at the home of Colonel Wells in Baltimore County, the Seneca

> . . .prsented a Belt of Peake [necklace] signifyeing that whereas much blood had been spilt betweene them, and the Pascattoway Indians, with greate trouble labour and toile, they the sd Pascattoway Indians might now remaine secured of peace, and raigne wthout molestation in their owne territoryes (Archives Md. 17:366).

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

On August 7, 1685, three Piscataway, including 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 Piscataway made two statements to the New York authorities:

1. Wee are come here from MaryLand To ye house of Corlaer where usually Propositions are made, & where ye Covenant fyre burns, to Speak wt al ye Indians westward about ye Covenant, doe give a Belt of 10 deep.

2. Wee are come to Stay here in Corlaers house till ye Indians as far as onnondage come here to Speak wt us about ye Covenant, and desyre yt arnout ye Interpreter may goe & fetch ym. doe give 4 faddom of wampum to greese his horses leggs (Leder 1956:83).

Three years later, in March 1689, Baltimore's deputy governors responded to provincial disturbances by sending "tenn 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. Archaeological 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 Seneca.

Shortly thereafter, in late July/early August 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 Indian settlements, albeit at the tayac's request (Archives Md. 8:328). It seems that, by the 1690s, a number of factors were pulling the Piscataway 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 Piscataway 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. Some Piscataway 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 Piscataway 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 Piscataway had been making forays into Virginia and the tayac and a large contingent would soon move there. Some Choptico and people from around the town of Pamunkey as well as some Piscataway remained in Maryland during this time (Cissna 1986:178-179). In 1697, James Stoddert,[5] 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 Indians 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).

[5] Stoddert's widow, Elizabeth, married Thomas Marshall I in 1726. Thomas Marshall I patented the land that became known as Marshall Hall.

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 Piscataway had indeed remained in Maryland in February 1697. By May, however, the records indicate that the Piscataway, Mattawoman, and Choptico, at least as organized polities, were beginning to withdraw into the mountains of Virginia (Archives Md. 19:557).

By June, a group of Piscataway 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 Indians 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 Piscataway had had 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 African slaves 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 Piscataway and Seneca. 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 slave. 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 slave 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 Piscataway 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 Seneca Indians 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 Piscataway 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 Piscataway 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 Piscataway returned to Piscataway Creek or Rock Creek as Maryland desired. Several Pamunkey who had been with the Piscataway in Virginia returned to live near English plantations "att Pomunkey"

(Archives Md. 22:328-329; Cissna 1986:186). No doubt some Piscataway 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 16). This site is well above the fall line and distant from the English settlements. By this time, the Piscataway were most frequently referred to as the Conoy (Cissna 1986:191-1912). 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" (Seneca) 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 Tilltet, traveled to Conoy Island to meet with the Piscataway tayac. The tayac told them that the Piscataway 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 Seneca were living at the fort and that the Susquehannock 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 Piscataway would be blamed. The tayac stated that, despite fears of Witowee attacks, the Piscataway would stay at the fort for now (Palmer 1875:67).

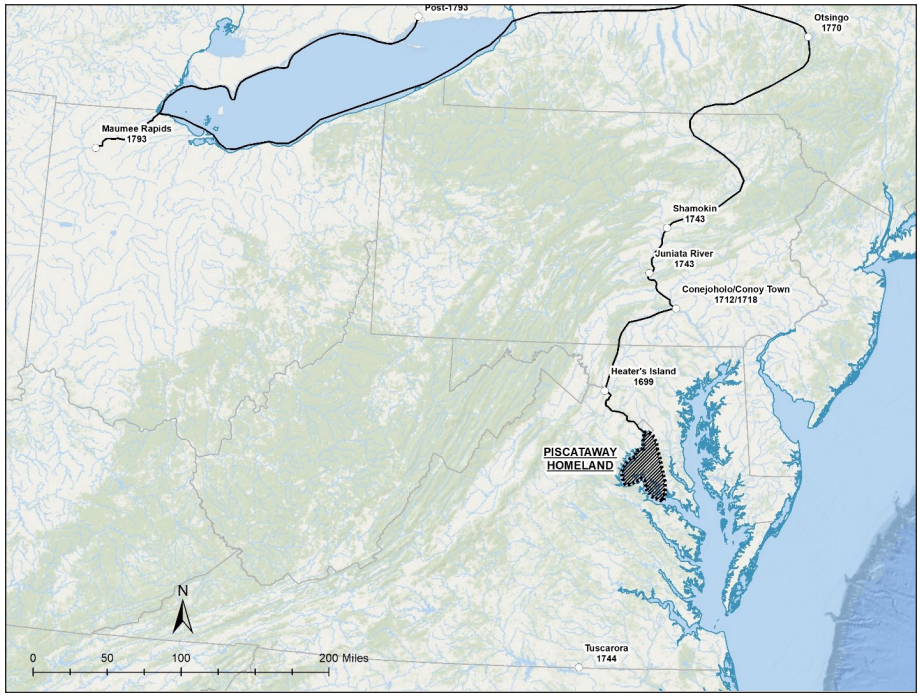


Figure 16. *Locations of known Piscataway settlements as they were displaced from their homeland.*

In 1700 and 1701, John Accatamacca, or Othotomaquah, the Piscataway tayac, sold some tracts of land between Mattawoman and Piscataway creeks to Englishmen. These documents are in effect quit-claims and a legal form of ensuring total dispossession of the land by Native people (Strickland 2015).[6] Around this time, the Maryland government was attempting to establish a reservation for the Piscataway, promising that the English would vacate the area if the Piscataway would return (Archives Md. 24:72-72, 79). The Maryland government was also appointing Indian-English "mediators" for Indian groups in Maryland, likely to keep a watchful eye on Indians on the 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 Piscataway still had not returned (Cissna 1986:188; Archives 24:147-148). The Maryland

[6] Joshua Marshall and John Fendall were both beneficiaries of these quitclaim deeds.

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 Piscataway on Conoy Island were visited by Colonel Smallwood, an Indian interpreter named Robin, and a small troop of men. Smallwood learned that 57 Piscataway 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 Piscataway may have left the island after the smallpox epidemic, going to live at Conejoholo on the Susquehanna River (see Figure 16) (Cissna 1986:192).

Many Piscataway continued on the island, however. In 1712, the Piscataway, 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 Piscataway 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 16). 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 Piscataway (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 Piscataway 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 16) (Van Doren and Boyd 1938: 67-69; Cissna 1986:192-193).

PISCATAWAY DISPLACEMENT, RELOCATION, AND DIASPORA

The Piscataway appear to have maintained close ties to the Nanticoke 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 Piscataway were under the influence of the Five/Six Nations Iroquois and maintained extensive contact with many mid-Atlantic Indian groups.

During the negotiations for these treaties, concerns of the Piscataway/Conoy were sometimes raised. At the 1744 Treaty of Lancaster, for example, the Piscataway 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 Piscataway. 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 Piscataway on the road through Virginia (Van Doren and Boyd 1938:77). Canassatego's request reveals that some Piscataway had resettled south of Maryland among Tuscarora remnants who had not migrated north to join the Five/Six Nations at the conclusion of the Tuscarora War several decades earlier (see Figure 16). 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 Piscataway diaspora. Not only did some Piscataway migrate north into Pennsylvania, some split and went south to live among the Tuscarora (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 Indians, "principally Nanticokes and Conoys." These Indians 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 16). At a major Indian conference held with Sir William Johnson in 1770, 193 of the estimated 2,300 Indians in attendance were believed to be Piscataway and Nanticoke and, in 1779, when the Otsiningo Indian settlement was abandoned, 120 Nanticoke and 30 Piscataway were counted in a census at Fort Niagara (Cissna 1986:199-200). Some of these Nanticoke and Piscataway would later move with the Six Nations to a reservation in Canada, while others migrated west with other Indian 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 Indian 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 Indian 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 Indian territory, effectively forcing the Indians 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 Piscataway joined other Native groups fighting against Wayne's forces during his Fallen Timbers campaign in 1794 (Tayac 1988:7).

While some Piscataway 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 Piscataway. 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 did remain. 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 Indians 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 makes reference to 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 Choptico and Pamunkey Indians remaining in the colony into the eighteenth century. References to the remnant Piscataway 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.

Archaeologist 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 Indian identity continued into the nineteenth century and would have long-lasting effects on the Piscataway 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 is also the case that George Pye adopted English habits and practices and yet was still regarded as an Indian by himself and the English.

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 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 Piscataway 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,[7] part of the Bryan family in the region, developed a relatively large collection of lithics and ceramics to the Smithsonian

[7] Oliver Norris Bryan was a lifelong bachelor who lived at Locust Grove on the east side of Marshall Hall Road. Bryan was committed to agricultural reform and wrote on the topics of botany, ornithology, geology, and pisciculture (Rivoire 1980).

Institution (Figure 17). This donation marks an unusually early recognition of the importance of these materials. This donation to the Smithsonian suggests that the nineteenth-century residents viewed these objects as "antique."

While much work 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 (not surprisingly) 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 archaeological sites, also described "Bead Hill," which was nearby and "where glass beads. . .had been plowed" out of the ground. Although Reynolds' descriptions are vague, archaeologists are fairly certain that he was at Zekiah Fort, the ca. 1680-1692 fortified Piscataway settlement located south of modern-day Waldorf, Maryland and previously described in this chapter. Notably, Waldorf sits at the head of two drainages, including the Wicomico River and Mattawoman Creek.

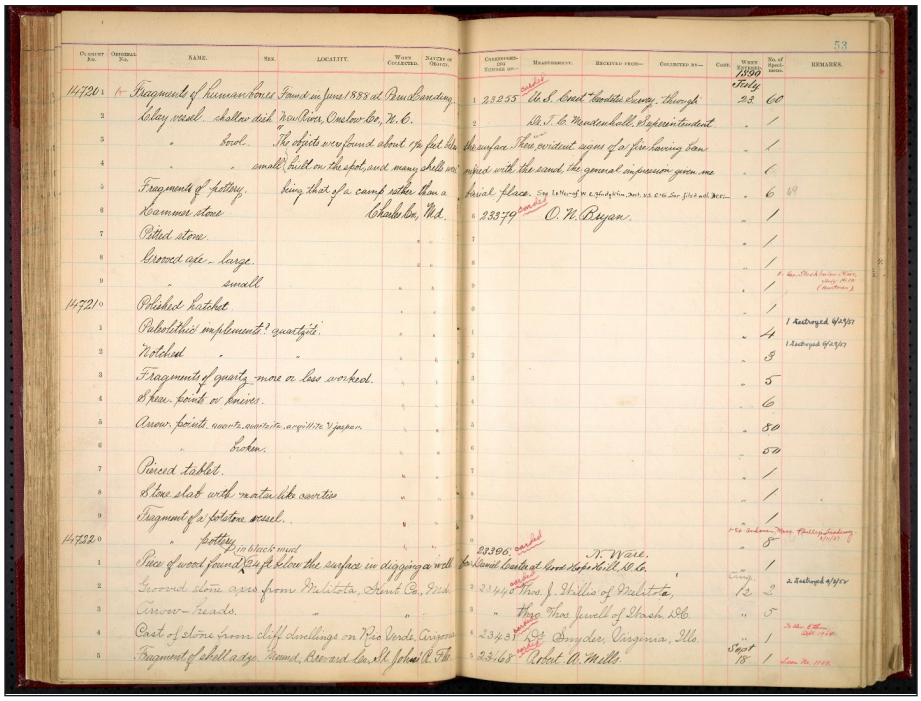


Figure 17. *Ledger book at Smithsonian Institution recording donation of O.N. Bryan in 1869 (Source: Smithsonian Institution).*

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" based on both his appearance and his 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 working the land and finding artifacts himself but on a broader awareness of an earlier landscape that, to western eyes, looked unremarkable and remained invisible. For Swann, however, Indian Hill and Bead Hill were clearly 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 Indian man living in nineteenth-century southern Maryland recognized what would today be considered the Indigenous Cultural Landscape.

In 2012, after more than two decades of effort, the Piscataway Indian Nation and Piscataway Conoy Tribe of Maryland were recognized by the State of Maryland by two executive orders signed by Governor Martin O'Malley (Executive Orders 01.01.2012.01 and 01.01.2012.02) (State of Maryland 2012a, b). As most of the Piscataway would attest, their Native identity has never been in question or at issue for them, but state recognition confers certain benefits and, importantly, affirms to the non-Indigenous citizens of the state the ongoing presence of the region's most ancient inhabitants. This review of Piscataway history coupled with contemporary Piscataway knowledge of their history and culture provides a solid foundation for (re)identifying the Piscataway Indigenous Cultural Landscape.

COLONIAL SETTLEMENT ON DISPOSSESSED NATIVE LAND

The colonial history of Piscataway Park reveals the challenges Native people had with encroaching settlers. The same year (1663) that Governor Charles Calvert traveled to Piscataway to select a new tayac (leader) for the tribe, his father, Cecil Calvert, then Lord Baltimore, had granted his nephew, William Calvert, approximately 3,000 acres on the south side of Piscataway Creek—acres clearly part of the Piscataway homeland. William does not appear to have personally occupied the lands provided by this grant, known as Calvert or Piscataway Manor, but the writing was clearly on the wall.

Randolph Hanson, who had come to the Maryland colony in the 1650s as a servant, obtained patents for land south of Calvert Manor in 1663, including what is now Marshall Hall. The properties were originally known as Hansonton and Charley. Hanson was familiar with the Piscataway and other Indians, his house reportedly having been raided by Indians in 1675 (Md. Archives 2:483). This house was not on Piscataway Creek, since at least as late at 1683, Hanson is listed as a resident of St. Mary's County in the vicinity of modern-day Chaptico. He does not appear to be in Charles County until 1688. In 1696, Hanson sold Hansonton to John Fendall and Charley to Joshua Marshall, with the properties described as "two tracts of land near an old Indian town called Aquakeeke." In 1702, they were described as "near the fort."

MARSHALL HALL PLANTATION

A significant landmark within the bounds of Piscataway Park is the ruin of the Marshall Hall plantation (see Figure 4). The house ruin is located at the south end of the park in Charles County at the terminus of Maryland Route 227. Over its history, the house has served as the home of the Marshall family, as a 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 Marshall family's history in Maryland dates to the seventeenth century. William Marshall had come to the colony from Yorkshire, England between 1647 and 1650. He patented "Marshall," a tract of land near Wicomico River in Charles County (then part of St. Mary's County). Marshall was married to Margaret Bayne at the time of his arrival, and his wife accompanied him to Maryland. The couple lived near Margaret's brother, Walter Bayne, and his family. William and Margaret are reported to have had eight children, all born in Yorkshire. None of these children are mentioned in William's will, suggesting no heirs from his first marriage. Margaret died soon after the couple's arrival in the colony by 1650. William then married Katherine Hebden and together they had four children, including William II, Joshua (or John), Elizabeth, and Richard. At his death in 1673, William's estate was divided between his two older sons, William II and Joshua. The youngest, Richard, was about four years old when his father died (Strickland 2015).

William II remained on the estate in Charles County left to him by his father, marrying Elizabeth Hanson, the daughter of Randolph Hanson, who owned Hansonton and Charley. As noted above, Joshua Marshall purchased Charley from Randolph Hanson in 1696. Not long after this purchase, in 1700, 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, or Octomaquath or Othotomaqua as his name was also written, 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. Strickland (2015) argues that the transaction was "conciliatory in nature," perhaps designed to get any remaining Piscataway 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.

It appears that Joshua Marshall never married and died with no issue. William II and Elizabeth Marshall, still living on Wicomico River, had four children, including William III, Barbara, Thomas Hanson, and Richard. William II died in 1698 and his widow married John Fendall sometime between 1700 and 1702. This was the same John Fendall who had previously acquired Hansonton near Piscataway. It was William II's son, Thomas Hanson Marshall (b. 1694), who would go on to acquire the land that would become Marshall Hall, purchasing the land at Piscataway from his stepfather (John Fendall) and uncle (Joshua Marshall). For purposes of clarity, this Thomas Hanson Marshall will be referred to as Thomas Marshall I.

Thomas Marshall I was a younger son whose father, William II, died not long after his birth. His father left him 100 acres on Wicomico River, but it was through his mother's second marriage to John Fendall that he had an opportunity to acquire land on Piscataway Creek. In 1721, when he was 27, Thomas Hanson Marshall listed his occupation as shipwright or carpenter. In 1726, Thomas I married Elizabeth Stoddert. Elizabeth, who had been born in 1694 in St. James Parish in Anne Arundel County, was the widow of James Stoddert, a Scottish merchant residing at "Southampton" in Prince George's County with close ties to the Marshall family. James Stoddert is probably best remembered for the plat he prepared of the City of Annapolis

in 1718. The widowed Elizabeth and her two sons, Benjamin and Thomas, joined the household of Thomas Marshall I in September 1726. Together, the couple had an additional five children, three of whom survived to adulthood, including Thomas Hanson II, Mary, and Sarah. Elizabeth died in 1750 and, in 1756, Thomas Marshall I married Sabine Greenfield (Long 1983:10). Thomas Marshall I died in 1759 at Marshall Hall, leaving an estate of over a thousand acres. The land, including Marshall Hall, went to his son Thomas Marshall II.[8]

By the time of his death, Thomas Marshall I, who had started his adult life as a carpenter, was a wealthy planter and merchant, "landing and selling goods at his own piers and warehouses at Marshall Hall." His estate at his death was worth £1,856, a very 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" (Rivoire 1972:12) and reveals an especially wealthy man (Appendix VI). The inventory lists 31 enslaved men, women, and children (discussed in more detail, below), livestock including horses, cattle, pigs, and sheep, seven beds and/or bedsteads, 32 chairs, three tables, a desk, and a chest (Table 1). Farm tools and equipment suggest a heavy investment in agriculture and there are an extensive amount of linens, earthenwares, and other domestic furnishings. Marshall's probate inventory revealed he produced 11,161 pounds of tobacco in 1758 and over 9,000 pounds in 1759 (Hughes and Hughes 1985:45).

[8] Thomas Marshall I (1694-1759) is buried at Marshall Hall.

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[9]	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	

Table 1. Household goods listed in Thomas Marshall I's probate inventory, 1759.

Artifacts especially revealing of Thomas Marshall's efforts to acquire and display his wealth are the many tea cups, teapots, bowls, saucers, and spoons listed in the inventory. Some of these objects are of porcelain while one teapot was "Pollish'd silver" and, along with a silver milk pot and silver tea spoons 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—not unlike the one found in Thomas Marshall I's inventory—was required for the most fashionable tea table.

[9] Thomas Marshall I's grandson's 1829 probate inventory lists "8 old Leather bottom'd chairs," which may be the chairs purchased or otherwise acquired by Thomas Marshall I.

The eight "new Russia leather Chairs," valued at £6 for the lot, were the most valuable chairs in the estate. Russian leather had become fashionable during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. This leather was made from hides tanned willow bark and birch oil. The method of hammering the hides "imparted a highly desirable diamond pattern" (Johnson 2012:16). These chairs were considered especially durable as much as they were fashionable.

Sabine (also Sabina) Truman Marshall, the second wife of Thomas Marshall I, was still living in her late husband's house when she died in 1768. Sabine, who had married her first and only husband, Thomas I, at the rather old age of 41 and died without children, left an estate valued at 846 pounds (Appendix VII). Her estate included sixteen enslaved people, the major source of her wealth. The people listed in Sabine's inventory and discussed in more detail, below, were valued at approximately 375 pounds or 44 percent of Sabine's appraised wealth. Sabine also had tea cups, pots, and spoons in her possession but not a silver tea pot; this piece of bling must have gone to her husband's children.[10]

Sabine Marshall had a sizeable inventory of livestock, including nine horses, sixteen cows, a bull, a steer, nine sheep, and 26 pigs. Household goods consisted of a number of beds and bedsteads, fabric, tools, nails, ceramics, furniture, utensils, and items of personal adornment including silver shoe buckles, "tortoise Shell Sleave Buttons," and gold rings. The furniture in her inventory is listed in Table 2. Many of these pieces could be the same ones listed in her husband's inventory, although the Russian chairs are missing and may have gone to Thomas Marshall II.

[10] A silver teapot is found in the 1829 probate inventory of Thomas Marshall I's grandson.

Item(s)	Comment
8 beds and bedsteads	Sabine probably slept in the feather bed and bedstead with "blue water'd curtains & valins;" the beds ranged in value from 5 to 8 pounds;
12 flagg chairs	Reed chairs
1 chest of drawers	Recorded as damaged
4 tables	Two square walnut tables, 1 small oval cherry table, 1 large oval table, and 1 small square table
1 corner cupboard	
1 scrutoire	From the word escritoire; writing desk.
1 chest	
1 desk	"New England Maple Desk"

Table 2. Household goods listed in Sabine Marshall's probate inventory, 1768.

Thomas Marshall II was born in 1731 and, assuming the house was built before then,[11] grew up in the Marshall Hall house. In 1756, Thomas II married Rebecca Dent, the daughter of Colonel George Dent, Chief Justice of Maryland (Schatz 2000:2). Together, Thomas II and Rebecca had six children, including Thomas III, Anne, George Dent, Elizabeth, Mary, and George Hanson. Four survived to adulthood. Rebecca, the mother of six children, was only 33 years old when she died in December 1770 (Schatz 2000:2).

Thomas Marshall II inherited the house when his stepmother died in 1768 and discovered that year that the Marshall house was not located within the boundaries of the original land patent. Such discoveries were not uncommon in areas settled early, especially given the state of surveying and survey

[11] The date of construction for Marshall Hall is unclear. See "The Marshall Hall House," below.

equipment. Thomas II corrected the error, naming the additional repatented property "Mistake" (Patent certificate 56; Hughes and Hughes 1985).

Rivoire (1972) found that Thomas Marshall II was "not only successful in maintaining [his family's] extensive and productive farms, but was also a man committed to the political welfare of the country" (Rivoire 1975). Given the state of the region's economy immediately after the Revolutionary War and the losses many farmers suffered from the extension of credit they were unable to pay back (Lee 1994:222-258), Marshall's success does, indeed, appear remarkable. Many of his peers in Charles County, who have been studied far more than those in Prince George's County, lost everything when they could not pay their bills following the American Revolution. Thomas II served as a justice in the Prince George's County Court through 1773, suggesting he did not move into the Marshall Hall house (which was located in Charles County) until five years after his stepmother's death.[12] Thomas II also participated in various Continental Congresses and Provincial Conventions and appears to have had a personal relationship with George Washington.

Thomas Marshall III, the eldest son of Thomas Marshall II and Rebecca Dent, 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. In this context, inheritance of land and labor was the best means to economic success in this part of Maryland (Ridgway 1979) and Thomas Marshall III inherited both when his father died in 1801. While difficult to divine from the surviving records, it appears that Thomas Marshall III may have also maintained his wealth in part through participation

[12] The proximity of the house to the Prince George's County line, the quality of the house, and a lack of evidence about exactly where Thomas Marshall II was living in Prince George's County could indicate he and his household were, in fact, living at Marshall Hall.

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. In 1836, seven years after his death, Thomas III's son sold at least 55 enslaved people. [13]

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. Together, Thomas IV and Eleanor had seven children (Long 1983:11-12). 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. As noted in the preceding paragraph, Thomas Marshall IV was definitely involved in the slave trade, selling some of the enslaved people he inherited after his father's death. 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 Jesuit's 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). The land and house passed through several different owners before being bought back at auction by Thomas Marshall V and his second wife, Henrietta, in 1863 (the last owner having defaulted on the mortgage) (Charles County Deed GWC 1/266). In 1866, Thomas V again sold the land and house and Marshall

[13] This possibility is discussed further, below, in "The African American Presence at Piscataway."

Hall passed out of the hands of the Marshall family permanently, although the family did retain rights to the graveyard located on the property.

THE MARSHALL HALL HOUSE

Thomas Marshall I has been credited with the initial construction of the Marshall Hall house, although the date of construction remains unconfirmed (Figures 18-19). In 1972, architectural historian J. Richard Rivoire examined the fabric and layout of the dwelling, concluding that the original section of the house had been built ca. 1727, not long after the marriage of Thomas Marshall I and Elizabeth Stoddert. This first section was a square brick house five bays in length with brick laid in a fashionable Flemish bond. The interior first floor plan "consisted of two main front rooms and [at the rear] a short center hall flanked by a small room at each side" (Figure 20) (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 ca. 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 (see Figure 20).

Figure 18. *The Marshall Hall house, 1918 (Source: Library of Congress).*

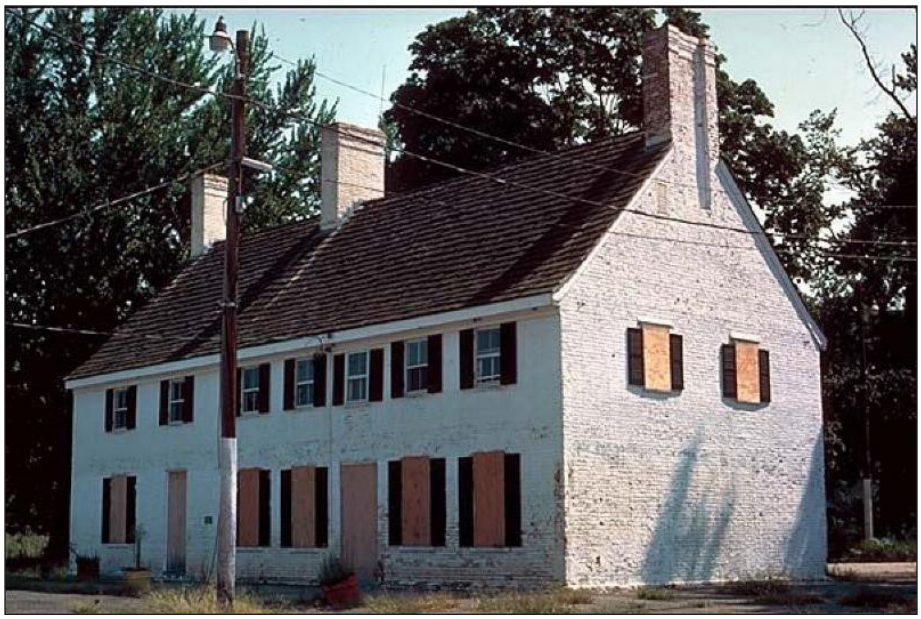


Figure 19. *The Marshall Hall house, 1972 (Source: Rivoire 1972).*

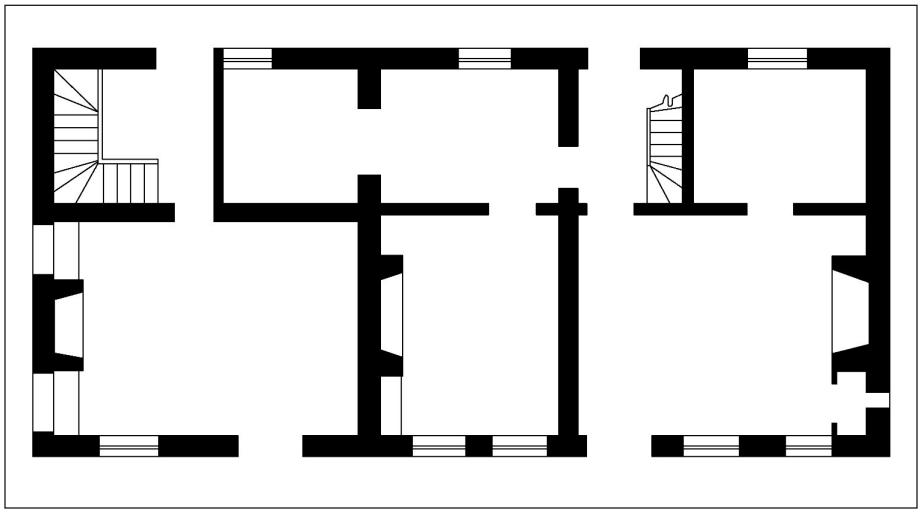


Figure 20. *Plan of Marshall Hall house after Rivoire (1972).*

Rivoire's sequence of events was accepted in a Historic Structure Report prepared in 1983 (Long 1983) but historians Brady and Sarah Hughes suggest the house was built after Thomas Marshall I's death in 1759 (Hughes and Hughes 1985). Documentary evidence for the house's first build 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). In the Federal Direct Tax of 1798, the house 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, or approximately one-fifth of the Marshall Hall house value, revealing the wealth required to build and maintain a house like Marshall Hall (Hughes and Hughes 1985:24).

If the earlier date of construction (ca. 1727) is accurate, 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 (see Figure 20) – would be, in 1727, the earliest documented use of this plan. Additionally, the house (if so early) would be one of only two surviving early eighteenth-century examples that are "true one and one-half-story buildings" (Rivoire 1972:7:5). The surviving outbuilding at the site probably originally served as either a kitchen (called out in the 1783 assessment) 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; since he dates the addition to ca. 1750, he would date the kitchen to that period. Traces of the other outbuildings listed in the 1783 and 1798 tax documents probably survive as archaeological sites.

One of the more unusual outbuildings on the property, although now no longer standing, was a large, brick stable and carriage house (Figure 21). The brick was laid in Flemish bond with arched doorways and a high gable roof. The stable's date of construction is a mystery; Rivoire suggested a date of the mid-eighteenth century but a photograph suggests on its label a date of 1800. Brick stables were a rare form of landscape "bling," designed to send statements to the greater community. Brick stables are known for Sotterley (1757; Patuxent River, Maryland; possibly a warehouse), the Upton Scott House (ca. 1765; Annapolis,

Maryland), Warner Hall (mid-eighteenth century; York River, Virginia), and Shirley (ca. 1770; James River, Virginia). Given its Flemish bond brickwork, the stable was probably built by Thomas Marshall II between 1760 and 1800.

A photograph of the Marshall Hall stable found in the collection of the Southern Maryland Studies Center at the College of Southern Maryland (see Figure 21) includes a note that reads:

> The [stable] was built in about 1800 and made of [F]lemish bond brick. The Marshall family used it as a stable and, as some people say, as a "Jail" for some of the unruly slaves. Leg irons were found in this building by [amusement] park employees. In later years, the building was used for amusement park storage. The structure was torn down to make room for a picnic shelter after pressure from some people to have all possible vestiges of the slavery era removed.

This fragment of local history may not be far from the truth. There is no doubt that the building was used for livestock. In 1759, Thomas Marshall I owned 15 horses. His wife, Sabine had eight horses in 1768. In 1829, Thomas Marshall III owned 19 horses and 15 mules. Clearly, the family had

Figure 21. *Brick stable and carriage house at Marshall Hall, 1918, now demolished (Source: College of Southern Maryland; original: Library of Congress).*

need for a stable. The building could have also been used for management of enslaved laborers and their families as suggested by the photograph caption. Certainly, the stable would have been useful for assembling the enslaved population on a cold day in early January 1830 to complete Thomas Marshall 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).

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 Indian 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 were worth £189. With a smaller work force in 1768, Sabine Marshall, Thomas's widow, produced 5,387 pounds of tobacco. This quantity of production 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 on indentured labor in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, by the mid-eighteenth century, the chief source of labor was enslaved Africans or people of African descent. In 1759, Thomas Marshall I had 31 slaves, some probably acquired from his marriage to Elizabeth Stoddert. A 1783 tax assessment lists Thomas Marshall II as owning 49 slaves. This increased to 82 slaves in 1798, 56 of which 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 slave 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. The growing shift to wheat agriculture would have also required less labor, creating a surplus of people in slavery, at Marshall Hall and throughout the Upper South. 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.

After the Civil War, many planters were faced with the loss of their labor force. All of these factors would have forced the planters of Maryland to adapt to a new situation and change the way that they did things, with many shifting completely to planting more grain crops (Hughes and Hughes 38).[14] Undoubtedly this would have impacted the Marshall family and could have contributed to the eventual decision to sell Marshall Hall (King 1997; Meringolo 2008).

[14] Smaller farmers, black and white, continued to produce tobacco with family and/or hired labor. Tobacco, a cash crop, could provide ready cash with minimal equipment. As will be seen in Chapter IV, tobacco continued to be produced by small farms well into the twentieth century. Even after the State of Maryland's Tobacco Buyout, a small tobacco economy persists in southern Maryland.

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. Still, historical documents provide a considerable amount of information for identifying by name the individuals and families who lived in the area through time. 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. Archaeological 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. When John Addison, who lived at what is now National Harbor/Oxon Hill (west of Piscataway), died in 1705, he owned fourteen slaves, including "Dick a mallatow Cooper" and a "Mallatow Girle," suggesting

mixed relationships. 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.

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. From west to east, these landings included Marshall Hall, Bryan's Landing, a landing near Mockley Point, and Farmington Landing. With the exception of Marshall Hall, all of the landings appear in an 1861 atlas of Prince George's County published by the Martenet Map company (Figure 22). Today, a public boat landing exists at the Marshall Hall and Farmington landings. Bryan's Landing was located at Bryan's Point, at the end of Bryan Point Road, now the site of National Colonial Farm. Little tangible remains are visible of the landing near Mockley Point, but it was likely operated by the Clagett family. 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.

ENSLAVED PERSONS OF MARSHALL HALL

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. In a 1783 tax assessment, the landholdings of Thomas Hanson Marshall II included the tracts Mistake, Mistake's Addition, Marshall's Adventure, Charley, Carrick, Pasture, and Pasture Enlarged. The house known as Marshall Hall was on the tracts known as Mistake and Mistake's Addition. To the east was the tract known as Charley, which extended toward Bryan Point. To the southeast was Marshall's Adventure, Carrick, Pasture, and Pasture Enlarged, which extended the land holdings towards Pomonkey Creek. These various tracts had been in the Marshall family since 1696, beginning with the tract known as Charley which Joshua Marshall had purchased in that year. Mistake was later patented to Thomas Marshall I in 1728.

Figure 22. *BLandings along Piscataway Creek shown on the 1861 Martenet atlas map.*

Because 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 enslaved persons 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. Nonetheless, the 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 3 lists the number of slaves owned by the Marshalls at Marshall Hall in years for which information survives in the documentary record. The number more than doubles between 1759 and 1798 and, between 1798 and 1840, fluctuates. 1829 stood out, with 161 slaves on the farm, a number that drops by almost half the following year.

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

Table 3. *(Top)* Number of slaves owned by the heads of the Marshall family.
Table 4. *(Right)* Individuals enslaved by Thomas Marshall I and given to his son, Thomas Marshall II, 1753.

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 4). Thomas Marshall I's gift included at least two family units. Grimagen, Nan, Harry, Samson, and Debrough appear to form one unit and Harry, Moll, and their child the second unit. The list suggests an effort perhaps to keep families together, although at least two boys and a girl may not have been part of the two families.

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 5). Ages in years are not given. Though surnames are not listed, it is likely that family relationships exist among the enumerated individuals. Table 6 lists the 16 enslaved individuals attached to Marshall Hall ten years later in 1768 and owned by Sabine Marshall. This includes seven individuals who were mentioned in Thomas Marshall I's inventory in 1759, including Nell, Ben, Nanny, Alexander, Flora, James, and Job. Other individuals in the 1759 inventory may have been distributed among Thomas Mar-shall I's heirs. If the Ben found in this inventory is the same Ben in Thomas Marshall I's inventory, the category, old, appears to have included people 44 years old or older.

Name	Comment
Grimingem	
Nan	Grimingem's wife
Harry	Nan's son
Samson	Nan's son
Debrough	Nan's daughter
Will	
Nan	Girle
Dick	

Name	Comment
English	
Harry	
Mol	Harry's wife
Unnamed	Child of Mol
Jack	Old
Stephen	Boy
Augon	Boy
Unnamed	Wench

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 6). Of these 49 enslaved persons, nine were children, and six were males above the age of 45 or females above 36 (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 Table 7). In 1820, a total of 30 male and 24 female individuals are listed. By 1830, this number had increased to 40 male and 44 female individuals. While unnamed, some of those enumerated in 1820 were likely counted in 1830 as well.

Name	Age
Coffee	Old
Bermingem*[1]	Old
Alexander*	Man
Ceesar	Lad
Jack	Lad
Scipio	Young
Ben	Old
Nan*	Woman
Lydia	Woman
Nell*	very old
Patt	Woman
Harry	Boy
Charles	Boy
James*	Boy
Will	Boy
Brumoningem	Boy
Job*	Boy
Jacob	Boy
Esaus (?)	Boy

Table 5. *Names of enslaved individuals listed in Thomas Marshall I's probate inventory, 1759; *present in the 1768 inventory of Sabine Marshall.*

CONT. on next Page

[1] Probably Bromagen; "originally: a counterfeit coin. In later use more generally: anything which is not genuine; a fake, a counterfeit" (Oxford English Dictionary).

***Table 5** CONT.*

Name	Age
Moll	girl
Jane (“idiot”)*	girl
Flora*	girl
Harry	old
James	man
Frank	man

Name	Age
Ichoes (?)	woman
Sarah	girl
Les (?)	child
Illegible	boy
Tom	very old
Deborah	very old

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

Table 6. *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

Table 7. *Age and sex breakdown of Marshall slaves in 1820 and 1830.*

Just prior to the 1830 census, Thomas Marshall III had died. His inventory, recorded in 1829, lists a total of 161 individuals (Table 8). This is obviously a marked increase from the 1820 and 1830 census. Following Thomas III's death, it is likely that many of his slaves were distributed among his heirs, so the total number given in 1830 is not representative. The names and ages are listed for each enslaved person in Thomas III's inventory. A total of 41 individuals were between the ages of one and ten, 41 between the

ages of eleven and twenty, 42 between the ages of twenty-one and forty, and 25 over the age of forty. A total of 12 children with no age given (probably under the age of 1) are listed.

Name	Age
Robert	1
Dary	1
William	1
William	1
Washington	2
Unnamed	2

Name	Age
Henry	2
Delia	2
Beck	2
Daniel	3
Henry	3
Huke	4

Table 8. *Table 8. Enslaved individuals listed in Thomas Marshall III's inventory, 1829, arranged by age.*

CONT. on next Page

Name	Age
Frederick	4
Mary	4
Charlotte	4
Salina	4
Margaret	4
Martia	4
Columbus	5
John	5
Betty	5
Bob	6
Abram	6
Elizabeth	6
Kitty	6
Caroline	6
Forrester	7
Clarissa	7
Tom	8
Walter	8
Hendly	8
Nan	8
John	9

Name	Age
Mark	9
Betty	9
William	10
Henry (diseased)	10
Gusty	10
Dick	10
Joanna	10
Caroline	10
Tom	11
Kitty	11
Susan	11
Joe	12
Fiat	12
John	12
Nace	12
Jim	12
Luke	12
Maria	12
Washington	13
Ailsey	13
Rose	13

***Table 8** CONT. on next Page*

Name	Age
Caroline	13
Let	13
Betsey	13
Austin	14
Mark	14
Lizza	14
Juba	15
Celia	15
Susan	15
Joe	16
Lery	16
Lucy + Child Diner	16
Nace	17
Anthony	18
Jomager	18
Stephen	18
Nelly	18
Sarah + Child Liddy	18
Martia	18
Mary + Child Sophia	18
Judy	18

Name	Age
Ben	19
George	19
Hanna	19
Jim	20
Charles	20
Matilda + Child Juliet	20
Harriet	20
Larry	21
Kell	21
Jim	21
Charles	22
Henny	22
Chloe	22
Catoe	23
Resin	23
Philip	23
Milly + Child Sally	23
Henny (Sickly)	24
John	25
Letty	25
Peter	26

***Table 8** CONT. on next Page*

Name	Age
Mima + Child Chloe	26
Kitty	27
Jim Ditto	28
Sam Ditto	28
Henry (Blind)	28
Susan + 2 infants Mary + Martha	28
Milly + Child Ann	28
Rachel	29
Fider	30
Granderson Ditto	32
Len	32
Kyer + Child Eliza	32
Mary	32
Granderson Gage	33
Chloe + Child John	33
Jim	35
Phill	35
Juliet	35
Deborha	35
Let	35

Name	Age
Minty + Child Ann	37
Savannah (a Blk smith)	40
Ossy	40
Syntha	40
Esther	40
Minty	40
Sofy	40
Nancy	40
Minty	42
Argyle (a Carpenter)	44
Isaac	45
Bill	45
Joe	48
Charity	48
Mary	48
Harry	50
Cato senr	50
Hercules	50
Alsey	50
Betty	50
Ned	54

***Table 8** CONT. on next Page*

Name	Age
Adam	60
Harry	60
Tom	60
Maria	60
Betty	60
Deborha	65
Nan	70
Chloe	70
Kyer	70
Tom senr	74
Moses	74
Jack	75

Two sales of slaves were recorded in 1836 and 1847, including several individuals listed in the 1829 inventory of Thomas Marshall III. 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.

***Table 8** CONT.*

Name(s)	Name(s)
Sam [illegible]	Joe Dorsey
Jumager*	John Gage
Ben	James Hawkins
Dand [Divid?]	Fayette Boarman
Joe Crain	John Speak
James Plater	Henry Gage

Table 9. *Sale of enslaved persons, March 29, 1836; *present in Thomas Marshall III's probate inventory, 1829.*

CONT. on next Page

***Table 9** CONT.*

Name(s)	Name(s)
Lucy Dade & child Henry	Margaret & 5 children
Rachel	Martha
Lizza	Minty King & children*
Walter & 3 children	Margah
Milly L & child Ann	Jonah
Caroline	Bett
Eliz & children	Mary Parn & 1 child
Sam	Henry Gage
Milly Gage & child Sally*	Caroline Hawkins
Henry & 2 children	Nelly Calvert
Feder Car & 1 Chld	Clarissa Calvert
Kitty	

The 1847 sale listed 16 individuals with an age range of three to fifty (Table 10). 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).

Name	Age
Grandiron, carpenter*	50
Blind Henry*	15
Washington Boarman*	18
Sam Gage	12
Luke Tyler	8
Juby Alexander	6
Savanna Payne”	58
Kisk	17

Name	Age
Chloe	18
Letty & child*	29
Mary Douglas	18
Rich Lewis	3
Jane	12
Henry Riley	8
Old Alsie*	63
Dennis	5

Table 10. *Sale of enslaved persons, 1847; *present in Thomas Marshall III's probate inventory, 1829.*

In the 1850 census, a detailed slave schedule was included in the record (Table 11). At the time the 1850 census was recorded, 39 slaves 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 slaves was 72, while it was higher in 1830 at 84 slaves. This gradual and then steep decline 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. At the time, he was a merchant in Alexandria and a partner in Blalock, Marshall and Company, a venture that incurred a lot of debt.

MSex	Age	Race
M	1	B
F	3	M
M	3	M
M	4	M
M	5	B
M	5	B
F	6	M
M	6	B
F	8	B
M	8	M
M	8	B
M	9	M
M	10	B
M	16	B
F	19	M
F	22	B
M	25	B
M	27	M
F	28	B

MSex	Age	Race
F	28	B
F	30	B
M	35	B
F	35	M
M	35	B
M	35	B
F	35	B
F	35	B
M	38	B
M	45	M
M	60	B
M	60	B
F	60	M
F	60	B
M	65	B
M	65	B
M	65	B
F	65	B
M	70	B

Table 11. *Individuals owned by the Marshall family in the 1850 Census, Slave Schedule.*

The 1850 slave schedule also contains some invaluable information about the slaves owned by other land owners of the Piscataway Park area. This includes those at Bryan Point and Mockley Point, particularly the Bryan, Lyles, and Posey families.

ENSLAVED PERSONS NEAR BRYAN POINT

Richard W. Bryan acquired 758 acres of land from the estate of Thomas Marshall IV in 1855. Richard Bryan and his brother, William P. Bryan, also owned portions of an adjacent tract inherited from the estate of Osborn Bryan. This tract is referred to in an 1855 deed as Fishing Landing and Shore Bind. It is physically described as being on the Potomac River opposite from Mount Vernon. Osborn Bryan had acquired this property in 1821 from William H. Lyles, who had called the property Belmont. The deed from Lyles to Bryan described a fishery and fishing landing on the property. It is this landing that was known as Bryan's Landing on the 1861 map of the area (see Figure 22). The same map also depicts two fisheries on either side of Bryan Point.

William P. Bryan and William H. Lyles both appear in various records as having sizeable slaveholdings during the nineteenth century. In the 1850 slave schedule, William Bryan is listed as owning a total of 51 slaves while his neighbor, William H. Lyles, is listed with 18. Another entry for William Lyles, possibly a relative of the same name, lists 14 slaves (Slave Statistics 1850). Lyles died in 1850 and his inventory lists a total of 17 enslaved people with their names and ages given (Table 12).

Name	Age
Aaron	65
Jim Dade	40
Henry	46
Henry	22
Fredrick	19
Preston	14

Name	Age
Nancy	65
Susan & infant	35
Cordelia	15
Jane	28
Milly	35
Sylvia	15

Table 12. *Enslaved individuals listed in William H. Lyles' probate inventory, 1850.*

CONT. on next Page

Table 12 CONT.

Name	Age
Polly Dade	9
Judy	7
Agnes	5
Anne	5
Hannah	2

William H. Lyles' father, also William, died in 1816 with 74 enslaved persons spread across four different properties. The properties included Piscataway Creek Plantation, Rich Hill Plantation, Tent Landing Plantation, and what was called the Late Dwelling plantation. The Piscataway Creek plantation may refer to the property near Bryan Point. Rich Hill plantation is located in Bel Alton in central Charles County. Tent Landing plantation is located near Fort Washington. The Piscataway Creek plantation held the largest number of slaves in his inventory, with a total of 31, listed in Table 13. 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.

Table 13. *Enslaved individuals at William Lyles' Piscataway Creek plantation, 1816.*

Name	Age
Jack	65
Pompey	60
Jim Loggins	35
Bill	30
John	25
Enoch	20
Harry	20
Nelson	15
Frank	12
Peg	52

Name	Age
Charlotte	30
Phillis	31
Judy	40
Rachel	28
Dily	25
Hannah	18
Matilda	20
Huke	10
Anny	8
Tom	6

CONT. on next Page

Name	Age
Joshua Barvey	2
John	2
Sueky	4
Osburn	5
Andrew	6
Dilsy	6

Name	Age
Sally	2
Anny	3
Rose	4
Robert	2
Rachel	1 month

***Table 13** CONT.*

In 1867, following the Civil War, the Maryland government appointed commissioners for 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. In those records, William P. Bryan claimed that, prior to emancipation, he owned nine slaves (Table 14). 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.

Name	Age
Anne Johnson	36
Sallie Johnson	4
Selina Johnson	2
Emily Scott	18
Elmira McPherson	17

Name	Age
Edmonia Duckett	9
Henry Hatton	17
Buck Scott	4
Laura Scott	1

Table 14. *Enslaved individuals reported by William P. Bryan prior to emancipation, 1867.*

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 names are listed in Table 15.

ENSLAVED PERSONS AT MOCKLEY POINT

The area between Accokeek Creek and Mockley Point was home to several generations of the Clagett family. By 1878, when a map of Piscataway District was published, the landing bore the Clagett's name. The area was once part of Calvert or Piscataway Manor and was later referred to as Oak Wood and

Name	Age
As agent for Robert Bryan	
William Clements	54
Adeline Duckett	30
Simon Duckett	7
William Duckett	2
Charles Johnson	12
Wilson McPherson	12
As agent for Symphronia C. Bryan	
Mike Butler	50
Milly Hagan	27
Eleanora Hagan	9
Stephen Hagan	5
Adelaide Hagan	3
Jno. A. Hagan	1
Martha Johnson	16
Jim Washington	13
As agent for L. H. Bayne Bryan	
Hezekiah McPherson	45
Cecilia McPherson	40
Elizabeth McPherson	24
Aggy McPherson	8
Kitty McPherson	6
Peter McPherson	4
Hezekiah Mcpherson	2
Sandy Johnson	7
As agent for Susanna P. Bryan	
George Roberts	63
Daniel Duckett	40

Table 15. *Enslaved individuals reported by Bryan family relations prior to emancipation, 1867.*

CONT. on next Page

Name	Age
Kitty Johnson	40
Susan Johnson	20
Rachel Johnson	18
Harriet Johnson	16
Kelly Johnson	14
Alfred Johnson	22
Bradley Johnson	25
John Johnson	18

Name	Age
Noble Johnson	9
Cordelia Johnson	4
Susan Johnson	1 Month
Ned McPherson	17
Wash. Washington	17
William Washington	11
Clem Washington	20
John Mundell	75

***Table 15** CONT.*

Hard Bargain. Catherine J. Clagett acquired the land in 1875 from Harriet E. Beans. Though the Clagett family did not own the land prior to this, according to the 1861 map they were living there adjacent to the home of J. Owens. The deed from Beans to Clagett includes the "fishing landing" and also mentions being bordered by Henrietta Owens' farm to the east and Francis Posey's tract called Bond's Retreat to the southwest.

Catherine J. Clagett herself appears in the 1867 slave statistics of Prince George's County with a total of 22 enslaved persons, many of which 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 16. Henry H. Clagett is also listed in the record with 54 slaves, but his relation to Catherine and the location of his landholdings is unknown.

Name	Age
John Bonds	46
Sandy Ford	42
Dennis Dulaney	42
Robert Logins	37
Anthony Oden	30
Jim Campbell	15
Harvey Lewis	14
Bill Marshall	9
Wallace Marshall	7
Thomas Marshall	4
Edward Dulaney	4

Name	Age
Eliza Dulaney	46
Georgina Ford	40
Jane Dulaney	38
Maria Marshall	33
Rachel Jordan	26
Mary Campbell	13
Dillia Marshall	13
Caroline Dulaney	2
Eleanor Jordan	11
Mary Ellen Marshall	3
Rebecca Marshall	11

Table 16. *Enslaved individuals reported by Catherine J. Clagett prior to emancipation, 1867.*

Catherine's neighbor, Francis Posey of Bond's Retreat, had slave holdings listed in the 1850 census slave schedule and in his inventory recorded after his death in 1852. In 1850, Posey had 20 slaves. Two years later, he had 27 (29 including infant children) with names and ages listed below in Table 17.

Name	Age
Ben	25
Madison	25
Jim	40
Simon	45
Moses	40

Name	Age
Alfred	40
Gusty	35
Washington	30
Paul	25
William	25

Table 17. *Enslaved individuals listed in Francis Posey's probate inventory, 1852.*

CONT. on next Page

Name	Age
Baptist	70
Charles	14
Philip	8
Tom	8
John	6
Virlinda	70
Esther	55
Eliza & child	40
Sarah & child	30

Name	Age
Harriet (diseased)	30
Mary	20
Cicilia	11
Jane	10
Teresa	3
Ann	3
Monacha	4
Louisa	5

***Table 17** CONT.*

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 18.

Surname	#
Alexander	1
Barvey	1
Boarman	2
Bonds	1
Butler	1

Surname	#
Calvert	2
Campbell	2
Car	2
Clements	1
Crain	1

Surname	#
Dade	4
Dorsey	1
Douglas	1
Duckett	5
Dulaney	5

Table 18. *Surnames and their number of occurrences in documents listing enslaved people.*

CONT. on next Page

***Table 18** CONT.*

Surname	#
Ford	2
Gage	7
Hagan	5
Hatton	1
Hawkins	2
Johnson	4
Jordan	2
King	2

Surname	#
Lewis	2
Loggins	2
Marshall	7
McPherson	10
Mundell	1
Oden	1
Parn	2
Payne	1

Surname	#
Plater	1
Riley	1
Scott	3
Speak	1
Tyler	1
Washington	4

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, signifying enslaved families being spread out and/or separated by slaveholders across the local landscape. Tabulations of the most common names and their presence in either Marshall Hall, Bryan Point, or Mockley Point are shown in Table 19.

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

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

Table 19. *Surnames and farms with which they were associated.*

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, joining 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 then 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.

MARSHALL HALL AMUSEMENT PARK

After many years as a plantation, in 1866, Marshall Hall took on a new life when it was reinvented as a recreational location. 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 of leisure on the banks of the Potomac River across from Mount Vernon (Scott-Childress 2010). 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. In 1858, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association had acquired Mount Vernon (Figure 23). 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. 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. Little moved his family into Marshall Hall house and managed Marshall Hall 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 had been 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 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).

Figure 23. *Mount Vernon, ca. 1858 (Mount Vernon Ladies' Association).*

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 in the Potomac, including to Mount Vernon, one of the most lucrative locations for travel on the Potomac. In 1884, the pair decided to expand their business interests in the area 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).

Figure 24. *Unidentified picnickers at Marshall Hall, 1893 (Library of Congress).*

Like Little before them, Blake and McKibbin continued to operate Marshall Hall as a picnic destination (Figure 24). In 1890, Blake became the captain of the Charles Macalester. [15] These boats became crucial for getting visitors to Mount Vernon and Marshall Hall. The Mary Washington could (reportedly)

[15] Charles Macalester was a prominent Philadelphia businessman and philanthropist.

transport up to 1,500 passengers. The Charles Macalester was a side-wheeler which operated for more than 40 years. The side-wheeler 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, 'tolled their bells in honor of the Father of Their Country,' as they passed" (Close n.d.). Meanwhile, McKibbin moved into the house at Marshall Hall, where he lived from 1888 until his death in 1896.

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 (Figure 25). Marshall Hall 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 25. *A reunion of former gold rush miners at Marshall Hall, 1890 (Source: Library of Congress).*

It was during this period of ownership that the use of 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 this 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 (Figures 26-28) (Scott-Childress 2010:256).

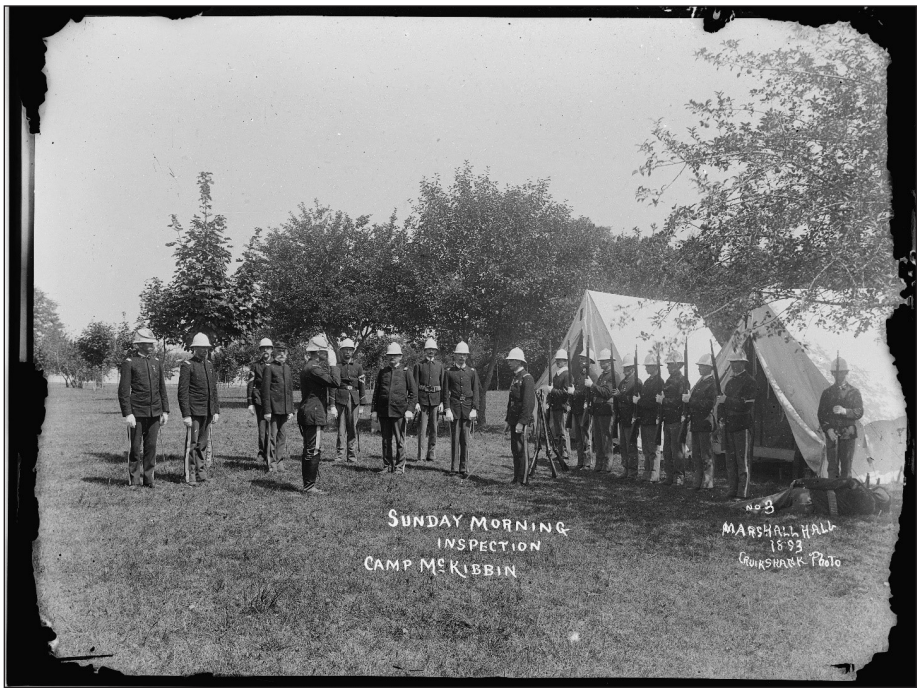


Figure 26. *"Sunday Morning Inspection;" members of the Third Battalion of the District National Guard at Marshall Hall, 1893 (Source: Library of Congress).*

Through an appeal to history eventually emerged one of the most popular annual events held at Marshall Hall: the jousting tournament (Figure 29). 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.[16] 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 where on the park it was 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 in the state that Maryland declared it an official state sport in 1962. The tournaments continued to be held at Marshall Hall until 1965.

Figure 27. *"Sunday Dinner;" members of the Third Battalion of the District National Guard at Marshall Hall, 1893 (Source: Library of Congress).*

[16] According to the Maryland State Archives, jousting does have a colonial history in Maryland but took off after the Civil War. Eric Hobsbawn 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 identify formed around presumably "shared – and deeply historical – tradition." No doubt the jousting tournament fit well with the post-Civil War "Lost Cause" phenomenon that promoted reconciliation through, in part, white supremacy (McCarthy 2016).

In his study of Marshall Hall as recreational space, historian Reynolds Scott-Childress (2010:267) found that, under Little, Blake, and McKibbin, 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).

Figure 28. *"Cook House," African American cooks preparing meals for the Third Battalion of the District National Guard, Marshall Hall, 1893 (Source: Library of Congress).*

Figure 29. *A jousting tournament sign from 1961 recognizing the tournament's creation in 1885 (Source: National Park Service).*

It was McKibbin who 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." Perhaps these locals were Confederate sympathizers. McKibbin even linked the annual jousting tournament with the Piscataway Indians, who, he claimed, were the first to engage in sports showcasing athletic skill and prowess.

Financial difficulties as well as the illness of Joseph McKibbin led Blake to lose control of the Mount Vernon and Marshall Hall Steamboat Company in 1895 (Scott-Childress 2010:259). The company persisted but with a new board of directors, one that saw its future in "children as an income-producing constituency" while still aware of Marshall Hall's historical roots. It was this revamped board that later built the roller coasters (Figure 30 and 31).

In 1957, the Mount Vernon and Marshall Hall Steamboat Company sold Marshall Hall to Mary Mertens and Fredrica Galloway. The park was then bought and sold by several different entities which continued to build the park, changing it into a modern amusement park complete with Ferris wheels, roller-coasters, and bumper cars (Scott-Childress 2010). The park also sought to make itself more child and family friendly. 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. Slot machines were added in 1958 to attract and entertain adults while their children played games and rode the many amusement park rides. In 1958, the Marshall Hall lease was purchased by Joseph Goldstein, who would own the park either personally or through various corporations he created 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).

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 probably played a part in the park's decline following its integration in the 1960s. Still, now-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 had collapsed in 1977 after a wind storm (Figure 32) and 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. The rest of the buildings associated with the amusement park were torn down a few years later. The house was eventually destroyed by a fire in 1981 believed to be a result of arson and then later was damaged by a truck that took out part of the walls. As it stands today only the walls of the mansion, the building referred to as the doctor's office, and the Marshall family graveyard remain.

Figure 30. *The roller coaster at Marshall Hall Amusement Park, entrance (Source: National Park Service).*

Figure 31. *The roller coaster at Marshall Hall Amusement Park, pan view (Source: National Park Service).*

Figure 32. *The collapsed roller coaster at Marshall Hall Amusement Park, 1977; Clinton Addison, who was interviewed for this project, poses in front of the debris (Source: Facebook).*

THE FERGUSON YEARS

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 (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 road[17] 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

[17] 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 had cars."

> 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 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 also remembered for the archaeological work they conducted on their property. Soon after buying the farm in 1922, the Fergusons became aware of the presence of a significant archaeological site on the property. Initially, they and their guests collected artifacts as they walked along the fields, coming to realize that the sheer quantity of artifacts they were finding signaled a major site on the property. After failing to interest professional archaeologists 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 (see Figure 12). Mrs. Ferguson initially thought that the site was Moyaone, the presumed Piscataway town marked on John Smith's map of 1608. A lack of trade goods, however, led Mrs. Ferguson to conclude the site dated before Smith's arrival. The Fergusons' investigations also uncovered the nearby Susquehannock Fort, the site of the 1675 siege that precipitated Bacon's Rebellion, as well as archaeological sites on other farms located along Piscataway Creek (Figure 33).

The excavations at the Accokeek Creek Site were substantial with a lasting impact on the understanding of Native peoples in the area and the history of archaeology (Ferguson and Ferguson 1960; Stephenson, Ferguson, and Ferguson 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 archaeological 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 Piscataway. A cinderblock house constructed by the Fergusons to display the remains at the site became a major source of contention for Piscataway people (the block house is discussed in more detail in Chapter IV). The disposition of the archaeological collection, which is housed in Michigan and at the Smithsonian Institution, also remains an issue to this day.

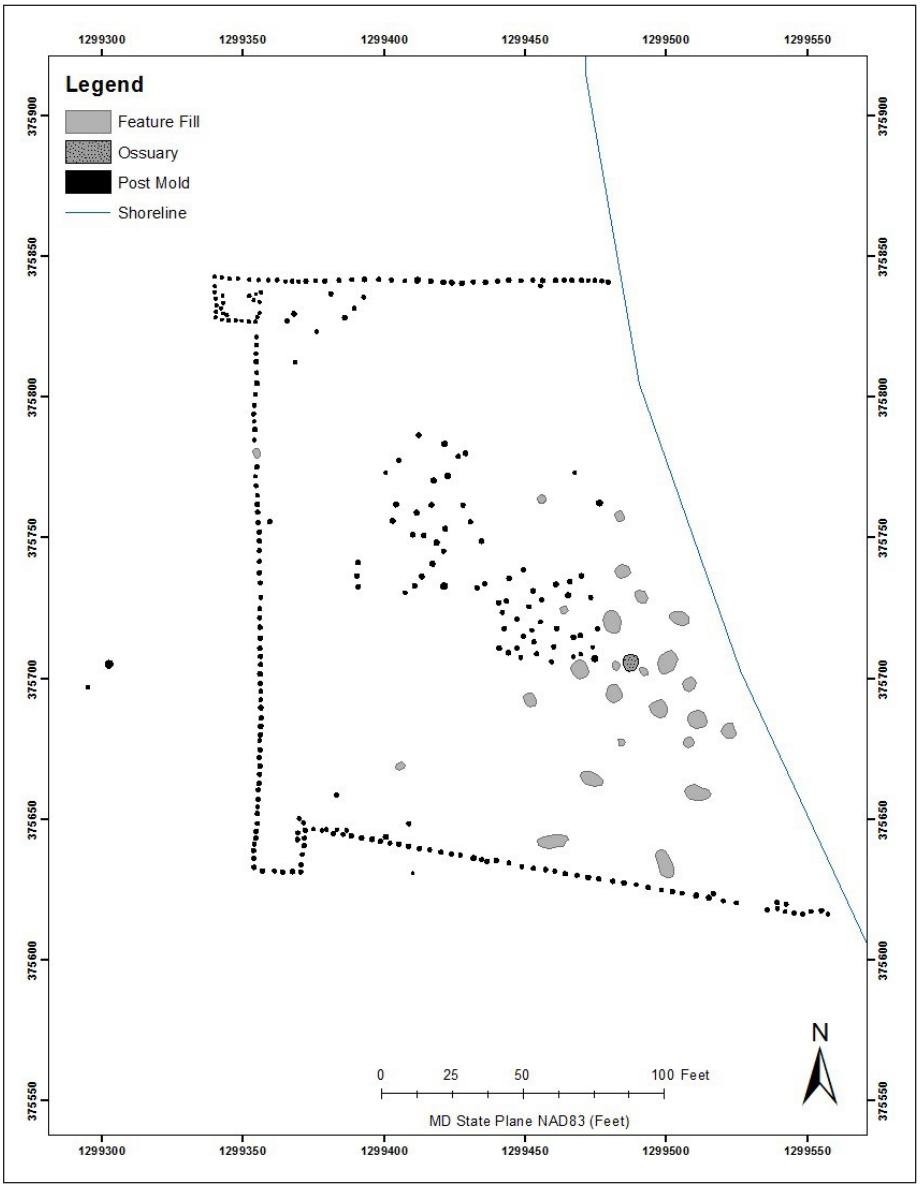


Figure 33. *Plan view of the c. 1675 Susquehannock Fort uncovered by Alice Ferguson (Scott Strickland after Ferguson [1942]).*

THE MOYAONE RESERVE

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. [18]

Mr. Ferguson initially surveyed each parcel cut from the Bond's Retreat tract himself, establishing property boundaries using the site's many valleys as lot borders. He misjudged, however, what buyers would want. "To the city folks," Mr. Ferguson later recalled, "the ravines seemed most delightful places and [the buyers] wanted both sides [of the ravines]. So this work [of surveying] was all to be done over again and the lines run to cross the ravines" (H. Ferguson 1966:22). The Fergusons later added a third property to their inventory, Cactus Hill, a 121-acre piece of land formerly part of the Bryan farm (Hanssen 2007). These two tracts of land would both eventually form Moyaone Reserve.

At her death in 1951, Mrs. Ferguson left the unsold parcels of Bond's Retreat and Cactus Hill to the community. The Bond's Retreat Water Company, the only community organization at the time, took possession of the land. The Water Company, however, created for the purpose of providing water access to Moyaone Reserve, was not equipped to handle the real estate concerns of the community. To that end, the Moyaone Company was formed in December, 1952. The first meeting of the organization was held on February 21, 1953 and the purpose of the organization was to engage

[18] Today, land preservation advocates suggest that residential developments should cluster houses on small lots, preserving the remainder of the land in easement.

in community development and to work with other groups in the area to promote education, recreation, services, and the economic and social development of the community, among other goals. The company's name was taken from the name of the Piscataway Indian town, "Moyaons," shown on Captain John Smith's 1608 map (Hanssen 2007:35-37).

The following year, in 1954, the organization purchased a neighboring farm of 245 acres that became known as Apple Valley. That same year, Henry Ferguson left Hard Bargain Farm to the community along with a small cottage that residents could use for a nursery school. Additional land purchases to expand the physical boundaries of the community came next and included Auburn (1957), Poplar Hill (1958), and additional sections of Cactus Hill. As the organization's responsibilities grew, so, too, did its need for legal representation, and members voted to retain a lawyer for guidance. Out of this consultation came the formation of three separate organizations: the Piscataway Company would handle the real estate and business concerns of the community. The Alice Ferguson Foundation would handle the educational aspects the community wanted to develop, receiving in the process Hard Bargain Farm. Finally, the Moyaone Association would focus on the concerns of the residents themselves (Hanssen 2007:39).

The Fergusons did not outright turn any potential buyer away, but they did take steps to sell only to people that they thought would fit well into the community and who shared their ideals (Ferguson 1941). To ensure that the people moving into the community shared their enthusiasm for the development's natural setting, prospective buyers were interviewed and, in some cases, given a "psychological" exam (Meringolo 2008:50). "We hired a local psychologist," resident Robert Ware Strauss recalled in an oral history interview conducted in 1981. "I think, Dr. Royce was his name. He developed a psychological questionnaire on the people. And I said, the first person who sees that will tell me what to do with it. [But] they loved it! They demanded to take it even if they weren't serious about [moving into the community]."

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 20.

The Moyaone Reserve community is well known today for its mid-century architecture. One of the earliest residents at Moyaone Reserve left his remarkable imprint on the community through architecture. Charles F. Wagner, Jr. (1909-1998) was an architect who moved to Accokeek in 1947 and, with his wife, Nancy, built a house there. His biography notes that he designed 17 houses for property owners in Moyaone Reserve between 1947 and the late 1970s. Wagner was not the only architect. Charles F. D. Egbert, reportedly a student of Frank Lloyd Wright, designed a number of homes in Moyaone Reserve as well as throughout the Washington, D.C. suburbs. Charles M. Goodman was another modernist architect whose work was represented at Moyaone Reserve and throughout suburban Washington. Richard Hay Kenah, an artist and exhibits designer for the Federal government whose work includes New Deal-era wall murals, designed and built his house in Moyaone Reserve. Kenah had been a member of the Fergusons' circle and was the first owner of a lot in the subdivision.

CREATION OF PISCATAWAY PARK

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 coupled with large lot zoning and,

The restrictions hereby imposed upon the use of the within described lands, and the acts which the fee simple owners thereof convenant 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.

Table 20. *Easement restrictions for Moyaone Reserve (Source: https://www.moyaone.org/easements).*

CONT. on next Page

Table 20 CONT.

- 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.

they concluded, the creation of a park could further that goal. A number of Piscataway Indians, seeking to preserve their sacred and ancestral landscape saw advantages in Federal ownership. Although these reasons may not have been acknowledged in some of the earliest documentation of the park's creation, they were no less important in that they motivated these groups to work together to preserve a place that held meaning for all of them.

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 34).[19] 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

[19] Clinton Addison, whose parents, aunt, and uncle worked at Marshall Hall Amusement Park and who was interviewed for this project, was sure the people at Mount Vernon did not appreciate the Ferris Wheel at the park which was "lit up like a Christmas tree at night."

Figure 34. *View of Marshall Hall Amusement Park from Virginia (Source: National Park Service).*

Potomac River. The threat to the environment was obvious. The Moyaone 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 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 that one of the most important people in the protection effort became involved: Congresswoman Frances Payne Bolton. Bolton, a Vice-Regent for the 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 archaeological 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).

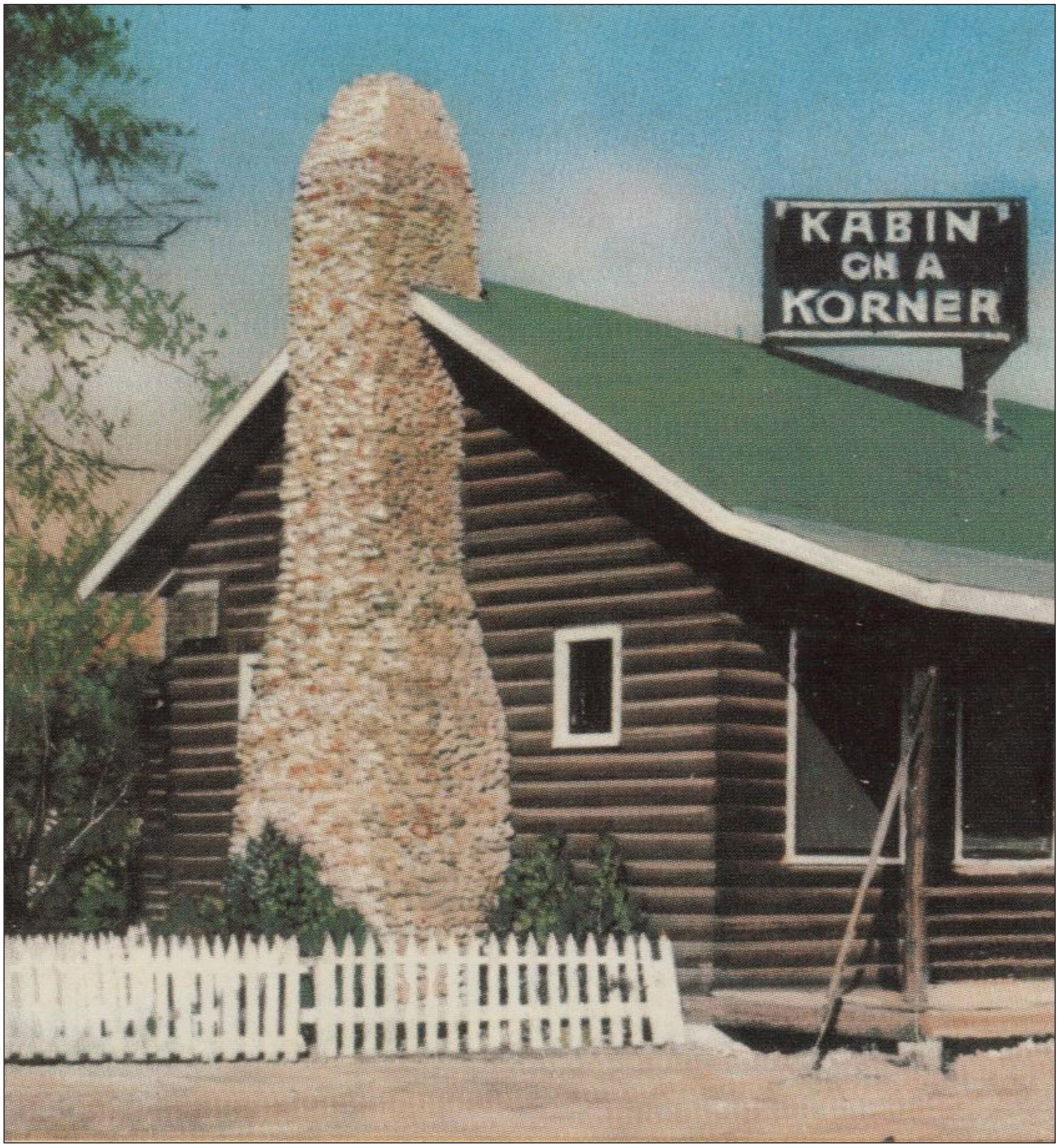
President John F. Kennedy signed Public Law 87-362 on October 4, 1961, authorizing the acquisition of the land for Piscataway Park. The effort was not yet over, though, as legislation would be necessary to secure the appropriation for the land's purchase. It was not until February 22, 1968

Figure 35. *View of Marshall Hall Amusement Park from Virginia (Source: National Park Service).*

that the park was formally dedicated (Figure 35). 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. "One of them had turned me in as violating the laws of the United States, and subject to a jail sentence," Robert Straus recalled, "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 land owners 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. Goldstein later became dissatisfied with the property's inclusion in the area to be encumbered by scenic easements and, as noted, threatened to, and indeed followed through with 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).



CHAPTER IV

RESULTS OF THE ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS

Over the course of the project, several groups were identified with an interest in and contemporary association with Piscataway Park. Two groups, the Piscataway Indian community and the residents of Moyaone Reserve, are well-known for their interest in and connection to Piscataway Park. Other groups include the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, employees of the Alice Ferguson Foundation and the Accokeek Foundation, the descendants of the Marshall and Bryan families, the descendants of the enslaved population at Marshall Hall and nearby farms, the people that visited Marshall Hall Amusement Park, National Park Service employees, and a large fisher community. All of these groups have had a role in the history of the lands that now form Piscataway Park. Project staff took steps to research and/or contact members of each of these communities and include their voices and stories in the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment. Table 21 lists the identified communities and the materials used to prepare this analysis.

Community	Sources
Piscataway Indian	Review of primary and secondary sources, including archaeological reports; meetings on June 29 and October 27, 2018; driving tour on June 29; review of 16 previously-collected oral histories; collection of two new oral histories
Moyaone Reserve	Review of secondary sources; introductory meeting on August 16; review of seven previously-collected oral histories; collection of three new oral histories
Alice Ferguson Foundation	Review of primary and secondary resources; observation
Accokeek Foundation	Review of primary and secondary resources; observation
Fisher community	Review of fieldnotes previously collected by NPS; five field visits between June and November 2018
African American community	Review of primary and secondary sources; review of previously collected oral histories; contacted Dorothea Smith
Mount Vernon Ladies' Association	Meeting with Mount Vernon staff member assigned to viewshed management, January 18, 2019; oral history with vice-regent in charge of the viewshed committee
Marshall Hall Amusement Park	Review of secondary resources; review of the Marshall Hall Amusement Hall Facebook page; examination of photograph collections at CSM; review of previously collected oral histories; collection of two new oral histories

Table 21. ***(Below)*** *Identified communities associated with Piscataway Park and sources consulted for this project.*

CONT. on next Page

Table 21 CONT.

Community	Sources
Marshall family descendants	Review of primary and secondary resources
National Park Service	Oral history interviews with Dr. Stephen R. Potter; one newly collected

PISCATAWAY LIFEWAYS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

A common narrative in the United States, particularly in the east, is the disappearance of Native Americans from the landscape. For years, many people have assumed that the Piscataway people left Maryland in the early eighteenth century and that no Indians remained in the state. While it is certainly the case that the tribe as an organized polity had left the colony after 1712 (see Chapter III), many Piscataway people in fact remained in the colony or returned and are still here today. The 2010 census for Prince George's and Charles counties, for example, records that the numbers of Native American people living in the two counties are 9,498 people and 1,172 people, respectively (U.S. Census 2010). While the census includes anyone of Native heritage, including those who have moved to the area, it is likely that the majority of these individuals represent Piscataway.

"There were many that never left," James Hugh Proctor (1918-2003) confirmed in 1978 before describing strategies of hiding for self and family preservation. "You see, having lived here in this area all their lives, these people fled into the Zekiah Swamp and other areas and the settlers didn't know that they were there, [and] a lot of them live there today in these swamps, hollows and back woods and so forth in the Zekiah Swamp area." The documentary and oral history records also confirm the ongoing presence of Native people in Maryland in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Not only did Indian people remain in the area, they continued to interact with Europeans, use the court systems, and otherwise participate in the market economy. Their lives today are not unlike their non-tribal neighbors, although many Piscataway retain and have revived practices affirming their Native identity.

Information for this report about Piscataway lifeways, especially in the twentieth century, came from a group meeting and driving tour held in June 2018 along with 20 oral history narratives representing 17 individuals (Table 22). Fourteen of these individuals had been previously interviewed by various parties beginning in 1971. Some individuals were interviewed by professional historians or folklorists while others were interviewed by neighbors and community members. Project staff also collected oral histories with three additional Piscataway members. All of these oral history transcriptions have been compiled, formatted, and edited for clarity and consistency (Appendices III and IV). Table 22 lists the names of the interviewees, interviewer(s), date and location of the interview, and sponsoring organization(s).

Table 22. ***(Below)*** *List of Piscataway Indian members interviewed; Key: CCHS/SPPT: Charles County Historical Society & Society for the Restoration of Port Tobacco; CCCC (CSM): Charles County Community College (College of Southern Maryland) Oral History Project; SMCM: St. Mary's College of Maryland Archive; AF: Piscataway Connections to the Land Project, Accokeek Foundation; NPS: National Park Service; SMCM/NPS: Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, St. Mary's College of Maryland and National Park Service.**CONT. on next Page*

No.	Interviewee	Interviewer	Date	Location	Organization
1	Turkey Tayac (1895-1978)	John Wearmouth	12/28/1971	Near Port Tobacco, Md.	CCHS/SPPT
2	James Hugh Proctor (1918-2003)	Nancy Gasparovic	11/07/1978	Indian Head, Md.	CCHS/SPPT
3	James Hugh Proctor (1918-2003)	John Wearmouth	04/02/1990	Near Port Tobacco, Md.	CCHS/SPPT
4	Gabrielle Tayac (b. 1967)	Michael Kline	12/14/2001	Not reported	SMCM
5	Billy Redwing Tayac (b. 1938)	Michael Kline	08/26/2002	Not reported	SMCM
6	Mervin Savoy (b. 1943)	Lucie Kyrova	11/10/2012	Accokeek, Md.	AF
7	Gladys Proctor (1919-2017)	Lucie Kyrova	11/17/2012	Accokeek, Md.	AF
8	Joan Proctor (b. 1938)	Lucie Kyrova	11/17/2012	Accokeek, Md.	AF
9	Sheila Proctor (b. 1956)	Lucie Kyrova	11/17/2012	Accokeek, Md.	AF
10	Rico Newman (b. 1943)	Lucie Kyrova	2013	Accokeek, Md.	AF
11	George Gray, Sr. (b. 1927)	Lucie Kyrova	02/16/2013	Accokeek, Md.	AF
12	Ellen Gray (b. 1927)	Lucie Kyrova	02/16/2013	Accokeek, Md.	AF
13	Tara Gray (b. 1954)	Lucie Kyrova	02/16/2013	Accokeek, Md.	AF

No.	Interviewee	Interviewer	Date	Location	Organization
14	Julian Proctor (b. 1996)	Lucie Kyrova	02/16/2013	Accokeek, Md.	AF
15	Aimee Gray	Lucie Kyrova	02/16/2013	Accokeek, Md.	AF
16	Rico Newman (b. 1943)	Shirley Fiske at al.	01/26/2017	Accokeek, Md.	NPS
17	Billy Redwing Tayac (b. 1938)	Elizabeth Clark Lewis et al.	Not recorded	Fort Washington, Md.	NPS
18	Sebastian Medina-Tayac (b. 1994)	Julia A. King et al.	10/27/2018	Accokeek, Md.	SMCM/NPS
19	Francis Gray (b. 1959)	Julia A. King et al.	05/24/2018	La Plata, Md.	SMCM/NPS
20	Mario Harley (b. 1959)	Julia A. King et al.	05/24/2018	La Plata, Md.	SMCM/NPS

***Table 22** CONT. (Above)*

The majority of interviewed Piscataway members described lives not unlike those typical of rural families in twentieth-century southern Maryland. Many families either lived on and/or were raised on small- to medium-sized farms where tobacco, corn, and sometimes wheat were cultivated and cows, pigs, and chickens were raised. George Gray (b. 1927), for example, grew tobacco, something he learned to do from his father and grandfather. The process Mr. Gray described in his interview of growing tobacco took place on countless southern Maryland farms prior to the state's Tobacco Buyout in 2000. Mr. Gray's father, however, had quit growing tobacco well before the Tobacco Buyout because of its labor costs and instead devoted more time to the grocery store the family had purchased on Georgia Avenue in Washington, D.C. as well as market stands the family ran, also in Washington. Mr. Gray also recalled his father's store in Marbury where, as a child, he would help sweep and oil the wood floor once a month. At first, there were no freezers at the Marbury store. "But by the 30s," Mr. Gray related, "we got electricity. Then [my father] had plenty of refrigerator cases and we filled the boxes up with the sodas, and he had beer."

Gladys Proctor (1919-2017) was raised on a farm in Brandywine and, like the Grays, she and her husband managed a farm. "Everybody lived on a farm. All of my people. Our people. Lived on farms. . . And you planted tobacco, you planted corn. My grandfather [also] planted wheat. You raised your

own milk, made your own butter. So we ate from the farm. Lived on the farm and ate from the farm." Mrs. Proctor's daughter, Joan Proctor, noted that tobacco "was a simple crop, and a crop where you could get money. That's how my father made a lot of his money. By tobacco farming." But tobacco was hard work, and Gladys Proctor and her children had to pitch in to ensure a successful crop. With his family's help, Gladys Proctor's husband, Ray Proctor, was also able to hold a wage job driving a cement mixer as another source of income. Mr. Proctor would manage the tobacco crop in the evenings after work and on weekends. James Hugh Proctor was also raised on a farm. "We raised corn, tobacco, wheat, and also we helped our grandfather who lived just across the railroad tracks. We had horses. We had cows. We had pigs." Just as Gladys Proctor's husband took a job driving a truck to help make ends meet and the Grays had their stores and market stands, James Hugh Proctor's father "made and sold some of the best bootleg whiskey on the east coast." Bootleg whiskey, sometimes called moonshine, was made from corn and became a hot commodity during Prohibition (1920-1933).

Turkey Tayac (1895-1978) was at least 20 years older than most of the Piscataway informants but he described a childhood that included growing and harvesting tobacco. His family would hunt and consume possum, raccoon, and duck.

Many Piscataway men were also "able hunters, guides, and fishermen" (Gilbert 1945). While only a few informants spoke about hunting, primarily for household provisioning, Gilbert's statement about guides recalls the practices of Pamunkey men on the Pamunkey reservation in King and Queen County, Virginia. In the twentieth century, Pamunkey men sold their services as guides to non-Indian hunting parties. Their work, which generated not only food but cash, took place during the fall and winter months and became part of what Pamunkey archaeologist Ashley Atkins Spivey (2017:88) has defined as a twentieth-century "annual seasonal round." Spivey interprets this work, which took place on reservation lands, as evidence of adapting traditional practices to the market economy. While the Piscataway had, by the eighteenth century, lost their reservation land to men like John Fendall and Joshua Marshall, Spivey's observations are applicable to the Piscataway situation.

Indeed, the Piscataway families living on these mid-twentieth-century tobacco farms were important participants in the market economy. They also, however, raised plenty of food for home consumption. Every family had a garden, and the women would can the surplus or store it in a root cellar. "There'd be cabbage, potatoes, po-white potatoes, sweet potatoes, all kinds of tomatoes and kale. Greens," Ellen Gray (b. 1927), George Gray's wife, recalled. Mervin Savoy's (b. 1943) grandfather had an apple orchard and a vineyard. "My grandmother," Mrs. Savoy recalled, "had what she called a truck garden. And we would always be allowed to go out and pick the tomatoes or the squash or cucumbers or what have you. She was always canning things." Turkey Tayac remembered turnips, cabbage, potatoes, sweet potatoes, squash, pumpkins, tomatoes, beans, peas, blackberries, and cherries as produce raised, canned, and/or dried by his mother. James Hugh Proctor said that the women and girls in his family canned apples, string beans, tomatoes, peaches, and pears. "Of course," Mr. Proctor recalled, "we didn't have anything that even remotely resembled a freezer," so home canning was a rural necessity for these families.

Cows provided the family with milk and meat, pigs provided meat, and chickens provided eggs and meat. But, as Gladys Proctor noted, "we were Woodland Indians, so we always had our forest life. You could kill rabbits, squirrels, deer." The hunting, Mrs. Proctor recalled in an echo of William Gilbert's (1945) observation, was done by "the father of the family and the older brothers." Rico Newman (b. 1933) related how, to prepare wild-caught meat, his mother always "soaked the catfish, rabbit, [or] squirrel [in milk] straight off the cow." After describing how the men and boys in her family would go hunting, Joan Proctor (b. 1938) noted that she didn't "remember getting food from the store until I was maybe 15, 16 years old."

Waterways were also important for subsistence. Fishing was and remains an important recreational and subsistence activity among the Piscataway. Some Piscataway, including Gabrielle Tayac (b. 1967) and Rico Newman, recalled fishing as children and hearing stories of how the rivers used to be so full of fish, particularly herring, during their runs that a person could walk across the river on the backs of the fish. Rico Newman recalled one adventure when, as a child, he was fishing at Piscataway Creek when his net filled up so quickly with herring that he lost his balance and into the creek he went. As a child, George Gray would sell fish his uncles caught from his

red wagon in his neighborhood. Joan Proctor's father would catch fish at Pope's Creek and salt it to last through the winter. For Mervin Savoy, fishing expeditions would involve the whole family. Some people would fish while others salted. Shad, herring, catfish, rockfish, perch, and croaker were the species mostly harvested. Oysters, clams, and crabs were also harvested.

These Piscataway families also talked about the importance of non-domesticated plants for food, medicinal purposes, or construction. Each mention of a wild plant was culled from the oral histories and the driving tour; these plants are listed in Table 23. Additionally, plants recovered from the Indian Creek Archaeological Site in northern Prince George's County were also collated; these plants are listed in Table 24. The Indian Creek Site, which was occupied intermittently by foragers and hunters between 6000 and 1300 BC, was located in an area where plant materials were well preserved. Only those plant materials associated with confidence with the early occupation are listed in Table 24 (LeeDecker and Koldehoff 1991).

Edible non-domesticated plants still found at Piscataway Park include tuckahoe, wild rice, blackberry, and pawpaw. Tuckahoe is an excellent source of starch although difficult to harvest (Figure 35). It is also a poisonous plant that can be rendered safe to eat only after hours of cooking. Wild rice grains were collected and boiled or ground into flour (Figure 37). Blackberry and pawpaw are nutritional fruits. Other plants reported to be used for food include lambsquarter (Chenopodium), pumpkin, beech leaves, tiger lily, mint, raspberry, elderberry, dandelion, and corn.

Table 23. ***(Below)*** *List of plants mentioned by Piscataway individuals in oral history interviews. (N) next to the common name indicates a plant native to North America; italicized uses derive from references, non-italicized references were described in oral history interviews. Last column is informant: GG: George Gray; MS: Mervin Savoy; RN: Rico Newman; TT: Turkey Tayac; DT/PP: Driving Tour/Piscataway Park.*

CONT. on next Page

Latin Name	Common Name	Application/Use	
Apocynum cannabibum	Dogbane (N)	Poisonous; plants yield a good quality fiber for cordage	DT/PP
Asimina triloba	Pawpaw (N)	Edible; fruit	DT/PP
Borago officinali	Borage/thyme	Medicinal, edible	MS
Brassica spp.	Mustard	Medicinal; poultice	TT
Chenopodium spp.	Lambsquarters[1] (N)	Medicinal, edible; vegetable, ailments	MS

[1] Also called goosefoot.

Latin Name	Common Name	Application/Use	
Chrysanthemum spp.	Chrysanthemum	Medicinal; treat menstrual pain	MS
Cucurbita pepo	Pumpkin (N)	Edible; vegetable, soup	MS
Diospyros virginiana	Persimmon (N)	Edible	MS
Eupatorium parfoliatum	Boneset (N)	Medicinal; treat fever	TT
Fagus grandifolia	Beech leaves (N)	Medicinal, edible; salad, treat colds, clean wounds	TT
Lilium superbum	Tiger lily	Edible; tubers eaten like potatoes	MS
Liquidamber styraciflua	Gum bark (N)	Medicinal; astringent, treat dysentery and diarrhea	TT
Mentha viridis	Mint (N)	Medicinal, edible; digestive aid, mouth freshener, sauces	TT
Nicotiana rustica	Tobacco (N)	Medicinal, ritual; treat sickness, rituals, cash crop	MS/GG
Peltandra virginica	Tuckahoe (N)	Edible; good source of starch provided it is cooked long enough to reduce toxicity	DT/PP
Pinus spp.	Pine needles (N)	Fragrance, decoration	TT/MS
Pinus spp.	Pine resin (N)	Medicinal; pills for treatment of kidney problem	MS
Quercus alba	Oak bark (N)	Medicinal; treat arthritis, diarrhea, fever, cough	TT
Rhus glabra	Sumac (N)	Medicinal; treat bedwetting	MS
Robinia pseudoacacia	Black locust (N)	Building material; reportedly for bows	DT/PP
Rubus occidentalis	Raspberry (N)	Edible; fruit	TT
Rubus sp.	Blackberry (N)	Edible; fruit	DT/PP
Sambucus canadensis	Elderberry (N)	Edible; jam, chutney, wine	MS
Sassafras albidum	Sassafras (N)	Medicinal; treat wounds, urinary disorders, fever	TT/MS
Tagetes spp.	Marigold	Medicinal; treat menstrual pain, insect repellant	MS
Tanacetum parthenium	Feverfew (N)	Medicinal; treat menstrual pain	MS

Latin Name	Common Name	Application/Use	
Taraxacum officinale	Dandelion	Edible; greens, wine	MS
Tussilago farfara	Coltsfoot	Medicinal; treat flu, colds, fever, rheumatism, gout	TT
Typha sp.	Cattail (N)	Medicinal, edible, building material; treats chafing, burns, kidney stones, insect repellent, starch.	RN
Vaccinum membranaceum	Huckleberry root (N)	Medicinal; treat heart, arthritis, rheumatism	TT/RN
Verbascum spp.	Mullein (N)	Medicinal; treat swollen feet, arthritis, stomach ache	TT/MS
Zea mays	Corn (N)	Edible	
Zizana aquatica	Wild rice (N)	Edible; grains can be boiled or ground into flour	DT/PP

***Table 23** CONT. (Above)*

The majority of the plants mentioned, including many of those considered edible, served medicinal purposes. In the 1940s, William Gilbert (1945) had been told about Native medicine men living at Allen's

Fresh and at Pomonkey. These individuals, he noted, "still make arrowheads and can recount Indian traditions." One of these individuals may have been Turkey Tayac, who was well known in the community as a medicine man. Mr. Tayac grew up at Huckleberry, less than three miles from Allens Fresh. Dr. Gabrielle Tayac, the granddaughter of Turkey Tayac, described the clay cliffs near Huckleberry on the Potomac as a place where her grandfather collected his medicines. Dr. Tayac noted that Turkey had come by this knowledge through his mother, Jan-Jan.

Table 24. ***(Below)List of plant remains recovered from the Indian Creek Archaeological Site (18PR94) (Source: LeeDecker and Koldehoff 1991).***

CONT. on next Page

Latin Name	Common Name	Poisonous	Medicinal	Edible	Unkown
Acalypha virginica	Copperleaf	X			X
Acinda cannabinus	Waterhemp				X
Ambrosia spp.	Ragweed			X	
Aralia spp.	Hercules' club			X	

Latin Name	Common Name	Poisonous	Medicinal	Edible	Unkown
Brasenia schreberi	Watershield			X	
Circilum spp.	Thistle		X	X	
Cuscuta gronovil	Dodder		X		
Cyperus esculentus	Chufa			X	
Eleocharis spp.	Spikerush				X
Euphorbia spp.	Spurge	X	X		
Galium spp.	Bedstraw		X	X	
Geranium spp.	Geranium		X	X	
Hedeoma pulegiddes	Pennyroyal		X	X	
Hydrocotyle umbrellata	Pennywort		X		
Liquidambar styracilua	Sweet gum		X		
Myriophyllum spp.	Water milfoil				X
Nympaea spp.	Waterlily			X	
Oxalis stricta	Wood sorrel		X	X	
Physalis spp.	Ground cherry		X	X	
Polygonatum commutatum	Solomon's seal		X	X	
Polygonum spp.	Smartweed		X	X	
Pontederia cordata	Pickerel weed			X	
Prunus virginiana	Choke cherry		X	X	
Pteridophyta	Fern		X	X	
Rhus spp.	Sumac		X	X	

Latin Name	Common Name	Poisonous	Medicinal	Edible	Unkown
Rubus spp.	Blackberry		X	X	
Scirpus spp.	Bulrush			X	
Scleria spp.	Scleria			X	
Silene spp.	Catchfly		X		
Sisyrinchium graminoides	Blue-eyed grass		X		
Sparganium spp.	Burreed			X	
Toxicodendron radicans	Poison Ivy	X	X		
Zostera marina	Eelgrass				X

***Table 24** CONT. (Above)*

In their oral histories, Turkey Tayac, Mervin Savoy, and Rico Newman each talked about the medicinal uses of certain plants (see Table 23). Turkey Tayac was careful to note in his interview that families often had their favorite medicinal plant. For his mother, it was boneset, which has been found to treat any number of symptoms or conditions. Mullein was also a favorite as, he related, "you can use it in so many different ways." While many of the plants mentioned by the informants are native to North America (see Table 23), some are not, suggesting that Piscataway families identified and adapted the medicinal properties of European imports. Interestingly, only Mervin Savoy mentioned plants used to treat problems suffered by women (menstrual pain) and childcare (bedwetting), suggesting that medical knowledge is (perhaps not surprisingly) gendered.[1]

Dogbane and cattail, plants used to make things that were not edible, were both mentioned during the driving tour. Dogbane was famously used to produce cordage, fibers twisted together for all sorts of uses, from ceramic manufacture to lifting. Dogbane is available in Eastern North America where it grows along field edges (Figure 38). Cattail could also be used to make cordage as well as baskets, bags, and mats. The mats would be used on the interior and exterior of wigwams.

[1] Mervin Savoy also mentioned more edible plants than her male kin.

Figure 36. *Tuckahoe (Peltandra virginica) (Source: Wikipedia).*

Figure 37. *Wild rice ((Source: Chesapeake Bay Program).*

A comparison of Tables 23 and 24 show almost no overlap. Only blackberry and sumac are found in both tables. The differences between the two tables – one based in the twentieth century and the other in the second century BC – should not be especially surprising. For one, several millennia separate the "samples." For another, plants are place-specific; the conditions at Indian Creek before 1300 BC, an interior upland site located near a stream bed, would

be different than conditions at the land now comprising Piscataway Park. Information from both sources, however, and other sources as it becomes available is critical in any effort to reconstruct historic and contemporary plant use.

Figure 38. *Dogbane (Apocynum cannabinum) (Virginia Wildflowers).*

Today, almost all of the Piscataway interviewed identify as Catholic, a reflection, perhaps, of the strength of the Jesuits in early colonial Maryland. How and when the Piscataway became Catholic remains understudied, probably in part because many people assume that Father Andrew White, who converted Kittamaquund, and the other Jesuits who came to Maryland in the early seventeenth century had considerable success. The reality is that, by the 1660s, the Jesuits recognized the challenges of converting the Piscataway with many priests turning instead to the colonists and enslaved Africans. The Jesuits may have had better luck in the eighteenth century with the Piscataway who remained behind when the organized polity left the region. The success of the Jesuits when ministering to many people in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century southern Maryland was high and many people, regardless of ethnicity, became Catholic.

The Piscataway practiced Catholicism by incorporating their traditions into Catholic religious practices. Piscataway spirituality, which is closely linked to place, was and continues to be expressed in the ceremonies and festivals reflecting the seasonal round (Table 25). The importance of the Green Corn Festival, for example, as a place to reinforce a Piscataway sense of identity was mentioned in nearly all of the oral histories. Other festivals or ceremonies celebrated by the Piscataway

are shown in Table 25 and include the Seed Gathering Festival, Awakening of Mother Earth, Feast of the Waters, and the Midwinter Festival (or Feast of the Dead). Different groups or clans celebrate these events at different

Festival	Season	Date	Comments	Informant
Seed Gathering Festival	Spring	March 22	Seeds collected in fall are distributed	RN
Awakening of Mother Earth	Spring	Second week-end in April		All
Feast of the Waters	Spring	June, usually Sat. before Father's Day	Men would camp 3 or 4 days prior to catch fish for the festival; now fish is purchased; takes place near water	RN
Green Corn Festival	Summer	August 15	Thanksgiving for productive harvest; Feast of the Assumption	All
Midwinter Festival / Feast of the Dead / Elders Feast	Fall/ Winter	Usually Nov., sometimes Feb.	Can include pilgrimage to Moyaone to honor and recollect the ancestors; bring food stores out to celebrate elders (75+)	ST, GT, RN

Table 25. *Piscataway Indian festivals and dates.*

times and in different places. Some events are open to the public and others are by invitation only. These celebrations provide an opportunity for Piscataway people to come together, affirm familiar ties, and celebrate events tied to the seasonal round. While one of these events – the Green Corn Festival – was and is often hosted by the Catholic Church and appears to represent a kind of hybrid event, other celebrations or festivals commemorate the cycle of life. Still other ceremonies that are held on a less fixed schedule include baptisms, marriages, general prayer, and blessings.

Turkey Tayac was raised as a Catholic, and he described "little powwows" that took place from after Christmas until Lent. Chief Tayac also recalled the Green Corn ceremony although, when the interview was conducted in 1974, he claimed "it's dying down, now. I still do it, even if it [isn't] nobody but myself." According to Chief Tayac, the Green Corn celebration would "take about two weeks" (Giorgio 1974:14).

In addition to their Catholicism, the fast running waters of Piscataway Creek cascading into the Potomac are an important source of the Piscataways' spiritual identity. Indeed, the word, Piscataway, derives from an Algonquian word meaning "where the waters blend." The water itself, Billy Tayac (b. 1936) noted, is considered sacred, a part of Piscataway spirituality, and was and is thought to be rejuvenating and healing. The river is where many Piscataway come to pray, to remember their ancestors, name their children, and perform blessings and even marriages along the banks. One Piscataway man would "talk into" a pond and, he reported, the pond eventually spoke back and helped him make some life decisions. The river is not only a source of life and healing but a way to communicate with the ancestors. Dr. Gabrielle Tayac remembers being told by Turkey Tayac that light reflecting on the rivers are the smiles and voices of the many people who have come before and the river is where they go when they die. The rivers are the connection to the living and the dead.

While the Piscataway people who were interviewed lived lives that, to an outsider, looked very similar to the many other farm families in southern Maryland, all retained a strong sense of their identity as either Piscataway or Indian. James Hugh Proctor told his interviewer that "perhaps you don't notice it, but the [Piscataway] people are really a society within a society. They socialize together constantly. They are extremely clannish and they are the only group of people in the state of Maryland that are clannish." These clans, many now named, were groups of families living close to one another, pitching in to help neighboring (and usually related) households with farm work. They knew that, as Piscataway, they were different from those around them but outside prejudice kept them from too much public disclosure of their identity. For example, when Ellen Gray was asked if she identified as Indian growing up, Mrs. Gray replied, "we knew it at home, but you didn't go out and – well, in my community, it was most of all of us [were Indian] . . .the only whites that we knew were at church, and one black family. That's all I knew. So I grew up different."

Joan Proctor was emphatic: "I did not go around saying I was an Indian. I did not, we did not do that. We were afraid to say we were Indians." Similar sentiments are found in interviews with Gladys Proctor, Turkey Tayac, James Proctor, and others. James Proctor noted a word for this difference: "wesort." While the word is now considered archaic and even pejorative, in

part because it has been used to erase Indian identity, Mr. Proctor said "it was a manner by which the Indian people separated themselves from black and white." "We sort of people" are different from "you sorts." Sebastian Tayac (b. 1994) discussed how the term became conflated with "tri-racial" or mixed people. "I'm not here to judge anyone's claims," Mr. Tayac noted, "but . . . if we're anything like any other [Indian] community, then we've been mixed white and black and Indian for a long time." Gladys Proctor summed it up when she said, "I live like everybody else lives. Even though I know who I am, [I] know [I'm] different, but [I] live just like everybody else lives. I guess you can see from the house. Just like anyone else. I don't live in a wigwam."

The right to self-identify was not as legally risky in Maryland as it was in Virginia, where the Racial Integrity Act of 1924 made it a crime to identify as Indian in legal documents and criminalized intermarriage. Nonetheless, the attitudes that made the Racial Integrity Act in Virginia possible were also evident in Maryland. In the early twentieth century, anthropologists who visited the Piscataway concluded they were "tri-racial," an archaic term no longer used that meant of mixed heritage (see, for example, Gilbert [1945]). These writings, along with census records that identified Piscataway people as "colored," "black," or "mulatto," have since been deployed to suggest that there are no "real" Indians in Maryland.[2] Native Americans in Virginia were denied the right to claim their Indian identity because their ancestry was "not pure," and the same mentality existed in at least some quarters in Maryland. As one of the oral history informants pointed out, such a "purity" standard applied to no other group. Indeed, such a "purity" standard does not exist for most if any people in North America, and the whole concept is grounded in long disproved racial theory.

Nonetheless, for much of the early and mid-twentieth century, many if not all Piscataway families concluded it would be risky to speak openly about their Indian identity and heritage. This sense of a difference that could not be openly claimed in a racist society often led to feelings of anxiety. Tara Gray (b. 1954) said "it was difficult for me to make friends, because I was always ready for a derogatory remark. I felt very isolated." George Gray, aware

[2] These early reports, including Gilbert's (1945), were intended at the time of their publication to support the survival of Indian people in the region. To be sure, these early reports were not out of line with contemporary scientific thinking about race. Nonetheless, their authors argued for the reality and recognition of Indian identity.

of the United States' policies to assimilate Indians in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, observed "they wanted to get rid of all the Indian people, so they could have the land." Mr. Gray continued, "at the early days, our great-grandfather, for him to survive, they did what they had to do to survive. In their homeland." One informant recalled his father asserting his Indian identity in second grade and his teacher telling him he was not in fact Indian. An argument ensued "and they went through this whole thing with my grandparents, they had to come to the school." Perhaps to avoid such overt discrimination, Rico Newman's parents sent him to an Indian boarding school run by nuns in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Sheila Proctor summed the stress of claiming her Indian identity: "anyone as a white person, anyone as a black person, [they] didn't have to prove who they were. [We] always had to stand for what [we] were. And sometimes [we] had to fight for what [we] were. Because people were always trying to dictate to [us], who [we] are."

The isolation that Cara Gray and others felt was ameliorated in part by an inward focus on the community, or what James Hugh Proctor described as "clannish" behavior. Indian people would get together in larger groups for picnics, particularly the Green Corn Festival, sponsored by the Catholic church. These picnics, which were taking place well before 1945 (Gilbert 1945:__), were major events. Describing who came to the picnics, George Gray noted that "people that had lived here in Charles, born in Prince George's and Charles County, they went to as far as Philadelphia, Harrisburg, most of them in Washington, D.C. All came back to the picnic." The Green Corn Festival had become merged with the Feast of the Assumption (when the Virgin Mary was assumed by God into Heaven following her death). Some authors suggest this hybrid ceremony represents a "type of syncretism practiced throughout the hemisphere [so] that Native peoples can carry out their original instructions while minimizing interference" from outsiders (McMaster and Trafzer 2004:80). Corn soup and frybread were the main staples at the Green Corn ceremonies and picnics in southern Maryland. Mervin Savoy recalled "it was a big picnic at church, or at someone's farm, and all of the women carried in their foods and their best dishes and there were sewing contests." Mrs. Savoy also noted that, at church picnics, the events were often segregated: "the white parishioners had theirs, the African American parishioners had theirs, and our people had ours."

Given its size and ability to draw large numbers of Piscataway, the Green Corn Festival and picnic became an ideal event at which to identify a future spouse, as the preference was to marry a fellow Indian. "The main thing," George Gray recalled about a person's choice of spouse, "was they had to be Indian." Parents, he continued, "would sort of guide you toward the people that you could marry or go with." If you married outside the group, Ellen Gray noted, "the parents really didn't accept it. Not for years." James Hugh Proctor noted that marriage with someone who was not a member of the community "was unheard of in my day. It was not acceptable." Joan Proctor noted that, now, "intermarriage has made it so that you can't tell who's who about anything, but when I was growing up, there was no intermarriage. We only married our people." White or black, she continued, for Indians, intermarriage "was not acceptable."

With the integration of schools in the 1960s, identity became an increasingly public issue as Native children would come home from school with questions for their parents. Those questions, Joan Proctor felt, led to an effort "to come back together as an Indian group. As a tribe." It was in the 1970s, George and Ellen Gray recalled, that it became okay to talk about being an Indian. They both credited the American Indian Movement (AIM). Chief Billy Tayac, currently leader of the Piscataway Indian Nation, was actively involved in the American Indian Movement, noting that the civil rights movement allowed people to say "it's okay to be an Indian. You know, fight the assimilation process." These dual but related efforts – embracing one's identity and creating new traditions through revival – provided opportunities to get together and socialize. There was a center in Waldorf, for example, where people would get together on Saturday nights, learn dances, and make regalia. Gladys Proctor described the time she and her family had gone to New Jersey for a powwow hosted by tribes in that state. As she and her family were coming out of the motel on Sunday morning en route to church, she saw "all these people standing over there [and] they're just like us! We thought we were the only one."

The American Indian Movement became an important touchstone for Piscataway people in their decision to share their identity and it continues to shape Piscataway approaches to tribal practices and politics. AIM was founded in 1968 to address Native American issues, including the Federal government's approach to Native American tribes. AIM was also a social movement, encouraging Indian people, in the words of Mario Harley (b.

1959) to "stand up and take our place again." AIM along with several other Native rights organizations brought a large contingent of Native protestors to Washington, D.C. in November 1972 with a list of claims that ultimately concerned Native sovereignty. According to Chief Tayac, who participated in the protest, this "Trail of Broken Treaties," as it was called by AIM, "was a reverse trail of all the treaties that had been broken." Chief Tayac and the Gray family became deeply involved, Chief Tayac with the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in Washington, D.C. and the Gray family with the provision of housing during a later march, the "Trail of Self-Determination."

The Trail of Broken Treaties march in 1972 brought Native protestors from across the country to the nation's capital. When the Nixon administration refused to meet with the protest's leaders, they occupied the Federal building housing the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) (Department of the Interior). Chief Tayac was in the thick of this event, which he described as largely peaceful, at least initially. But after the BIA employees left the building, instead of talking, the government sent in the "riot squad" to disperse the protestors. Chief Tayac described how the Native people responded by pushing out the guards and securing the building. "They took desk chairs, whatever, and locked all the doors, [chairs] piled up against the doors." After this seeming act of governmental duplicity and the protestors' reaction to it, the Federal government attempted to negotiate with the protestors, promising safe passage if the protestors would leave the building. The agreement fell through, as the Federal government, Chief Tayac said, "backed out. And, when they backed out, people went crazy in the building. They tore the hell out of the building … It was a hatred for the Bureau of Indian Affairs … People remember Wounded Knee." There was a general pandemonium and protestors decided to take BIA records in the process with the FBI dispatched to get the records back.

Many protestors left Washington to go to South Dakota to Wounded Knee. Chief Tayac wanted to go but protest leaders implored him to stay in D.C. "and to guarantee that we won't be overrun and murdered." Specifically, the leaders asked Chief Tayac to "go to Congress and every embassy, and every church, anywhere and everywhere you can get us support." And Chief Tayac did. George Gray accompanied Chief Tayac "to carry food and perform some of [our] ceremonies" as they pleaded the Native case. "We went as Indians. There was no doubt who we were. We went as the American Indian Movement."

One of their stops was Senator J. William Fulbright's office. Senator Fulbright was chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, whose assistant told Chief Tayac, "Billy, according to law, this is where you belong," a sly acknowledgment to the sovereignty Native people wanted restored.

Four years later, in 1976, the same year as the American bicentennial, AIM launched a second march, this one known as the Trail of Self Determination. A group of 700 protestors who had been staying on the American University campus were asked in July to leave so that the school could get ready for the impending semester. Francis Gray's (b. 1959) father, Charles Gray, had a farm in Marbury and invited the protestors to stay there. "I walked out our kitchen door," Mr. Gray recalled, "and I looked over the fields and I was just completely flabbergasted. To see teepees and tents and buses and cars" across 13 acres, an "organized chaos" with planning meetings and trips to D.C. (Figure 39). "As a kid," Mario Harley (b. 1959) recalled, "I was quite envious. I wasn't driving then. I didn't have a license but [Francis] had all the activity down at his property and I was trying to find ways to get down there. It was summertime and I had a paper route, so I had to be home to do that. But then it was making phone calls, who's heading down to the Grays? Can I get a ride?"

Figure 39. *Clothing worn as part of the American Indian Movement marches; left to right: Mario Harley and Francis Gray (Source: courtesy Mario Harley).*

Mario Harley and Francis Gray recalled how it took some persuasion to convince elders to participate in the AIM movement. "You have to remember, it was at the same time as the Vietnam War, a lot of our folks were in the wars. They were in World War I, II, Korean War, Vietnam War. Once they came out of the military, they went to work for a Federal government agency. Taking over a Federal agency had them step back." Mario recalled a meeting at St. Joseph's Catholic Church where elders stood up and said, "'well, if I identified myself as Native, then that means that they can come back and get my land from me.' And as a kid at that time, I laughed. I said, who ever heard of such a thing. But the more I've thought about it, the more I've learned. Those were the types of fears the elders had."

The Trail of Self Determination brought Piscataway people into the national arena in a way they had not been before. "There was more to being a Native person, instead of just saying you're Native," Francis Gray said. "We had issues that we had to address. We had issues there that we may not have experienced ourselves but we were considered to be our brother's keeper." For example, Piscataway people supported the tribe at Wounded Knee with food and clothing drives. "And we took stuff out to the reservation. We did the same thing with the North Carolina tribe." Mario Harley traveled to Richmond to support Leonard Crow Dog, a Lakota medicine man arrested for the deaths of two FBI agents at the Pine Ridge Reservation. "They removed [Crow Dog] from South Dakota and brought him to Lewisburg, Pennsylvania initially in the Federal penitentiary," Mr. Harley noted. "And then they had one of his hearings down at the Federal courthouse in Richmond. The idea is, how can we remove this Native leader out of his homeland strength with all his people and bring him down here on the East Coast in Richmond. We went down there the day before at the Federal courthouse and we brought a lot of Piscataway people down there. We brought in some of the Virginia tribes. People from North Carolina came. And we were there for two days. The day Crow Dog arrived and the day of the hearing itself, protesting that they got the wrong guy and, more importantly, they were treating him unfairly by bringing him all the way to the East Coast."

Even as Piscataway people stepped up at the national level through AIM, they were aware that their own history began at Piscataway. "Piscataway Creek is our sacred burial ground" and capital, said Chief Tayac, while speaking of coming

to Moyaone [Piscataway Park] "as a family for over 100, 150 years." "Sacred land," Chief Tayac observed, "is, you have to have a connection to it, and you can't get much better connection than when you bury people there . . . their remains turned into dust and mingled with the soil. So, when you say, the soil is us, that's what it really is. It is us. And then, it's extremely sacred." For Chief Tayac and all Piscataway, protecting the burial ground is a duty and obligation.

That sense of duty is why a concrete block house erected over exposed human remains at Moyaone became such a flashpoint (Figure 40). The block house had been put in place by the Fergusons prior to the property's acquisition by the National Park Service. Such features were not uncommon at important Native sites elsewhere and were presumably meant to be educational. In fact, they were disrespectful, putting on display the bones of ancestors and perverting the relationship between the living and the dead. The insult was compounded by a refusal to hear Piscataway concerns with the treatment of the burial ground at Moyaone. Sebastian Medina-Tayac (b. 1994) remembers hearing about his uncle, Chief Tayac, and grandfather, Turkey Tayac, visiting the blockhouse and hearing cries from within, saying, "Put us back in the earth."

Mario Harley described the block house as "probably about a 12-by-12 [foot] structure. Concrete blocks, had bars on the windows on four sides. We began to raise the concern to the Park Service that this isn't right. 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. And they ignored us on multiple attempts to have a conversation." The Trail of Self Determination, however, helped to turn the tide. "They [NPS] see what was going on in early parts of June and July of '76 and they knew that we had the numbers to make a difference this time. It was no longer the National Park Service, the Federal government against the Piscataway. It was the National Park Service and the American Indian Movement. All of these Native people saying, 'We're here. We're Piscataway for this issue. We're in solidarity with it. We need to fix this.'"

Billy Tayac recalled the block house, saying "I dreamt it should come down." For Chief Tayac, the block house symbolized not only the disrespectful treatment of the ancestors, it represented the way the Fergusons had treated

Figure 40. *The concrete block house at Moyaone, Piscataway Park (Source: National Park Service).*

the Accokeek Creek Site from the beginning of their digs. Finally, in the summer of 1976, in part due to the Trail of Self Determination march, the National Park Service agreed to remove the block house. "They brought in a bulldozer," Mr. Harley recalled. "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" (Figure 41).

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 Turkey Tayac's purpose was to ask Francis's father about 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 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. They also said, if this tree lives, then the spirit of our ancestors would also live. And the Piscataway people will also thrive and live in honor of their ancestors." 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."

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 an agreement with Stewart Udall, then Secretary of the Interior, to be buried at Piscataway Park. When

Figure 41. *Piscataway people preparing for ceremonies at Moyaone after removal of the block house (Source: National Park Service).*

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. "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.

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." 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 verbal resistance. Park law

enforcement personnel stepped in, but the declaration created deep divisions within the Piscataway community, divisions that persist and are reflected in the existence of two state-recognized tribes, including the Piscataway Indian Nation and the Piscataway Conoy Tribe, and at least two bands.

Obviously, Piscataway Park is a sacred place but, for many, getting to the park in the early to mid-twentieth century could be 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. His wife, Ellen, had attended Turkey Tayac's funeral at the park. Francis Gray had worked with Turkey Tayac to plant a cedar tree at the park. Conversely, Gladys Proctor, when asked if Piscataway Park meant something special, responded, "not to me." 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. The strength of attachment may also reflect divisions among the Piscataway, divisions that could have had their origin in the colonial period, been exacerbated by the racism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, or 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 Piscataway.

Most recently, Piscataway was the first stop for the Hōkūle'a, a sailing canoe created by the Polynesian Voyaging Society (PVS) to reclaim its ancient relationship to the archipelago of Hawaii. The canoe serves as a kind of ambassador for the PVS in its effort to raise awareness of the indigenous people of Hawaii and across the world Hōkūle'a arrived at Piscataway in May 2016, coming ashore to ask permission to enter the Piscataway homeland. The event took place at Piscataway Park at the shore of the Accokeek Foundation. The Piscataway were represented by Chief Billy Redwing Tayac (PIN) and Tribal Chair Francis Gray (PCT). Hundreds of people welcomed the Hōkūle'a

and her crew, who participated in a private ceremony "out of respect to [the Piscataways'] unique spiritual connection to the land" (Valenzuela 2016).

Finally, several Piscataway expressed concern with the amount of trash that accumulates along the park's shoreline. Sebastian Tayac wondered if a sign indicating Moyaone was a religious or spiritual place might deter dumping.

MOYAONE RESERVE IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

The residents of Moyaone Reserve are an important stakeholder community for Piscataway Park. Not only are the residents located within the park and subject to its easements, the residents value the park as a unique amenity in the neighborhood. "I feel honored to live in a national park. I mean, where else in the United States can one live in a mid-century modern house that's actually situated inside of a national park and for that park to be protecting one of our nation's historic viewsheds?" relative newcomer Sara Lilly told project staff. The residents, new and old, also value the Moyaone Reserve's own history, outlined in Chapter III. The earliest residents of the Reserve—the founders, so to speak—are deceased, but many of their children remain in the community with a strong attachment to Moyaone Reserve. More recent arrivals are attracted to the privacy afforded by large lot zoning and the wooded environment; many embrace the community while others keep to themselves. Many residents, like Sara Lilly, embrace the community's mid-century history and mid-century architecture. The residents project staff spoke with and/or interviewed feel strongly about Piscataway Park, are deeply committed to its success, and would like to be more involved in its management.

Ten oral history interviews, three of which were collected as a part of the present project, were consulted to describe the Moyaone Reserve community (Table 26; Appendix III and IV). Six of these oral histories were collected by the Accokeek Heritage Project, an ambitious effort organized in the early 2000s that collected a large amount of material not only about the Moyaone Reserve but the greater Accokeek community. Not all of these oral histories are used in this report but all contain valuable information.

No.	Interviewee	Interviewer	Date	Location	Organization
1	Robert Ware Straus (1908-1991)	Susan Shaffer	09/10/1981	La Plata, Md.	Charles County Community College
2	George Bernard "Bernie" Wareham (1909-2003)	Nancy Wagner & Scott Odell	12/06/2001	Moyaone Reserve	Accokeek Heritage Project
3	Nancy Wagner (-2014)	Nancy Wagner & Scott Odell	04/06/2002	Not identified	Accokeek Heritage Project
4	Belva Jensen (1928-2019)	Nancy Wagner & Susan Thompson	01/25/2003	Moyaone Reserve	Accokeek Heritage Project
5	Karen Miles (b. 1951)	Dorothy Odell	11/19/2003	Hard Bargain Farm	Accokeek Heritage Project
6	Henry (Hank) Xander (1939-)	Ben Collins	2003?	Not identified	Accokeek Heritage Project
7	Harold Vance	Ben Collins	2003?	Not identified	Accokeek Heritage Project
8	Sara Lilly (b. 1974)	Julia A. King & Travis Hanson	09/29/2018	Moyaone Reserve	SMCM/NPS
9	Bernard "Bud" Wareham (b. 1946)	Julia A. King & Travis Hanson	09/29/2018	Moyaone Reserve	SMCM/NPS
10	Vivian Mills (b. 1933)	Travis Hanson	12/03/2018	Charles County Charitable Trust	SMCM/NPS

Table 26. ***(Above) List of Moyaone Reserve residents interviewed.***

Robert Ware Straus was one of the first residents of the Moyaone Reserve and a self-described "old friend" of Alice Ferguson. He had come to Washington in the late 1930s, working in the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Apparently, Mr. Straus and architect Charles Wagner, who had been coming to Hard Bargain Farm since before World War II, persuaded Alice Ferguson to buy Bond's Retreat when it came on the market and, Nancy Wagner, the wife of Mr. Wagner, noted, "that was when she decided to make a community." Mr. Straus eventually came to Accokeek in the late 1940s where they "proceeded to populate it with our friends, who by and large had the same problem that we did; that they had been to the war; they had been in close proximity to our fellow man, and we wanted some room at least to swing a cat." Charles Wagner, the principal architect for the neighborhood, and his wife, Nancy, bought their land in 1946. Mrs. Wagner had noted "it hadn't occurred to me that I'd ever live in the country and I found it very beautiful with all the trees and hills and the river."

Belva (1928-2019) and Roy Jensen came to Moyaone Reserve in 1961. Although Mrs. Jensen had been born in Arkansas, she had graduated from high school in Prince George's County and attended Vassar College. The Jensens had already started their family when they arrived at Moyaone Reserve. The Jensens bought Ruth Starks' house. Mrs. Jensen had become involved in the creation of Piscataway Park and the need for scenic easements, the latter a relatively new concept in land use planning. Mrs. Jensen and other residents from Moyaone lobbied hard to see open space legislation passed in Maryland, sometimes cold-calling state and Federal elected officials. They had surprising success and, in Maryland, Program Open Space, which was created in 1969, was the fruit of their labors. Program Open Space remains on the books. In recounting her time at Moyaone, Mrs. Jensen noted that "[coming here was] one of the rarest opportunities [anyone] would ever have in their life, to be a part of something that has been preserved with much thought and much work. Blood, sweat, and tears, they should never sell it down the drain; they should never belittle what's been done."

For the children of these early residents, growing up in Moyaone Reserve or Accokeek was an adventure. Henry A. (Hank) Xander, who as an adult served as the farm manager for Hard Bargain Farm, and Harold Vance remembered helping Mr. Clyde Allen, who lived at Mockley Point, with hauling his fishing nets at night. The two boys would earn twenty dollars for their time. Both boys were members of the Accokeek Sea Scouts. The two friends waterskied and also hunted. Bernard "Bud" Wareham recalled the time he and a friend were supposed to stay overnight at a Girl Scout day camp to keep an eye on the equipment. They were soon bored and walked along the shoreline to Marshall Hall Amusement Park where they played the slot machines even though they were only about 14 years old (about 1960). On their return, they discovered the tide had come in, forcing them to walk six miles overland to get home in the middle of the night. Karen Miles, whose mother is Belva Jensen, played in the woods almost every day after school. "We get off the [school] bus, run home, change. That was our main thing. Get off the bus. Run home, change." Her mother concurred: Children were "always in the woods. Always, always, always in the woods. They built forts, they climbed trees, they did a lot of things."

As an adult, Karen Miles stayed in Accokeek and Mr. Bernard "Bud" Wareham came back. "I moved [back] here because I, I love the area," Mr. Wareham told

us, "the trees, the zoning, which is all five-acre zoning down here. I like the space. The fact that you can be as involved with your neighbors or uninvolved as you please. But you know they're there and, at least in the early days, they were there for you if you needed them. And you were there for them if they needed you. My parents put in a well, for instance, and the neighbors shared that well. And to this day they still share a well and that's sort of the way this, my vision of this community is, everybody helped each other whether it was pulling your neighbor out of the ditch in a snow storm or going over to cut up a tree that fell across their drive way so that they could get out. I still do those kinds of things."

Bud Wareham's desire for community while maintaining privacy was echoed in other interviews. Building community was also achieved through organized events, including spaghetti dinners, barbeques, or time spent at the community pool and community center. But these events are optional and residents can choose not to attend. The five-acre zoning rule means every homeowner has a sufficient amount of space between their home and that of their neighbors. Vivian Mills, who had been visiting the area since the early 1960s and who, with her husband, built a house in the Reserve in the late 1970s, related that "we didn't worry about . . . neighbors looking in on us or that kind of thing. And I have to tell you, to this day, I don't have a curtain or a drapery or anything at all." To the best of her knowledge, Mrs. Mills has never missed a single Moyaone membership meeting, indicating her commitment to the community. Sara Lilly remarked that Moyaone Reserve "is a very social and politically active community." A lot of events function as fundraisers, including an annual pool party, a winter chili cook-off, and a house tour every other year.

The focus of the house tours is, of course, the development's mid-century architecture and this architecture is an important draw for prospective residents. Sara Lilly, a relatively recent arrival in the community, cited the midcentury modern architecture as one of the principal reasons she chose to purchase a home in the area. The mid-century modern style in architecture and furniture grew out of modernism, a philosophical and cultural movement reflecting the literal transformation of Western society beginning at the dawn of the twentieth century. Modernism represented a break from the past, a break from tradition. It was an optimistic philosophy, especially in its adherents' belief that science and technology could solve previously unsolvable problems and make the world a better place. Rational, scientific man would

build a better democracy, a more just world, a healthier planet. Surely this was the paradigm for the Fergusons and the Moyaone Reserve founders when, in the late 1940s and 1950s, they set about to create a "modern" community at Hard Bargain Farm. World War II was over, the country was coming out of a depression in a remarkably good economic position, and upward mobility, at least among white Americans, was dramatically increasing. The architecture from those early, heady decades reveals a neighborhood itself that was "modern," an enclave of scientists – people working to improve the world – communing, recharging, and re-creating themselves with and through nature.

For probably the majority of Moyaone Reserve residents, the connection to Washington, D.C. that was important to the Fergusons and to the survival of Marshall Hall Amusement Park remains so today. Many residents work (or worked) in the District, commuting there from Accokeek via Indian Head Highway. One undated study of the area found that about half of the Moyaone Reserve residents commuted to Washington for work,[3] with another 7.4 percent commuting to the naval facility at Indian Head. Government was the principal employer, employing a third of the population, followed by construction. As noted in Chapter I, Indian Head Highway was built in 1923 to provide an artery from southern Maryland to Washington to accommodate the naval facility at its end. Traffic, however, can be a source of frustration for community members as it can be brutal. This is not a new problem. Vivian Mills recalled one summer when Robert Ware Straus, fed up with the traffic on Indian Head Highway, decided to switch to commuting by boat up the Potomac River into D.C. He gave it up when his boat sank. She also mentioned that this was not an entirely original solution to the traffic problem as many residents have considered starting a river based commuting service.

Many residents use Piscataway Park's facilities and trails for recreation and exercise. Like other residents, Sara Lilly thinks of the park as an extension of her own property. She also participates in some of the events that are held by both the Accokeek Foundation and the Alice Ferguson Foundation. Some members of the Moyaone Reserve expressed an uncertainty about who should be contacted when issues arise concerning the park. Bud Wareham mentioned an incident in which a boat was abandoned in the street near his

[3] Of the ten oral histories examined or collected for the project, half, or five, interviewees commuted into Washington, D.C.

house. There was confusion about whose responsibility it was to have the boat removed: the county, the National Park Service, or Mr. Wareham. Sara Lilly also mentioned this sort of confusion about who to contact about certain issues. Another issue that Ms. Lilly brought up was the lack of signage for the park or at least the lack of uniform signage. Another problem that some of the residents of the reserve mentioned is the lack of any real presence of the National Park Service given that there is no ranger station in the park. The gate to the parking area leading to Mockley Point is inconsistently closed and/or locked. Some residents suggested that a possible solution would be to allow members of the community a role in park maintenance, especially for easily done tasks such as closing and opening the gates. Bud Wareham mentioned a willingness to help with tasks like mowing grass and trimming brush in the park, something he does on his own if he sees a need.

Trash in the park is as important an issue for Moyaone Reserve residents as it is for the Piscataway. Sara Lilly actively participates in organized trash pick-ups. Her concerns extend to what she sees as the county government's indifference to the trash and unmowed grass along Indian Head Highway.[4] Bud Wareham noted that "trash dumping is a real problem here in the park. People who don't want to go pay the landfill to get rid of their trash, they come down here. It's wide open spaces in the middle of the night, nobody's going to see them. They just pull up in their car or their pick-up truck, throw the stuff out, and drive off." Lori Arguelles, the former director of the Alice Ferguson Foundation, described how, thirty years ago, in 1989, children on an overnight campout saw all of the trash along the shoreline and organized a trash clean-up every April. Fifty to 150 people participate in this annual event.

There is a concern among those interviewed that a turnover in residents has brought property owners who are not aware of or concerned with the community's history and the obligation to protect not only the Mount Vernon viewshed but the rural character of the Accokeek area. The five-acre lot zoning that residents have always found attractive is also attractive to people who do not want to engage or be part of a larger community.

[4] Since Indian Head Highway (MD 210) is a state road, this is more likely a state problem.

THE ALICE FERGUSON FOUNDATION

The Alice Ferguson Foundation is a non-profit organization that develops programming focused on the environment. The Ferguson Foundation operates under a cooperative agreement with the National Park Service to manage 330 acres of park land, of which the Foundation owns 116 acres, including Hard Bargain Farm. The balance, 214 acres, is Federally-owned. The Alice Ferguson Foundation predates the creation of the park and was formed in 1954 in memory of Mrs. Ferguson to protect and make use of the land donated to the community by Henry Ferguson, Mrs. Ferguson's husband. The Ferguson Foundation provides educational and interpretive programming related to the environment, pollution, and agriculture, offering programs to schools in Prince George's County and the D.C. area. The foundation averages approximately 2,000 student visitors a year and another 1,200-1,500 visitors for other events. Audiences include both day groups and overnight groups. The overnight groups tend to be primarily 5th graders whose curriculum closely aligns with the Foundation's environmental education programs. Programs are also offered for students who are both younger and older, with day groups including a wider variety of ages. Staff tailor their programming to fit each group.

The Ferguson Foundation also operates a working farm with anywhere from 15 to 35 beef cattle, a dairy cow, two sheep, two goats, a donkey, and from 40 to 70 chickens. The Foundation also raises hay for its livestock. The working farm is used to engage students in an "outdoor classroom" encouraging the use of all of their senses. Students learn about agriculture and where their food comes from, the processes that go into the production of that food, and the waste produced afterward and how that is managed.

The staff of the Ferguson Foundation includes 27 positions ranging from administration to educator positions. Staff offer a walking tour designed to explore a variety of environments and visualize the differences between them. These habitats include wetlands, new and old growth forests, marshes, and agricultural fields and the different types of plants and animals found in each. On one of these tours, for example, the interpreter pointed out a sycamore tree, which generally grows in wet soil. If you see a sycamore tree, the interpreter informed her charges, you know that the soil is wet even if there is no visible water. The site might be a good place to dig a well but a bad place to build a house. The interpreter next

pointed out a sassafras plant, describing how the leaves and flowers can be used to make tea, to thicken gumbo, or to make root beer. The tour continued to the shoreline, with a discussion about Mount Vernon.

Native American history was addressed at the Accokeek Creek Site, with this portion of the tour including a discussion about the spiritual importance of the land to the Piscataway, an introduction to Turkey Tayac, and how he came to be buried in the park. The interpreter also talked about pollution and watersheds and how those two things are related, how pollution in one area can affect others. All of the topics and locations touched on during the tour represent important resources within the park that the Alice Ferguson Foundation uses to enhance their teaching. This includes the wealth of natural resources that play key roles in the environmental education of the students and the animals and farm resources that teach the visiting students valuable lessons about agriculture.

The Alice Ferguson Foundation also educates by setting an example as an environmental steward. A good example of this is the Foundation's participation in the living building challenge. This program started with the goal of producing buildings that are net zero in energy and water consumption and have non-toxic, non-polluting component parts. The Cafritz Learning Center at Hard Bargain Farm is a living building (Figure 42). Foundation programs involve clean-up days and others encouraging the daily reduction of waste and pollution, the results of which have had an impact on Piscataway Park and other places in the Potomac River watershed. The impact that the foundation has had not only on the education of students in the area and the impact they have had on environmentally conscious movements in the area show that the Alice Ferguson Foundation itself is an incredibly significant park resource.

THE ACCOKEEK FOUNDATION

As noted in Chapter III, the Accokeek Foundation is a non-profit organization created in 1957 as part of the then-developing effort to protect the Maryland shoreline and the view from Mount Vernon. The Foundation stewards approximately 200 acres of Piscataway Park, land originally purchased by Congresswoman Francis Payne Bolton and designated for viewshed

protection. As a part of this stewardship, the Foundation maintains a fishing pier, boat dock, six hiking/walking trails, and operates the National Colonial Farm. All of these amenities are open and available to the public free of charge. The Foundation also provides educational programs for schools in Prince George's and Charles counties, Washington, D.C., and parts of Northern Virginia. To encourage school groups, the foundation will provide bus transportation. The Accokeek Foundation generally serves between 20,000 and 50,000 people a year and between 4,000 and 5,000 students a year. The majority of their visitors are comprised of families, but embassy groups, boy scouts, and girl scouts among others have visited the site.

To do this work, the Accokeek Foundation has approximately 25 staff members, including full- and part-time employees. Part-time employees make up most of the visitor's services and educational positions while full-time employees include administrative staff, facilities and maintenance staff, marketing

and development staff, and the agricultural team. Although most of these employees live elsewhere or may change jobs, together, they form an important group associated with Piscataway Park. To learn more about their work, Foundation material was reviewed (including the Foundation's website, https://accokeekfoundation.org/) and project staff accompanied selected staff in the course of their day.

The National Colonial Farm exhibit includes living history set in an imagined eighteenth-century farmstead (the dwelling is a ca. 1770 structure

Figure 42. *The Cafritz Learning Center at Hard Bargain Farm (Source: Alice Ferguson Foundation).*

known as Laurel Branch dismantled and brought to the foundation from Charles County in 1987) (Figure 43). The original purpose of this exhibit was to provide a contrast with Mount Vernon by depicting life on a smaller, middling farm occupied during the time Washington was at his plantation. Together, the two sites would present a broader, richer understanding of life on the eve of American independence. The Foundation's historical interpreters use a combination of first- and third-person interpretation to tell the story of the family living at the farm. These interpreted characters are loosely based on historical individuals living in the area, such as Kate Sharper, an enslaved woman bound to the plantation.

Related to its effort to interpret eighteenth-century life, the Accokeek Foundation is involved in the preservation of heritage breed animals and plants. Heritage breed animals at the National Colonial Farm include Milking Devon cattle, Hog Island sheep, and Ossabaw hogs, breeds closely resembling livestock owned by the earliest settlers in the region and now in danger of being genetically lost. The animals are one of the most popular attractions at National Colonial Farm and are often the gateway to the interpretive programs at the farm. The Foundation's commitment to preserving plant species also serves contemporary needs. For example, in the 1970s, a corn blight in the United States destroyed a large portion of the corn crop. In an interview with Voice of America, Dr. David Percy, a former director of National Colonial Farm, noted how "people came to the National Colonial Farm to obtain the base seed which had the genetic code that would allow us to redevelop the hybrid that would be resistant" to the disease. Foundation staff also use some of the animal products in their visitor activities. Once a month, a group uses wool from the sheep to spin yarn and fashion souvenirs sold in the visitor center. This group includes predominantly neighbors, including residents of Moyaone Reserve.

The Foundation also offers events and special activities for the public. Two of the most popular events include Winter's Eve and Lattes with Lambs. Winter's Eve is a holiday event during which staff decorate the farm as it may have been decorated for the holidays in the eighteenth century. Visitors enjoy caroling, cider, and holiday gift and decoration making. Approximately 500 to 600 people attend this event. Lattes with Lambs is in part a member appreciation event at which visitors have coffee and

Figure 43. *The Laurel Branch house (right) at National Colonial Farm (Source: Preservation Maryland).*

pastries and cuddle with the foundation's newborn lambs. Both events are geared towards families and both events require considerable planning.

The Accokeek Foundation is committed to including Native American voices in the presentation of the region's history. To that end, one of their staff members is Piscataway, the board includes a Native member, and the Foundation makes a concerted effort to engage various communities in what it means to be on land taken from its Native inhabitants. Dr. Gabrielle Tayac, a former board member, has voiced that the preservation of her ancestors' land to protect a colonial viewshed is a great irony. The Washington family, beginning with John Washington, the great-grandfather of the first president, and including the president, was complicit in the effort to remove Native people from their lands (Rice 2012; Calloway 2018). The Accokeek Foundation, which is embarking on an effort to update its interpretive programs, has recently held a series of listening sessions that have revealed the potential of this organization to have a powerful impact on how history is not only interpreted but on who tells it. The Foundation is well-positioned to tell that story, not just on their portion of Piscataway Park but across the park.

THE FISHER COMMUNITY AT PISCATAWAY PARK

Fishing has a long history on Piscataway Creek. As noted in Chapter III, fish runs were important events to historical and contemporary Indian communities and to settler communities into the twentieth century. In one

case, Rico Newman recalled a day on the creek as a teen when he caught so many fish in a net that he lost his balance. Among the local population, Clyde Allen (1907-1991) made a living harvesting and selling fish at what locals described as a fish camp at Mockley Point. Mr. Allen's fish camp, where he had moved to sometime in the 1930s, was a major operation. Mr. Allen was also a boatbuilder with the reputation of an artisan.

Hank Xander, who worked as the farm manager at Hard Bargain Farm, recalled how, as a teen, he would help Mr. Allen with hauling nets. Mr. Allen had

> . . .seine nets at night and he had this big live box that he built out in front of his house. A floating live box. It was probably 15 feet by 15 feet by four feet deep. He had it floating with these big, 55-gallon drums that he had all the way around it. We'd go back in Piscataway Creek and haul seine at night on the sandbars and we'd load boats up with carp and catfish and eels and perch and then bring them around and dump 'em in this big live box. And when this live box was full, Mr. Allen would come up to my father's house and ask to use the telephone, 'cause he didn't have a telephone or electricity down on the [river] and call Baltimore and call a guy named Louie. And Louie would bring this big truck down from Baltimore. Load it with water and then we'd go out and dip the fish out of this live box, bring 'em in, and dump 'em in this big water truck and then Louie would drive back to Baltimore and sell these carp and catfish to the people. And Mr. Allen would get about 500 dollars a load.

Piscataway Creek remains attractive to people who fish and the park provides public access in a number of locations, including the dock at the Accokeek Foundation, Farmington Landing, and the boardwalk leading to the Accokeek Creek Site (Moyaone).[5] In 2015, the National Park Service collected ethnographic information about the people who come to fish at Piscataway Park as part of a larger study including Hains Point (also known as East Potomac Park) and Anacostia Park. Hains Point is part of National Mall and Memorial Park and is Federal parkland. East Potomac Park is an island in the Potomac River located between southwest Washington, D.C., Joint Base Anacostia-Bolling, and Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport. Anacostia Park is

[5] People also fish from boats anchored off the park shoreline but these individuals were not part of the present study.

located on the east bank of the Anacostia River across from the Washington Navy Yard. The field notes from that study were made available for this project.

The purpose of this earlier project was to "find out who shared with who, what fish they were sharing, and where they shared the fish." The detailed field notes and summaries revealed that fishers are mostly people of color: African American, Filipino, American Indian, El Salvadoran, Bangladeshi, and Vietnamese were the identified ethnicities of individuals described in the notes. White fishers are also present. The majority of fishers are men, and many of those men fish alone, although they may sit and engage with others near them while fishing. Women also fish but not in large numbers and usually with a male partner. On weekends, entire families will fish together. Catfish are the principal catch, including blue and channel catfish. Other fish caught include herring (used for bait), perch (also used for bait or released back into the water), and striped bass (or rockfish, considered a prize catch). In an oral history interview, Hank Xander, the farm manager at Hard Bargain Farm, noted that some of the fishers will take nets and gig hooks to collect herring along the south side of Piscataway Creek and then head to Fort Washington to use the herring as bait for rockfish.

Fishing clearly produces community, between family, friends, and even strangers, including those meeting for the first time while fishing. For many of the men, fishing serves as a relaxing activity, an activity around which they can "drink beer, talk about women, and tell jokes." For one man, fishing was a way to avoid "drinking and drugging." People share fish (one National Park Service employee was offered catfish on the spot), supplies, and bait, and will even jump in to help a stranger reel in a catch. Fishing strengthens bonds between family members, with a parent or grandparent bringing their children or grandchildren. Elders will teach younger people to fish, while others will watch YouTube videos and try innovations in the field. Still others teach or learn from strangers, even sharing "fishing secrets" with others, such as using garlic rubbed on chicken as bait. There are limits to the sharing, however. While catfish catches appear to have been freely shared, striped bass (rockfish) were often held on to by fishers.

The National Park Service's study was motivated in part by the agency's concern about water quality, its effect on the fish, and the risk to anyone who

might eat the fish. Many fishers reported that they in fact did eat the fish they caught or were given. Fishers are nonetheless aware of the potential hazards. One fisher, for example, would not let his son eat the fish, substituting store-bought fish fillets at meal time (Cohen 2015). Other fishers practice "abatement strategies," such as fishing "further down or upstream" where the water is presumably cleaner. Others used soaking practices—milk, vinegar, etc.—to neutralize whatever danger might be lurking in the fish's flesh.

The 2015 study began as an examination of what were then called (and are still called) subsistence fishers. The NPS ethnographers' findings, however, led them to ask, is "subsistence … the best term for these urban fisher people?" To be sure, fishing supplemented the diet of these fishers. But fishing can also be expensive. One informant said he had spent almost $4,000 on supplies and equipment. Of course, the El Salvadoran fisher who made a "rod" out of line and an empty plastic bottle spent considerably less. Overall, however, subsistence is clearly not a driving force behind the fishers; fostering community through shared experience and shared catches is much more important.

Follow-up work as part of the present project consisted of five visits to fishing locations between June 2018 and November 2018. As the researchers found in 2015, the fishers are predominantly men of color although not exclusively. The 2018 visits further suggested (probably not surprisingly) that fishers follow schedules. One of the busiest days for fishing is Saturday. Still, no one was at the Accokeek Foundation pier on a Saturday in late September around 2:00 pm, although two couples arrived a little later. The arrivals appeared younger than those encountered during weekdays. One person noted that it was a slow Saturday at Farmington Landing even though there were already six or seven people fishing. Any other time of the week when the park was visited there were maybe two or three people fishing at a time. Many people work during the week, which might explain the smaller numbers during the week.

The people who came to fish at Piscataway Park were both local and from farther away, including one fisher from Alabama. People who spoke with project staff reported that they learn about places to fish from others, including relatives and by word-of-mouth. Most fishers expected to catch catfish, although most said they would be happy catching anything that would bite. Chicken seasoned with garlic appeared to be the preferred

bait during the 2018 visits, something also seen in 2015. The people who were asked reported that they intended to eat the fish they caught. Most were aware of concerns about water pollution. One woman reported that fresh water catfish tastes the best although farmed catfish is also good. She will eat mud catfish if she cannot catch the other kinds. To prepare the fish, she skins, cuts, fillets, and then cooks them the same way she would any other kind of fish, serving it with a green salad and some potatoes.

Community remains an important part of the fishing experience. One man came down to Farmington Landing not to fish but to spend time with his friends who were fishing. A festive atmosphere pervaded when a number of people are present, with music playing and people sharing fish they had caught.

THE AFRICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY AT ACCOKEEK

One of the groups that was difficult to identify but who have a connection to the land include the many African Americans who lived (or once lived) in Accokeek in the vicinity of Piscataway Park. Some of these individuals may be descendants of the enslaved communities who labored at Marshall Hall or other plantations. Mary Ellen Ransome, a schoolteacher for many years in Charles County, traced her family ancestry back to individuals held in bondage by Thomas Marshall IV.[6] So did Enolia Slater Marshall, whose interview was also available. Unfortunately, the audio from that interview, which was collected before 1986, is difficult to understand because of its age and the quality of the audiotape.

This analysis is based on five previously-collected oral histories (Table 27). These oral histories reveal a large, vibrant community, its members moving back and forth between Accokeek and Washington, D.C. for family and employment. Many people worked for the area's white families, others for white families in the D.C. area, and still others for the Federal government, in particular, the Department of Defense. All of the people interviewed talked about family history but none discussed slavery except, in one case, obliquely.

[6] As described in Chapter III, documentary research revealed at least seven individuals with the surname, "Marshall," all associated with the Mockley Point plantation associated with the Clagett family.

No.	Interviewee	Interviewer	Date	Location	Organization
1	Mary Ellen Mayme Ransome (1895-1988)	John Wearmouth	02/04/1986	Accokeek, Md.	Charles County Community College
2	Enolia Slater Marshall (1905-1996)	John Wearmouth	02/09/1990	La Plata, Md.	Charles County Community College
3	Theresa Clark Briscoe (1905-2004)	Judith Allen-Levinthal & Chris Findlay	01/22/2003	Prince Frederick, Md.	Accokeek Heritage Project
4	Mary Washington Allen (b. 1931)	Nancy Wagner, Beverly Woods, & Chris Findlay	02/13/2003	Accokeek, Md.	Accokeek Heritage Project
5	Delores Smith (b. 1941)	Beverly Woods	02/25/2002	Accokeek, Md.	Accokeek Heritage Project

Table 27. ***(Above) List of African-American residents of Accokeek interviewed.***

The black families calling Accokeek home shared a number of experiences, many grounded in Jim Crow racism. The oldest resident interviewed, Mrs. Theresa Clark Briscoe (1905-2004), spent her youth in the area. Her father, John William Clark, had "escaped from slavery" from the Port Tobacco area. Her father, who she described as "an unusually good person," was a farmer and her mother a midwife who delivered black and white babies. Her father raised wheat, rye, corn, and tobacco and kept a family garden. He also raised turkeys which she and her siblings would take by horse and buggy to Waldorf to sell. Like the Piscataway families, Mrs. Briscoe's family caught herring in Piscataway Creek with a seine, "put 'em in the barrel and put salt on 'em." Her father and brothers would hunt rabbits and squirrels and her father also prepared hides for sale. As a girl, Mrs. Briscoe received her education at a black school near Millers Corner, attending through the 8th grade. She and her family attended church at St. Mary's Piscataway Catholic Church. She eventually accepted a job in Chevy Chase (Montgomery County, Maryland). Travel from Accokeek to Chevy Chase involved catching a boat at Bryans Point for the 7th Street Wharf in Washington, D.C. Once at the wharf, Mrs. Briscoe caught a street car to Montgomery County.

Enolia Slater Marshall (1905-1998) came to this area of Prince George's County with her parents, James T. and Ann R. Slater. Mr. Slater, of mixed white and black race, worked as a skilled carpenter at the powder factory in Indian Head, in Washington, D.C., and in Dahlgren, and he also made furniture for his

family. When Mrs. Marshall's father worked in Dahlgren, a Navy installation on the south side of the Potomac River in Virginia, he would take a ferry across the river and stay in Dahlgren for the week. Her father also farmed on the side, raising tobacco on 20 acres he later divided between his children. The family also had chickens, cows, horses, mules, and a garden. Mrs. Marshall recalled how her parents hung their marriage certificate on the wall in the living room.

In 1910, Mrs. Marshall's maternal grandfather died and her grandmother and five of her aunts and uncles moved in with her parents and her two younger siblings in Accokeek. Her grandmother and at least one of her aunts appear to have worked as domestics. The situation was temporary and her grandmother and her aunts and uncle, who were originally from Frederick, had moved to Baltimore by 1920 where her grandmother had secured employment as a cook.

As a girl, Mrs. Marshall attended a one-room school near Pomonkey, south of Accokeek. The children had to walk to school, some as far as four miles. Nonetheless, education was strongly promoted in Mrs. Marshall's childhood household. They opened their home temporarily to Mr. J.C. Parks, an African-American educator who served as Charles County's first Supervisor of Colored Schools from 1919 until 1961. There was a year when the children did not attend school and "we just stayed home," Mrs. Marshall recalled. "My daddy wouldn't let us go to work but we were a lot of help with my mother around [the] home." After that year, her father asked if his daughters wanted "to go to work or go back to school." Although the sisters wanted to go back to school, they replied that they would like to go to work. Their father did not say a word and left the house. "When he came back," Mrs. Marshall recalled, "he had pens, paper, he had pads of paper you could write stuff on, he had loose leaf paper." Their father told his daughters that he had thought about it, and that he knew his daughters wanted to help the family by going to work. But "you already help," he told them, assisting their mother with sewing and always contributing their earnings to the household. "'I think you would rather go back to school and get that last year in high school.' And I think we went to school that day. One of the better days I know and I go to school." This allowed Mrs. Marshall and her sisters a full twelve years of public school education. She graduated from Pomonkey Training School.[7]

[7] Originally built in the 1920s as a "Colored Manual Training School," this school was funded in part from the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

Mary Washington Allen (b. 1931) was born into a household with land that had been in the family for over a hundred years, a point of pride for her family. Yet, she did not know her grandfather, who was no longer living. "The only thing that I know about my grandfather is one day I asked: 'who is that white man [in that picture] on the wall?' And [my father] said: 'That's my Dad.'" A quick genealogical search supported Mrs. Allen's statement, which, along with Mrs. Marshall's father, suggests the mixed nature of families in the area.

Mrs. Allen attended grades 1 through 6 at the black school in Accokeek. She then attended junior high at the Sojourner Truth School in Oxon Hill [8] and high school at Frederick Douglass near Upper Marlboro. She, too, attended St. Mary's Piscataway Catholic Church. As a young woman, Mrs. Allen babysat the children of her white neighbors and washed and ironed clothes. Mrs. Allen ultimately worked as a warehouseman at the Naval Research Lab and became, in her words, the "first black woman foreman." Mrs. Allen was a physically strong woman, chopping firewood and hauling water in buckets. She had to "bring in our water every night to make sure that you had it set up the next morning so we could wash up when we got up." For this reason, she loves the modern bathroom in her house.

Delores Smith (b. 1941) was born into a family where her father worked as a laborer. He did farm work, took care of houses, and worked as a handyman at Moyaone Reserve. Mrs. Smith attended a one room school in Accokeek until the 5th grade, when she rode the school bus to Sojourner Truth in Oxon Hill. Her family always had a car – a "paneled car" – that they would take to church. Mrs. Smith recalled one special day:

> I remember when I came home on the school bus – I was fifteen and Mama had our first washing machine. It was a wringer type washing machine, we had gotten electric the year before [c. 1955] and it was just so amazing to have electric – we could have a T.V., we had a washing machine that you know you could wash clothes in, it wasn't like washing on the wash board 'cause when I was little going to Elementary School, we washed on the washboard before we went to school in the morning. Mama got us up early and lined the tubs up against the wall and we washed the

[8] While the school is now gone, its foundations and walls were incorporated into the library that now stands on the site.

clothes before we went to school in the morning and I was very young. I was still in Elementary School, then walked on to school afterwards.

Mrs. Smith's natal family was large – ten children – and she wanted children of her own so she married at the age of 24 and started her family. She also became a foster parent in 1970 and, in 2002, estimated she had fostered over a hundred children, including children with special needs.

Although families may have been mixed, legally enforced segregation was a fact of life for white and black people in Accokeek. It was only African American informants, however, who felt the hurtful sting of places (and opportunities) not open to them. From her house, for example, Mrs. Briscoe could see the boat, *Charles Macalester,* bringing visitors to Marshall Hall in the early decades of the twentieth century. "Marshall Hall had picnics," she noted. "But then that was for white people." Any semblance of integration was severely dealt with. The church hall at St. Mary's Piscataway Church where white and black children would do their catechisms, albeit in separate spaces, was set on fire. "I guess they didn't want us there," Mrs. Allen said, "so they burned it down." The culprits were never caught.

Resistance to the prejudices and racism of segregation came in several forms. One, as noted, was through education. A second strategy was to challenge white authority by entering white spaces. Mrs. Allen, for example, remembers her mother encouraging them to sit in the front of the church at St. Mary's Piscataway. "We all went in as a group and sat down [in front] and they tried to move us and Father went on and did the mass. . . And by the time he finished the police [were there]." This was in the 1940s. Mrs. Smith, who was about ten years younger than Mrs. Allen, also sat in the back of St. Mary's Piscataway Church with her family. One day in 1957 or 1958, she recalled, "Mama pulled up [to the church] and she said, 'Now, I want you all to get out the car and you know, go up front this morning.' And we looked at her like, 'Oh, we're going up front?' So, we got out and we went in in an orderly form, all ten of us and we sat in the front and nobody bothered us."

Still, all of the interviewees lamented changes they perceived as signaling a loss of community. At the end of the twentieth century, Mrs. Allen observed,

one might never meet the person living next door. Mrs. Allen pooh-poohed the rapidity with which she saw subdivision houses being built, allowing almost no time, for example, for the concrete to cure. She missed the "house parties" families would have, including dancing, music, and card playing. Mrs. Smith remembered that "you can sit in your house all day with your doors unlocked and nobody bothers you. I never locked my doors 'til about ten years ago, I guess. I used to get up in the morning and unlock the door and that was it. You never had to worry about people coming in and bothering you but it's a lot of strangers in Accokeek now and I don't know those people so, I lock my doors now. But still, nobody's ever bothered me."

THE MOUNT VERNON LADIES' ASSOCIATION

It is no secret that the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association (MVLA) has played a critically important role in the history of Piscataway Park since before its creation in 1961. Founded in 1853, the MVLA was established for the purpose of preserving the home of George Washington. When Louisa Bird Cunningham of South Carolina was shocked by the poor state of the house in the mid-nineteenth century, her daughter, Ann Pamela Cunningham, embarked on what was an epic project that was anything but assured. Miss Cunningham nonetheless managed to raise the funds to purchase the mansion and 200 surrounding acres. Today, the MVLA owns 500 acres of the original Mount Vernon estate and remains responsible for the maintenance and operation of Historic Mount Vernon.

The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association's role in the creation of Piscataway Park grew out of their desire to protect the Mount Vernon viewshed from commercial and industrial development. Historian Denise Meringolo (2008:46) has pointed out that this concern with the viewshed "is not contrived," with many of Washington's contemporaries remarking on the prospect from Mount Vernon. In 1954, a farm had come up for sale on the Maryland side of the Potomac River, and Standard Oil of New Jersey was proposing storage tanks. The threat of residential and industrial development on the Maryland side of the Potomac alarmed then-resident director of Mount Vernon Cecil Wall (Meringolo 2008:52). On the other side of the river, Charles Wagner from the Moyaone Reserve was also concerned and, in 1955, Wall and Wagner began communicating with one another, looking for a potential

buyer for the farm that had come up for sale. It was eventually a member of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Congresswoman Francis Bolton, who purchased the property and donated it to the newly formed Accokeek Foundation (Meringolo 2008:__). This would not be the last time the threat of development appeared (the most recent in 2018), with the MVLA now always paying attention to land use in their part of the river valley.

Most of the people interviewed for this project emphasized the power they perceived the MVLA possesses when it comes to protection of the shoreline. Indeed, in 2006, MVLA created a Viewshed Committee when Georgetown University proposed a retreat opposite Mount Vernon in the viewshed. Virginia Lane, an architect and the vice-regent from South Carolina, described how, with this threat from Georgetown, the MVLA needed to develop creative, more sophisticated strategies for protecting the viewshed. She turned to her home town, Charleston, for a model, developing a strategy that would involve acquiring property, placing easements on it, and then re-selling the property, sometimes for a profit. The strategy was innovative, and some regents and staff worried that this would put MVLA in the real estate business. She enlisted the assistance of Roger Mudd, the broadcast journalist who also served as chair of an advisory board to the MVLA, and he helped convince the regents that this strategy had worked well in other jurisdictions.

Mrs. Lane emphasized the relationship Mount Vernon has with the National Park Service and how that relationship has grown to the benefit of both organizations. She recalled her first visit to the place where the National Park Service maintains easement documentation and seeing not a soul. Since then, she noted with appreciation that "staff has built up and they work really closely with us." Dr. Luke Pecoraro, director of archaeology at Historic Mount Vernon, noted that quarterly stakeholder meetings include NPS, the Accokeek Foundation, the Alice Ferguson Foundation, and the Moyaone Reserve along with county and regional planning officers. There is an effort to keep these meetings short and therefore manageable to prevent meeting fatigue while promoting a familiarity between all parties. As part of being a good neighbor, representatives from MVLA often visit Piscataway Park and the MVLA organizes boat trips for Moyaone Reserve residents.

Threats to the viewshed are not a thing of the past. In 2017, Dominion Energy Cove Point LLC proposed two natural gas turbines on part of a 50-acre parcel off Barrys Hill Road. The company required a special exception from Charles County and made application. Although planning staff had recommended conditional approval, in 2018, the Charles County Board of Appeals denied the request for a rezoning, prompting Dominion to sue the county. Meanwhile, the MVLA, while assured the power station would not be visible from Mount Vernon, refused to accept the results of a viewshed study they perceived as flawed. The National Trust for Historic Preservation subsequently placed Mount Vernon and Piscataway Park on its list of Eleven Most Endangered Sites in 2018 and residents of Moyaone Reserve came out in opposition to the project. Dominion ultimately abandoned the project, at least for this location.

MARSHALL HALL AMUSEMENT PARK GROUP

Marshall Hall remains a significant landmark on the landscape, not just for its colonial and nineteenth-century history but for its recreational history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Marshall Hall Amusement Park in particular retains a strong hold on those who worked at or visited the amusement park during its years of operation, from the 1930s until its closure in 1980. Perhaps the best measure of that interest is a Facebook page maintained by Damon Nock, who, as a child, visited the park in the 1960s. In the interview with Mr. Nock, he described taking his daughter to the site of the amusement park and finding how changed in appearance it had become. His daughter suggested he create a Facebook page on Marshall Hall, especially since he had already created a genealogy Facebook page for their family. “She said, ‘you should create a Facebook for Marshall Hall. Maybe other people will remember too.’

No.	Interviewee	Interviewer	Date	Location	Organization
1	Harry Lehman	Susan Shaffer	02/23/1982	La Plata, Md.	Charles County Community College
2	John Sprague	Susan Shaffer	03/26/1982	La Plata, Md.	Charles County Community College
3	Clinton Addison	Julia A. King and Scott M. Strickland	12/28/2018	Waldorf, Md.	SMCM/NPS
4	Damon Nock	Travis Hanson	01/12/2019	Reistertown, Md.	SMCM/NPS

Table 28. ***(Above) List of individuals interviewed related to Marshall Hall Amusement Park.***

> And I said, that's an idea, and so I created the Marshall Hall Amusement Park [Facebook] page, not knowing if anybody would remember and it didn't take long. People started liking the page almost right away.[9] And I was like wow. I was surprised. You know, I have to say, I was really surprised . . . but most of the [the page's visitors are] from the D.C. area, Southern Maryland. Almost all of them are from there and once in a while, somebody will come on and say I'm from Baltimore, too, and we used to go to Marshall Hall. But not many, it was mostly a D.C. thing. But the page kind of took off. Where, like my genealogy page, I mean I have to work at that. You interviewed, I understand, the son of the owner, right? He's the admin of the page too. Well, he jumped on there, he added a bunch of photos that I did not have and that really gave it some credibility too.

Clinton Addison, the nephew of the park operator and the person who assists Mr. Nock with management of the Facebook page, has become a kind of curator of materials associated with Marshall Hall Park (Figure 44). His collecting interest started in 1987 when his aunt moved out of the family home in Louisiana. With his family going through his aunt's possessions, Mr. Addison related, "I found a bunch of negatives of my Uncle L.C.'s and I'm looking at these negatives. And I see this one and it says Marshall Hall. It's a big archway. And I'm like, 'is this Marshall Hall?' and one of my relatives said, 'yeah, that's Marshall Hall back in the 30s. I had never seen anything like that. And, it's weird, it's like something switched on because at that point, I was going to find everything I could find." Figure 45 is a photograph of the gates of Marshall Hall.

Clinton Addison, whose aunt and uncle managed the park and whose parents worked at the park, grew up there in the 1960s and 1970s. After school, Mr.

[9] The Marshall Hall Amusement Park Facebook page has more than 2,400 likes.

Addison, then a child, would walk from his house, about three-quarters of a mile to the park, get a book of tickets, and ride the rides until one of his parents went home. Mr. Addison described the Ferris wheel at Marshall Hall as "lit up like a Christmas tree at night" and that he was sure the people at Mount Vernon hated it. There were bumper cars called "Dodge 'em," a wooden roller coaster, a miniature railroad, a shooting gallery, a giant slide, the Scrambler, a flying coaster, and a tilt-a-whirl. He talked about how, when it was his birthday, his whole class would come to Marshall Hall for a party. "Five minutes of sitting and eating cake and the rest of the time riding rides."

Jousting was, of course, a big deal at Marshall Hall, although it had ended by the time Mr. Addison was coming along. "It wasn't unusual to have four or five thousand people at [a] tournament." Mr. Addison's mother told him that people "would come and camp out for days before so that they could get a decent spot. The horses would come down on the boat." The last tournament at Marshall Hall was held in 1964 and Mr. Addison was only four so his memory is not clear.

Figure 44. *Clinton Addison with Marshall Hall Amusement Park poster.*

As he got older, Mr. Addison ran the rides at Marshall Hall for a time. He recalled how the Scrambler, a ride that uses centrifugal force to keep riders suspended, had a gasoline engine, one that the operator could throttle up or down. People "would get off the boat and they would get on the Scrambler and these [visitors] were all from the city and they would want the thing to run wide open or [for] five more minutes. They would offer you money. They would offer you weed. They would offer you beer. Everything now is on a timer."

By the time Mr. Addison had come along, slot machine gambling was offered year-round at Happyland (Figure 46), adjacent to the park where the Marshall Hall boat landing is today. Clinton's uncle, who, as noted, was from Louisiana, ran the casino, and he also ran other gambling concessions in Waldorf. Happyland brought in a considerable amount of money that would be sorted, counted, and rolled in a separate room.

Bud Wareham, who grew up and now lives in the Moyaone Reserve, remembers when, at the age of 13 or 14, he and a friend were hired to look after some equipment for a Girl Scout camp located near

Figure 45. *Gates at Marshall Hall, 1930s (Source: Keith Smith Collection).*

Figure 46. *Happyland concession at Marshall Hall Amusement Park (Source: National Park Service).*

Mockley Point. The two boys soon grew bored and determined to walk along the shoreline to Marshall Hall. As he recalls,

> We walked down the shoreline to Marshall Hall, which is about maybe a mile, a little over a mile and a half I guess, down to Marshall Hall, two miles maybe. And we went down there and we played the slot machines which, of course, you had to be 16 or 18 to play but people being greedy, if they see money going into the machine, they didn't seem to question it if you could reach it and pull the handle. So, we played slot machines until we lost our three dollars or whatever we went down there with. And again, it was an amusement park, so there was all kinds of rides and stuff. Then we decided, well, we should get back, it's been a number of hours now. Well, guess what, the tide had come in. There was no shore to walk on. So, we had to walk the six miles around the road to get back.

y now, it was nighttime and the boys were walking along a dark and lonely road when "this car comes screeching around the turn." The two boys jumped into the woods, the car backed up, and it turned out to be Mr. Wareham's older brother and Hank Xander from the Fergusons' farm.

Harry Lehman (1925-2005) worked at Marshall Hall as an operator of games and operated a restaurant, Kabin-on-a-Korner (Figure 47), for people traveling to Charles County along Indian Head Highway. Mr. Lehman managed bingo, duck, pond, and pitch-till-you-win, and he built the building at Marshall Hall in which bingo was played. He recalled that "elderly women" loved to play bingo. They would "get off of the boat, play bingo, boat goes ready to go back, they blow the whistle, and [the women would] go back." Mr. Lehman recounted how much money was made at Marshall Hall with slots: "if a woman lost all her money, the operators would give her a bag of money and tell her to take it home," presumably to avoid a concerned spouse. Mr. Lehman recalled that, before electricity, Marshall Hall Amusement Park was provided power by a generating plant.

Marshall Hall began its decline in the late 1960s. Clinton Addison described it as "after segregation" when he noticed changes in the park. When the park was whites only, the majority of attendees appeared to be locals. After desegregation, the swimming pool at Marshall Hall was

Figure 47. *Kabin on a Korner post card, undated (Source:).*

closed. “They filled it in, paved it over, and they put here a big picnic shelter. There is no point in saying it any other way because that’s the way it was.” With desegregation, the locals would come during the week and people from D.C. would come on the weekends.

Mr. Addison also noted that the amusement park’s decline was more complicated than simply or only a function of racism. Slot machines had become illegal in Maryland in 1968, dramatically impacting the park’s revenue. “It probably took half [the park’s] money away. It wasn’t only the amount of money from the slots. People, the whole time they’re playing slot machines, they’re drinking.” John Sprague owned several businesses in Bryans Road and vicinity that sold liquor and had slot machines, felt the effects on his businesses when Marshall Hall would close during the winter. The end of slots was a death knell for the park: “everything started to deteriorate because there was no money to put” back into the park.

“The locals had pretty much grown out of it,” Mr. Addison recalled. People had become more sophisticated. It wasn’t as cheap as it used to be. People didn’t ride the river boats as much as they used to. They were going other places. They had a lot more freedom with cars. The roads were better. [People] could go pretty much wherever they wanted.” One of these places was Disneyland, which would revolutionize the amusement park industry by trading on the Disney brand and exerting far more control on both the amusement park employee and visitor (Adams 1991). The final blow for the Marshall Hall Amusement Park came on July 7, 1977, when a severe thunderstorm took down the wooden rollercoaster (see Figure 31).

Clinton Addison was living at Marshall Hall when the mansion was burned in 1981. He didn’t think it was meant as any kind of statement. “I think [the culprit] was just, pardon the expression, some dumbass.” He recalled that the man who drove the tractor trailer into the house in 1981 “was suicidal.” “I don’t know if he had been drinking or under the influence or whatever, but he just drove a tractor trailer full of orange juice right through” the house.

Damon Nock, creator and co-manager of the Marshall Hall Amusement Park Facebook page, lives in Reistertown. Although he grew up in the Baltimore vicinity, his mother was from southern Maryland. When Damon was four,

in 1966, his parents divorced and, in 1968, his mother remarried, this time to a man from Washington, D.C. "They both knew of Marshall Hall when they were growing up. And so we started going there [in the early 1970s] after they married a couple of times a year. Before that, we'd go to Gwynn Oak Park." The trip to Marshall Hall was long, but Mr. Nock treasures the memories. "Number one was, it was an example of my family trying to be a family." The family would do cookouts and "you had the rides on top of that. The roller coaster became 'my mountain to climb.'" His sisters had no fear of the roller coaster but he did, so to conquer that fear, he would ride the roller coaster.

Mr. Nock talked about his own childhood growing up. The suburb to which his family had moved after his mother remarried "was very quiet, spread out. It was very Caucasian. Where I lived [in the city] it was all black, urban. So, it was like two childhoods for me, two separate childhoods. When we moved to Randallstown, it was learning to play tennis. 'This is called golf, Damon. We want you to learn this, okay.' It was things like that, actually, which, really, I appreciate now looking back. I'll just say this. On one hand, whether it's your parents or the school or the church, they all did their best to shield us children from all of the racial upset in the country. I'll say that number one. Number two, I do remember that, even though it was integrated at Marshall Hall, you felt like, okay, we have our group, they have theirs. And how, if you say to, for example, a black person, do you recall the times and all the racial unrest and all that? They say, well, yeah, but we had fun at Marshall Hall. It's like you don't remember a lot of the other things and that's a tribute to our parents, you know, and to our families who really, like I said, shielded us from a lot of that, whatever that was."

Talking about the Facebook page, Mr. Nock spoke about the power of childhood memory. "What amazed me more than anything else," he told project staff,

> . . .is how people remember the details of their childhood. How people remember specific details. 'We used to go there on this day and it rained that day and we did this and we did. . .' 'How old were you?' 'Nine. . . eight,' you know, something like that. It's amazing the little things that we remember. You know, the imprints on our minds of little details that were special to us in our lives when we were very young children. So that, to me, is by far the biggest thing that I take away from [Marshall Hall] and that I appreciate. As I mentioned earlier, I was not a fan of my stepfather, ok. We were not friends. We're very good friends today because I'm not a kid anymore. But at the time

> I resented my mother marrying my stepfather because I wanted my father back. But he was trying. My mother was trying and I really appreciated, especially as I got older, their efforts at trying to make us feel comfortable. And, looking back now, her marrying him was a great thing. We had a great life. We were middle class, upper middle class. We lived comfortably. We had a comfortable childhood. He was great to my mother. They had a great relationship. My mother passed away five years ago now. But they had a great relationship, married 30 something years and they were very happy. He was a good man. So, my mother made a good decision, for her and for us. And as I got older, more and more I realized that. So that whole family dynamic was by far the most dominant thing in my mind at that time and Marshall Hall represented, that time we were all struggling to try to bring it together as a family and today we are. The Marshall Hall trips helped to do that.

Mr. Addison's and Mr. Nock's childhood memories of Marshall Hall are reminders of the importance and power of play, of recreation, and of leisure for reproducing existing social structures. Amusement parks offered Americans a new way to experience leisure, but they also brought into relief existing tensions of race and class. For the children who visited these places, however, such high social science interpretations overlook the impact these places had on family and development and how families worked to shield their children from the prejudices of the times.

MARSHALL FAMILY DESCENDANTS

Genealogical databases indicate a number of living descendants of the Marshall family who lived at Marshall Hall; as is the custom, these databases often withhold the names of living individuals. Margaret of Peggy Marshall was profiled in the Washington Post in 1999 in which she outlined her hope that the National Park Service would rebuild the ruined "mansion" and turn it into a visitors center (Bombardieri 1999).

Project staff contacted Ms. Marshall, who now resides in Virginia. Ms. Marshall informed staff that there are no surviving lineal descendants (or descendants of the Marshalls who resided in the house at Piscataway Park). The last living descendant, Honora F. Thompson, passed away in July 2016 at her home in Washington, D.C. Ms. Thompson, who never married and had no survivors, was the great-granddaughter of Thomas Marshall V. According to Ms. Marshall, Ms. Thompson gave her family papers to a third-

party individual who was to have deposited them at the Historical Society of Washington, D.C. A search of the collections of the Historical Society shows only some materials related to Honora Thompson and Marshall Hall.

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Many National Park Service employees have been associated with Piscataway National Park but perhaps none have the length and intimacy of association of Dr. Stephen R. Potter, who began his career in archaeology as a paid high school intern at the Smithsonian Institution's Museum of Natural History. Dr. Potter came to the National Park Service in 1980 initially as a temporary employee at 32 hours per week. In 1982, he was made permanent as the Regional Archaeologist, National Capital Region. According to Dr. Potter, by the time he retired in 2016, NPS's National Capital Region consisted of 35 units of the National Park System in Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, and all of the District of Columbia, a total of 88,000 acres.

Figure 48. *Dr. Stephen R. Potter, retired Regional Archaeologist for the National Capital Region*

One of Dr. Potter's first jobs when he arrived at the National Park Service was to prepare a review of the archaeological resources and any archaeological work that had taken place at Piscataway Park. He soon encountered some of the challenges working in a bureaucracy, with the NPS's Denver Service Center, a unit located in Colorado that serves as "the central planning, design, and construction management office for the National Park Service" (Denver Service Center 2019). Most of the individuals sent to review and write about Piscataway Park had little to no experience in the Mid-Atlantic. Dr. Potter was able to get the work transferred to American University but he encountered similar problems there with the faculty and a graduate student, accepting funds but not producing a report. To this day, Dr. Potter regrets that a completed archaeological review for Piscataway Park has not been completed.

The challenges of getting work done that serves the park, including both its managers and its cultural resources, led Dr. Potter to work on creating and building relationships through instruments such as CESU (Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Units) and through IDIQ (indefinite delivery/indefinite quantity) contracts. These instruments are not particular to the National Park Service but Dr. Potter's history with the agency, his relationship-building skills, and his knowledge of bureaucratic systems positioned him to bring these methods to National Capital Region.

Although Dr. Potter struggled with finding the right individual or organization to complete the Piscataway Park project, he counts as one of his important achievements in archaeology the management of a nine-year archaeological study of the Chesapeake and Ohio National Historical Park. Dr. Potter is also the author of one of the most important books on Native history in the Potomac River Valley, *Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs: The Development of Algonquian Culture in the Potomac Valley*, first published in 1993. The book is considered a classic and is required reading for anyone wishing to understand the history of the groups living in the Potomac valley.

Chapter V

Conclusion and Recommendations

Conclusion & Recommendations

Piscataway National Park's human past began some 12,000 years ago. This long, rich history has generated many associated ethnographic communities, including stakeholder descendants and contemporary communities who continue to make the park and surrounding vicinity their home or place of work. The purpose of the ethnographic overview and assessment was to outline that history and identify those communities with a connection or interest in Piscataway Park, both as a cultural record of the area and the park and for assisting park personnel with the park's management. An important part of that work included the development of recommendations for future work.

Using primary and secondary resources, previously- and newly-collected oral history interviews, group meetings, driving tours, job-shadowing and previously- and newly-collected field observations, this report identified ten groups, communities, or organizations with an interest in or association with the park (see Table 21 in Chapter IV). These include both formal and informal organizations: members of the two state-recognized Piscataway Indian groups; members of the Moyaone Reserve residential community; employees of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, the Alice Ferguson Foundation, the Accokeek Foundation, and the National Park Service; descendants of the Marshall, Bryan, and other families; descendants of the free and enslaved African American families; individuals who experienced Marshall Hall Amusement Park; and a large fisher community. Not all of these groups fit the definition the National Park Service uses for a "park-associated community." For example, the loosely organized members of the Marshall Hall Amusement Park Facebook page are more properly described as a "virtual community" with little to connect them other than memories of the amusement park. The Piscataway Indian community, however, easily fits the NPS's definition of a park-associated community as do members of the Moyaone Reserve.

This study, intended as an overview, drew together a variety of sources and materials to better characterize the ten identified stakeholder groups and communities. Such a synthesis has not been previously undertaken for Piscataway Park and it is anticipated that the information contained in this report should be of value for park interpreters and managers. The report should also be of interest to the communities of stakeholders themselves and to students of Piscataway Park. And, finally, as an overview, this study has

revealed a number of potential projects for identifying, documenting, and supporting those communities associated with Piscataway National Park.

THE PISCATAWAY INDIAN COMMUNITY

A surprisingly large and available body of ethnographic information survives concerning the Piscataway Indian community, including twentieth- and twenty-first century Piscataway lifeways. Many more oral histories have been collected about Piscataway Indian life than appeared to have been the case at the initiation of this study, largely because these histories are curated by a number of institutions. Reviewed together, these oral histories reveal that Piscataway Indian households resembled the many other farming households characteristic of southern Maryland in the twentieth century. Members of these households raised tobacco, corn, and sometimes wheat for the market and gardens for home consumption. Cows, pigs, chickens, and turkeys were also raised and meals were supplemented with wild foods. Individual households consisted of nuclear families located in familial communities. Well into the late twentieth century, Piscataway members remained insular, socializing and marrying within the community. The oral histories describe a community certain of its indigenous heritage which, for a long time, its members nonetheless felt compelled to keep to themselves out of a concern of racial prejudice. The American Indian Movement, however, in which many Piscataway actively participated, came to provide a rallying point for these families, a realization that public claiming of Indian identity should not be feared, leading to a revitalization of Piscataway traditions, including new traditions to acknowledge Native identity.

While the Piscataway oral histories reveal obvious trends and similarities in Piscataway experiences and lifeways, this body of work should not be considered complete. Important differences in experiences are also evident in the oral histories. A number of Piscataway informants identified strong connections to Piscataway Park, for example, while others remained relatively indifferent to the park, at least at the time the oral history was collected. Older Piscataway members were, in their time, steered to spouses within the Indian community while younger members are marrying outside the tribe. Gendered differences are also evident in, for example, knowledge of plant-based medicinal treatments. Because oral histories represent a single moment in time (even if the narrative itself covers many years), multiple oral

histories from a single individual can represent additional recollections as well as changes in attitudes and meanings. Therefore, the recommendations of this report concerning the Piscataway Indian community include:

- Establish formal or regularized communications with Piscataway tribal members.
- Support efforts to collect additional oral histories from Piscataway community members, prioritizing older members or those who have not been previously interviewed but also recognizing the value of re-interviewing those for whom oral histories already exist.
- Encourage the development of a Piscataway archive (perhaps at the College of Southern Maryland) controlled at least in part by the Piscataway community.
- Explore opportunities to bring materials excavated from the Accokeek Creek Site and now at the University of Michigan back to the region.
- Work with NPS staff to include Piscataway Park in the development of the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail.
- Consider Piscataway Park's role in Maryland's upcoming 400th anniversary in terms of raising awareness about Native history, culture, and presence.

THE MOYAONE RESERVE COMMUNITY

The Moyaone Reserve community is surprisingly well-documented. Community members have made a concerted effort to collect and to memorialize the Reserve's history in oral history interviews and in film, including photographs and video. The Accokeek Heritage Project was an important galvanizing force for the assembling of this information, although other organizations have also collected and prepared histories about Moyaone Reserve. A number of these histories have been published, including those by local and professional historians. As this project was being completed, the Moyaone Reserve community was in the process of working with a consultant to nominate selected mid-century houses in the Reserve to the National Register of Historic Places.

Although the residents do not consider themselves a suburb or a form of suburban development, at least not in the traditional sense, the Moyane Reserve represents the kinds of communities that developed in the region after World War II as the Federal bureaucracy expanded. At least half of the residents commuted into Washington, D.C, None of the residents made their living by farming and most were well educated. What set Moyaone Reserve apart from the many other developments appearing in Montgomery and Prince George's counties was the level of self-governance evident

from the beginning and a commitment to environmental protection. After the death of Alice Ferguson, who had initiated the idea of creating such a community, the early residents formed companies and a non-profit organization to help with subdivision and sales, with community governance, and with environmental protection and education.

The community members who attend events or who have sat for interviews care deeply about not just Moyaone Reserve but the area encompassed by Piscataway Park. These residents are especially interested in what they can do to assist the National Park Service with its management of Piscataway Park. The oral histories also reveal a community deeply loved by its residents but one whose demographic is also changing. In particular, the community's large lot zoning is attractive to people who do not enjoy engaging with the community or participating in community events or governance.

Recommendations include:

- Continued involvement with the Moyaone Reserve Association, including attending meetings and participating in events.
- Consider ways to formally or informally advise a group within the Moyaone Reserve Association focused on involving community members in assisting with park management (gate management, neighborhood watch, trash). This recommendation was cited by many residents who genuinely wish to be more active with protecting the park.

MOUNT VERNON LADIES' ASSOCIATION

The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association has been a stakeholder in park activities and in decision-making since the 1960s. While the oral history collected by this project is useful for understanding the MVLA's ongoing and creative efforts to protect the viewshed, particularly through real estae acquisition and resale, the collection of additional information should not necessarily be a priority for NPS. The MVLA does an excellent job of documenting the organization's history. NPS has been an active participant in scheduled meetings and this participation should of course be continued. Opportunities for partnering on programs should be explored.

Perhaps one event or project that NPS and the MVLA (and even Moyaone Reserve) could explore together is a Land Acknowledgment. These statements are used to recognize and respect the Native presence, possession, and stewardship of land prior to the occupation by colonial groups. Such an event would have particular meaning given the historical relationship between members of the Washington family and those of the Potomac nations. With the visibility of the two organizations, the Land Acknowledgment could serve to strengthen and build new relationships, especially since, as Dr. Gabrielle Tayac has pointed out, the irony that the site of the Piscataway capital is preserved through its connection (viewshed) to George Washington, who was known for his efforts to remove or displace Native communities from their ancestral land.

THE ALICE FERGUSON FOUNDATION

The Alice Ferguson Foundation (AFF) is one of two organizations besides the National Park Service on the front line of public engagement. The AFF's focus on environmental education, knowledge, and practice remains true to the foundation's creation in 1954. The AFF also incorporates cultural information into its tours and programs in a manner recognizing the intimate connection between the two. The regular clean-ups of the shoreline are part of this environmentally sensitive mission. The AFF is in an enviable position for teaching about climate change, especially in a period increasingly if informally called the Anthropocene.

THE ACCOKEEK FOUNDATION

The Accokeek Foundation (AF), created in 1957, is the second of the two private organizations on the front line of public engagement. Many more people visit the AF with its visitor center, colonial farm exhibit, and heritage plants and animals. The AF also sees its role as interpreting Native and Piscataway history. Most recently, the Foundation is using that history and the history of colonialism to confront racism and the legacy of colonialism in the present. The AF also sponsors a number of community events designed to take advantage of the local desire to learn more about the area's history and contribute to its history.

MARSHALL, BRYAN, ETC. FAMILY DESCENDANTS

The white and black families who shaped the area around Piscataway Creek in the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries were the most elusive communities to identify. Efforts to connect through Facebook with known descendants produced one result and that was after the report was completed. The one Marshall descendant reported that she is not a lineal descendant and the last of the Marshall line occupying the house passed away in 2016. A descendant of the Bryan family, Thomas V. Mike Miller, Jr., president of the Maryland Senate, reached out to project staff with information about a great-great uncle who, after the Civil War, donated artifacts recovered on or near his property to the Smithsonian Institution.

AFRICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY

African American families formed a major part of the Piscataway-area population beginning in the eighteenth century. The majority of these early families were enslaved although some were free. Today, some descendants of these families remain in the area while new families have moved into the area as a result of the suburbanization of Charles and Prince George's counties.

With one exception, it was not possible in the timeframe to identify descendants for interviewing. Twenty surnames associated with enslaved African American people are known for several farms in the Piscataway Park vicinity (see Table 19 in Chapter III). Individuals and families with these surnames are found in the Accokeek vicinity and may be descended from these families. The recommendation of this report would be to conduct a more detailed study than allowed by the current project using historians and/or ethnographers with experience researching and working with descendant communities.

MARSHALL HALL AMUSEMENT PARK

The Marshall Hall Amusement Park, whose history reaches back into the early twentieth century and which was owned by a man who frequently tussled with the National Park Service and other organizations concerning land use, was experienced by thousands of people, especially children, throughout the region and remains an important memory for many former park goers. There is no formally organized group. Instead, a Facebook page created by Damon Nock and co-managed by Mr. Nock and Clinton Addison curates images and essentially crowd-sourced memories of the park.

There is no formally organized group and, by the National Park Service's definition, those who have "liked" the Facebook page do not constitute a park-associated ethnographic group. Nonetheless, Mr. Addison, Mr. Nock, and the people who have contributed their memories to the Facebook page and a small archive at the College of Southern Maryland by their actions reveal an important point: the history of Marshall Hall Amusement Park is a significant part of the twentieth-century history of the area and should be collected and curated.

The Marshall Hall Amusement Park's significance to twentieth-century southern and suburban Maryland is becoming more apparent in the twenty-first century. Created out of an existing nineteenth-century recreational property in Jim Crow America, Marshall Hall Park operated during a period that witnessed the Depression, World War II, the burgeoning of the Federal bureaucracy, changes in modes of transportation, the Civil Rights movement, and a history of changes in how people "recreate" or re-create themselves in the context of changing social and cultural structures. Not quite 50 years since the park's doors finally closed, this report's recommendations include an effort to identify previously-collected oral histories and collect new oral histories from individuals who are previously associated with the park or attended as guests. A large number of artifacts associated with Marshall Hall Amusement Park survive, with probably the greatest quantity discarded in the woods around the former amusement park (Figure 49). Images are also located at the College of Southern Maryland and artifacts and images are also found in private collections. The National Park Service should consider a curatorial plan that allows the agency to include the collection of these objects.

Figure 49. *Roller coaster car discarded in the woods near Marshall Hall.*

THE FISHER COMMUNITY

The Fisher community is largely disconnected community of people who fish along the Potomac River and its tributaries. These individuals are park users although not necessarily in a way formally programmed by the park unit. A diverse group that fishes less for subsistence than for recreation, the fishers can have an impact on park facilities: trash collection and road maintenance are two obvious impacts. The Accokeek Foundation mitigates some of these impacts by providing portable toilets and trash cans. The National Park Service should continue to collect ethnographic information from the fishers and use this information to raise awareness about the landscape's fishing history and to document changes in this community through time. NPS can also use this information to assist with park maintenance and law enforcement. The opportunity to create lines of communication might enhance the fishing experience for the park and fishers.

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