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# Maryland Historical Magazine



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“The Founding of Maryland”

By Emanuel Leutze (1816–1863), signed “E. Leutze, 1861.”

Oil on canvas, 52 × 73 in.

Maryland Historical Society, 1884.2.1

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(Signed) R. S. Somerville, Director

# EDITORIAL PREFACE

## INDIANS IN MARYLAND: PAST AND PRESENT

Until quite recently, studies of Native Americans in Maryland have not been readily available to the general public. The results of detailed, scholarly work were usually reported either in the massive publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology and the Smithsonian Institution, or in museum reports, university bulletins, and newsletters and journals of local archaeological societies. A large amount of current significant research remains unpublished, and is not widely known by students and professional scholars. During the past decade there has been an overwhelming increase in the volume of literature about Indians in Maryland. *Indians in Maryland and Delaware: A Critical Bibliography* was the first serious effort to illuminate both the strengths and weaknesses of the published material.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of this collection of essays is to bring together in one convenient volume a comprehensive overview of "Indians in Maryland: Past and Present."

The literature of recent years reflects the growing maturity of Native American studies in Maryland. It also emphasizes the need for and value of the insights provided by scholars in a dozen disciplines. The authors of these essays (three archaeologists, a sociologist, and a cultural geographer) have made invaluable contributions to the prehistory, cultural background, and present circumstances of Indians in Maryland. Nevertheless, many gaps still exist in our understanding of the archaeology, ethnohistory, sociology, and historical geography of Native American groups in Maryland and her neighboring states. What has been accomplished in this special issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* demonstrates not only the wealth of information available to researchers, but should also encourage research in hitherto neglected areas.

One final note: the reader will find variant spellings of archaeology and archeology in the text. These are not misprints but conform to accepted practice within the archaeological profession.

*Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois*

FRANK W. PORTER, III

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This issue is dedicated to the memory of  
WILLIAM BOSE MARYE  
(1886-1979)

# The Early Pursuit of Archeology in Maryland

TYLER BASTIAN

ARCHEOLOGICAL ACTIVITY IN MARYLAND CAN BE GROUPED INTO FOUR OVERLAPPING phases. The earliest and still continuing phase is the collecting of artifacts for their intrinsic interest with little regard for their context and potential scientific value. The second phase occurred during the 1880s and 1890s when field and publishing activities of professional archeologists from the Smithsonian Institution focused interest on the Chesapeake-Potomac region. Systematic surveys and excavations carried out by amateur archeologists during the middle decades of the present century comprise the third phase. The most recent phase of archeological activity in Maryland was initiated by government-sponsored programs developed during the 1960s under the authority of new state and federal legislation. Only the first three phases are discussed here.

## COLLECTING AND ANTIQUARIANISM

Artifacts and other remains of former human activity have fascinated people in all societies. Possible archeological evidence of such interest among prehistoric Maryland Indians was found at the Biggs Ford village site in Frederick County.<sup>1</sup> Excavations conducted in advance of construction of the Monocacy Interceptor sewer revealed a large group or cache of artifacts arranged in a tight cluster near the head of an adult male burial. With one exception, all of the diagnostic artifacts in the cache and elsewhere in the grave are typical of those in use about A.D. 1300 to 1600, as dated at a number of sites in adjacent states. The exception is a broken, heavily worn, flat, rectangular-shaped groundstone two-hole ornament ("gorget") of a type dating before A.D. 600. It was probably found by the later Indians at an earlier site; it seems unlikely that it was passed down as an heirloom for 700 years.

The most common, easily recognizable prehistoric artifacts in Maryland are chipped stone projectile points (often called arrowheads, but which actually served a variety of piercing and cutting functions). The first European settlers in Southern Maryland found stone arrowpoints still in use by the native inhabitants, and two arrows were to be delivered annually as tribute to the Crown.<sup>2</sup> Collecting of Indian artifacts in colonial times is documented by the discovery of stone projectile points and other aboriginal artifacts in refuse dating to the second quarter of the eighteenth century at the John Hicks house

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site in St. Mary's City.<sup>3</sup> The Indian objects can be attributed to collecting proclivity rather than to chance inclusion because chipped stone waste and other debris normally associated with aboriginal activity were absent.

Indian artifacts from Maryland may have been represented among the "antiquities" displayed at Peale's Baltimore museum (1814-1829), the "aboriginal antiquities" sought for the collections of the Maryland Academy of Science and Literature (1822-1844), and other natural history exhibits during the early decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Maryland Indian artifacts were among the exhibits at the Maryland Academy of Sciences in 1875, but by 1888 the Academy could no longer maintain a museum and the remaining collections (some were lost while on loan) were given to Johns Hopkins University. Specimens conveyed to the University included stone projectile points, bifaces, and steatite bowls in glass display cases.<sup>5</sup> If Maryland artifacts from these early accumulations survive, their present whereabouts has not been traced.

The largest and most significant early institutional collection of artifacts from Maryland still intact is at the Smithsonian Institution, Museum of Natural History, where Maryland specimens were first accessioned in 1862.<sup>6</sup> The Maryland Historical Society has a small group of projectile points accessioned in 1880, but most of its archeological collections were obtained after 1900.

Several notable private collections were formed during the latter half of the nineteenth century. William H. Love of Baltimore recorded on a map of the state the locations of numerous sites visited by him between 1858 and 1894. His collection is reported to have been given to the Maryland Academy of Sciences, although it has not been identified in the collections and records transferred from the Academy to the Maryland Historical Society in 1975.<sup>7</sup>

Elmer R. Reynolds (1846-1907), a federal examiner of pensions, collected extensively in Southern Maryland and presented papers on his work at meetings and for publication in America and several European countries. Most of his accumulations went to the museums of Europe where he was awarded two medals and a knighthood for his scientific work in archeology.<sup>8</sup> An early collection from the Potomac Valley, important because it was systematically gathered and properly labeled, was made by another Washington resident, W. Hallett Phillips, and donated to the Smithsonian Institution in 1897.<sup>9</sup>

A large collection from the central Western Shore and Piedmont was gathered by J. D. McGuire (1842-1916), an attorney, and displayed at his estate home, Wilton, northwest of Ellicott City. McGuire is said to have spent much of his time at the Smithsonian where he was provided with working space and enjoyed the company despite frequent and heated arguments concerning the antiquity of American Indian culture. He authored several major artifact studies published by the Smithsonian, but he wrote little on Maryland archeology. McGuire moved to Washington, D.C., in 1900 and gave his collection to the Smithsonian.<sup>10</sup>



An active collector around the turn of the century was Talbot D. Jones (ca. 1880–1926) of Baltimore who concentrated on the Patapsco River and its tributaries. Jones maintained a catalog and summary narrative, and he recorded site locations on 15-minute United States Geological Survey topographic quadrangle maps. All of his records and most of the artifacts have survived decades of obscurity at Johns Hopkins University.<sup>11</sup>

The collecting and antiquarianism phase of Maryland archeology did not end with the nineteenth century, but continues today with activities directed more toward amassing quantities of artifacts than proper recording of context and systematic search for meaning of variation in artifact association and form.

#### EARLY PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY

Prior to the late nineteenth-century activity by the Smithsonian Institution in Maryland, at least two earlier scientists made observations and published their findings on Maryland archeology. While not professional archeologists, their concern with context and explanation distinguished their work from the previous stage of archeological investigation.

The earliest descriptions of archeological localities in Maryland may be those in a series of reports issued during the 1830s by Julius T. Ducatel, the first Maryland State Geologist. His observations were incidental to a survey of shell deposits useful for fertilizer and mortar, and he did not suggest a need for archeological investigations. Ducatel observed that an important agricultural resource in the state consists

of extensive accumulations of oyster shells, evidently made by aboriginal inhabitants of the country; —since they are found to enclose human skeletons, deer horns, tools, coarse pottery, etc. plainly significant of their origin. These accumulations are found in many parts of the Eastern Shore, and . . . they bear evidence, as previously stated, of being the sites of Indian settlements long since abandoned. They are composed of mouldering oyster shells, intermixed with a black soil or mould, highly charged with calcareous particles, and which has proved to be extremely fertilizing.<sup>12</sup>

All of the large shell middens have been mostly removed, and only remnants of these unique historical documents remain today.

Another early publication on a Maryland archeological site is also by a geologist. The Pennsylvania Geological Survey publication describes and illustrates many of the petroglyphs in the Susquehanna River near Bald Friar.<sup>13</sup> The site had been the subject of earlier reports in 1869.<sup>14</sup> The petroglyph site is now flooded by the waters behind Conowingo Dam, but some of the petroglyphs were removed by the Maryland Academy of Sciences in the 1920s.

Some of the most important work that has been done in Maryland Archeology was carried out by an exceptional scientist, William Henry Holmes, while he was on the staff of the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology from 1889–94. Holmes and his assistants carried out extensive

surveys and investigations of coastal shell middens, quartzite and soapstone quarries, and stone burial mounds in western Maryland. Some of the results remain unpublished in Smithsonian archives. Holmes' "Stone Implements of the Potomac-Chesapeake Tidewater Province" won a prize as "the outstanding contribution in the archaeological field during the preceding five years." His report on the Popes Creek (Charles County) shell midden site brought Maryland archeology to national attention.<sup>15</sup>

The first systematic excavation of a stratified site in Maryland was conducted in 1905 at Bushey Cavern near Hagerstown by the Phillips Academy of Andover, Massachusetts. Although the site is now destroyed, the size and temporal diversity of the collections preserved in the Phillips Academy and the Smithsonian Institution suggest that reanalysis may prove productive of chronological information not available elsewhere.<sup>16</sup>

During the same period, a series of investigations took place near Cambridge at Sandy Hill, a site that later played a role in controversy about aboriginal cultural process in the eastern United States. The site initially drew attention around the turn of the century when quantities of artifacts and human skeletal material were gradually exposed by wave action. These remains can be attributed to late prehistoric occupation, perhaps of Choptank or Nanticoke Indian ancestors. About 1940 and again about 1950 construction projects revealed an earlier Sandy Hill component containing ochre-covered burials accompanied by stone tubes, gorgets, large bifaces, and objects of copper and hematite. The relation of these unusual artifacts to Adena culture in Ohio was recognized by archeologists called to the scene, and the finds were briefly described in professional journals at the time. However, the implications were not generally realized until a 1959 publication proposed a prehistoric migration from the Ohio valley to Maryland. A number of related sites have been since found in the Chesapeake Bay area, but most scholars now attribute the Ohio connection to cultural diffusion rather than migration.<sup>17</sup>

A questionnaire circulated in 1911 by the Smithsonian Institution sought information on aboriginal sites and artifact collectors in Maryland; the results were never compiled, but the responses indicate that little new information was obtained. The Maryland Academy of Sciences announced a state-wide survey in 1935 and distributed a questionnaire to postmasters. The results are not known, but an indirect product was a "Map of Indian Tribes in Maryland" published in 1938. However, the map was not circulated by the Academy after the uncritical equation of archeological sites with historical data and other errors were brought to the attention of the Academy.<sup>18</sup>

Historical archeology (non-indigenous cultures in colonial and later times) appears to have been neglected in Maryland until the 1930s when Henry Chandlee Forman began his pioneer studies at St. Mary's City.<sup>19</sup> Forman was the only systematic worker in this field for many years in Maryland. Another important pioneer in Maryland archeology was the late William B. Marye who undertook extensive and detailed research of early land records and other original documents relating to Maryland Indians and archeology.<sup>20</sup>

## AMATEUR ACTIVITIES

The era of intensive excavations in the 1930s by both amateurs and collectors was preceded in Frederick County by E. Ralston Goldsborough, an engineer by training, who conducted test excavations at several sites in the Monocacy Valley during the first and again during the fourth decades of the century, the latter in connection with a WPA project. Goldsborough published several sketchy reports and left extensive records with the Frederick County Historical Society and artifacts with the Maryland School for the Deaf.<sup>21</sup>

During the middle decades of the century, intensive amateur activity focused around the Piscataway Creek area of Southern Maryland<sup>22</sup> and the Potomac Valley above Washington, D.C. Some of the work was done under informal supervision of Smithsonian Institution archeologists and published reports were produced. However, there were notable exceptions in the Potomac Valley where extensive uncontrolled digging occurred and the artifacts were sold or otherwise dispersed. The growing complexity and importance of archeological work in many sections of the state during this period requires separate treatment.

Efforts to establish an archeological section at the Maryland Academy of Sciences during the 1920s does not appear to have been especially successful.<sup>23</sup> The Natural History Society of Maryland established a Department of Archeology in 1931 under the leadership of Richard E. Stearns; several important articles and monographs on Maryland archeology were published by the Society between 1933 and 1951. The first permanent organization concerned with Maryland archeology was the Archeological Society of Maryland (a section of the Maryland Academy of Sciences) created in 1954. The Society actively cooperated with similar organizations in other states, included both professional and amateur archeologists among its members, began the first systematic inventory of archeological sites in the state, undertook controlled excavations at several sites, issued publications, and enlisted support from many sections of the state. A splinter group, the Archeological Society of Maryland, Inc. (the two societies merged in 1975), led an effort culminating with enactment of the Archeological Resources Act of 1968 and the creation of a state office of archeology within the Maryland Department of Natural Resources.

The development of archeological science in Maryland was slow to develop. Witthoft points out that no early nineteenth-century institution in the Middle Atlantic region took as its specific field of inquiry the local natural sciences. In contrast, New York included archeology when its Geological Survey was founded in 1836.<sup>24</sup> Even activity by the Smithsonian Institution in Maryland, including the outstanding work of Holmes, did not stimulate development of professional programs in Maryland archeology at that time. The roots of modern archeology in Maryland can be traced to the efforts of leading amateurs since the 1930s, the organization of the Archeological Society of Maryland, and participation in regional and national organizations of professional archeologists. Today, archeologists in Maryland are directing their at-

tention to conserving sites in place and to preserving records of earlier investigations that together provide our only sources of information for at least 12,000 years of unwritten Maryland history.

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# The Origins of the Piscataway and Related Indian Cultures

WAYNE E. CLARK

WHEN CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH FIRST RECORDED THE NAMES AND LOCATIONS OF the Piscataway and related Indian cultures along the Potomac River, he could not have known of the preceding centuries of change which were responsible for the cultural configurations he encountered. At the time of European contact, the Piscataway empire or confederacy was an incipient chiefdom of allied tribal cultures which archeologists have defined as the Potomac Creek complex. The Potomac Creek complex developed from the Montgomery complex. Occupying the region of the Shenandoah valley in the Ridge and Valley province and the areas from the Rappahannock to the Monocacy and Susquehanna Rivers in the Piedmont province, the Montgomery complex was a riverine-oriented horticultural and hunting based society. The riverine orientation and horticultural base continued as the culture evolved into the Potomac Creek complex. The Potomac Creek complex developed in the Coastal Plain province from the York River north to the Susquehanna River (Figure 1). Because an understanding of the development of the Montgomery complex is prerequisite to the interpretation of subsequent developments in the Piedmont and Coastal Plain provinces, this article will focus upon the Montgomery complex.<sup>1</sup>

The Montgomery complex developed in the Piedmont and Ridge and Valley provinces around 900 A.D. and continued until 1300 A.D. Beginning around 1200 A.D., the Montgomery complex cultures in this region were subjected to increasing pressures from neighboring cultures which eventually resulted in the shifting of their settlements toward the east. By approximately 1300 A.D., the members of the Montgomery complex had begun settling in the lower salinity portions of the coastal rivers where their remains are now classified as the Potomac Creek complex (1300-1700 A.D.). The Potomac Creek complex flourished until the latter half of the sixteenth century when the expansion of the Powhatan chiefdom to the south and the Susquehannock and Iroquois chiefdoms to the north resulted in sizable reductions in the territory occupied by the Potomac Creek complex. By 1608, the tribes affiliated with the Piscataway chiefdom were restricted to the middle and upper portions of the north shore of the Potomac River in the Coastal Plain province. Those tribes on the south shore of the Potomac River which shared the Potomac Creek complex material culture became allied with the Powhatan

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Mr. Clark is the staff archeologist with the Maryland Historical Trust.

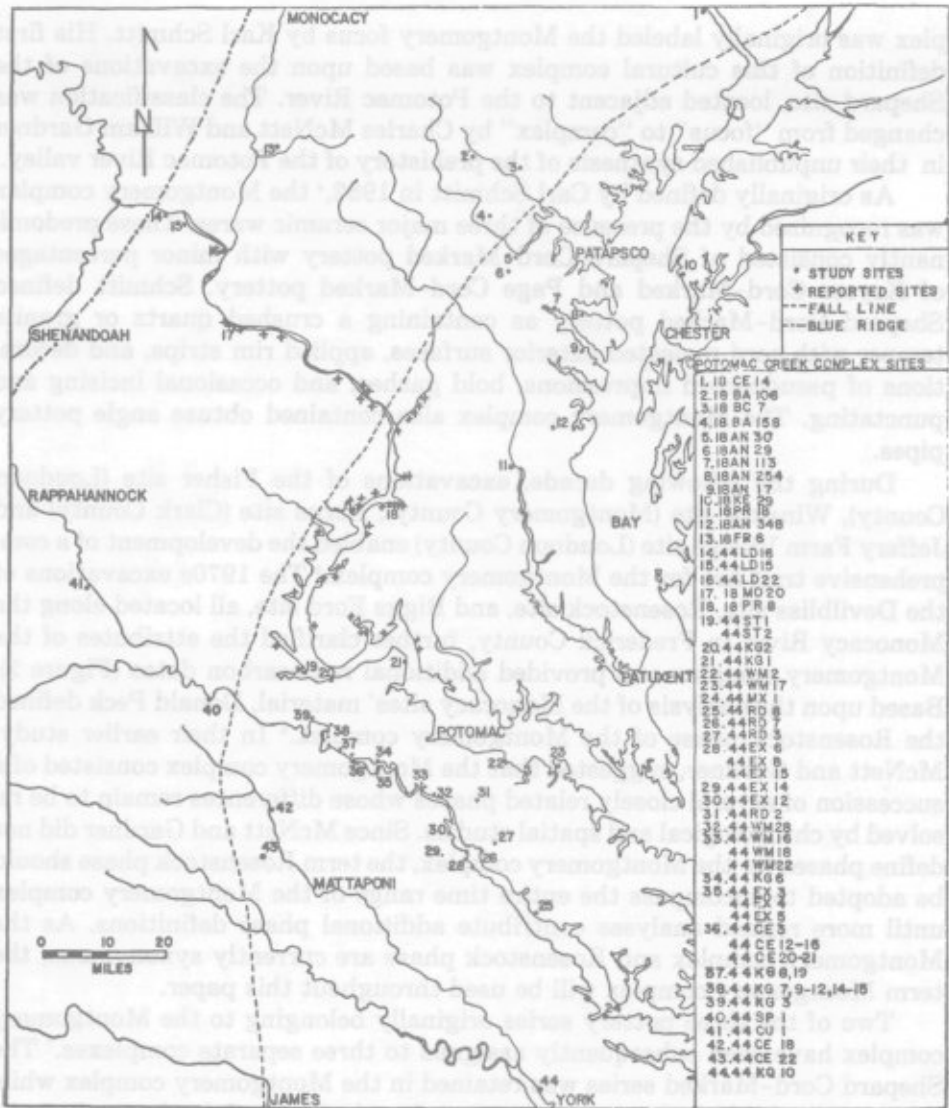


FIGURE 1.

Distribution of Montgomery and Potomac Creek sites in the Chesapeake Bay drainage.

chiefdom by the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The Piscataway chiefdom continued to play an important role in Maryland history throughout the remainder of the seventeenth century, after which they only received rare mention in the historic record.<sup>2</sup>

Having presented a general cultural history of the development of the Montgomery and Potomac Creek complexes, the remainder of the report will elaborate upon the early development of this culture. The Montgomery com-

plex was originally labeled the Montgomery focus by Karl Schmitt. His first definition of this cultural complex was based upon the excavations of the Shepard site, located adjacent to the Potomac River. The classification was changed from "focus" to "complex" by Charles McNett and William Gardner in their unpublished synthesis of the prehistory of the Potomac River valley.<sup>3</sup>

As originally defined by Carl Schmitt in 1952,<sup>4</sup> the Montgomery complex was recognized by the presence of three major ceramic wares. These predominantly consisted of Shepard Cord-Marked pottery with minor percentages of Keyser Cord-Marked and Page Cord-Marked pottery. Schmitt defined Shepard Cord-Marked pottery as containing a crushed quartz or granite temper with cord maleated exterior surfaces, applied rim strips, and decorations of pseudo-cord impressions, bold gashes, and occasional incising and punctating. The Montgomery complex also contained obtuse angle pottery pipes.

During the following decade, excavations of the Fisher site (Loudoun County), Winslow site (Montgomery County), Kerns site (Clark County) and Jeffery Farm Village site (Loudoun County) enabled the development of a comprehensive trait list for the Montgomery complex.<sup>5</sup> The 1970s excavations of the Devilbliss site, Rosenstock site, and Biggs Ford site, all located along the Monocacy River in Frederick County, further clarified the attributes of the Montgomery complex and provided additional radiocarbon dates (Figure 2). Based upon the analysis of the Monocacy sites' material, Donald Peck defined the Rosenstock phase of the Montgomery complex.<sup>6</sup> In their earlier study, McNett and Gardner, suggested that the Montgomery complex consisted of a succession of several closely related phases whose differences remain to be resolved by chronological and spatial studies. Since McNett and Gardner did not define phases for the Montgomery complex, the term Rosenstock phase should be adopted to encompass the entire time range of the Montgomery complex until more refined analyses contribute additional phase definitions. As the Montgomery complex and Rosenstock phase are currently synonymous, the term Montgomery complex will be used throughout this paper.

Two of the three pottery series originally belonging to the Montgomery complex have been subsequently assigned to three separate complexes.<sup>7</sup> The Shepard Cord-Marked series was retained in the Montgomery complex while the Page Cord-Marked series was assigned to the Mason Island complex, and the Keyser Cord-Marked series was placed in the Luray phase of an unspecified complex. Because the Keyser Cord-Marked pottery and the associated artifacts of the Luray phase were very similar to the material culture of the Monongahela complex, the Luray phase is assigned to the Monongahela complex. The sensitivity to change of the temper, decorative motifs and decorating techniques of these pottery series make them the most effective artifact types used for examining the direction of influences and developments of the various complexes which interacted in the Chesapeake Bay Region.

Reanalysis of the Shepard Cord-Marked series by McNett and Gardner resulted in the definition of eight new types. Decorative motifs and either the presence or absence of collars around the rims were the main attributes used to



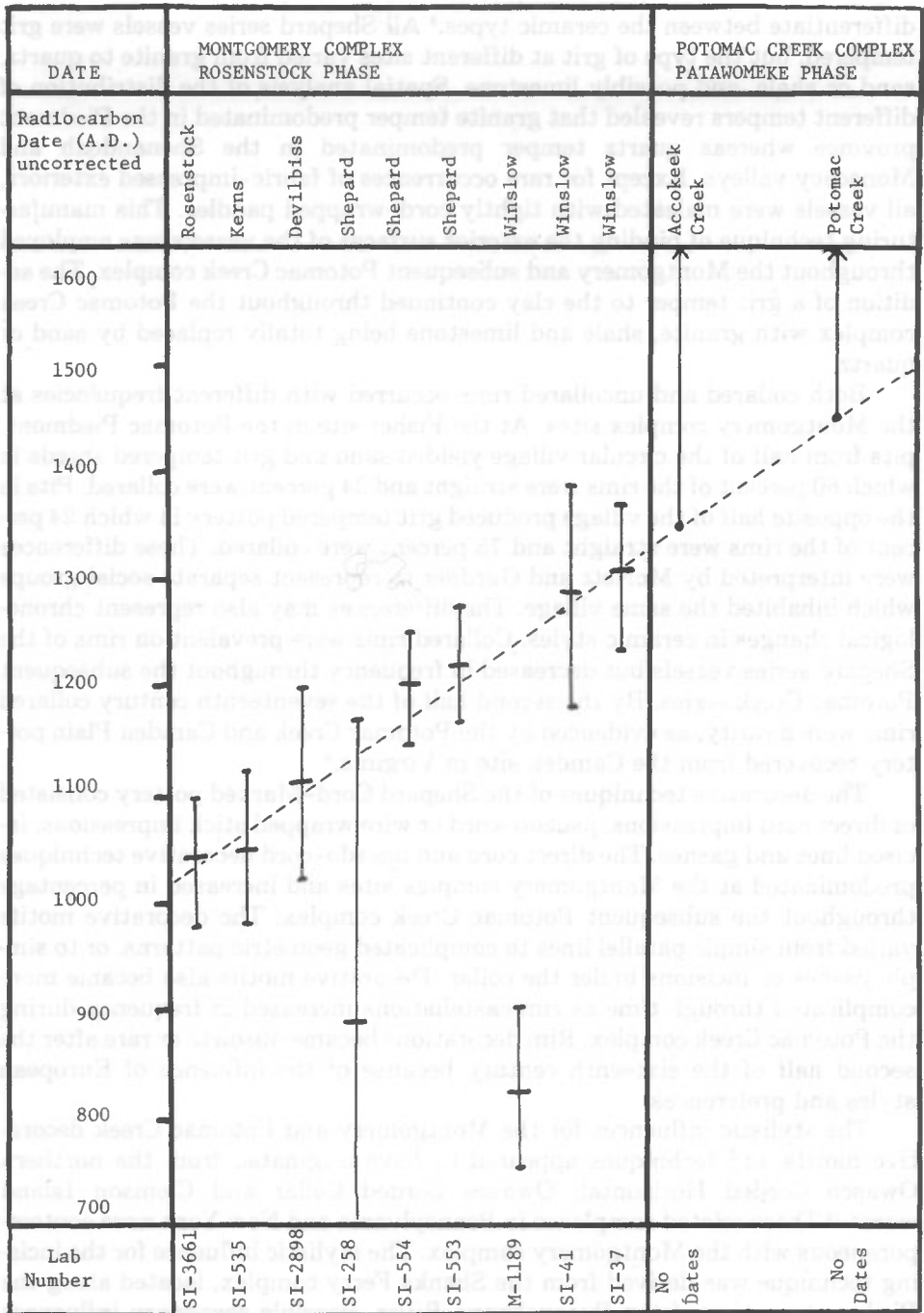


FIGURE 2.  
Radiocarbon sequence for the Montgomery complex.

differentiate between the ceramic types.<sup>8</sup> All Shepard series vessels were grit tempered, but the type of grit at different sites varied from granite to quartz, sand or shale, and possibly limestone. Spatial analysis of the distribution of different tempers revealed that granite temper predominated in the Piedmont province whereas quartz temper predominated in the Shenandoah and Monocacy valleys. Except for rare occurrences of fabric-impressed exteriors, all vessels were maleated with tightly cord-wrapped paddles. This manufacturing technique of binding the exterior surfaces of the vessels was employed throughout the Montgomery and subsequent Potomac Creek complex. The addition of a grit temper to the clay continued throughout the Potomac Creek complex with granite, shale and limestone being totally replaced by sand or quartz.

Both collared and uncollared rims occurred with different frequencies at the Montgomery complex sites. At the Fisher site in the Potomac Piedmont, pits from half of the circular village yielded sand and grit tempered sherds in which 60 percent of the rims were straight and 34 percent were collared. Pits in the opposite half of the village produced grit tempered pottery in which 24 percent of the rims were straight and 75 percent were collared. These differences were interpreted by McNett and Gardner to represent separate social groups which inhabited the same village. The differences may also represent chronological changes in ceramic styles. Collared rims were prevalent on rims of the Shepard series vessels but decreased in frequency throughout the subsequent Potomac Creek series. By the second half of the seventeenth century collared rims were a rarity, as evidenced by the Potomac Creek and Camden Plain pottery recovered from the Camden site in Virginia.<sup>9</sup>

The decorative techniques of the Shepard Cord-Marked pottery consisted of direct cord impressions, pseudo-cord or wire-wrapped stick impressions, incised lines and gashes. The direct cord and pseudo-cord decorative techniques predominated at the Montgomery complex sites and increased in percentage throughout the subsequent Potomac Creek complex. The decorative motifs varied from simple parallel lines to complicated geometric patterns, or to simple gashes or incisions under the collar. Decorative motifs also became more complicated through time as rim castellations increased in frequency during the Potomac Creek complex. Rim decorations became obsolete or rare after the second half of the sixteenth century because of the influence of European styles and preferences.

The stylistic influences for the Montgomery and Potomac Creek decorative motifs and techniques appeared to have originated from the northern Owasco Corded Horizontal, Owasco Corded Collar and Clemson Island wares.<sup>10</sup> These related complexes in Pennsylvania and New York were contemporaneous with the Montgomery complex. The stylistic influence for the incising technique was derived from the Shenks Ferry complex, located along the Piedmont portion of the Susquehanna River. Possible secondary influences from the Townsend complex in the Chesapeake Bay Coastal Plain were also possible. The incised lines of the Montgomery and Shenks Ferry complexes' pottery were executed with little regard for neatness of the decoration. This sharply contrasted with the carefully executed designs of the Townsend series

pottery. On the pottery of the Montgomery and Shenks Ferry complexes, parallel incisions around the rim were executed as a series of short overlapping lines while those of the Townsend series were executed as continuous lines. Whether this casual incising technique resulted from influences from the Shenks Ferry complex or whether the Shenks Ferry complex developed from these influences is a question which cannot as yet be conclusively answered. As the Blue Rock phase of the Shenks Ferry complex dated to approximately 1300 A.D., it is conceivable that the Shenks Ferry ceramics developed out of influences from the Montgomery complex.<sup>11</sup> Insufficient evidence exists to determine the complex from which the Montgomery complex developed.

While Shepard series pottery was the primary artifact type used to identify Montgomery complex sites, the sites of the Montgomery complex exhibited a variety of other common attributes. The excavated Montgomery complex sites were all oval villages, which measured one to two acres in extent, and which are located adjacent to the Shenandoah, Monocacy, Potomac, and Rappahannock Rivers.<sup>12</sup> The sites along the Potomac River were situated on or adjacent to Huntington silty loam soils. These floodplain soils are known to produce high agricultural yields. The Shepard, Winslow and Fisher sites all consisted of an oval pattern of circular pits surrounding an open plaza. Only the Fisher site revealed evidence of a stockade. The presence of a stockade, and of ceramics almost identical to the early Potomac Creek series pottery, indicated that the Fisher site was a transitional site between the Potomac Creek and Montgomery complexes.

The available radiocarbon dates from Montgomery period sites suggest that the nucleated villages in the Piedmont province portion of the Potomac River valley (Winslow and Shepard) dated toward the end of the Montgomery complex. Insufficient excavations were conducted at the Rosenstock and Devilbliss sites in the Monocacy valley to determine the settlement pattern of these sites. Occupying an area less than an acre, the Rosenstock was smaller than the sites in the Piedmont portion of the Potomac and may be a hamlet type occupation. The Biggs Ford site in the Monocacy valley was a nucleated settlement but a radiocarbon date for this site was not obtained.<sup>13</sup>

The available evidence indicates that nucleated villages may have developed early in the Montgomery complex and were stockaded during the period shortly before the abandoning of the Piedmont province by the Montgomery complex cultures. A majority of the subsequent Potomac Creek complex village sites on the Coastal Plain province were palisaded. Hamlet type settlements should have predated the nucleated villages but there has not been sufficient analysis to verify this hypothesis. Neither have sufficient spatial studies been conducted to verify the type of hunting settlements predicted to be associated with the Montgomery complex. As the subsequent Potomac Creek complex settlement pattern involved both nucleated villages and seasonal hunting camps, a similar pattern probably existed during the Montgomery complex.<sup>14</sup>

Circular and oval shaped storage pits have been reported at all of the excavated Montgomery complex sites. The storage pits were as large as six feet in width and five feet in depth. Upon abandonment, the pits were filled with

refuse. Pits were distributed in an oval pattern around an open plaza and were probably associated with houses. The available post mold data suggested that the houses were circular in shape, and were distributed around an open plaza. The presence of these large pits indicated a well developed storage technology for the preservation of domesticated and wild plant foods.

Burials were placed in the area of the houses and pits. At the Shepard site, bodies were interred in burial pits or occasionally in storage pits. Flexed burials were excavated at the Shepard, Winslow and Fisher sites. An extended burial was uncovered at the Shepard site. Disinterments were absent at the Fisher site, rare at the Shepard site and infrequent at the Winslow site.

The available mortuary data suggests that the deceased members of the Montgomery complex were buried in a flexed posture in individual graves. All burials were primary interments. Only the graves of infants contained offerings, as exemplified at the Shepard site where shell beads were associated with the infant burials. The absence of grave goods with any adults suggest that the ranked society of the Potomac Creek complex was not developed during the Montgomery complex. However, the increasing number of disinterments at the Shepard and Winslow sites suggest that secondary burial practices and the associated religious beliefs had begun to be adopted toward the close of the Montgomery complex. During the subsequent Potomac Creek complex, the practice of primary interments in individual grave pits was replaced by the ossuary practice of secondary burial in mass graves. This practice indicated a substantial shift in beliefs following the occupation of the Coastal Plain province by people of the Potomac Creek complex. This shift may have resulted from the influence of the indigenous Townsend complex cultures or of the northern pre-Iroquois cultures. Given the close interaction of the people of the Potomac Creek and Townsend complexes and the early date for the ossuaries associated with Townsend complex cultures in the Chesapeake Bay region, the primary influence for the adoption of the ossuary burial practices and associated beliefs is inferred to have been from the Townsend complex. The possible adoption by the Potomac Creek culture of the burial practices of the Townsend culture provided further support that the interaction between these two cultures between 1300 and 1600 A.D. involved acculturation as well as displacement of the various Townsend complex tribes which occupied the Coastal Plain.

Other aspects of the Montgomery complex material culture were particularly noteworthy. Their lithic projectile points were manufactured from rhyolite, quartz, and occasionally jasper or chert. Medium size points predominated although smaller points similar to the Potomac Creek Triangular type appeared on later sites. The medium size points possessing concave bases were similar to the quartz and quartzite triangular points associated with the contemporaneous Little Round Bay phase sites in the Coastal Plain province. The subsequent small triangular quartz points of the Potomac Creek complex paralleled the small triangular quartz and jasper points of the Sullivan Cove phase of the Townsend complex. The change in projectile point size through

time from medium to small size points was characteristic of the general changes in projectile point size during the Late Woodland period.

Bone projectile points manufactured from the antler tips and toe bones of deer were but two examples of an elaborate bone industry associated with the Montgomery complex. Other items included awls, fishhooks, beamers, chisels, bone splinter tools, turtle shell cups and scoops, and bird bone beads. Shell artifacts recovered from the coastal Plain province included oyster shell pendants as well as beads from conch columella, marginella, and olivella species. Shell disk beads were common at the Shepard site but rarely occurred elsewhere. Shell spoons with notched edges may have been manufactured from river mussel.

The marine shell beads were probably manufactured by people of the Townsend complex and exchanged inland with the people of the Montgomery complex. They may then have traded the shell beads acquired from the Townsend peoples with cultures in the Ridge and Valley and Allegheny Plateau provinces. This interaction sphere for the exchange of commodities available only in the different physiographic provinces served as a vehicle for the exchange of concepts as well as goods, and the exchange of potters as well as pottery. With the heightening of intertribal hostilities after 1200 A.D., the group contacts which had developed out of the interaction sphere may have facilitated the moving of groups into areas in which they had become familiar with through trading expeditions. The shifting of Montgomery complex sites from the Piedmont to the Coastal Plain partially supports this inference.

The Montgomery and Potomac Creek complexes were riverine oriented, as indicated by the subsistence base and site distribution data (Figure 1). This contrasted with the estuarine orientation of the Townsend complex cultures. Montgomery complex sites yielded both fin and shellfish remains. A preference for freshwater shellfish over oysters continued throughout the subsequent Potomac Creek complex, as evidenced by the recovery of freshwater mussel from pits at the Accokeek Creek site. The available distribution data suggested that the initial occupation of the Coastal Plain by Potomac Creek cultures was limited to portions of the tidal waters where the spring salinity factor was less than six parts per thousand (Figure 1).<sup>15</sup>

Deer bone constituted the primary bone remains from sites of the Montgomery and Potomac Creek complexes. Elk remains were found at the Shepard and Rosenstock sites of the Montgomery complex, and at the Accokeek Creek site of the Potomac Creek complex. Deer not only provided a substantial portion of the meat but also furnished bone for tools and fur for clothing. Additionally, the Shepard site yielded remains of squirrel, rabbit, beaver, skunk, raccoon, fox, mink, dog, bobcat and black bear. Corn, squash and hickory nuts were also recovered from Montgomery complex sites.

All subsistence data suggested that the Montgomery complex villages were horticultural base camps that were occupied throughout the year by part of the populace. Their economy was based upon swidden horticulture with extensive deer hunting conducted for the procurement of meat. Dietary supple-

ments included wild plant foods, fin and shell fish, bird, and various species of mammals. The wide range of subsistence items recorded for the Potomac Creek complex groups during the historic period probably represented a continuum of subsistence items from the Montgomery complex.<sup>16</sup>

The horticultural and hunting subsistence base and riverine orientation of the Montgomery complex was apparently well established by the time the culture was recognizable in the archeological record. The complex from which the Montgomery complex developed has yet to be determined. The first evidence for the Montgomery complex appears around 900 A.D. in the Ridge and Valley province of the Shenandoah River valley, and in the Piedmont Lowlands of the Monocacy River valley.

Utilization of marine shell beads and the presence of rare sherds of Townsend pottery at Montgomery complex sites suggested participation of the cultures of this complex in an interaction sphere with the Townsend complex cultures of the Coastal Plain province. The absence of palisades around the nucleated villages indicated that hostilities were limited during the early part of this complex. Yet the presence of a stockade at the Fisher site and subsequent Potomac Creek complex sites denoted that hostilities may have predated 1200 A.D. The resulting displacement of the Montgomery complex people from the Shenandoah and Monocacy River valleys to the Potomac Piedmont transpired by approximately 1200 A.D. Other groups of Montgomery complex cultures may have migrated to the Susquehanna Piedmont, although additional studies of the Shenks Ferry complex are required to verify this hypothesis.<sup>17</sup> The groups which moved to the Coastal Plain portions of the Chesapeake drainage produced sites which archeologists have defined as the Potomac Creek complex. It is likely that the groups which migrated to the Susquehanna Piedmont may have produced the Shenks Ferry complex material culture.

Final determination of the factors which caused the increased hostilities and dislocations associated with the period following 1200 A.D. requires detailed spatial studies of the various ceramic series and types associated with the complexes in the Ridge and Valley, Piedmont, and Coastal Plain provinces. As illustrated in Figure 3, numerous archeological complexes existed at different times during the Late Woodland period in the Coastal Plain and Piedmont provinces of Maryland. The approximate time ranges for these complexes were based on radiocarbon dated sequences and on studies of related cultural developments in Virginia and Pennsylvania. Elaboration of these various complexes is beyond the scope of this paper. However, those complexes which may have provoked the eastward movement of the Montgomery complex are discussed below.

The groups primarily responsible for the shifting of the Montgomery complex settlements may have been the people of the Mason Island complex. They manufactured a limestone tempered pottery with cord impressed exteriors and collared rims which archeologists refer to as the Page Cord-Marked type. The Mason Island complex material culture, settlement pattern and subsistence pattern closely paralleled that of the Montgomery complex. Both complexes

had riverine orientations, were dependent upon a horticultural and hunting subsistence base, and developed nucleated village settlements by 1300 A.D. The Mason Island complex developed on the Dan River, James River and upper Shenandoah River drainages in the Ridge and Valley province. Sites of the Mason Island complex located along these drainage systems dated from 900 A.D. to the historic period. The Mason Island complex was contemporaneous with the unnamed complex which produced Radford series pottery in Southwest Virginia.

As the Mason Island complex developed, it apparently expanded northward along the Shenandoah valley and initiated the early displacement of Montgomery complex groups such as those at the Kern site (Figure 3). Further northward expansion may have subsequently displaced Montgomery complex cultures in the Monocacy valley. Radiocarbon dates from the Mason Island complex, Noland Ferry site, ranged greatly within individual features (800 to 1650 A.D.) but afforded a medium age of 1235 A.D. This date served as an acceptable date for the occupation of the site by a Mason Island complex group. Mason Island complex sites have not been reported from the Susquehanna Piedmont although the ceramic styles of the contemporaneous Shenks Ferry complex bore similarities in the incising techniques and in the use of limestone for temper.<sup>18</sup> Radiocarbon dates from the Winslow and Shepard sites suggested that groups of the Montgomery complex established nucleated villages in the Potomac Piedmont from 1175 to 1325 A.D. While earlier Montgomery complex sites are expected to have existed in the Potomac Piedmont, these later sites, along with the possibly palisaded Fisher site, may have represented the establishment of various Montgomery complex groups dislocated by the expansion of the Mason Island complex. The presence of two related but different types of Shepard series pottery at the Fisher site provided further evidence for the juxtaposing of formerly separate Montgomery complex groups in a defensive village. The Montgomery complex villages, along the Potomac Piedmont were probably abandoned by 1350 A.D. and reestablished in the Coastal Plain. These sites in the Coastal Plain are placed in the Potomac Creek complex. Mason Island sites subsequently occupied the Piedmont Potomac as far east as Harrison Island. The intervening area between Harrison Island and the Fall Line at Little Falls may have served as a buffer zone between these two cultures where only hunting and possible trade expeditions were conducted.

Previous investigations suggested that the Montgomery complex groups may have been succeeded by groups of the Luray phase of the Monongahela complex.<sup>19</sup> The Luray phase groups were responsible for the Keyser Cord-Marked type pottery which was a mussel shell tempered pottery exhibiting cord impressed exterior surfaces, predominantly undecorated rims, and lugs. The villages were of a circular pattern and were enclosed by a palisade. Within the village, circular and rectangular houses were distributed around an open plaza. Some features were surrounded by post molds, a trait characteristic of other Monongahela complex sites. The Luray phase village sites were permanent horticultural base camps which used meat from deer and other mammal species to supplement the diet. The pottery exhibited strong influences from

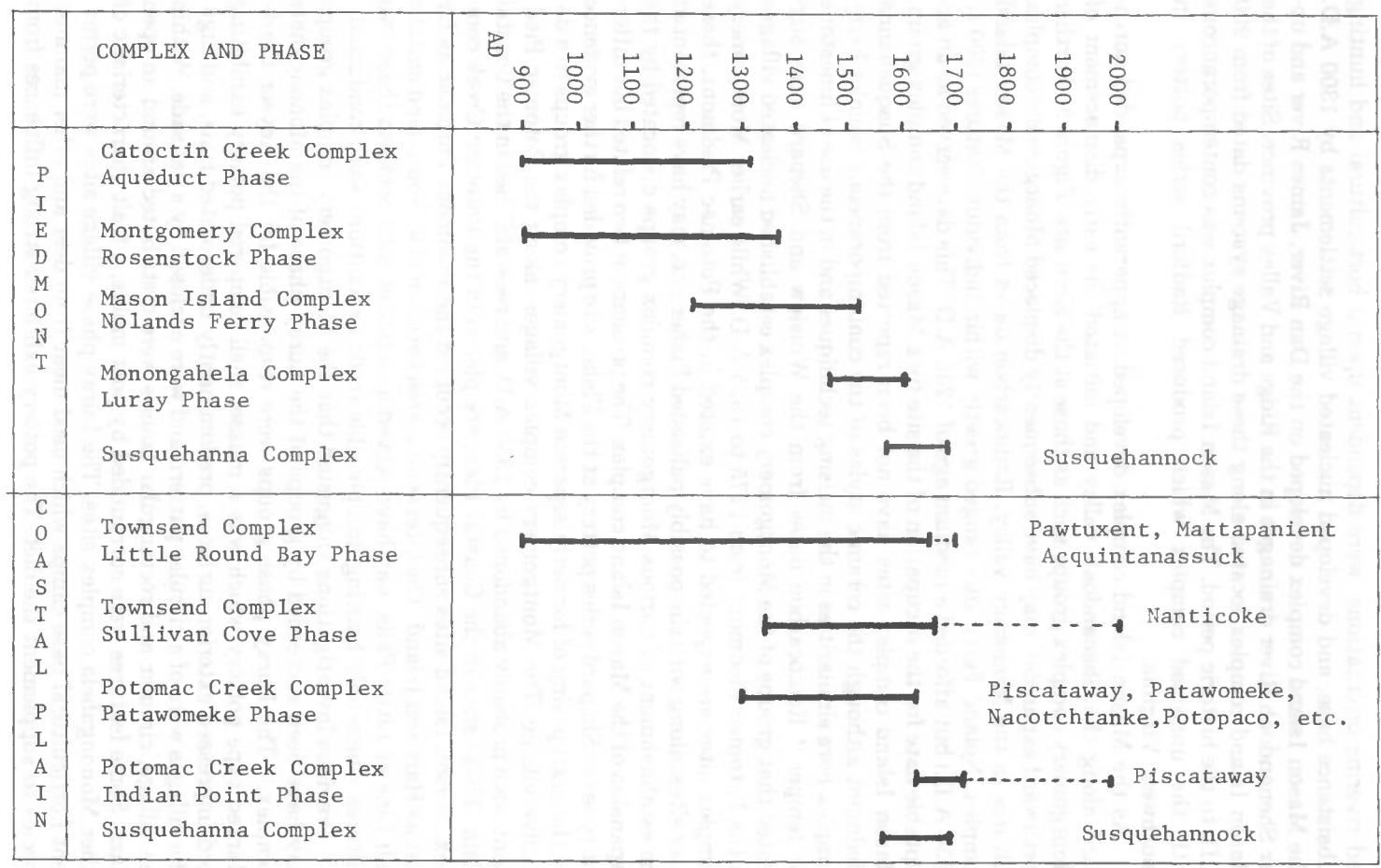


FIGURE 3.

Relative chronology of the archeological complexes prevalent during the Late Woodland period in Maryland.



the Monongahela and related Fort Ancient complex sites in the upper Potomac and upper Ohio drainages.

Apparently, the Monongahela complex in Maryland first appeared in the upper Potomac and then shifted eastward along the Shenandoah valley to the Monocacy valley until it finally occupied sites which extended eastward as far as the Fall Line zone on the Potomac River. In so doing, the Monongahela complex groups displaced the cultures of the Mason Island complex. This placed them in direct contact with the cultures of the Potomac Creek complex. As expected, the occurrence of marine shell beads at Luray phase sites suggested that interaction spheres had developed between the Potomac Creek complex and Luray phase cultures. The presence of a component of Potomac Creek complex cultures at the predominantly Luray phase Keyser Farm site in the Shenandoah valley attested to the friendliness of certain groups of these two complexes.<sup>20</sup>

The occupation of the Monocacy valley by cultures of the Monongahela complex probably occurred between 1475 and 1575 A.D. (Figure 3). This time span encompassed the range of radiocarbon dates from the Monongahela complex component of the palisaded Biggs Ford Village site in the Monocacy valley.<sup>21</sup> The sites in the Shenandoah valley may date to the period after 1575, although sites dating to the close of the 15th century are also expected. The Bowman site in Shenandoah County which primarily yielded Keyser Cord-Marked pottery received two radiocarbon dates— $1640 \pm 120$  and  $1710 \pm 120$ . A radiocarbon date of 1600 A.D. was reported from the Monongahela complex component of the Berryville site.<sup>22</sup> These late dates suggested that groups of the Monongahela culture began establishing villages along the Shenandoah valley around 1575 A.D. and continued this activity well into the historic period. It is probable that the Monongahela complex groups were displaced by the hostile Susquehannock tribes which developed in the Susquehanna Piedmont around 1550 A.D. and established outposts on the upper Potomac at Romney, West Virginia, and Bushy Cavern, Maryland, by at least 1575 A.D. As a result, Monongahela complex villages in the Monocacy valley were probably shifted southward to the Shenandoah River Valley by 1575 A.D. Likewise the Potomac Creek complex sites on the western shore of the Chesapeake Bay north of West River were abandoned by 1608 A.D. in response to the pressures from the Susquehannock and Iroquois chiefdoms. Neither the upper western shore section of the Chesapeake Bay nor the Piedmont province in Maryland were occupied by permanent Indian villages by the first quarter of the seventeenth century.<sup>23</sup> Clarification of the cultural processes which caused these various interactions will require comprehensive studies of available and new data from the Coastal Plain and Piedmont provinces.

This article has traced the development of the Montgomery complex from its origins around 900 A.D. to the arrival of the Montgomery complex into the Coastal Plain province by about 1300 A.D. The Mason Island and Monongahela complexes have also been discussed in terms of their influences upon the development of the Potomac Creek and Montgomery complexes. The dislocations of the various Piedmont and Ridge and Valley province complexes dur-

ing the period from 1200 to 1600 A.D. may be attributed to any number of factors whose analysis could serve as the subject of another article. However, it can be presumed that the similarities in the subsistence and settlement patterns of these riverine oriented horticulturalists was one of the major factors in the dislocation of the various groups.

The Montgomery, Mason Island, and Monongahela complexes were all riverine oriented, horticultural and hunting-based societies. The political organization had probably reached the tribal level, as based upon the presence of nucleated villages. All three complexes had developed in the river portions of the region west of the Fall Line zone. Thus when any great political, social, economic or environmental change necessitated the migration of one of the complexes into a new area, the migration was conducted at the expense of cultures adapted to a similar riverine environment.

This movement may not have always resulted in hostile relations as evidenced by the cohabitation of Potomac Creek and Monongahela complex people at the Keyser Farm site. At any given time, a tribe of one culture may have allowed a tribe of another culture to move into its territory. However, the prevalence of nucleated villages by 1200 A.D. and palisaded villages after 1300 A.D. for all the complexes in the Piedmont suggested that intertribal relations became progressively hostile during the Late Woodland period.

The establishment of the Potomac Creek complex cultures in the riverine portions of the Coastal Plain resulted in the displacement of the riverine oriented groups of the Townsend complex. However, the estuarine oriented groups of the Townsend complex continued to occupy the higher salinity portions of the Coastal rivers well into the Late Woodland period. This observation was based upon the absence or rare occurrence of Townsend complex, Sullivan Cove phase sites in the riverine portions of the coastal rivers. The brackish portions of the Patuxent, South and Severn Rivers contained the highest frequency of Sullivan Cove phase sites, which suggested that these coastal cultures were more susceptible to the acculturation of Potomac Creek complex traditions. Such acculturation was inferred from the adoption of the Potomac Creek motifs and techniques by the potters of the Sullivan Cove phase. Initially the influences were limited to changes in ceramic decoration, yet some groups eventually adopted the cord maledated exterior surfaces. This was the case at the Brice site on the Severn River which received a radiocarbon date of  $1385 \pm 55$  A.D. Sullivan Cove phase groups producing pottery similar to that at the Brice site may have eventually discontinued the use of shell temper in preference to quartz and their pottery would have then become virtually indistinguishable from the pottery of the Potomac Creek complex.

Apparently, the conservative tribes of the Townsend complex and the groups occupying the higher salinity portions of the coastal rivers were less influenced by potters of the Potomac Creek complex. On the Patuxent River, the Townsend Incised pottery of the Little Round Bay phase continued to be manufactured into the historic period.<sup>24</sup> The rare findings of Potomac Creek pottery in the lower Patuxent could be attributed to trade. While the Townsend Corded Horizontal type pottery of the Sullivan Cove phase has been recorded

along the Patuxent, sites of this nature were limited to the brackish areas of the middle Patuxent. A similar correlation between these pottery types and different settlement locations is expected to be discovered for the Lower Potomac valley.

While this paper has examined the broad changes and interactions between archeological complexes, explanations of these changes will require detailed chronological and spatial studies of the total range of attributes for each complex involved. Future studies should reveal that general chronologies and interpretations are not always applicable since interactions between the different cultures frequently occurred on the tribal and village levels. Even after the development of the Piscataway and Powhatan chiefdoms, intertribal relations within and between these cultures continued on the tribal level. Refined analysis of the elaborate decorative motifs and techniques of the various complexes should provide the data base upon which studies of tribal relationships may proceed. Refined typological analysis, combined with comparative studies of other aspects of the various complexes, will someday resolve many of the questions advanced in this paper and raise still unimagined issues.

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# Townsend Ceramics and the Late Woodland and Southern Delaware

DANIEL R. GRIFFITH

**T**HE LATE WOODLAND IN SOUTHERN DELAWARE IS A CULTURAL PERIOD encompassing a time frame from approximately 1000 A.D. to European Contact and settlement in the seventeenth century. As such, it is the last native cultural period in this area and the one for which the greatest amount of archaeological information remains intact. It is generally assumed that during this period the cultural characteristics of such historic period groups as the Nanticoke and Assateague Indians were developed. This paper focuses on an analysis of a series of large Late Woodland sites in the area that were occupied by the Nanticoke Indians and closely related groups during the Contact and early historic periods of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The goal of this research is to explore the external influences on and the cultural dynamics of the developing Late Woodland cultures in southern Delaware. In order to accomplish this, a detailed and systematic analysis of the ceramics of these peoples is presented. The reasons for choosing ceramics as the focus of analysis is explained further below. The analysis is based on the development of a space and time framework for these ceramics. This approach is called space/time systematics. In such an approach there are three types of information which are meaningful for an interpretation of cultural dynamics and culture history. The first is style; a study of the form and kind of ceramics in use by these peoples. The second and third factors are space and time respectively. In other words, once an analysis of style has determined that certain different kinds of ceramics were manufactured during this period, an analysis of their distributions in space and time forms the basis for interpreting culture history and the details of cultural dynamics. The remainder of this paper will present the space and time framework for the defined Late Woodland ceramics.

Space/time systematics are fundamental to all archaeological research. The placing of analytic units in the dimensions of time and space are the initial steps in cultural synthesis and studies of culture process. This paper combines this concern with classificatory techniques to produce a structural assessment of ceramic style diversity in the Late Woodland of southern Delaware. The analysis produces temporally and spatially-sensitive types and type groups based on patterned variations in the modes of decorative technique and motif. These reflect spatial and temporal aspects of ceramic style development re-

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sulting from external influences on and the internal dynamics of the Late Woodland culture of southern Delaware. The observed ceramic style diversity in time and space has implications for regional research in the Late Woodland in the Middle Atlantic coast from Virginia through New Jersey.

Ceramics have long been used for prehistoric cultural chronology and cultural interpretation. For Delaware ceramic studies in general and Late Woodland studies in particular, ceramics have served this purpose primarily due to the degree of stylistic diversity observed. In other words, those aspects of material culture which display the most variation in technological and/or stylistic attributes have the greatest potential for revealing discernable and definable changes through time, thus permitting a more refined chronology than any other material aspect of these cultures. The plastic medium of ceramics displays readily definable variations in styles of vessel form, decorative technique and decorative motif. These variations are caused by a complex set of historical and social factors that have chronological and spacial significance. Townsend ceramics are uniquely suited to problems of chronology and culture history as style diversity within and between the traditional types is greater than any other aspect of the material culture of this period. For this reason, a detailed study of the space/time systematics of Townsend ceramics provides the framework for the interpretation of Late Woodland culture history in southern Delaware.

The Townsend Series ceramics were first defined by Margaret Blaker<sup>1</sup> as part of an intensive analysis of the Townsend site conducted by members of the Sussex Society of Archaeology and History and the Anthropology Department of the Smithsonian Institution. The Townsend site, excavated between 1948 and 1950, was a large, Late Woodland manifestation located near Lewes, Delaware (Figure 1). Investigations and subsequent analysis of this site defined the Late Woodland culture in southern Delaware and was the type-site for the definition of Townsend Series ceramics. By Blaker's definition, the term series designated a group of ceramics that are technologically related in terms of techniques of manufacture and surface treatment. This series has a shell-tempered paste, fabric impressed exterior surfaces, is of coil construction and is conoidal in shape. Within the series she further defined five constituent types as outlined below:

1. Rappahannock Fabric Impressed—vessels displaying a lack of decoration other than the fabric of the body surface treatment.
2. Rappahannock Incised—vessels with incised decorative motifs on the rim.
3. Townsend Incised—the same definition as Rappahannock Incised except the attribute of placement of the first element in the decorative motif ("a short distance below the lip") is the defining criteria.
4. Townsend Corded Horizontal—defined on the basis of decorative technique (cord impressions) and, to a limited extent, motif (horizontal bands).
5. Townsend Herringbone—defined on the basis of two decorative techniques occurring on the vessel (cord impressions and incised lines), as well as the decorative motif of an incised herringbone pattern.

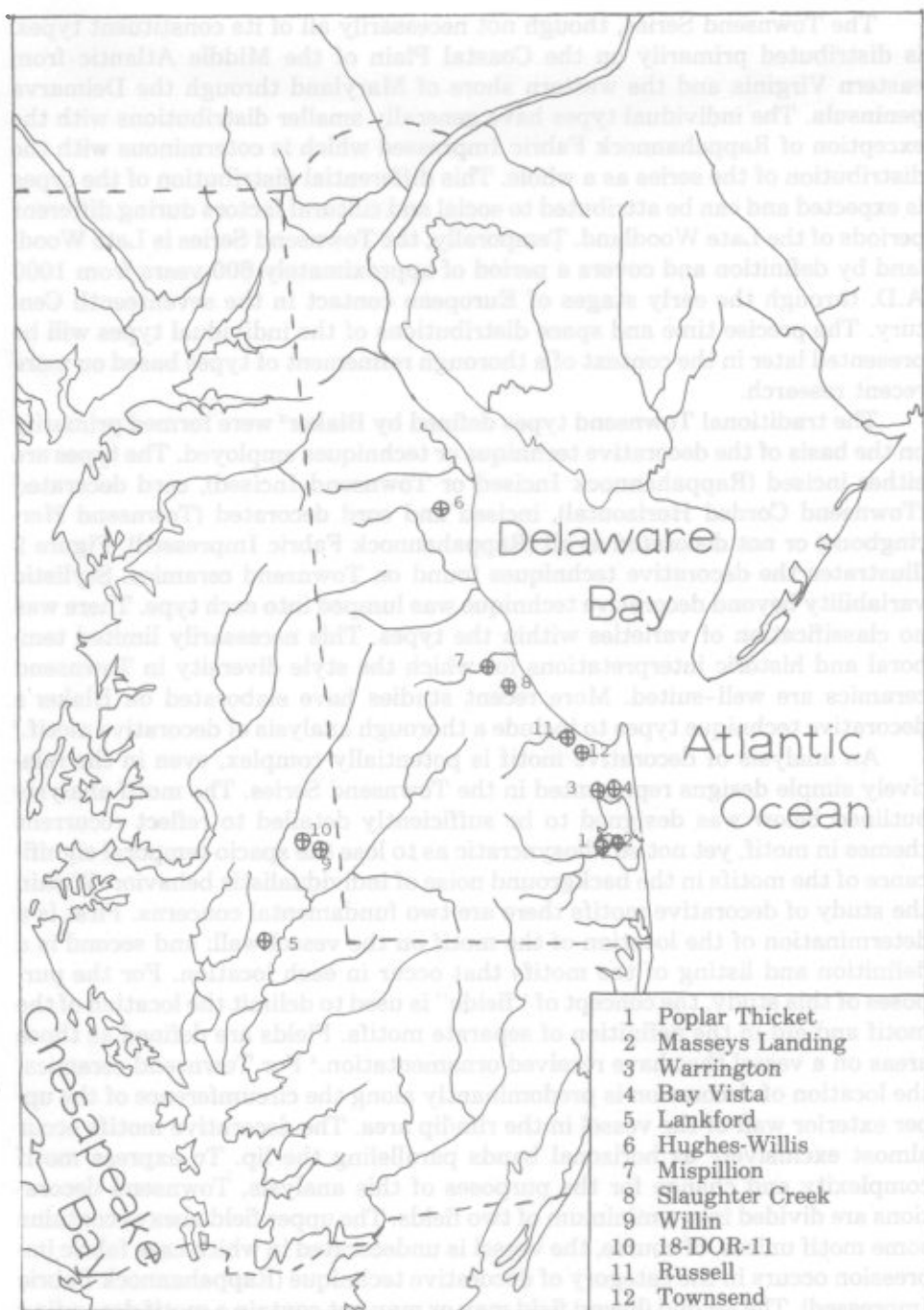


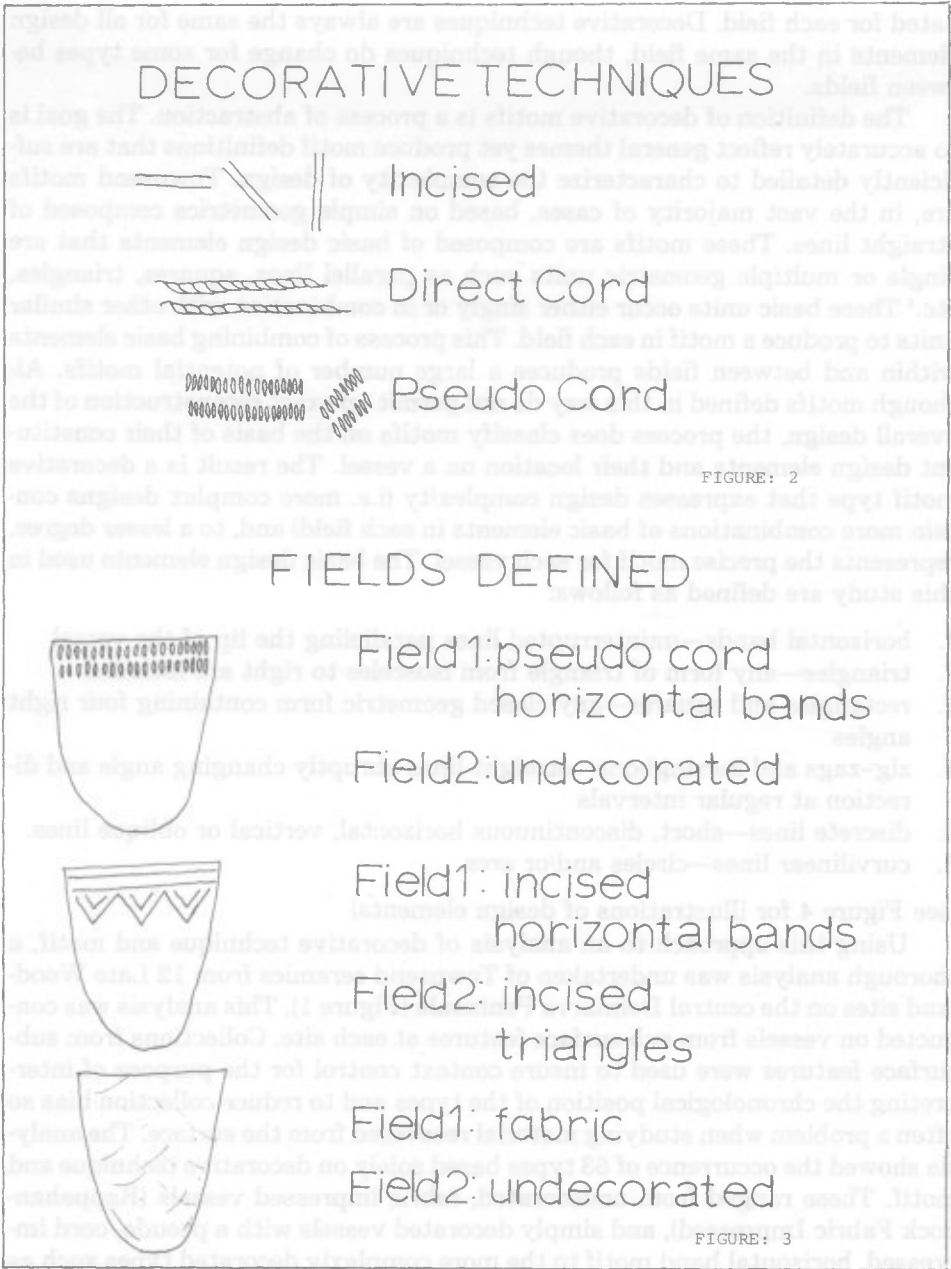
FIGURE 1.

The Townsend Series, though not necessarily all of its constituent types, is distributed primarily on the Coastal Plain of the Middle Atlantic from eastern Virginia and the western shore of Maryland through the Delmarva peninsula. The individual types have generally smaller distributions with the exception of Rappahannock Fabric Impressed which is coterminous with the distribution of the series as a whole. This differential distribution of the types is expected and can be attributed to social and cultural factors during different periods of the Late Woodland. Temporally, the Townsend Series is Late Woodland by definition and covers a period of approximately 600 years from 1000 A.D. through the early stages of European contact in the seventeenth Century. The precise time and space distributions of the individual types will be presented later in the context of a thorough refinement of types based on more recent research.

The traditional Townsend types defined by Blaker<sup>2</sup> were formed primarily on the basis of the decorative technique or techniques employed. The types are either incised (Rappahannock Incised or Townsend Incised), cord decorated (Townsend Corded Horizontal), incised and cord decorated (Townsend Herringbone) or not decorated at all (Rappahannock Fabric Impressed). Figure 2 illustrates the decorative techniques found on Townsend ceramics. Stylistic variability beyond decorative technique was lumped into each type. There was no classification of varieties within the types. This necessarily limited temporal and historic interpretations for which the style diversity in Townsend ceramics are well-suited. More recent studies have elaborated on Blaker's decorative technique types to include a thorough analysis of decorative motif.<sup>3</sup>

An analysis of decorative motif is potentially complex, even in the relatively simple designs represented in the Townsend Series. The motif analysis outlined below was designed to be sufficiently detailed to reflect recurrent themes in motif, yet not so idiosyncratic as to lose the spacio-temporal significance of the motifs in the background noise of individualistic behavior. Within the study of decorative motifs there are two fundamental concerns. First is a determination of the location of the motif on the vessel wall; and second is a definition and listing of the motifs that occur in each location. For the purposes of this study, the concept of "fields" is used to delimit the location of the motif and aid in the definition of separate motifs. Fields are defined as those areas on a vessel that have received ornamentation.<sup>4</sup> For Townsend ceramics, the location of decoration is predominantly along the circumference of the upper exterior wall of the vessel in the rim/lip area. The decorative motifs occur almost exclusively as horizontal bands paralleling the lip. To express motif complexity and change for the purposes of this analysis, Townsend decorations are divided into a minimum of two fields. The upper field always contains some motif unless, of course, the vessel is undecorated in which case fabric impression occurs in the category of decorative technique (Rappahannock Fabric Impressed). The second (lower) field may or may not contain a motif depending upon the complexity of the overall design. A change in motifs on a vertical axis is required to designate a different motif in field two (Figure 3). For example, Horizontal bands in field one cannot surmount horizontal bands in field two





FIGURES 2 AND 3.

for there is no difference between the two motifs necessary to define a field change. The entire motif is classified as horizontal bands with no decoration in field two. The Townsend types offered here include the decorative motifs from each of two fields. Decorative techniques, as previously defined, are desig-

nated for each field. Decorative techniques are always the same for all design elements in the same field, though techniques do change for some types between fields.

The definition of decorative motifs is a process of abstraction. The goal is to accurately reflect general themes yet produce motif definitions that are sufficiently detailed to characterize the complexity of design. Townsend motifs are, in the vast majority of cases, based on simple geometrics composed of straight lines. These motifs are composed of basic design elements that are single or multiple geometric units such as parallel lines, squares, triangles, etc.<sup>5</sup> These basic units occur either singly or in combination with other similar units to produce a motif in each field. This process of combining basic elements within and between fields produces a large number of potential motifs. Although motifs defined in this way do not permit an exact reconstruction of the overall design, the process does classify motifs on the basis of their constituent design elements and their location on a vessel. The result is a decorative motif type that expresses design complexity (i.e. more complex designs contain more combinations of basic elements in each field) and, to a lesser degree, represents the precise motif for each vessel. The basic design elements used in this study are defined as follows:

1. horizontal bands—uninterrupted lines paralleling the lip of the vessel
2. triangles—any form of triangle from isosceles to right are included
3. rectangles and squares—any closed geometric form containing four right angles
4. zig-zags and herringbone—straight lines abruptly changing angle and direction at regular intervals
5. discrete lines—short, discontinuous horizontal, vertical or oblique lines.
6. curvilinear lines—circles and/or arcs

(see Figure 4 for illustrations of design elements)

Using this approach to an analysis of decorative technique and motif, a thorough analysis was undertaken of Townsend ceramics from 12 Late Woodland sites on the central Delmarva Peninsula (Figure 1). This analysis was conducted on vessels from sub-surface features at each site. Collections from sub-surface features were used to insure context control for the purpose of interpreting the chronological position of the types and to reduce collection bias so often a problem when studying material recovered from the surface. The analysis showed the occurrence of 63 types based solely on decorative technique and motif. These ranged from undecorated, fabric impressed vessels (Rappahannock Fabric Impressed), and simply decorated vessels with a pseudo-cord impressed, horizontal band motif to the more complexly decorated types such as one vessel exhibiting incised horizontal bands in field 1 surmounting incised horizontal bands, triangles and oblique lines in field 2. Much style diversity, however, was very idiosyncratic. Many of the types were represented by only a single vessel. For this reason, type groups were defined on the basis of general stylistic similarities in decorative technique and motif.<sup>6</sup> These type groups complement the Blaker typology by continuing to use the primary type defini-

DESIGN ELEMENTS

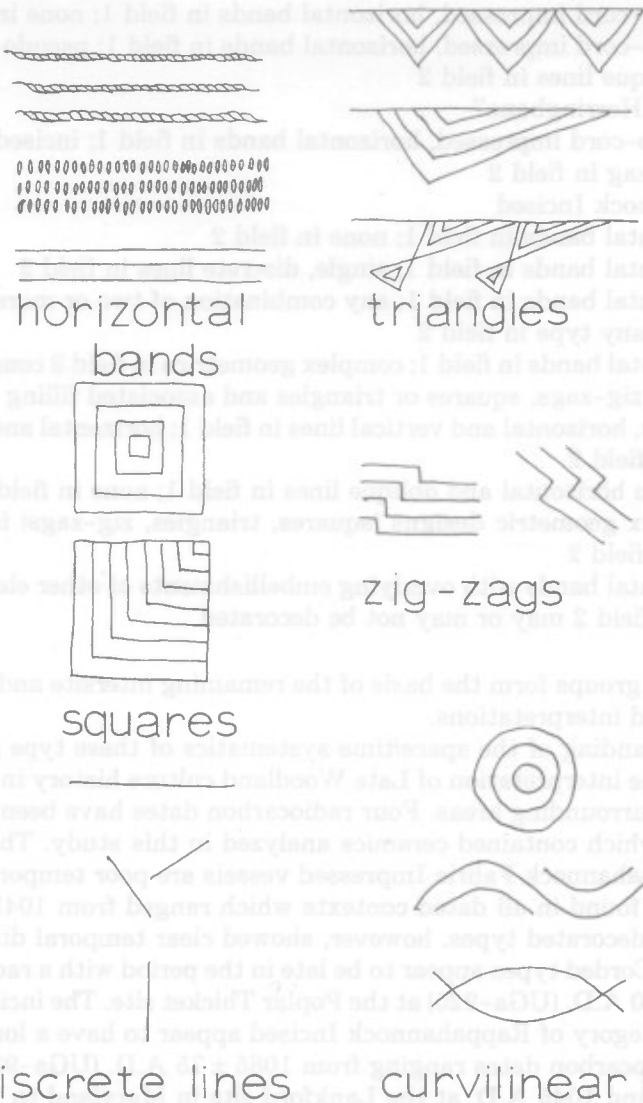


FIGURE 4.

tions based on decorative technique and broadening the typology by including varieties based solely on decorative motif. This revised typology consists of four of the five original types further amplified by eleven varieties based on motif as follows (Figure 5):

- A Rappahannock Fabric Impressed—RFI  
No recognized varieties

- B Townsend Corded (Horizontal)  
 TC1 Director cord impressed, horizontal bands in field 1; none in field 2  
 TC2 Pseudo-cord impressed, horizontal bands in field 1; none in field 2  
 TC3 Pseudo-cord impressed, horizontal bands in field 1; pseudo-cord impressed oblique lines in field 2
- C Townsend "Herringbone"  
 TH1 Pseudo-cord impressed, horizontal bands in field 1; incised herringbone or zig-zag in field 2
- D Rappahannock Incised  
 RI1 Horizontal bands in field 1; none in field 2  
 RI2 Horizontal bands in field 1; single, discrete lines in field 2  
 RI3 Horizontal bands in field 1; any combination of two or more discrete lines of any type in field 2  
 RI4 Horizontal bands in field 1; complex geometrics in field 2 consisting of at least zig-zags, squares or triangles and associated filling elements  
 RI5 Squares, horizontal and vertical lines in field 1; horizontal and vertical lines in field 2  
 RI6 Discrete horizontal and oblique lines in field 1; none in field 2  
 RI7 Complex geometric designs (squares, triangles, zig-zags) in field 1; none in field 2  
 RI8 Horizontal bands with overlying embellishments of other elements in field 1; field 2 may or may not be decorated

The above type groups form the basis of the remaining intersite and intrasite comparisons and interpretations.

An understanding of the space/time systematics of these type groups is necessary for the interpretation of Late Woodland culture history in southern Delaware and surrounding areas. Four radiocarbon dates have been obtained from features which contained ceramics analyzed in this study. These dates show that Rappahannock Fabric Impressed vessels are poor temporal indicators; they were found in all dated contexts which ranged from 1045 A.D. to 1360 A.D. The decorated types, however, showed clear temporal differences. The Townsend Corded types appear to be late in the period with a radiocarbon date of  $1360 \pm 60$  A.D. (UGa-925) at the Poplar Thicket site. The incised types in the broad category of Rappahannock Incised appear to have a longer time depth with radiocarbon dates ranging from  $1085 \pm 75$  A.D. (UGa-923) at the Mispillion site and 1045 A.D. at the Lankford site in Maryland to  $1285 \pm 85$  A.D. (UGa-924) at the Warrington site. The chronological order, however, is more complex. Seriations conducted of type groups within and between features throughout the study area as well as several instances of direct association of artifacts of the historic period with some type groups has indicated that further refinements in the chronology are warranted.

The Townsend Corded group is still a viable chronological indicator. It postdates 1285 A.D. in southern Delaware. It appears to be somewhat earlier in the lower Eastern Shore of Maryland, and perhaps somewhat later to the north where it occurs very infrequently. The late date of direct cord is certain

## TOWNSEND CORDED



## TOWNSEND HERRINGBONE



## RAPPAHANNOCK INCISED

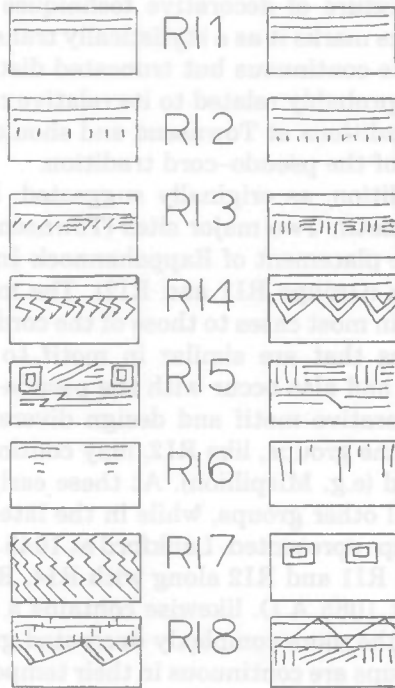


FIGURE 5.

at one end of the sequence due to its associations in several features with roulette decorated pipes, but its spacial heterogeneity makes general statements as to its usefulness in chronological assessments limited. It can be demonstrated, for example, that all direct cord features and sites postdate 1360 A.D., but the converse is not necessarily true. Several sites, notably some of the Townsend site features, are equally as late and do not contain direct cord. It is apparent that this decorative technique was introduced or developed late in the Late Woodland and spread to select sites in southern Delaware and immediately adjacent Maryland. Its distribution seems to reflect social differ-

ences as much as it does temporal within this later period. Pseudo-cord is a more widely applied technique and, in conjunction with its dominant motif (horizontal bands and related types) is indicative of post-1285 A.D. occupation in the area of its distribution. There is clear evidence, however, that it was replaced by or contemporary with direct cord in some areas while it continued until Contact at others. The mechanism and meaning of this differential development and acceptance of techniques has not been addressed in this study, though it is surely social in nature.

Townsend Herringbone ceramics appear at a very limited number of sites. Its distribution is sporadic and its temporal placement difficult. Stylistically, it is part of the pseudo-cord tradition and its expected duration should be coeval with it. Its distribution at the Townsend site is consistent with the observation. The mixture of decorative techniques exhibited by Townsend Herringbone ceramics marks it as a stylistically transitional type between two major traditions. The continuous but truncated distribution of this group at the Townsend site is probably related to its relative rarity. It still occurs with groups from both traditions at Townsend and should probably continue back in time to the start of the pseudo-cord tradition.

The incised tradition, as originally suggested, is best separated on the basis of decorative motif. Two major sites (Townsend and Masseys Landing) demonstrate the late placement of Rappahannock Incised ceramics with simple horizontal bands (Groups RI1 and RI2). The motifs displayed by these groups are identical in most cases to those of the corded tradition. In addition, several incised types that are similar in motif to Townsend Herringbone ceramics are known and also occur with the pseudo-cord tradition (Masseys 17). In general, decorative motif and design diversity in any given site increases with age. Some groups, like RI2, may continue for sometime into the early Late Woodland (e.g. Mispillion). At these early periods, however, they are joined by several other groups, while in the latest periods they are often the only incised group represented. Lankford at 1045 A.D. displays Rappahannock Incised groups RI1 and RI2 along with RI4, RI5, and RI6. The Mispillion dated feature at 1085 A.D. likewise contains a similar type group (RI3) and the presence of the more complexly decorated groups RI4, RI5, RI6 and RI8. These early groups are continuous in their temporal distribution but drop out at different periods in different areas.

On the adjacent Eastern Shore of Maryland groups RI1, RI2, RI3, RI4, RI5, RI6, RI7, and RI8 drop out by the appearance of the cord tradition. In southern Delaware groups RI4, RI5, RI6, RI7 and RI8 disappear before the cord tradition. Rappahannock Incised Group RI6 types continue late in the cord tradition in Maryland, while groups RI1 and RI2 and perhaps RI3 do so in Delaware. In the northern part of the Townsend range in Delaware, at the Mispillion site, there is no discernible overlap of the cord tradition (which is very rare there) with the incised groups. With the latest incised group RI1 there is an overlap in the north with groups RI2 through RI6, in the south with groups RI2 through RI6, and near the geographic center of this distribution with groups RI2 and RI4.

In the north the overlap of RI1 and RI2 through RI6 is very tenuous, occurring in only one feature with group RI1 represented by one vessel. In the south the overlap with RI2, RI4, RI5 and RI6 is much stronger as is the case with RI2 at the central sites. Group RI1 (Incised horizontal bands only) and its associations are strong indicators of relative chronology and effectively divide the incised tradition into two parts. In the earlier part, group RI1 occurs in relatively low frequencies with many other groups, while after 1285 A.D. (Warrington date) it occurs with few other incised groups in consequently higher percentages. Groups RI7 and RI8 are rare, complex, and exotic, and occur only in the northern range of this study at Hughes-Willis, Mispillion and Slaughter Creek. These occur in the seriations with all incised groups but RI1. The temporal placement is predominantly pre-1285 A.D. and their distribution strongly correlates with the more diversely designed ceramics in the north. This complex may define a northern area style zone for the period of their occurrence.

The relative chronology is fairly clear. The cord tradition is late and the incised tradition is partially contemporaneous with it, but has a much longer and more complex history. Within this latter tradition, the trend is towards increasing motif simplicity towards the end of the Late Woodland where sufficient group overlap demonstrates the direction of change. Very complex motif and group diversity in any given context characterizes the early part of the Late Woodland. Through time, both factors decrease in importance. This may, in part, be the result of style influence in motif from the cord tradition originating in the west and south. The development of the cord tradition as an important decorative technique was differentially accepted. The observed distribution indicates social differences as well as temporal trends. By Contact, this tradition had been totally accepted at some sites, while in others in the same vicinity remained partly in the incised tradition. These findings indicate that ceramic chronology in the Delaware Late Woodland is a complex mixture of variables requiring site-by-site evaluations of trends in decorative technique, decorative motif, and spacial patterning. The results can then be compared regionally for assessments of style influence and as measures of culture change.

The implications of Townsend ceramic space/time systematics can be most fully appreciated when viewed from a regional perspective. Ceramic styles display both temporal and cultural components that can be related to developments elsewhere in the mid-Atlantic. Analysis of these regional developments reveal the nature of style origin and change and, on a broader scale, the dynamics of cultural movements and boundary fluctuations. Ceramic group occurrence and distribution as previously defined is analyzed on this regional scale by reference to the existing literature and some recent regional studies.

The early Late Woodland in Delaware is characterized by the appearance of Rappahannock Fabric Impressed and Rappahannock Incised vessels in groups RI3 through RI8. These are the incised ceramics representing complex motifs. The widest range of groups occurs in Delaware near the northern range

of the Townsend Ware manifestation on the Delmarva Peninsula. Style diversity and complexity decreases from this point toward the southwest within the Delmarva study area. This general trend continues to the west and south across the peninsula to the Western Shore of Maryland and the Coastal Plain of the Potomac. West of the Chesapeake ceramics for these groups appear at Accokeek<sup>7</sup>, the Severn River area,<sup>8</sup> and in the north around the upper bay.<sup>9</sup> These occurrences, though widespread, are not intense. Nowhere does the level and intensity of design complexity and diversity approach that of the Mispillion site features. This is based not so much on the quantity of incised ceramics appearing at these sites as the group diversity apparent. In terms of a relative chronology, these ceramics are interpreted to be the earliest Late Woodland manifestations in their respective areas.<sup>10</sup>

This trend implies a northeasterly direction for style origin and expansion. Prior to, and during, this period to the north in the Delaware valley were several highly decorated ceramic complexes. Such northern types as Bowmans Brook, Overpeck and Riggins, or Indian Head Incised have long been recognized as having stylistic affinities with some segments of Townsend Ware.<sup>11</sup> The appearance and spread of these related styles probably originated in the complex decorative tradition of the Abbott Farm Middle Woodland. It is postulated that this early style zone spread its influence across central New Jersey toward the central Delmarva Peninsula and across the central and northern portions of the western shore of Maryland at the beginning of the Late Woodland. From there to the west and south into coastal southern Maryland and Virginia the direct influence became attenuated. The existence of this strong northern influence in central Delaware is consistent with patterns established in the local Middle Woodland. The Mispillion site is located near the center of the most intense late Middle Woodland manifestation known in Delaware represented by the Island Field site. During this period, strong northern influences are manifested by the occurrence of non-local materials and exotic artifact styles. It is marked by an extensive trade in non-local, northern flints as well as the introduction of non-local artifact styles reminiscent of the Kipp Island Phase of central New York.<sup>12</sup> These northern influences apparently continued into the early Late Woodland but in a different form. Incised ceramics occurred for the first time in Delaware and surrounding areas and, along with this decorative technique, appear motifs similar to and in some cases identical to those of the more northerly early Late Woodland occupations. The direction of style influence is clear (Figure 6).

If the Delaware sequence is representative, the intensity of this influence and the level of ceramic group diversity slowly waned. Based on the intermediate date at the Warrington site (1285 A.D.), 3 of the 5 ceramic groups represented by the dated Mispillion feature (1085 A.D.) were no longer being produced. The trend toward the simplifying of motifs was well underway. The meaning of this trend is not altogether clear. It may indicate one of two possibilities. First, the external relationships with the north may have been reduced in intensity or ceased altogether. A change in the structural relationship with these northern groups is therefore suggested. On the other hand, this style



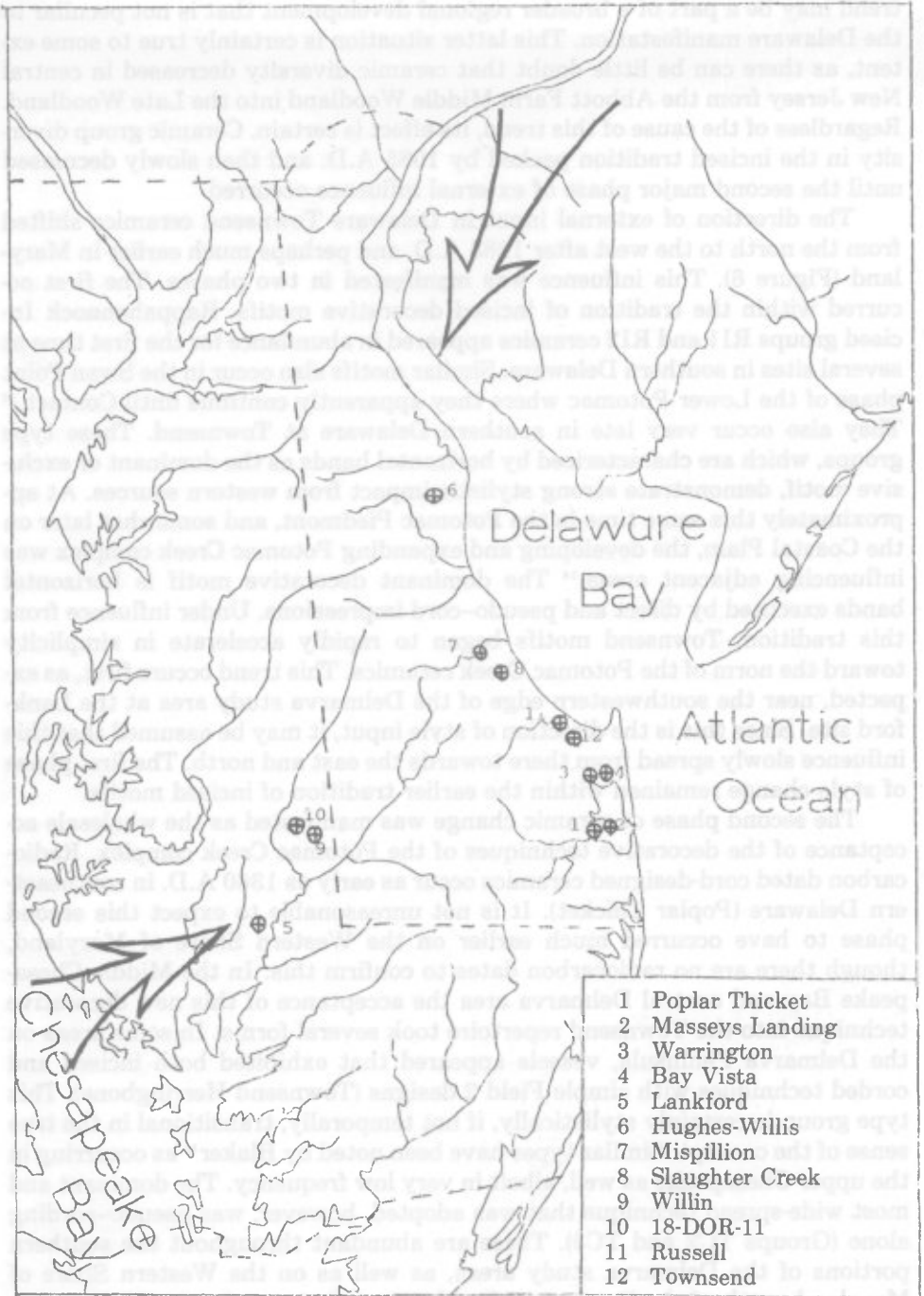


FIGURE 6.

trend may be a part of a broader regional development that is not peculiar to the Delaware manifestation. This latter situation is certainly true to some extent, as there can be little doubt that ceramic diversity decreased in central New Jersey from the Abbott Farm Middle Woodland into the Late Woodland. Regardless of the cause of this trend, its effect is certain. Ceramic group diversity in the incised tradition peaked by 1085 A.D. and then slowly decreased until the second major phase of external influence occurred.

The direction of external input in Delaware Townsend ceramics shifted from the north to the west after 1285 A.D. and perhaps much earlier in Maryland (Figure 6). This influence was manifested in two phases. The first occurred within the tradition of incised decorative motifs. Rappahannock Incised groups RI1 and RI2 ceramics appeared in abundance for the first time at several sites in southern Delaware. Similar motifs also occur in the Swan Point phase of the Lower Potomac where they apparently continue until Contact.<sup>13</sup> They also occur very late in southern Delaware at Townsend. These type groups, which are characterized by horizontal bands as the dominant or exclusive motif, demonstrate strong stylistic impact from western sources. At approximately this same time in the Potomac Piedmont, and somewhat later on the Coastal Plain, the developing and expanding Potomac Creek complex was influencing adjacent areas.<sup>14</sup> The dominant decorative motif is horizontal bands executed by direct and pseudo-cord impressions. Under influence from this tradition, Townsend motifs began to rapidly accelerate in simplicity toward the norm of the Potomac Creek ceramics. This trend occurs first, as expected, near the southwestern edge of the Delmarva study area at the Lankford site. Since this is the direction of style input, it may be assumed that this influence slowly spread from there towards the east and north. The first phase of style change remained within the earlier tradition of incised motifs.

The second phase of ceramic change was manifested as the wholesale acceptance of the decorative techniques of the Potomac Creek complex. Radiocarbon dated cord-designed ceramics occur as early as 1360 A.D. in southeastern Delaware (Poplar Thicket). It is not unreasonable to expect this second phase to have occurred much earlier on the Western Shore of Maryland, though there are no radiocarbon dates to confirm this. In the Middle Chesapeake Bay and central Delmarva area the acceptance of this new decorative technique into the Townsend repertoire took several forms. In some areas on the Delmarva Peninsula, vessels appeared that exhibited both incised and corded techniques with simple Field 2 designs (Townsend Herringbone). This type group is certainly stylistically, if not temporally, transitional in the true sense of the concept. Similar types have been noted by Blaker<sup>15</sup> as occurring in the upper Chesapeake as well, albeit in very low frequency. The dominant and most wide-spread technique that was adopted, however, was pseudo-cording alone (Groups TC2 and TC3). These are abundant throughout the southern portions of the Delmarva study areas, as well as on the Western Shore of Maryland north of the Patuxent.<sup>16</sup> By the time that pseudo-cord techniques become widespread in the Delmarva, horizontal bands are by far the dominant motif. The style switch to match the Potomac Creek vessels was complete in

most areas. On the eastern fringes of the Potomac Creek style influence, and in certain "refuges," incised techniques still occurred. In some cases, this was to the exclusion of cord-impressed motifs,<sup>17</sup> and in others they continued as a co-tradition. The Townsend site, where Townsend Corded groups TC2 and TC3 appear in good association with Townsend Herringbone and Rappahannock Incised group RI1 is the best example of the latter.

The processes of the second phase style change were still in full swing at Contact. The decorative technique of the late Potomac Creek cord-impressed ceramics appears exclusively in several Delaware contexts and in mixed associations with incised groups in others. This is further supported by the appearance of several applique rims on Townsend Corded group TC3 ceramics in southern Delaware and the Eastern Shore of Maryland. These admittedly rare occurrences are reminiscent of the "thickened" lips appearing on a large percentage of Potomac Creek vessels.

These continuing and strong western influences suggest that stylistic relationships to the north were essentially non-existent. Fully incised ceramic complexes continued to Contact in southern New Jersey and adjacent Pennsylvania. Some mechanisms of culture change, originating in the north or from within the Delmarva/Chesapeake area proper, restructured the once strong ties to the north. An analysis of the temporally-sensitive ceramic group distribution further supports this contention within the Delaware study area. The northern range Townsend sites contain very high percentages of the complexly incised ceramic groups, and low percentages of the corded ones. In fact, the most northern site (Hughes-Willis) contains no cord decorated ceramics at all. Conversely, the southern sites generally have a very high percentage of pseudo-cord and direct cord decorated vessels. Basing the first group on a pre-1285 A.D. date, and the latter on a post-1360 A.D. date, a style shift is seen that also reflects a spacial shift in the center of occupation density. The more northerly Townsend sites appear to have been abandoned by the introduction of the pseudo-cord tradition. Meanwhile, several large sites in the south appear to have become occupied for the first time at about the same time the cord tradition is introduced (e.g., Townsend and Russell).

This coincidence of site abandonment and establishment appears to indicate a substantial shift in population centers. This should be a subject for future research with an intensive analysis of the change in settlements through time as supporting information. Early Contact historic accounts by the Dutch in the first third of the seventeenth century verify this distributional model. Maps of the Delaware Bay show Indian habitations only in southern Sussex County near the coast in the vicinity of the archaeological sites, Townsend and Russell. The latter, in fact, is purported to have been a trading post settlement.<sup>18</sup>

The logical conclusions of this observation is that significant pressures were being exerted on these northern range sites during the period from 1360 A.D. to Contact (Figure 7). This relationship corresponds well with several developments to the north and northwest and to some additional field data in the area of these northern sites. It is approximately this period that Clark<sup>19</sup>

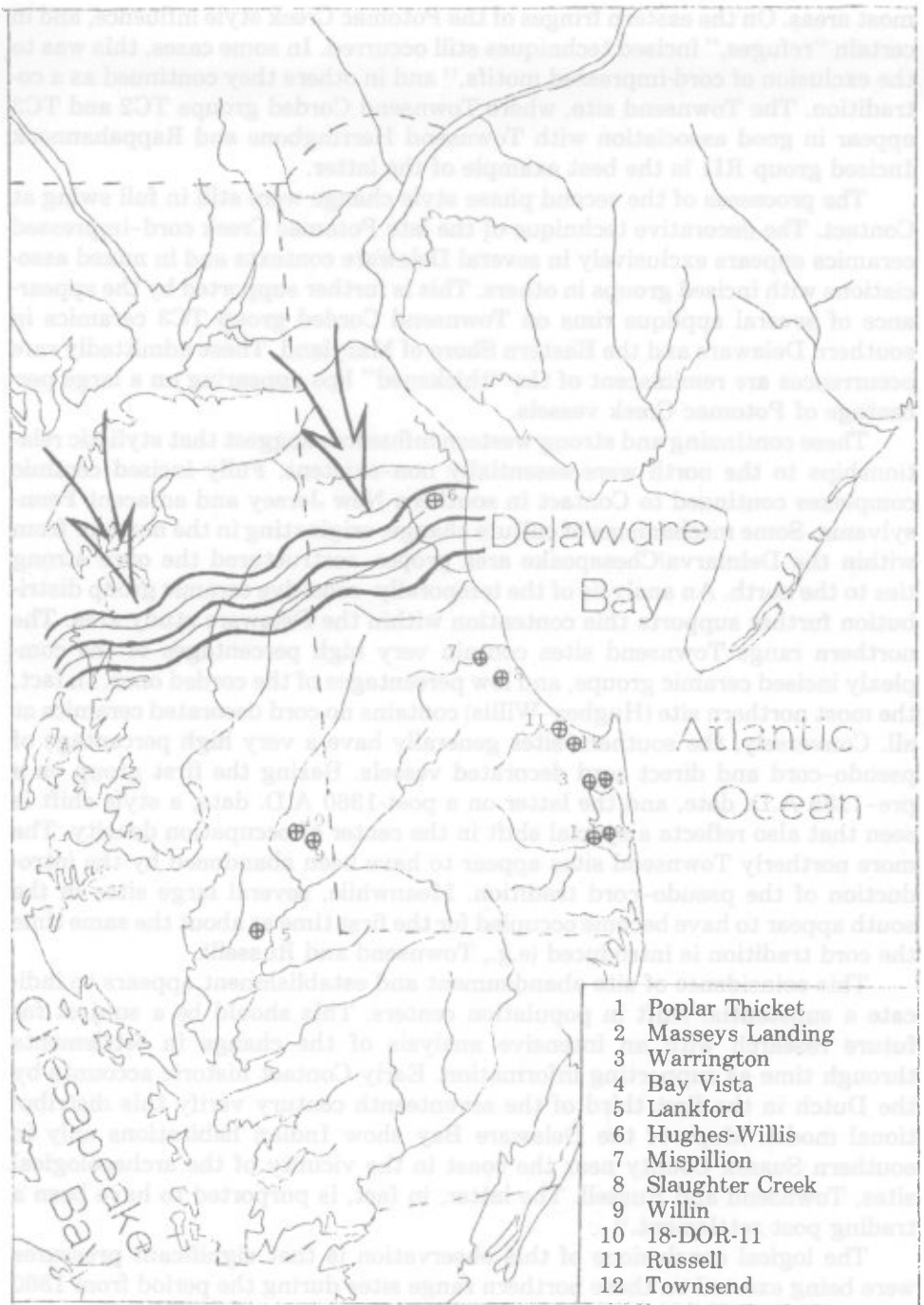


FIGURE 7.

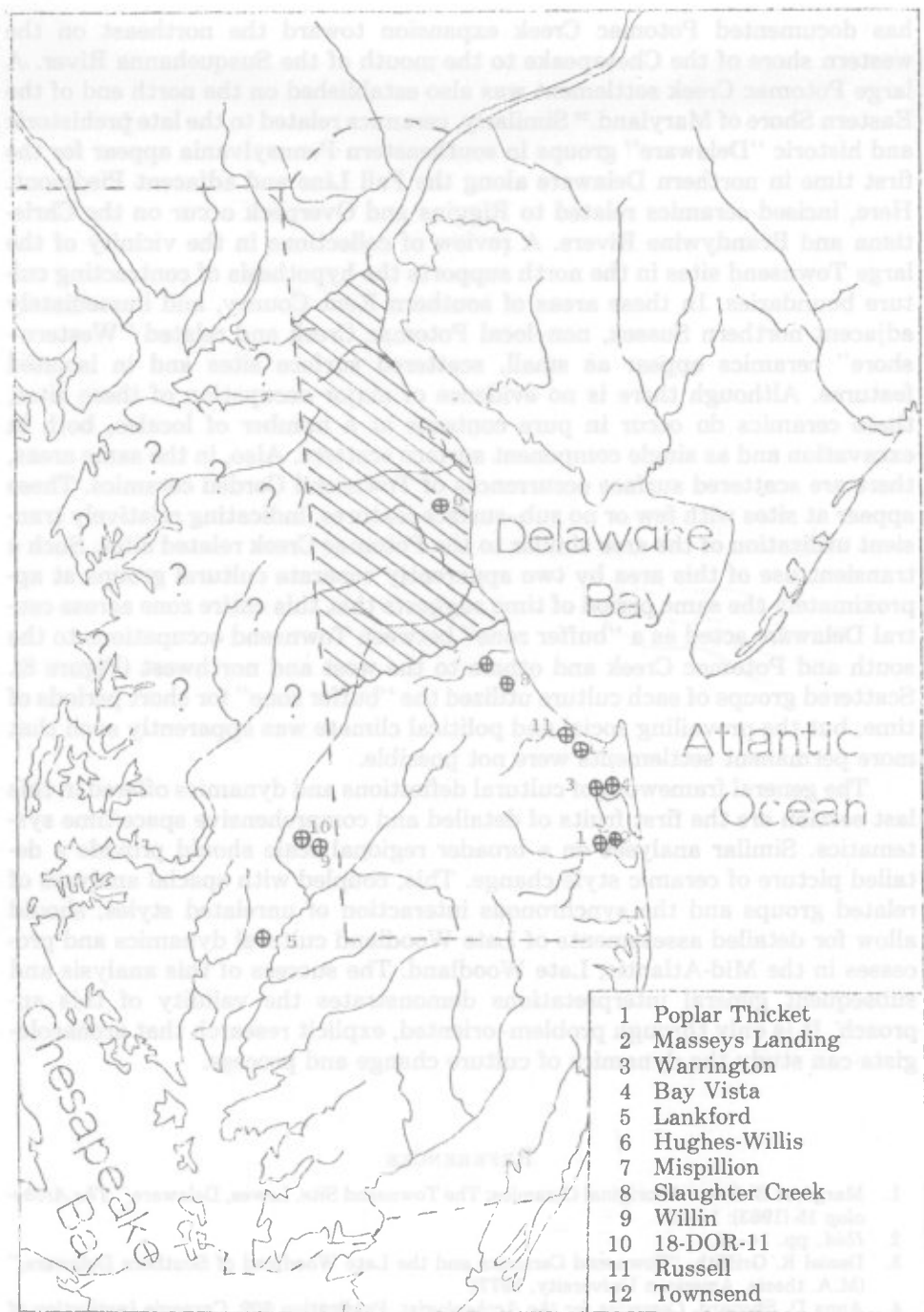


FIGURE 8.

has documented Potomac Creek expansion toward the northeast on the western shore of the Chesapeake to the mouth of the Susquehanna River. A large Potomac Creek settlement was also established on the north end of the Eastern Shore of Maryland.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, ceramics related to the late prehistoric and historic "Delaware" groups in southeastern Pennsylvania appear for the first time in northern Delaware along the Fall Line and adjacent Piedmont. Here, incised ceramics related to Riggins and Overpeck occur on the Christiana and Brandywine Rivers. A review of collections in the vicinity of the large Townsend sites in the north supports the hypothesis of contracting culture boundaries. In these areas of southern Kent County, and immediately adjacent northern Sussex, non-local Potomac Creek and related "Western-shore" ceramics appear as small, scattered surface sites and in isolated features. Although there is no evidence of major occupation of these sites, these ceramics do occur in pure contexts at a number of locales, both in excavation and as single component surface scatters. Also, in the same areas, there are scattered surface occurrences of Townsend Corded ceramics. These appear at sites with few or no sub-surface features, indicating relatively transient utilization of the area similar to the Potomac Creek related sites. Such a transient use of this area by two apparently separate cultural groups at approximately the same period of time suggests that this entire zone across central Delaware acted as a "buffer zone" between Townsend occupations to the south and Potomac Creek and others to the west and northwest (Figure 8). Scattered groups of each culture utilized the "buffer zone" for short periods of time, but the prevailing social and political climate was apparently such that more permanent settlements were not possible.

The general framework of cultural definitions and dynamics offered in this last section are the first fruits of detailed and comprehensive space/time systematics. Similar analyses on a broader regional scale should provide a detailed picture of ceramic style change. This, coupled with spacial analyses of related groups and the synchronous interaction of unrelated styles, should allow for detailed assessments of Late Woodland cultural dynamics and processes in the Mid-Atlantic, Late Woodland. The success of this analysis and subsequent general interpretations demonstrates the validity of this approach. It is only through problem-oriented, explicit research that archaeologists can study the dynamics of culture change and process.

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# Behind the Frontier: Indian Survivals in Maryland

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SEVERAL TRAVELERS WHO VISITED THE AMERICAN COLONIES AND FORTUOUSLY recorded their observations and experiences clearly conveyed the impression that the Indians were a vanishing people. Journeying through Maryland in 1679 and 1680, Jasper Danckearts remarked: "There are few Indians in comparison with the extent of the country. When the English first discovered and settled in Virginia and Maryland, they did great [wrong] to these poor people, and almost exterminated them."<sup>1</sup> Francois Marie René de Chateaubriand similarly concluded that "the Piscataway of Maryland; the tribes who obeyed Powhatan in Virginia; the Paroutis in the Carolinas—all of these people have disappeared."<sup>2</sup> In a thought-provoking monograph, D'Arcy McNickle has convincingly argued, however, that Indians in the eastern states did survive ethnically and culturally.<sup>3</sup> The persistence and survival of Indians along the Atlantic seaboard and the states bordering the Gulf of Mexico occurred in part because certain groups of Indians refused to migrate west after their tribes signed treaties of land cession. Since the treaties frequently did provide land allotments, individual Indian families, bands, or parts of bands remained behind on these tracts. Others simply would not abide by these agreements and severed themselves from the tribe. Occasionally, the Indians had sold all or part of their land to Whites, but continued to reside within the immediate locale. Some tribes had been granted reservations by colonial authorities, yet only a few still maintained possession during the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Under such diverse circumstances these groups of Indians became remnant populations in their traditional habitats; and in the course of time many gradually were assimilated into the numerically superior White society, ultimately forgetting their native language and losing much—if not all—of their aboriginal culture.

During the greater part of the nineteenth century little attention was paid to the possible existence of small enclaves of Indians remaining in the eastern states. In 1889, James Mooney, then employed by the Smithsonian Institution, distributed a questionnaire about Indian survivals to one thousand local physicians in certain counties of Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, and North Carolina. Mooney requested information about Indian local names, ancient remains, and possible survivors of pure or mixed Indian origin. The replies to this circular letter indicate that a remarkable number of local groups of Indian

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origin were present at that time in the above-mentioned states. On the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia, however, Mooney was informed "that the few who remained at the beginning of the last century had become so mixed with negro blood that in the general alarm occasioned by the Nat Turner slave rising in 1831 they had been classed as full negroes and driven from their homes, so that their identity was lost." Despite these conclusions, Mooney perceptively noted that several groups still claimed descent from the Nanticoke, Piscataway, and Wicocomoco, and attributed their strong sense of being Indian, in spite of their small number, to their stated fear of losing their "identity by absorption in the black race, and against this they have struggled for a full century."<sup>5</sup>

Although in the 1930s a small group of scholars directed their attention to these population groups of presumed Indian descent, Indian survivals continued to be perceived by Whites as mulattoes, mestizos, mixed-bloods, or tri-racial isolates. To date there has been no general agreement about a generic term for the Indian survivals, but B. Eugene Griessman's "The American Isolates" conveys the idea of apartness, whether genetic or social, that characterizes these communities.<sup>6</sup> The consensus has been that these people are of intermingled Indian, Caucasian, and Negro ancestry. Invariably, these communities have been assigned a marginal social status, "sharing lot with neither white nor colored, and enjoying neither the governmental protection nor the tribal tie of the typical Indian descendants." Furthermore, argues Edward T. Price, "each is essentially a local phenomena, a unique demographic body defined only in its own terms and only by its own neighbors."<sup>7</sup> The Nanticoke community at Indian River in Sussex County, Delaware and the Piscataway (also known as the Conoy, Wesort, and Brandywine people), who reside throughout southern Maryland, have been identified as American Isolates, each claiming descent from an aboriginal tribe. A review of published material, in conjunction with my fieldwork among the Nanticoke, offers some insight into the long period of survival of the Nanticoke and Piscataway within a White-dominated society.

In most cases the precise origin of these isolated communities of Indian survivals is unknown and unlikely to ever be determined. Most of the American Isolates originated along the Atlantic seaboard. Each group has to some degree come under the scrutiny of professional scholars. Brewton Berry, in *Almost White: A Study of Certain Racial Hybrids in the Eastern United States*, has surveyed these isolated communities and confirmed the general confusion among the White and Black population as to the origin of these people.<sup>8</sup> Consequently, any attempt to establish the origins of the Nanticoke and Piscataway must contend with an unwieldy body of folk history and naive, often biased, interpretations of scanty historical evidence.

One of the first events to attract attention to the racial status and identity of the Nanticoke community of Indian River involved the legal proceedings directed against two members of the community for illegally selling firearms and ammunition to a Negro. George P. Fisher, the prosecuting attorney, later wrote a lengthy newspaper article which vividly detailed the events of the trial

and popularized the traditions surrounding the origin of the Nanticoke. Fisher was a native of Sussex County, and as a young boy had heard many stories about a "race of people" descended from "Spanish Moors" who had settled at various locations along the Atlantic coast. As a boy, Fisher recollected Noke Norwood, "a dark, copper-colored man, about six feet and half in height, of splendid proportions, perfectly straight, coal black hair . . . , black eyes and high cheek bones." From Norwood, both Fisher and his father claimed that they had been told the people were an admixture of Indian, Negro, and Caucasian ancestry. Even more intriguing was the testimony of Lydia Clark, a blood relative of the defendant and one of Fisher's key witnesses. Clark testified that prior to the American Revolution an Irish lady named Regua (an apparent corruption of Ridgeway) purchased and later married a "very tall, shapely and muscular young fellow of dark gingerbread color." The offspring of this union intermarried with the remnant of the Nanticoke tribe.<sup>9</sup> Thereafter, the Nanticoke have been perceived, treated, and interpreted by outsiders as a tri-racial isolate. The Nanticoke, nevertheless, cling to this testimony, whether fact or fiction, as offering proof of their Indian heritage; and as such, this oral tradition has helped to reaffirm their self-image as Nanticokes.

In 1945, William H. Gilbert, a noted authority on American Isolates, pointed out that the origin of the Piscataway is shrouded in mystery.<sup>10</sup> At present a majority of the local population in southern Maryland remain confused about the ancestry of the Piscataway. One local resident, when queried about a Piscataway, candidly remarked: "He ain't white and he ain't black, his people got mixed up in the swamp or something." More educated guesses have been equally confusing. Several theories have been propounded about the origin of the Piscataway. One hypothesis suggests that White indentured servants escaped to the swamps and lived among the Indians, ultimately producing a mixed-offspring. Another possibility is that Spanish sailors, shipwrecked on the shores of Maryland, were taken in by the Indians. And finally, the prevailing belief among the Piscataway's neighboring Whites is that they intermarried with free mulattoes, free Blacks, and slaves.<sup>11</sup> Documentary evidence, especially parish records, have been used by social scientists in an attempt to trace the Brandywine population back to its earliest beginnings. Thomas J. Harte, seeking the social origin of the Brandywine population, concludes that with reasonable certainty they originated in Charles County, Maryland, prior to 1778, evolved from multiple origins, and probably developed from socially disapproved interracial unions.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, some of the more group-conscious members tend to reject the possibility of Negro intermixture in their family background.

Although the American Isolates are scattered throughout the eastern United States, they seem to have developed especially where environmental circumstances such as forbidding swamps or inaccessible and barren country favored their growth. Calvin Beale asserts that it is difficult to locate an isolate that is not associated with a swamp, a hollow, an inaccessible ridge, or the back country of a sandy flatwoods.<sup>13</sup> Secrecy meant survival during these years of isolation. After long periods of exposure to the harsh inroads of Euro-

American culture, these remnant Indian groups would have inhabited sites which would afford them minimal contact with the outside world. These settlement sites would have been perceived by contemporary European standards as a marginal environment (unfit for large-scale commercial agriculture and lacking satisfactory transportation links with tidewater ports), but offered the necessary resources to meet the basic needs of the Indians. Significantly, these remote and isolated settlements served to maintain enforced and self-imposed social distance between the three ethnic groups.

Without exception the population of the Nanticoke and Piscataway communities have been assigned a separate and marginal racial status, usually based on their distinct physiognomy. Harry L. Shapiro, in his analysis of the mixed-blood Indian, has asserted that the process of miscegenation has not been seriously investigated nor considered as a method of absorbing the Indians into the general population.<sup>14</sup> Conversely, few scholars have considered the possibility that miscegenation (whether actually proven or not) served as a process whereby the Indians were able to maintain their identity. All too often, investigators have concluded that where the opportunity for miscegenation has been greatest and long practiced, tribes have become extinct. In part this can be explained by the relentless search for "full-blooded" Indians; those Indians identified as mixed-bloods frequently were assigned the classification of White or Black. Undeniably, the difficulty lies in defining the term "Indian" and identifying Indians. William C. Sturtevant and Samuel Stanley, while pointing out that certain communities fit the accepted criteria of Indianness, state that others suffer discrimination and are not accepted as being Indian by their neighbors because they fail to exhibit identifiable Indian biological characteristics.<sup>15</sup> Among the Nanticoke and Piscataway phenotypic variation is present, with extremes of skin from light to dark and of hair from very curly to straight. Clearly, the racial status of the members of these communities varies considerably, both as perceived in the minds of the Nanticoke and Piscataway and in the eyes of their White and Black neighbors.

Racially and culturally, Indian survivals in Maryland have been treated as a unique people. Rejected and scorned by Whites and refusing to associate with Blacks, the Indians consciously and purposely remained apart, caught between two cultures. The Nanticoke and Piscataway have expended an enormous amount of energy just to maintain their Indian identity within an at times hostile White society.<sup>16</sup> A precise assessment of the forces operating to preserve their separate status is essential to an understanding of the formation and persistence of these distinct communities.

Each group of Indian survivals in the eastern United States is unique with regard to the historical circumstances surrounding its origin and community development. The specific ways and means of the eventual integration of Indian survivals into the prevailing systems of the dominant White society, however, appear to have certain common denominators. Noel P. Gist and Anthony G. Dworkin, in their analysis of racially-mixed minorities, argue that the development of community consciousness appears to depend on the relative size of the mixed-race population and the nature of their relationship with other

groups.<sup>17</sup> A close examination of the process of community development reveals that other factors were also responsible for holding these Indian groups together during the nineteenth century as they were gradually adapting to their place and role in a plural society. Most important were the maintenance of family unity, transition from an aboriginal to Euro-American concept of land tenure, effect of racial discrimination, and adoption of American core institutions.

At the time of initial contact the various tribes residing in Maryland had devised successful systems of land tenure that were adapted to particular combinations of ecological and social conditions. As the culture of the Indians and the ecology of their habitat were dramatically changed by contact with Europeans, their form of land tenure gradually became non-functional.<sup>18</sup> With the loss of their land by one means or another, these dispossessed Indian groups were faced with several choices: amalgamation, acculturation, sexual unions (either in conventional marriage or in unconventional unions) with Europeans and Africans, and migration, to name just a few. Another option, which an undetermined number of Nanticoke and Piscataway initially pursued, was to remain in their traditional habitat. These were small groups, in many cases family units, who would have been large enough to be relatively self-contained, yet small enough not to deplete the game within an ever dwindling hunting range.<sup>19</sup> As noted earlier, they chose to reside in places of solitude and isolation.

Unlike those tribes west of the Mississippi River who were confronted with the rapid changes stemming from the allotment system, Indians in the East were permitted in many instances as individuals or groups to make free choices and slow adjustments as they entered White society. In making this transition the Indian survivals, as they sought to exercise their traditional means of exploiting the land for foodstuffs, at first were viewed by Whites as squatters on the land. The ability of the Indians to subsist successfully as squatters diminished, however, as the number of White settlers continued to increase and more land was cleared for agricultural use.<sup>20</sup> Frequently, the Indians became destitute and impoverished, and were reduced to selling pottery, baskets, and furs to Whites. Lewis Evans, the Pennsylvania surveyor and cartographer, observed that the "Remnants of some Nations . . . wander here & There for the Sake of making ordinary wicker Baskets & Basons."<sup>21</sup> George H. Loskiel lamented that these detached Indian families subsisted by making "baskets, brooms, wooden spoons, dishes, &c. and sell them to the white people for victuals and clothes."<sup>22</sup>

At this particular juncture the remnant Nanticoke and Piscataway became indistinguishable from the lower stratum of nineteenth century rural White society. Accustomed to fishing, trapping, and hunting for their White neighbors, as well as manufacturing various domestic utensils to be sold, the Indians also had adopted many of the outward accoutrements of White society. Andrew Burnaby, an astute observer of colonial society, admitted mistaking these isolated Indian groups "for the lower sort of [White] people."<sup>23</sup> Many other observers were similarly misled, and identified comparable remnant In-

dian groups as mixed-blood populations. The uncritical acceptance of these observations by many scholars has confused immeasurably our understanding of how the Indians became a functioning part of American society.<sup>24</sup>

Although during the colonial period a considerable amount of the Nanticoke's and Piscataway's land had been lost through the courts, tracts of land set aside in treaties as reservations were a notable exception. These reservations—as administrative units—became a form of property which incorporated post contact aspects of aboriginal land tenure and changes generated by colonial administrative practice and law. The reservation not only provided a new land base for the Indians, it also legitimized and sustained their distinct identity.<sup>25</sup>

Unfortunately, permanent residence on reservations proved in many cases to be unsatisfactory for those tribes whose subsistence strategy reflected an economic adjustment to differing ecological zones. The success of their subsistence efforts depended entirely upon freedom of mobility and access to micro-environments within their habitat at critical seasons of the year. Two mutually related problems developed from permanent residence on reservations. Reservations had been created with the explicit understanding that the Indians would reside within specific boundaries. After relatively brief periods of time, food resources (both fauna and flora) became sorely depleted. Forced to seek game outside the reservation, the Indians temporarily abandoned their dwellings. White settlers, interpreting this act as a violation of the reservation agreements, took possession of the land. Cession of land, encroachment on Indian land, and legal acquisition of land by non-Indians further reduced the number and size of reservations in Maryland.<sup>26</sup>

Frontier expansion rapidly engulfed the reservations in Maryland. A majority of the Nanticoke and Piscataway migrated after their reservation acreage had been reduced. The small number of Indians remaining in the vicinity of the former reservations lost contact with their tribes. Their survival depended upon effecting changes in the man-land relationship. Specifically, subsistence needs could no longer be met by precontact strategies. Men, when so inclined, sought wage work on White-owned farms, lumber mills, or other light industries. Hunting and fishing remained an important activity. The women sold produce from small gardens, and sold or bartered various hand-crafted items to local merchants and peddlers. From these varied activities and experiences during the nineteenth century, the remnant Nanticoke and Piscataway became fully acquainted with the rural White economy.<sup>27</sup>

One of the first steps on the part of the Nanticoke and Piscataway in their move towards participating in the Euro-American form of land tenure was to become tenants on the land. It is extremely difficult to ascertain the precise motives behind their decision to become tenants. A strong probability exists that these Indians had worked for White farmers as sharecroppers, a pattern quite familiar in the rural South. In time, they gradually accumulated enough capital and material wealth to purchase their own property. This property would afford a land-base upon which the communities in time would develop. In order to reconstruct the evolving system of land tenure which the Nan-

ticoke and Piscataway participated in, the researcher is totally dependent on the data contained in the early land records, wills, inventories of estates, and real and personal tax lists. Several factors account for the paucity of documentary evidence concerning the land tenure of Indian survivals. During the nineteenth century no precise criteria existed for determining the racial status of Indians.<sup>28</sup> In most cases the records fail to indicate a designation for Indians. Instead, local tax assessors, census takers, and other public officials classified the Indians as being either mulattoes or "colored" people. In addition, many land transactions were oral agreements that were never recorded; and presumably, most of the Indians at this date were illiterate, which explains the absence of private papers.

In the specific case of the Nanticoke, two men, Levin Sockum and Isaac Harman, were instrumental in the establishment of a new land base.<sup>29</sup> Sockum and Harman were the first Nanticoke to become landholders and through their estates they endowed parcels of land to their heirs, thus increasing through time the number of property owners. Isaac Harman purchased his first land, a seventy acre tract, for \$250 in 1848. "He seemed to have an obsession for owning property," states one member of the Nanticoke community, "it is told that he would drive his buggy to Georgetown [Delaware] barefooted in order to record the purchase of another parcel of land."<sup>30</sup> Harman rapidly accumulated land and increased the assessment value of his real and personal property. In comparing the Assessment Lists of 1861 and 1872, it is evident that Harman's personal property was increasing along with his real estate. The 1861 assessment indicates that in addition to holding 147 acres of land Harman possessed an "old" horse, one pair of oxen, one cow, and five shoats. In the 1872 assessment Harman had increased his landholdings to 357 acres, and owned a "mansion," one pair of mules, one yoke of oxen, two cows, one yearling, nine sheep, one sow and shoats. By 1872 Harman had become one of the largest landowners in Indian River Hundred.<sup>31</sup>

Levin Sockum followed a similar pattern in the acquisition of land. In 1834 Sockum had been assessed \$307 for his personal property. By 1854 Sockum's real and personal property value had increased to \$1174, placing him among the wealthiest men in Indian River Hundred. In addition to his real estate, Sockum owned and operated a general store. The 1861 Assessment List credited Sockum with owning 244 acres of land, and possessing two horses, one blind horse, one pair of oxen, four cows, seven yearlings, two sows, and six shoats. Sockum experienced a steady increase in his real and personal property, but shortly after 1861 he moved to Gloucester, New Jersey, because of his involvement in two court cases which questioned his racial status.<sup>32</sup>

In the early 1830s, through the gradual purchase of a significant amount of land and accumulation of an impressive quantity of personal property, the Nanticoke began to develop a community at Indian River. According to Beer's *Atlas of Delaware*, in 1867 only two Nanticoke were landowners in Indian River: Ephraim and Isaac Harman.<sup>33</sup> However, the Assessment Lists for this period indicate that a substantial number of Nanticoke families, many of whom were related to both Levin Sockum and Isaac Harman, were in fact tenants and were amassing a significant amount of personal property, most of

which pointed towards agricultural activity. In time these families either inherited property or purchased land. The majority of these families resided within the confines of the current Nanticoke community.<sup>34</sup>

Although no detailed study has been made of the formation of the Brandywine community, the efforts of the Piscataway were quite similar to those of the Nanticoke. The remnant Piscataway originally were located near the Zekiah and other swamps. Most of the men were involved in hunting and fishing, but the Piscataway gradually became a part of the larger society as a poor farming and laboring element. The Brandywine population of today represents an American Isolate in which the majority of marriage partners are drawn from persons having one of fifteen surnames.<sup>35</sup> Using baptismal and marriage records, Thomas J. Harte has identified seven family lines which constitute the *core* of the isolate. The other eight families, identified by Harte as *marginal* families, married into the group some time later than 1870. Prior to 1850 there is no record of an intermarriage between a core family and a marginal family, reflecting the significant degree of endogamy. It has been proposed that the Brandywine population has its origin in illegal cross-racial unions in the early years of the eighteenth century. For the years 1702 through 1720, the Charles County Court records mention nine convictions for illegitimacy of persons with Brandywine names. All of these, with the exception of one marginal name, were females with core surnames. After 1720 there is an absence of additional indictments or convictions of persons with Brandywine names. Harte concludes that "these people (the original offenders and their offspring) had already isolated themselves from Whites and Negroes by segregating themselves in remote communities." The evidence strongly suggests that all of them retired to a single isolated community. Geographical isolation has been common among the Brandywine community families. The prevailing practice of newly married couples building on land belonging to one of either set of parents tended to increase spatial and social isolation from neighbors who are not members of the Brandywine population.<sup>36</sup>

Despite their material success, a prejudicial attitude emerged toward the Nanticoke and Brandywine communities based on their skin color and physiognomy. After 1830 the White population came to regard the Indian survivals in the same manner as the Negro in the deep South, subjecting them to segregation in schooling, religious practices, residences, and social intercourse. This perception cemented the racial status and classification of the Indian survivals. During these years of both self-imposed and externally enforced isolation, the Nanticoke and Piscataway forgot much of their history and culture. When they finally emerged from their remote habitats and began to establish their present communities, they usually retained only the knowledge that they were Indian and a social cohesion forged by shared hardship. Neither White nor Black, in the eyes of their neighbors they were commonly referred to as "those people," or by a more disparaging epithet. This external pressure served to further strengthen the social bonds of these communities.

While these Indians had managed to preserve their identity despite years of subordination and hostility, they had also recognized the value of certain aspects of White culture and had borrowed and integrated core Euro-Ameri-

can institutions, specifically formal education and organized religion, into their own cultural framework. The controversy over the racial status of those individuals claiming Indian ancestry, however, created the need in the Nanticoke community to construct separate churches and schools to accommodate the White, Black, and Indian population. The Piscataway's maintenance of racial separateness is notable for it has been achieved without the assistance of institutionalized aids such as separate schools and churches. Under Maryland law the Piscataway children had to attend colored schools. And although the Piscataway attended the same churches as the general population, they sat by custom in a particular section of the church.<sup>37</sup>

Scholars have long been aware of the presence of Indian communities in the eastern United States. Their research of these groups, however, has until quite recently been biased because of their interpretation of them as tri-racial isolates. In the past, the designation of these groups as tri-racial was often the conclusion of the investigator rather than a reflection of public opinion in the area under consideration. More recently, we have admitted that the most important question to consider is not whether or to what extent these groups are Indian. Rather, as the recent collection of articles on "The American Isolates" in the *American Anthropologist*<sup>38</sup> suggests, the emphasis should be on the process of acculturation, reconstruction of tribal histories, economic and social integration into American society, and, as this study demonstrates, the problems of maintaining community and individual identity. Any conclusions regarding Indian survivals in Maryland must be viewed from three perspectives: (1.) as surviving acculturated Indians east of the Mississippi River; (2.) as tri-racial isolates; and (3.) as an ethnic group faced with being assimilated or integrated into American society.

#### ACCULTURATED INDIANS

Critical to the survival of the Indians who chose to remain on or near their traditional habitat was the continuance of the family hunting unit. Accustomed to dispersing to remote areas and to maintaining lengthy periods of isolation, the family hunting unit would have allowed some Indian families to subsist successfully in their traditional habitat even though much of their land had been pre-empted by Europeans. Similarly, the move of the remnant Indian groups to marginal environments would not have proven to be a severe hardship, and would have partially reduced their contact and conflict with White settlers. These Indian families gradually assumed the outward appearance of Euro-Americans through their acquisition of material culture traits. In many instances these families partially satisfied their basic needs, as well as cultural imperatives, by selling or bartering the meat and skins of wild game to their neighboring Whites in exchange for goods derived from a foreign technology. Through time the Indians gained an intimate knowledge of the legal institutions and social customs of the Whites. Their repeated appeals to the county courts about land encroachment, physical abuse, and murder strongly support this point.



Certainly one of the most important Euro-American institutions adopted by the Indians was the notion of private property obtained by legal purchase. What prompted this decision to purchase land will perhaps never be fully ascertained. However, it would seem that after years of suffering the loss of their land by Whites, this would have been one of the few alternatives left from which to choose. Whatever the motives were, the Indians were able to amass not only a large land base, but a significant amount of personal property.

Having secured a property base and held together by the bonds of kinship, the Indians formed new communities at Indian River and in southern Maryland. Simultaneous with their acquisition of land the Indians were subjected to the racial prejudice, hostility, and segregation normally accorded to Negroes. This racial prejudice served the critical function of intensifying the self-imposed spatial isolation and cultural separation of the Indians in their relationship with the White and Black population. In turn, the isolation of the Indians permitted culture change to proceed at a slow pace, allowing the Indians to integrate selected material and non-material Euro-American traits into their own emerging culture.

#### TRI-RACIAL ISOLATE

From the outset of their exposure to interested investigators, many of these Indian groups have been viewed, perceived and interpreted as a tri-racial isolate. Investigations from this particular perspective have distorted our understanding of the essential processes involved in the persistence of the Indian communities to the present. The information obtained from such studies directs our attention to either surviving aboriginal culture traits, or to the presumed social qualities and ramifications associated with these groups as tri-racial isolates.<sup>39</sup> The crucial point to determine in this issue is the impact such perceptions have had on the development of social institutions and emergence of distinct communities. Whether miscegenation can be biologically demonstrated or not, both the Indians and those individuals outside their communities have reacted in their own specific ways to this question. This reaction to the classification as a tri-racial isolate clearly was significant in the social evolution and spatial development of the Nanticoke and Piscataway communities.

#### ETHNIC GROUP

Edward P. Dozier, George E. Simpson, and J. Milton Yinger, in their study of "The Integration of Americans of Indian Descent," suggest that the "place of Indians in American society may be seen as one aspect of the question of the integration of minority groups into the social system."<sup>40</sup> Most studies have sought to determine whether Indians have been assimilated or integrated into American society, and most of the Indians studied either resided on government reservations or lived west of the Mississippi River. It seems apparent that before we raise questions about the assimilation or integration of these groups into American society, an effort should be made to determine how these cultural systems have persisted to the present. In this context, Edward

H. Spicer has identified and described a persistent identity system as a people's belief in their personal affiliation with certain symbols. Spicer makes several important points: (1.) a given identity system at one time may have no genetic characteristics in common with people who believe in that same system at a later time; (2.) the focus is on history as people believe it to have taken place, not as an objective outsider sees it; (3.) there have always been differences, either imposed by those outside the community or insisted on and maintained by the people concerned; and (4.) a territory once occupied by a given people may be lost without the breakdown of the identity system. The persistent identity system is a product of these factors.<sup>41</sup> Eric R. Wolf has added another important dimension with reference to organized communal structure. Wolf characterizes this structure as a "corporate" community that maintains a bounded social system with clearcut limits, in relation to both outsiders and insiders, and has structural identity over time.<sup>42</sup> The maintenance of a persistent identity system and the development of an organized communal structure have been essential to the survival of the Nanticoke and Piscataway Indians. Each attempt in the past to question or eliminate their Indian identity—be it racial classification, separate educational and religious facilities, or social segregation—served only to intensify the social cohesion of the Indians.

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# Tradition and Change in the Lumbee Indian Community of Baltimore

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**T**HIS IS A STUDY OF TRADITION AND CHANGE AMONG MEMBERS OF A NON-RESERVATION, Indian subculture as they migrate from their rural North Carolina homes to a major urban industrial center. It deals with the traditions that grow out of Lumbee history, how they organize to meet the problems of daily living in Baltimore City, and with the ideas and values that inform this organization. The study must also deal with culture change, and with the adaptive strategies that the Indians have used as they interact with the institutions and the pressures of the city.

There are many missing pages in the story of Indian Americans since European settlers first came to the United States. To write about the Lumbees is to try to fill one significant part of this gap, for they represent a special version of the devastations that have been visited upon Indians, first as conquered societies and then as minority groups. Some aspects of the devastation are becoming increasingly common knowledge. Indian communities for whom the historic record since white contact has been pieced together show that many who survived were forced into marginal areas, deprived of self-rule, land and the opportunity to live above the level of meager subsistence. Not the least in the category of those who suffered devastation are the Indian communities that were decimated to the point of extinction, or whose members were scattered so that there was no community left with which they could identify. There were other groups who became "lost" communities, their origins shrouded in uncertainty, after a while lacking the heritage of their indigenous language and traditions, and even being denied their Indian identity by the official government agencies. Sturtevant and Stanley note that there are some 70 such communities in the eastern United States, all with uncertain connections to the historical aboriginal tribes, but all asserting an Indian identity.<sup>1</sup> Like the Lumbees, they have all needed to deal with the issues of individual assimilation and community dissolution.

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\*This paper is based largely on an ethnography of the Lumbee Indian community of Baltimore completed by the writer in 1971 after a year of fieldwork with these Indian people (Catholic University of America, Anthropology Studies No. 20). Contact has been maintained with major informants of the study, and I have added new information and, I think, some new insights in preparation for this paper.

## HOME IS NORTH CAROLINA

The earliest firm historical fact about the Lumbee Indians raises an intriguing question about their past. About 1735, when first encountered by white travelers in their present home base in North Carolina, these Indians "... spoke English, cultivated land, lived in substantial houses and otherwise practiced the arts of civilized life, being in these respects different from any Indian tribe."<sup>2</sup>

Why they spoke English, and how they came to live in a style so "different from any Indian tribe" is the question to which most Lumbees and a number of historians have been giving the same answer. History records that in 1587 (1586 according to some versions), about 120 settlers, sponsored by Sir Walter Raleigh and led by John White, arrived at Roanoke Island on the Cape Hatteras coast of North Carolina. Their landing place was directly north of an island anciently called Croatan or Croaton, where there was already settled an Algonquian tribe, sometimes called Croatan (or Croatoan), and at times simply referred to as Hatteras Indians.

Shortly after the settlement was started, White left for England with a small party that included two of the friendly Indians. His aim was to bring supplies needed by the colonists and to develop the trade arrangements with the English factors who would be handling the tobacco that the colonists were already planting and harvesting.

White tried to return to the colony soon thereafter but the English War with Spain held him back. It was not until August 1590 that he finally came back, only to find that the colony had disappeared. As the story goes, the only clue that White found were the letters, "CRO," and then the name, "Croatoan" scratched on a tree. The speculation given through the years is that the colony and the friendly Indians were either attacked or threatened with attack by Chief Powhatan of Virginia; that the two groups fled together and merged to become a single community; that they wandered further into the interior, ending at their ultimate destination, now Robeson County, around 1650.<sup>3</sup>

The strongest evidence adduced for this account of Lumbee history rests on the family names which members of this community have had ever since such records were kept. Barton notes that in the first United States Census of 1790, 24 Lost Colony surnames were found in Robeson County.<sup>4</sup> Weeks observes that among the 120 colonists there were 95 different surnames, and that 41 of these names appear among the Indians now living in Robeson County. Further confirmation has been sought in the issuance of land grants in Robeson County in 1732 to Henry Berry and James Lourie, both prominent Lumbee and Lost Colony surnames. Another effort to make the connection has been in the old Anglo-Saxon pronunciation of certain words, which is said to be prevalent in this Indian community.

The probability of other Indian admixture with the Lumbees is noted by McPherson.<sup>5</sup> The Cherokee are said to have been in close contact, for though their main base was further west, they often sought food and formed raiding parties against other tribes. Lumbees, in 1913, prevailed on the North Carolina

legislature to designate them as Cherokee, despite the objections of the Eastern Cherokee of the Great Smoky Mountain area. In my fieldwork period, many of the Indians in Baltimore, although from Robeson County, said that they were Cherokee. The Catawba and Tuscarora Indians were also active in the area in the eighteenth century. In the early 1970s a small group among the Lumbees sued for recognition as Tuscarora. Dial et al think the claim "almost impossible to reconcile with the facts."<sup>6</sup>

The question of genetic mixing with the Negro is a highly sensitive matter to the Lumbees. McPherson first comments on Lumbee and white intermarriage and the speaks of "... a small degree of amalgamation with other races."<sup>7</sup> Johnson says the historical data confirm a tri-racial strain in some of the Lumbee families.<sup>8</sup> The significant fact that all scholars stress, however, is the dominant sense of these people that they are Indian.

Looking at the over 300 years of known Indian residence in and around Robeson County, three overriding factors stand out as primary in shaping their ideas and their ways. The first and fundamental factor is the southern rural context in which many generations of these Indians have lived out their lives. Separately and in combination, "southern" and "rural" carry a special meaning. Each in its own way affects opportunities for getting a living, the significance of race, ways of worship, family structure and relationships, spending leisure time—and the whole range of behaviors that make up a culture.

The second central factor is related to the first and yet it has a dynamic of its own that sets it apart. While they are part of the collective Southern historical experience, there was a special role to be played as being a third party in the sometimes dormant, sometimes explosive, conflict between the dominant whites and the Negro underclass. The third-party position was often threatened. For a good part of the nineteenth century, the North Carolina government grouped the Indians together with the blacks, and while the official position changed in 1885, at the town and countryside level, even to the present day, the Indians have been reminded that the dominant whites really know only two racial groups: white and everybody else. So while some who could, may have tried to pass as white—and many who could, apparently refused to do so—the central theme of Indian communal life has been to establish and maintain their Indian identity. This then is the third and highly significant influence. The uncertainties surrounding their origins raised serious questions for the individual and for the community: With whom do we belong? In what way are we Indian?

Robeson County, population 84,842 in 1970, and the main home of the Lumbee Indians, is located in southeast North Carolina. It is also about 100 miles from the Atlantic Coast, and over 200 miles from Roanoke Island, where it is all said to have started. The area (948 square miles) is at the margin of the Coastal Plain and the Piedmont Plateau. It has sandy soil and was, and still is in part, swampland, a fact attested to by such place names as Long Swamp, Big Marsh, Burnt Swamp, Back Swamp, Raft Swamp, etc. The 1970 ethnic and social division of the county shows 36,262 white people and 21,876 Negro,

and 26,704 Indians. The town of Pembroke has had the largest concentration of Indian residents. There were 1,982 inhabitants in 1970 of whom 90 percent were Indian. The town is also an Indian center for business, politicking, and it is also the location of Pembroke State University, whose ties to the Indians go back to the 1880s.

Before and since 1735, making a living for most Robeson County people—white, Indian and black—has meant farming. Whites have owned most of the land through the years. McPherson however noted at the time of his report (1915) that 25 percent of the Indians owned their own land but the average acreage was four to five acres. His general assessment of their condition was “. . . rather less than one-eighth are prosperous farmers; another group amounting approximately to one-eighth are fairly well-to-do; about one-half of them would be classed as poor people; and about one-quarter of them are very poor, but entirely self-supporting.”<sup>9</sup> Most of the Indian farmers, since 1900—and probably in the greater part of the nineteenth century—have been tenant farmers and sharecroppers. Johnson quotes white farmers who add to this another significant and shared personality trait: “If you want a tenant to take care of your land and make money, get an Indian. But don’t try to boss him. He wears his pride like a sore thumb.”<sup>10</sup>

Wage labor has been for a number of decades a secondary source of income for Indian families. As a number of Indians describe it, both men and women looked for “public” jobs whenever work was slow on the farm and if there was someone to take care of the little children at home. Up to 1950, there were cotton mills in Robeson County, and though there was a “white first” priority in jobs, some of the Indians were able to get work. More recently, industry has been coming to Robeson County. This is seen by some Indians in Baltimore as greatly increasing job opportunities back home, and an attractive incentive for them to return to home base. The Industrial Committee of the Lumberton Chamber of Commerce lists 18 plants in the immediate vicinity with 50 or more employees, including a plant making canvas shoes, employing about 1400 workers, and two other plants (knit cloth and cleaning bags) each with about 500.

In effect, the Indians were rural isolates in their corner of North Carolina through the years up to World War II. Their isolation notwithstanding, they still took part in many of the major episodes that mark the history of the United States.<sup>11</sup> But the main force the Indians felt, in spite of their isolated geography, is the ferment that white dominated race policies created for all who lived in that part of the country. History records that in 1835, the Indians of Robeson County were deprived of suffrage rights when they were placed in the category of “free colored.”<sup>12</sup> The act also forbade them to attend public schools with white children. Not until recently has some record of the Indian reaction to their status as “free colored” been reported.<sup>14</sup> The dramatic symbol of the record is Henry Berry Lowry. He was alleged to have killed a white farmer in charge of conscripting Indians for labor in the Confederate army, and subsequently gathered a band of supporters who continued attacking



white authorities even after the war. He disappeared from the scene about 1870.

Suffrage was "returned" to the Indians (and the Blacks) in 1867 by the Reconstruction Acts, and they began a determined effort to assert the Indian identity. They kept their children out of school because they did not want to send them to the segregated Black school system. The Indians persuaded a legislator from Robeson County, Hamilton MacMillan, to introduce a bill identifying the community as "Croatan Indians," and this was enacted in 1885. The act also created a separate school system for them, and the right to choose their own teachers. There were many objectors to the Croatan name (now regarded as a racial epithet by Lumbees), and in 1911 Indian leadership persuaded North Carolina legislature to strike out this designation, and their name officially became the "Indians of Robeson County." Seeking a more specific tribal affiliation, the Indians were able in 1913 to secure legislative approval of the name "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County." Testifying to their political influence, this name change was made despite the objections of the Cherokee tribe. The legislature, while making the change, bowed in the direction of the objectors by noting that "nothing in this act shall be construed as affecting in any way the rights of the Eastern Band of Cherokee now living in the Great Smoky Mountains."<sup>15</sup>

Recognizing the lack of decisiveness in terms of a special tribal designation, the most recent action at the state level came in 1953. Again, Indian leaders prevailed upon the North Carolina legislature to change their name to "Lumbee Indians of North Carolina." While the designation was accepted by Indians in a hastily conducted referendum, it was clear that many Indians objected to the name. Only in the past decade has a seeming majority of the Indians decided that it is acceptable.

Lumbee leadership also sought official recognition at the national level, both from the Indian Bureau and the United States Congress. McPherson notes that it was not until 1888 that the Bureau identified them as an Indian group. In the years that followed the group sought to be placed on the same footing as other Indian tribes. Recognition finally came in a 1956 enactment by Congress, officially identifying them as the "Lumbee Indians of North Carolina." However, the sought-for "equality" with other Indians was denied, for the act declared that "... none of the statutes of the United States which affect Indians because of their status as Indians shall be applicable to the Lumbee Indians."<sup>16</sup>

In spite of such treatment, Indians have been described through the years as friendly and hospitable.<sup>17</sup> There was clearly inter-marriage with whites even though apparently it was not a general pattern. There was dating with the whites and possibly some socializing. But there was the threat to this relationship from the hard-core segregationists. In recent years this came out into the open in what is now an internationally known incident involving Lumbees and the Ku Klux Klan. As Berry tells the story, the Klan decided to hold a rally in January 1958, near the town of Maxton in Robeson County. The triggering

reasons were that an Indian family had moved into a white residential area, and an Indian woman was dating a white man. The Klansmen gathered to remind the Indians about the danger of "forgetting their place." Suddenly the 100 Klansmen, all armed, were surrounded by 500 Indians "shouting war cries and firing into the air." The Klansmen dropped their guns and made a hasty exit.<sup>18</sup>

Their history has inevitably had an overriding effect on Lumbee ideas and ways. The people brought these traditions to Baltimore and this is part of the story of how they developed their life in the city. The other part is whether and how the city has affected these lifeways.

#### BALTIMORE IS JUST THE PLACE I STAY

Like many other rural people of the United States—and throughout the world—the Lumbees have felt the pull to the cities through the years, and particularly since World War II. Dial et al note that in the 1880s many Lumbees migrated to other southern states, especially to Georgia where they were involved in the turpentine industry.

It is interesting to examine theories about the reasons for large-scale migration. A recent look at internal and external population shifts of Mexican people stresses the new emphasis on "economy specific" theories that relate these movements to a nation's economy and patterns of economic development.<sup>19</sup> Another examination of migration reminds us of two papers written by Ravenstein in 1881 and 1889 in which he developed several "principles" of migration, one of which was that "... bad laws, heavy taxes, unattractive climate and even compulsion produce currents of migration, but nothing can compare in volume with the desire of most men to better themselves in material respects."<sup>20</sup> That is, whether viewed from the macro aspect as do the recent theorists, or from the individual motivation that Ravenstein identified, economic factors carry the greatest weight in causing migration.

There is no published study of the factors in Lumbee migration in the nineteenth and up to mid-twentieth centuries, but to point to economic factors is a fairly safe speculation. By all reports of informants the depression of the 1930s sparked movement away from the farmland to any location that might offer a chance to work, with Detroit's automobile industry as a major attraction. A second impetus to migration came with World War II when well-paying jobs opened up in the industrial centers of the North. This marks also the start of the Lumbee community in Baltimore, for many of the informants say that they or their parents or older siblings came to find jobs in the "defense" industry. It is interesting again to note the wisdom of the Ravenstein principles of migration, for his 1881 paper asserted that migrants going a longer distance from home go to one of the great centers of commerce or industry.<sup>21</sup>

Another powerful economic booster to migration from Robeson County came in post-war years. The critical factors here were farm mechanization and governmental soil bank policies. The former made small farms very marginal in respect to earning power, and the latter discouraged a landowner from using

his land in a tenant or sharecrop relationship when more money could be made by keeping the land out of production of cash crops.

There were also factors other than economic that influenced many to leave Robeson County. Informants almost uniformly note specific acts of discrimination they had suffered and this was an important "push" element in their decisions. For many, there was also the adventure of a new life, and for some a chance to escape from a relationship at home that was intolerable. And some liked it enough to stay for a long time. Some do not like it at all and go back sooner or later. Others come and go in repeated cycles.

Most of those who came were young, either late teenage or in their twenties. Now and then an older one has come. The likelihood of going back to North Carolina has been greater among those past 40, for the change to the city is not easy to make. More men than women came among the younger ones. This explains, in part, why many unattached Indian men seek their female companionship with interested white women. Among the latter one often meets the Appalachian migrants in Baltimore, since the main area of Indian residence after the war also housed many Appalachian newcomers.

The great migration was not only to Baltimore. Informants say that friends and relatives scattered in many directions. The trend of settlement northward along the Atlantic coast went at least as far as New York city. Philadelphia had a sizeable Lumbee community. Along a northwesterly route from their home base, Detroit's auto plants have been a point of attraction. In a westerly direction, Indians tell of folks who live in Iowa (Des Moines) and Colorado (Denver). California now has Lumbees living there, both Los Angeles and San Francisco being mentioned. Quite a few tell of relatives in Texas, especially the Houston-Dallas area.

Many Indians stayed in the south, even though they left Robeson County. Greenville, South Carolina, has been mentioned to me as a place where Indians found work in the cotton mills. North Carolina outside of Robeson County and its environs is still a main area of urban Lumbee residence too. Charlotte, Greensboro and High Point are often mentioned. Jobs seem to be available there in the growing industrial complex in North Carolina.

All of these motivations that have stirred different Lumbees to leave home, seem to have entered into the flow of Indians to Baltimore. It is the first major industrial complex if one decides to move north; and it has been a thriving, busy city since World War II, with its shipyards and growing diversification of plants and factories, such as automobile, steel, electronics, and needle trades. Once a person is here, the process of chain migration is initiated. Relatives and friends come, perhaps first to visit and then make up their minds whether to stay. Almost all go back home, some at every chance, others less often. Some alternate longer periods of life and work in Baltimore with life and work in North Carolina. It is really fairly easy to come and go the 400 miles between the cities. Interstate 95 passes through Baltimore and runs south through Robeson County, only two miles from Lumberton. The stated though far from unanimous aspiration, is to go back home and stay—"in my own home," "with my own land," "back with my own kind." Nevertheless, after

the experience of both Baltimore and Robeson County, some are ambivalent about where they really want to live. They recognize that there are handicaps and there is freedom in Baltimore, just as there are handicaps and pleasures in living with the folks in North Carolina. One who has tried both may see only the negative side of life where he is at the moment, but is unable to make a firm commitment as to where he will actually settle down.

Despite the constant traffic, there is a solid core of Lumbee residents in Baltimore, but exactly how many is speculative. The 1970 census reported 1740 Indian Americans in the city. The American Indian Study Center has claimed in its grant proposals that there are 3500 to 4000 Indians in the metropolitan area. But they have never done a census of their own so that any estimate other than the official figure is guesswork.

Since their earliest arrival during the second World War, the main center of their residence has been in East Baltimore. In the period of my fieldwork with them in 1969-1970, the Indians said, and I thought accurately, that most of them lived on the streets from Broadway on the west to Patterson Park Avenue on the east, and from Fairmont Street on the north to Lombard on the south. Baltimore Street was the main axis and many Indians lived in those few blocks. After the 1970 census tract breakdown of the Indian population became available, it appeared that those tracts covering the area (105, 201, 202, 603 and 604) included 574 Indians, thus reaching only one-third of them. While this was the largest cluster, other small groupings were found in almost every section of the city.<sup>22</sup>

In 1970, urban renewal changes began in this section, and at the time of this writing in mid-1979, many of the old houses are gone, especially along Baltimore Street and north to Fairmont Street. New housing has come, some cooperative and some for rental, and both for low and moderate income people. Where did the Indians go? According to Indian Center and urban renewal authorities very few came to the new housing. A few tried the cooperative but moved out; a few moved into rental housing and have stayed. The consensus is that most relocated Indians moved to the nearest blocks where cheaper rentals were available. The 2000 and 2100 blocks of Baltimore Street attracted many for the renewal program proposed to have non-profit private rehabilitation done there. There was a threatened eviction of most tenants at first but a church-backed effort has maintained Indians in apartments while houses are being renovated.

Some moved further east of Patterson Park Avenue and some have moved to the southeast as far south as Eastern Avenue. There are reportedly many who now live in the peripheral areas of the city such as Brooklyn, and in several areas of Baltimore County, with Dundalk and Essex mentioned as centers. Indians also say that many went back home. East Baltimore seems to be the main center for Indians, though as I noted in 1970, they do not feel that it is a good place to raise children. On the other hand, they were angered by the patronizing comments of newspapers and non-Indians about the bad housing, poverty and delinquency of the area.

Two other features of the physical environment should be mentioned. A not insubstantial group among the Indians are known for their heavy drinking, and in the days before renewal, bars were plentiful along Baltimore Street and the cross streets. Among the best known were the Moonlight (Broadway and Baltimore), Sid's Bar (Baltimore and Ann) and the Volcano (Fairmount and Ann). Now all three are gone. I learn, however, that since Lombard and Pratt Streets are not lacking in taverns the Indians have found certain bars where the drinkers among them tend to gather.

A second feature in 1970, and still remaining so, are the churches. There are many in the area and not a few of these are of pentacostal and evangelical leanings. In Baltimore, these are the religious preferences of the Indians, although Dial et al, noted that the official Baptist and Methodist churches have the largest following in Robeson County.<sup>23</sup> Here there is the strictly Indian, Free Will Missionary Baptist Church (not affiliated with the official Baptist denominations) which has just bought the large church where the Indian Center has been housed. This is on Broadway, just south of Pratt Street. Another is the fundamentalist East Baltimore Church of God at Baltimore and Chester Streets, with many Indian members. Further southeast and away from this central area is another Church of God affiliate, Gospel Temple with many Indians in the congregation, as is also true of the Brooklyn Church of God.

As the outsider gets acquainted with the Indians, certain surnames are encountered again and again: Locklear, Hunt, Chavis, Oxendine, Lowry, Hammond, Dial—these are the names of Indians. To the uninitiated, the assumption is that the Locklears, for example, are one family. Perhaps they were at one time, but that would have been in the distant past. Many Locklears—or Chavises or Oxendines—may know fellow Indians carrying the same surnames but often enough they do not. They resent the fact that an outsider lumps people together simply because of a common surname.

These are some of the surface features of the Indian surroundings in Baltimore. These features have acted upon their lifeways, but the Lumbees have not passively adjusted for they have also moved especially recently, to influence this environment.

#### MAKING A LIVING

If the Indians left Robeson County primarily to look for jobs, how have they fared in their search? What the Indians found when they began to build their community in Baltimore during and after the second World War was an economy that fitted in well with their work skills. Baltimore had been primarily the "port city" before the war but wide diversification of its manufacturing base was a feature of the several succeeding decades. A comparison of the 1963 Census of Manufacturing with that of 1939 shows the difference in types of industry found in the city. There are both new industries and expanded industries in the later census. Among the newer types in 1963 were plastics (2219 employees) and electronics (19,782 employees). Among the expanded indus-

tries were food and food processing (20,096 in 1963, as against 1202 in 1939); and primary metals (35,381 in 1963 against 22,186 in "iron and steel" in 1938).

In the light of the kind of jobs Lumbee men found after the war, it is important to note the boom in the construction industry. The building upsurge really created separate branches of the industry, and a dual labor force. New construction of large housing developments, plants and offices were handled by the big contractors mostly with unionized, skilled workers. But there were also the smaller jobs in new buildings and the remodeling work required in an urban center with deteriorating housing and business structures. The latter branch is where the Lumbees found their jobs because the contractors were non-union and the pay was lower. This is how the Indians became painters, roofers, sheetrock workers, though very few got into the higher paid skills of plumber, electrician and carpenter.

There were also jobs in the factories and shops. Chevrolet's auto plant was a big employer, though not until the emphasis on jobs for minorities in the late 1960s did they begin to seek out Indians for their openings. Indian women went to work in the factories—clothing, plastics, and a variety of the other small industries that develop in urban centers. There were also, by 1970, a small number of Indian white collar and professional workers. But in Baltimore, except for the self-employed small contractors, Indian business people were rare.

What did these Indians have to offer that made them stable workers in contrast to Wax's observation that "... a sizeable proportion of Indians who come to cities fail to stabilize a position within the working class and become vagrants, winos and welfare cases?"<sup>24</sup> First, they came out of a farm background where hard work was the only way to scrape out a living, in contrast to the reservation Indians whose home base rarely offered job opportunities. Second, farm work really fitted the men for construction. Many informants have told me that the obligations of keeping a poor farm going meant being able to fix farm machines that were forever breaking down, and repairing houses that needed roofing, carpentering, and painting. The women too were not idle hands at home; they needed to sew, cook and help to repair things around the house.

Third, there is the work ethos. As Lumbees see it, labor is not a necessary evil to be accepted in order to survive. When asked how they felt about work, and whether high pay or certain occupations raised a person's importance, a common answer was that "a hard worker deserves respect no matter what he does," and another comment of an informant, "what counts is steady work and hard work."

Wages of my informants in the building trades in 1970 averaged \$4-\$5 hourly, and with seasonal and weather disruptions, I judged their average annual income at about \$6,000. The median family income for all Baltimoreans in 1970 was \$6,278 so that if Indian husband and wife both worked they were far above the Baltimore averages.

Several other factors affected the way Indians were able to make a living. Job discrimination was not infrequent, according to the Indians, resulting not only in being passed by for jobs, but also in less pay than white people doing

the same work. A second factor was their low level of education. Of the 27 Indians who were my key informants in 1970, 17 had not completed grade school and 10 were functionally illiterate. In no sense was this atypical of the Indians in Baltimore, and this was also noted in a 1969 study of Indians both in Robeson County schools and in those of Baltimore City.<sup>25</sup>

Unionism was an interesting issue to relate to the Lumbee attitudes. Elsewhere, I have commented on the question of class consciousness among these Indians,<sup>26</sup> and I noted that while they held no ideological perspectives about inequities in society they reflected populist attitudes both toward employers and political issues. Indians repeatedly told me that they would not accept being "pushed around" by employers and they would leave a job if any boss cursed them out. I have noted that there seemed to be a relationship to the populist tradition of the small farmer, which had been strong in the rural south and where the "bankers" and "moneyed men" were targets of attack. Part of this hostility to employers was their reaction as members of a marginal ethnic group, believing that they were being treated meanly because they were Indians.

#### THE MEANING OF FAMILY

In the past, the Indian family has been at the center of Lumbee life, both for the individual and for Lumbee society. My findings are that while this holds generally for those who came to Baltimore, there are incremental changes in the context of a modern industrial city. However, ethnic separatism in Baltimore, and the marginal position of the Lumbees in ethnic group prestige ranking, stand in the way of any major shift in their traditions.

From a subsistence point of view, the reasons why the family was at the heart of Indian life in Robeson County have been described many times over in terms of a farm family. Especially for the small farmer without much machinery, every hand that was available was put to work. Wife, sons, and daughters were contributing to family subsistence as soon and as often as they were able. Relatives helped each other with critical farming tasks. To round out the story, the work day was long and when it was over, there was not much energy for socializing even among the adolescents. On Sunday there was family visiting, church for some, fishing, drinking and recreating with peers for others. But the heart of economic and social life was the family, mostly the nuclear family but with extensions into other kin of the mother and father, especially grandparents.

A second significant feature of Lumbee families has been the ruling position of the husband and father. He dominates the household as taskmaster and decision-maker. This is the expressed value, although there are many departures from the "ideal." Obviously, male dominance is not unique to the Lumbees, for there are many macro-structural factors that lead to male power. Within the Lumbee social system, the apparent causes run the full range. The man in the farm family is the backbone of the subsistence effort, at least that part that can be exchanged for the money or services that the family needs.

Further, there was the position of the Lumbee in the tri-ethnic complex of Robeson County which really required a constant defense so as not to be trampled over—and the man had to carry the burden of this defense. There is also the tenet of fundamentalist religion, as quoted to me by several men, that “the Bible says the man should rule the family.” And there is the psychological fact there in a general climate of inequality, the male reaction to this condition seems to have been “I need to control something to maintain my self-respect.”

A part of this aspect of male dominance is that it produces the counter-reaction of the submerged statuses, and a rounded picture must note the male-female battle that goes on, and to a considerably lesser degree, the contests between fathers and sons. Many Indian wives do not accept being pushed around by their husbands, nor do the minor and adult sons always accept the father's orders, though there is distinctly less rebellion among the sons as compared with their mothers. Another, and not unrelated element in father dominance, is its effect on child-rearing styles. There is a right, really looked upon as almost an obligation, to whip the child who resists the will of the father.

A third aspect is the glorification of “momma.” The feeling expressed, is that the mother was just about the greatest, the most loving, the most sacrificing and the hardest working of women. Sometimes one can detect the feeling, more difficult to articulate, that there is an anti-father component, for some will say that “Dad didn't treat her right,” or “if it wasn't for mom, we'd never have gotten along.” And the action part, for those now in Baltimore, is that so many go back mostly to see “momma,” and in addition some send money to her when they have some put aside.

A fourth aspect of the family is its meaning for the individual in his search for a self-identity. If one accepts this as a need and looks for the main way in a culture by which a member can satisfy the need, the answer for the Lumbee is that he has to find it through the family. Indeed, there is hardly any other structure in Lumbee life that has had any relationship to this individual need.

A fifth and overriding aspect of the family focuses on its role in the continuity of Lumbee society. There was no other vehicle through which the uniqueness of this group could be brought home to its children and very limited other ways in which it could be maintained by the adults. Proselytizing organizations to build an Indian morale and spirit have been few, at least until the present day. The family, even if not in any systematic fashion, carried this residual responsibility.

Do these ideas and practices in family design change in the city? Some of the values and behavior are under little pressure to change. Male dominance and idealization of the mother are part of the prevailing ethos in American society and will not readily give way. Nevertheless, the foundations of male dominance are weakened for the Lumbee in the urban context, as, for example, in its economic base. The man may bring home the most money in the family, but there are many working wives who contribute to the family budget. More clearly in connection with male dominance is the challenge to the father's autocratic rule over the child, for he cannot use physical punishment as freely



as he did before. Indian fathers have been brought to Juvenile Court on charges of abusing their children.

In regard to the relationships with siblings and extended family kin such as cousins, uncles, nieces, etc., Lumbees still recognize special obligations. They have helped relatives find jobs, lend money when asked, take care of others' children for long periods if needed, and share their homes if relatives ask for this help. But there are also the evidences of loosened ties for no small number. The more "respectable" Lumbees do not continue associations with hard-drinking relatives, even when a sibling relationship is involved. Those who have the income move away from East Baltimore and contacts with the family are fewer.

The potential for change is even stronger in respect to self-identity and reference groups. People make other contacts in the city. The school teachers, social workers and white collar workers among them work in non-Lumbee environments; the mainstream values that predominate in these work settings are often not in accord with traditional Lumbee notions about family roles. The outcome is not certain for many among the better-educated, for there are some who marry whites and maintain a limited relationship with family while others stay close to relatives and to the Indian community. That is, there is a counter force against threats to the traditional family. The Lumbees have not found ready acceptance from other groups if they wanted to move away from family or other Indians. Lumbees have reported many exclusionary actions against them, some instances of which are noted in the succeeding section. The family and the Indian community are still a haven for those who feel unwanted.

#### BEING INDIAN

What does it mean to be an Indian? What does it mean to be a Lumbee? As individual and as community, Lumbees have had to struggle with these questions. There is little objective evidence to support their claim to be Indian. No one among them or among their known ancestors has had any recollection of an Indian language; no reservation was ever set aside for them; and there is nothing they possess of a religious belief, idea, or material object that can be traced to pre-white settlers in North Carolina. Yet, through their generations of life in North Carolina and up to the present, they have maintained a sense of ethnic uniqueness; and the Indians in Baltimore, as a group, demonstrate in their feelings and ideas that they want to be distinguished from other residents of the community. Why? What can explain their conviction about difference when the differences are hard to identify?

The fact of widespread conviction among the Lumbees that they represent a union of the Lost Colony and the Indians who lived on Roanoke Island represents the conscious rationale in response to these questions. It seems to me, that the insistence on the rationale is much related to the race question, fortified also by the relative isolation of Lumbee community historically in North Carolina. That is, the function of Indian consciousness in the past was a defensive one; the Indians as a group were determined to be set apart from the

blacks, just as they were themselves set apart from the whites. This defensive posture predominated even though group consciousness was evidenced in some affirmative actions, such as getting a name and seeking official recognition as an Indian group by the North Carolina Legislature, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the United States Congress. In effect, the identity was neither based on pride nor on trying to build and enhance a unique tradition; the group was simply passively Indian in saying "This is who we are." So it was also, I think, with individual identity, for, as my North Carolina-born informants respond to the question: Why are you Indian? How could you tell you were Indian when you were growing up?, the almost universal answer is "Because my folks told me," or "Because all my friends were Indian."

These answers, too, provide the clue to the mechanisms by which the sense of being Indian was transmitted from one generation to the next. The family was at the heart of the process; its closeness and readiness to help gave it a well-nigh monopolistic role in shaping the ideas of its children. And the generally isolated Indian community with its separate schools and Indian teachers, separate recreations, eating places—all provided the parallel mechanism to bolster a sense of Indianness. There were also the churches, not noticeably different in doctrine than related Christian denominations, but they were mostly Indian in membership and often had Indian pastors.

Based on a passive and defensive approach to being Indian, the Lumbees who left Robeson County would have a less determined outlook about holding to their Indian ties. There are some who left the fold and became, as one informant said, "white Indians." In Baltimore, nevertheless, the size of the Lumbee community made a big difference. Indians who wanted to be "among my own" found relatives and friends from back home.

National developments and special Baltimore aspects of these developments changed the picture beginning with the sixties. There was a new counteracting influence against both defensive Indianism and assimilation. Civil rights and black power stirred the Indians and other ethnic groups—to assert their pride in ancestral ties. Indian power followed black power, or perhaps rose simultaneously as Indians in Baltimore asserted, in demanding some control over the institutions that affected their daily lives. In Robeson County, Indians ran candidates for county office and state office, and protested various inequities. In Baltimore, the American Indian Study Center emerged, organized by Lumbees. The Center was begun in 1968, formed, said its first president "... by the Indian people of the East Baltimore Community [with] an emphasis upon establishing and maintaining a proper image of the American Indian." Its objective would be that "... Indian culture, Indian life, history and craft could be shared with one another."<sup>27</sup>

From its inception, the Center's membership, totalling about 250 in 1979, had been drawn primarily from the ranks of the church-going and better educated. Its board is entirely Indian, and the staff is mostly Indian. The program of the Center is diverse and it is all financed by grants from federal and local sources, since no membership dues are collected. Its budget has grown considerably for, in 1976, it totalled \$125,885. An alcoholism program tries to deal

with an evident problem among the Lumbees; an Indian education program teaches about Indian culture to both youth in the Center and to classes in the public schools; and a community service program helps Indians get food stamps, jobs, public assistance, etc. There also is a basic education program for those who are illiterate and a senior citizen program for the older Indians.

Problems apparently exist in the Center's functioning, due in part to factional battles that develop out of personality clashes, some church rivalries and other factors. They have also never drawn into their activities the many non-church Indians though some of the latter have taken advantage of the job referrals. But the successes are well-known to all Indians, whether or not they are members. Some years back the Center protested police actions against some Indians, and more recently tenants who were about to be evicted called upon and got help from the Center in stopping their ouster. The Center has played a part in changing Indian consciousness from its defensive posture. Most Indians now say with pride, "I am a Lumbee."

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper has identified three underlying factors that have had a profound influence on Lumbee lifeways. First, they were in the main, farmers who eked out a poor living as tenants and sharecroppers. The experience of work, different from that of most reservation Indians, prepared those who came to Baltimore for the demands of an economy that could use them in the semi-skilled occupations within the building trades and in the shops and factories of the city. A second fundamental factor revolved around racism—race bias in attitudes and race discrimination in action. This was true in Robeson County in the special conditions of a tri-ethnic population where Blacks and Indians needed to deal with exclusionary laws and policies directed against them both by government and white people generally. And, as far as the Indian community was concerned, this also meant the attempt to attain a higher position in the ethnic pecking order than the Blacks. In Baltimore the Indians also met exclusionary practices by the dominant Whites, but the restrictions were not as limiting in their search for jobs, for housing, and for access to places of public accommodation.

A third factor was group identity, in effect, the uncertainty about who they were and in what way they were different from others. Even deciding on their name was a long, hard struggle. Yet it was clear that most of them knew they were Indian, and that they were a people together. The family and the church were the main mechanisms for transmitting this heritage—plus the fact that until the major highway interstates were built, they lived in a relatively isolated part of North Carolina.

What then were their adaptive strategies in Baltimore? How have they changed and what is the further outlook for change in their ways? The basic fact is that life in a city brings about change, even if it is not as sweeping as Redfield-Wirth's concept of the folk-urban continuum.<sup>28</sup> Adaptations take place, though there are differences among individuals, and differences in the

range of elements that constitute the socio-cultural system of a people. In this regard, Gordon makes an important distinction between the "structural" and "cultural" aspects.<sup>29</sup> In the latter realm of values, norms, and ideas, Gordon notes the drive for uniformity in the United States, and I note that in their attitudes toward upward mobility, churchgoing, the centrality of the family, and the dominant role of the father and husband, the Lumbees do not separate themselves from mainstream cultural emphases. It is in the area of structural elements, that is of people's networks of relationships that ethnic groups stay apart in the United States. Indeed, as Gordon notes, ethnic and religious separation of primary groups is a prevailing theme in the country and, as Beirne pointed out, it has been a strong fact of Baltimore community life.<sup>30</sup>

Thus, the Lumbees stay apart from others and I think they will continue to do so as long as ethnic identity stresses distance from others. Up to the 1970s this was a matter largely of external decision, or Whites keeping them apart and really controlling the institutions that affected their lives both in Robeson County and in Baltimore. The interesting change is that back home and in the city, the Lumbees seem more determined to have some power in these decisions. The American Indian Study Center symbolizes this determination and I think it means that Indians will have more to say about the conditions that affect their adaptations to life in Baltimore.

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# William B. Marye's "Dig" at Bryn Mawr

BETTY MCKEEVER KEY, ED.

**W**ILLIAM BOSE MARYE WAS A WELL-KNOWN FIGURE IN THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY for many years and an early choice as interviewee when the Oral History Office opened in 1971. We knew that he had been a long-time officer of the Society, verifier of genealogical data for the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland for many years, and had many reminiscences to share at all times.

Mrs. Virginia Pitcher was the volunteer who accepted this assignment. Four hours of taped interview resulted from their meeting. Mr. Marye was cautious and restrained always about what he chose to tell, to the extent that Mrs. Betty Key interviewed him for a further hour simply to satisfy his concern for "getting his stories straight." Mr. Bennett's interview came later but even so much was left untold.

Only the edited interview that follows has been fully transcribed: the other five hours are only abstracted.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bennett held Mr. Marye firmly to his subject, but the other interviews are notable for the many areas they cover. It may come as a surprise to many to hear that Mr. Marye belonged to a boyhood gang called the "Sixes" who fought with stones the "Sevens" from across the Falls. Their names were taken from fire engine houses. As a young man he was a great hiker. He walked from Virginia Beach to Nags Head, North Carolina, through the Shetland Islands and the Laurentians. He remembered many, many boyhood friends fondly but his schools not fondly at all. He published poetry and was a part of Jesse Lee Bennett's salon. His comments on saving Baltimore houses and the proper attributes of the "better" people were pungent and reflective of an earlier day.

In all of this, his Society service and his genealogical skills were passed over lightly. He felt that the Indian archaeology and Baltimore topography work were his real contributions.

**BENNETT:** Mr. William B. Marye is being recorded at the Maryland Historical Society on March 26, 1975 by Carroll R. Bennett.

Now Mr. Marye, when we pulled up on the parking lot, you said probably the first question I was going to ask you was "What was it that made you interested in the Bryn Mawr site as a possible dig?" and that is precisely the question that I did want to ask. Can you start with that? What first called that dig to your attention?

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Mrs. Key heads the Oral History Collection at the Maryland Historical Society.

MARYE: Oh yes, I remember it all very well. I was taking a walk with John Gilman D'Arcy Paul, who, as you know, died a few years ago and he was a very good friend, he and his mother. He was not very much interested in these artifacts.

We were taking a walk. We used to do a lot of walking together and we went across the grounds. We entered the grounds of the Bryn Mawr School where the vegetable garden was situated. I said to him, "Gilman, this is an excellent site for Indian occupation because over on the right, we have what we call in the country a spring branch and in fact, the spring there was used by some of the people that built houses on Charles Street Avenue." I didn't drink out of it but it was perennial and then, Stoney Run coming down this way from the golf course of the Elkridge Club and I think the waters are carried off in a storm drain there because it goes dry in the summer and the spring branch doesn't.

I said "Over here you have the spring branch and over there you have Stoney Run on the North and it is not precipitous. It is more or less level." I said, "This is a site."

I looked at the ground and I think I found at least 2 arrowheads then. So we walked on but I made up my mind to go back and I realized that that was probably a promising site and it was under cultivation then.

Now the reason I devoted 136 hours on the site with my eyes on the ground, getting out there, not talking to people, in the site, 136 hours and it might have been a few more, was that I had gotten in touch with Mrs. Van Bibber who was a sister of Mrs. Alexis Shriver and who knew who I was—an old friend of the Shriver family and she gave me permission to come on the grounds and hunt in the name of the Maryland Historical Society. The artifacts were to be preserved by the Maryland Historical Society. All of that has been done.

She gave me permission and then I met the head gardener, Mr. Curry—a very intelligent man and a very obliging man and he told me the history of the site. He said two years before our interview, he received orders to get labor and to remove all the soil from the site to a depth of one foot. I said, "You were very careful to make it one foot." "Oh, yes," he said, "I measured all over—just one foot." It went to subsoil and there the excavation stopped. The earth was removed and placed over what is now the athletic field adjacent to the Bryn Mawr School on the northwest, I think. That had the reputation of being a good place for surface hunters because all that has been covered up.

So, in other words, the excavation to the depth of one foot, brought you down, I think Dr. Byers and Tyler Bastian both agree, to a very early level of the land there . . . perhaps during the last ice age when the waters of the Chesapeake Bay retreated and the Susquehanna River was a fresh water river and all the rivers that we know as estuaries like the Patapsco, they were all fresh water streams that flowed into the Susquehanna.

Mr. Bastian has found in the collection I made, after my search of 136 hours on the site, I believe he has found artifacts which I think date from the archaic caves.

So, they were brought here and Mr. Foster placed them under the care of Miss Holland. They seemed to have received good care. Nothing has been mixed with them. I even found two objects that I realized I had not found on the site. One was a crude ax and one was a shell—a rather good shell. Then there were some hammerstones. I think I found one hammerstone, I'm not sure. They are very common.

I was going to say, I understand from you, that these objects were identifiable, I believe they were described as being found on the grounds of the Bryn Mawr School—were they not?

BENNETT: Yes, they were identified as being found on the grounds of the Bryn Mawr School but found by someone other than you.

MARYE: Yes. I did not find them and I couldn't say that they were not found on that site that I searched.

BENNETT: But the critical point is that they were found on the Bryn Mawr grounds so it's authentic to include them as artifacts from either the Bryn Mawr site or close to it.

MARYE: Well, I would say possibly from the Bryn Mawr site. We don't know because many artifacts were reported to have been found on the site of the athletic field. It's all been leveled off, of course, and they're underneath all this soil removed from the vegetable garden. I don't think—I found only one object myself of stone, you know. On the outside is what they call amorphous—that is having no definite describable form but it does have a very heavy coal fill in it and that doesn't fit it. I have to ask Tyler Bastian where that fits in by age. It was found a little outside of the part where I found things most intensively. I should say it took a half hour to find anything at all. Could we get somebody to go upstairs and get my article on the archeological collection of the Historical Society and see if Bryn Mawr School isn't in it.

BENNETT: Yes, we could do that. First, let me take just a moment if you don't mind.

MARYE: Of course, any question . . .

BENNETT: To go back, there are a couple of things. In the beginning of your discussion, you said you got in touch with Miss someone who was an assistant to Mrs. Shriver. Can you tell me again the name of the lady that you got in touch with?

MARYE: Miss VanBibber. I'm quite sure that that was she. She was there for years.

BENNETT: Now, another name that I didn't quite catch. You spoke very favorably about the gardener and you mentioned his name . . .

MARYE: Mr. Currey.

BENNETT: C-U-R-R-E-Y?

MARYE: I couldn't tell you. I think it is probably E-Y but that name gives a genealogist a lot of trouble.

BENNETT: Okay. That's good enough. Now you mentioned a Dr. Byers. Can you identify who he is?

MARYE: He is an archeologist attached to a museum in Andover University, Andover, Massachusetts. He had quite a name and I was in correspon-



dence with him specially about this Bryn Mawr (site) and he said he could see the objects and . . .

BENNETT: All right. That's fine. I think it might be a good idea at this point if we would identify Tyler Bastian because you mentioned his name on this tape and I think the transcriber should know that Tyler Bastian is the archeologist for the State of Maryland.

Another question I have. You mentioned a Mr. Foster. Was that Mr. Foster with the Historical Society?

MARYE: James W. Foster whose portrait is outside—it was. It's in the Manuscript Department.

BENNETT: Was he Director of the Historical Society at one time?

MARYE: Yes, he was Director.

BENNETT: You also mentioned Miss Holland and that Miss Holland is Miss Eugenia Holland who is Assistant Curator.

MARYE: Yes.

BENNETT: Dr. Byers was Douglas S. (As in Sam) Byers. . . B-Y-E-R-S. In 1944, he was Editor of the Society for American Archeology, Peabody Foundation, Andover, Massachusetts.

MARYE: Yes. I don't think he did any work himself because he was elderly but he had his underlings.

BENNETT: Yes. Now, Mr. Marye, you said to start with Mr. Currey took off the plow zone of the vegetable garden to the depth of a foot. Would you mind proceeding from that point and tell me whether you had any help with this dig and what was the technique that you used after this plow zone had been removed? Would you go on from there?

MARYE: Well, I don't think when I did receive help, I didn't count that as hours spent there on the ground. I got a young man who was the son of a friend of mine. We got nothing. Then I did go out there with Dick Sterns and I think we found one or two projectile points but I think it would be fair to say that I was 136 hours there on the site. I have all that recorded.

I think Tyler Bastian should have the last word as to the antiquity of the site—that is the extreme antiquity of it.

BENNETT: Excuse me just a second. Before you get to that point. After the plow zone had been removed by Mr. Currey, did you sift or screen the soil removed from the plow zone and if so, what did you find there?

MARYE: No, because the athletic field was already constructed with the earth that came out of the vegetable garden.

BENNETT: So that if there were any artifacts in the plow zone, they were lost. You had a situation where one foot of the topsoil—the plow zone had been removed.

MARYE: Yes.

BENNETT: What was in that step?

MARYE: Well, I was going to add that I was very careful to ask Mr. Currey, he was very intelligent, if care was taken to see if he stuck to that one foot and he said, "Yes." He made measurements—took one foot off. You were going to ask me a question.

BENNETT: What was your next step? At that point did you use a trowel in the conventional manner or did you . . . I think you said earlier you dug a pit or so. Did you make a trench? Did you dig pits?

MARYE: Well, not knowing the antiquity of the site, I thought it was ancient. In fact, I thought I was engaged in an archeological work rather than in contact work.

BENNETT: Now by contact, you mean when the white man first came to the United States?

MARYE: Yes. I doubt very much if it was inhabited in historical times even by the very first explorers.

BENNETT: You mentioned Dick Stern. Who is Dick Stern?

MARYE: Dick Stern was an out-of-town archeologist and he was known for his work on the Hughes site on the Chonk River up near the Little Monocacy. I went up there with him and he did it all, I think, by himself. He had quite a name for himself.

BENNETT: He has a name in amateur archeological circles.

MARYE: Yes, he deserves great credit.

BENNETT: So now we are back at the Bryn Mawr site, and the ground has been leveled, the plow zone has been removed and with the help of one college student, part-time at least—

MARYE: No, just one day.

BENNETT: Just one day. All right. You, at that point, began to work on this site?

MARYE: Yes. I think I was working on it for a year or two.

BENNETT: Did you by any chance lay out any kind of a grid?

MARYE: A what?

BENNETT: A grid—mark it off in squares—mark off the site in squares?

MARYE: Oh no. It wasn't that sort of a thing. No I didn't and I wasn't physically able. It had been fertilized and after two years it was fertile. No, I didn't do that. That is what would have been done if the top soil had not been removed.

BENNETT: We have right here . . . You may not be aware of what that is over there to your left but everything that is in those boxes came from the Bryn Mawr site. I can pick up one little box here—Tyler Bastian has gone over this—partly anyhow.

MARYE: Did somebody else find it?

BENNETT: No. These are artifacts that you found and the first box that I picked up contains a bunch of bricks and they are made of purple argillite and according to Tyler, purple argillite comes from up west of Gettysburg so you obviously found a number of good artifacts on that site.

MARYE: It's exciting.

BENNETT: My question is—can you give me some idea where you found them? Were you digging down?

MARYE: Oh no. It was surface collection but the surface was very ancient you see. One foot down brought you to a very ancient surface.

BENNETT: Did you make this surface check before the plow zone was removed by Mr. Currey?

MARYE: No. I never saw the site until two years later when I went out.

BENNETT: Oh, I see.

MARYE: Two years later. No, you see, the customary thing was that if someone had means to see it through they would have gotten picks, . . . but they didn't have to take picks. It was all there on the bottom.

BENNETT: On the bottom?

MARYE: Well, I mean to say an old level of ground that was left behind when the flood waters receded and there was no leaf mold there. That's what we found. No leaf mold. These people came along and . . . I don't know how many years Tyler was assigned to it.

You see, of course, in removing the top soil, the objects from the woodland culture, drifted down into the objects from the ancient, you see.

BENNETT: Well, now, just going by memory, what were the artifacts that you recovered from the Bryn Mawr site that interested you most?

MARYE: Well, I realized that there was a quantity of projectile points all made out of the same material and resembling each other. Also, this is interesting, there are two projectile points in the collection that were found in four different pieces. The ends were not eroded, were not broken, and they fitted together and I glued them together. I think it was a year later that I remembered that I found one. So that shows how much hunting that I did out there.

I was sorry that I didn't continue my search. I was told they were not using the garden any more but that for \$100.00 I could get somebody to plow it up and plow it up several times during the summer. Then I would go out and hunt. I was very much afraid that the girls would go out there in the field and I didn't think there was a chance in the world that they would turn out to be archeologists.

BENNETT: Would you say, Mr. Marye, that all of the artifacts that were found on the Bryn Mawr site were turned over to the Historical Society? I don't think that you kept any of them but I wonder if you gave any of them to any other institutions like the Smithsonian or any museum anywhere else?

MARYE: Oh no, I didn't want to break it up. I realized the more the merrier.

BENNETT: All right. Now, is there anything more about the Bryn Mawr site? Incidentally, let me go back a moment. Tyler Bastian is already working on your Bryn Mawr collections. That's the reason they are on the desk here. He has sorted them out. In the meantime, you know how short of time he is, he hasn't been able to finish that but he will, so you can rest assured that he will come in and date those and date them just as you asked.

You were talking about the archaic period which I am sure that at least some of these artifacts are. According to the information I have, in this particular area, the Middle Atlantic area of Maryland, the archaic period could extend from 6000 B.C. to 1500 B.C. so they could be that old.

MARYE: Yes. You probably know that recently in Pennsylvania the age

of the site of the Indian occupation was determined, I suppose by regular carbon dating, to be 13,000 years old. That's the oldest yet in the East. I think they are going to find eventually they were here much longer than any of us suppose.

**BENNETT:** Let's leave the Bryn Mawr site for a minute. There are a couple of things that you have mentioned to me in the past that I have wanted very much to go over with you.

You told me at one time that the very first artifact you ever found, you found near your home when you were 8 years old. Would you want to tell me about that over again now?

**MARYE:** I was born on a farm and it was also a country place. We had a tenant house which was a commodious house. I was born in a strange little old house which I showed everybody. Its one attraction was that we had a formal garden. Nobody else in the neighborhood had a formal garden. They had flowers. They had garden walks but they didn't have a formal garden. We were the only ones that had one. It was quite beautiful. It wasn't surrounded by a wall as I wish it had been but it had an ornamental fence. We had tenants on the place. We never interfered with them and we never did any work. That was a tradition—particularly in the Greenspring Valley. It was traditional more or less in my neighborhood that if you could afford it, you didn't work in the ground. I never did but I spent hundreds of hours on the fields collecting, surface hunting. Now I was 8 years old and Ambrose was one of our tenants. He was a year younger. We were both born on that place and Ambrose used to speak of Indian arrowheads as Indian darts and he showed me an Indian dart when I was about 8 years old. I say 8 but I know I was very young. I didn't know where to go to hunt for them, so I went to the most unlikely place, way off by a spring, and for the life of me in later years I never could find anything on that site, but that day I found an arrowhead, almost perfect. I don't know what period it belonged to. It's been so long ago. That started me.

**BENNETT:** Aren't we talking about an area not far from the Gunpowder River and that you were finding artifacts in the area along the Gunpowder River before it became Edgewood Arsenal. If that is so, could you tell me a little bit more about it?

**MARYE:** Oh well, I didn't find much on the site of the Arsenal because I was interested in fishing and the Arsenal, you know, was covered by the Cadwalader estate, between 7,000 and 8,000 acres.

**BENNETT:** Would you mind telling me again what estate?

**MARYE:** Cadwalader Estate.

**BENNETT:** Good. You said that the United States Army took over the property that became Edgewood at the time of the first World War. You also said that there had been a proposal that the Army was apparently interested first in Kent Island. Where were the property owners in a general sense? What property owners, not by name, but what affected the decision away from Kent Island in favor of the present location?

**MARYE:** That I don't know. It was more or less gossip and there was a large property owner, but most of the people didn't want to go.

BENNETT: Now, what is now the present Edgewood, you have found artifacts near the water, in that water . . .

MARYE: No. Dr. Holmes Smith did—the Holmes Smith Collection. He and I were very close together at one time and he was a very ardent surface collector and in being a surgeon and a doctor, he had a lot of poor people were clients and they would give him artifacts. I don't know whether he ever bought any or not. I did buy if necessary, but he devoted much of his life to it, I think. He never would tell me if he discovered a site—very seldom. I didn't go hunting with him. Dr. Holmes Smith was Professor of Anatomy at the University of Maryland. He was a surgeon.

BENNETT: I think at this point, we might add that one of the collections that belongs to the Historical Society is at least a part of the Dr. J. Holmes Smith collection. Who is Mr. Thom?

MARYE: Mr. DeCourcy Wright Thom was a very kind man and before the Depression was reputed to be a very rich man. He was interested in the Society and good works. I went to him and he said, "Now, you know I'm going to give you \$100.00 and if you collect you are going to have to give." And I said, "Well, certainly, Mr. Thom." so we each gave \$100.00, and then Harry Scoff, not particularly interested in Indian relics, gave \$25.00. That was very nice of him. We bought it from Miss Smith, Dr. Smith's daughter. She took possession when he died—just took possession. Well, she had hard times because he didn't leave very much.

BENNETT: Doesn't that explain how the Doctor J. Holmes Smith Collection came to the Historical Society?

MARYE: We bought it but not for the Historical Society; it was lent to the State and exhibited with a collection of geological remains—I mean rocks and minerals—all mixed up and one of the most interesting things I ever found was a tiny little arrowhead—curious shape—rather rare—I found it on the Gunpowder River and that disappeared. Undoubtedly some politician got hold of it and made a thing out of it.

BENNETT: Well, how did the Smith Collection, the J. Holmes Smith Collection get to the Historical Society then?

MARYE: I don't know how it was done but the Legislature of Maryland voted to provide two cases for us and it was finally housed—not finally—it was housed in the building that houses the—what do they call that in Annapolis?

BENNETT: The Hall of Records isn't it?

MARYE: Yes, the Hall of Records. Let me see, who went with me? I don't remember who went with me to Annapolis. It was all at my expense. I moved the Collection into these tubes. They were about this size and you looked down on it you know—it was thick glass over it. Suddenly, I see the letter from Dr. Radoff and I don't like . . .

BENNETT: You see a letter from whom?

MARYE: Dr. Radoff. He runs the Hall of Records you know.

BENNETT: He was the archivist wasn't he?

MARYE: Yes, he was the archivist-in-chief. There are other archivists there but he's the one in-chief, and he has done a very major work for Maryland.

Meanwhile, somebody down there described the objects there as “those old stones.”

I got a letter from Radoff saying that he needed those cases to house manuscripts—please at my convenience to move them. I wrote him a letter . . .

BENNETT: By remove them, he meant remove the artifacts of the J. Holmes Smith Collection?

MARYE: From the Hall of Records and from these cases that were provided by the State specifically to hold this Collection.

BENNETT: All right. What became of the artifacts after you picked them up? From the Hall of Records?

MARYE: After I picked them up, well, the first place I picked them up was at Miss Smith’s place out there in my neighborhood and I got a truck from the State and went to Annapolis. We placed it, as I said, on exhibition at Annapolis. At that time, the ownership in my mind seemed to be obscure, but, of course, I just had to take charge at that time because everyone else showed such little interest.

I wrote Mr. Radoff a letter and I said, “Maryland is an ignoramus in regard to archeology. It is the worst state, I believe, in the whole Union in archeology and compares very unfavorably with Pennsylvania.” I said, “It is an honorable, very interesting, high class branch of knowledge.” I told him that. I don’t know but I think that I may have gone so far as to tell him that the State had allocated it for those cases that were built to hold the Collection.

BENNETT: Well, then, did you bring the Collection . . . you put the Collection on the truck . . .

MARYE: No, that was the beginning. When they were down in the Hall of Records I was confronted with a man who was an able man whom I liked. He had quite a sense of humor. He didn’t like the Historical Society, by the way, because we had some manuscripts up here that he thought we ought to turn over to him. We are not going to do it. He was in a steam over it. I thought, “Oh what’s the use, I don’t want to have a fuss with him.” He saw what I was driving at, I’m sure.

So then I got somebody . . . I think I paid them to go down there and we personally loaded the whole thing—the whole collection—except we forgot to bring a perfect chalkstone bowl which came from Deer Creek. That’s a long Creek and I don’t know what part of it. It came from Deer Creek. There is a chalkstone quarry up there. We brought it up here . . .

BENNETT: When you say here do you mean the Historical Society?

MARYE: . . . The Historical Society. Just exactly as I say, you transfer the custody of these different institutions you know—the state, the Hall of Records and finally it landed here.

BENNETT: Approximately what year would you say the J. Holmes Smith Collection was delivered here to the Historical Society?

MARYE: I can’t remember.

BENNETT: Was it in the ’30s?

MARYE: Oh yes, I got a St. John’s College boy to help me. But I went down there with somebody who had a car.

BENNETT: Mr. Marye, I think you might be getting tired. We won't go on too long.

MARYE: I told you I'm not tired.

BENNETT: There is one thing more that I want to ask you about because you have told me about this and I was very interested. You mentioned the house you lived in as a child and you explained to me that on the top floor of this house, there was a reservoir of some kind that held water—that provided water for the house. Can you tell me more about that house—the size of it and the number of servants that you had?

MARYE: We had about six servants. We had a coachman. . . .

BENNETT: Excuse me. I should have asked you can you tell me where that house was?

MARYE: It was the first house on the left going from Kingsville to Bradshaw. Before I was born, the cornfield came right up to the road and I think that is very beautiful; but my great-great aunt who had most of the money in the family, was very nice but of course, her word was law and she wanted to have a park. I don't remember the old house because I was born there but that winter we had it pulled down and we built a house that was three stories high, had six master bedrooms and one bathroom. That is the house that I remember so well and it is still there on an acre of ground.

The old house, I understand, was very primitive. It went back very far, but it belonged to a sea captain named Hughes whose port was Baltimore. He married a daughter of a sea captain named McCurdy who is a quite prominent old sailor. They say he was related to the McCurdy who was related to the Earl of Kolmonica.

BENNETT: Are we talking about the house that had the water tank?

MARYE: That was the second house.

BENNETT: Oh, that was the second one.

MARYE: The water tank was in the third floor.

BENNETT: How did they get it filled?

MARYE: The gardener pumped the water several hours a day into this tank. I used to go up and watch it come out because it came out of a well. My predecessors there had no such tank. We depended on a spring that was about a mile away. They had slaves and they brought the water up.

Even in my time it was measured out. I was only allowed to take a bath Saturday night. But the servants brought water around and filled up pitchers. You took what was known as a dry wash.

#### REFERENCES

1. This interview is on tape number OH 8082 in the Oral History Collection in the Maryland Historical Society. OH 8020 is the longer, untranscribed interview.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Prehistoric Archeological Resources in the Maryland Coastal Zone: A Management Overview.* By Steve Wilke and Gail Thompson. (Prepared and funded by the Maryland Department of Natural Resources Energy and Coastal Zone Administration, 1977. xxiv+426 pp., illus.)

*Prehistoric Peoples of Maryland's Coastal Plain.* No author(s) given. (Maryland Department of Natural Resources Tidewater Administration Coastal Resources Division, 1979. 28 pp., illus.)

*Prehistoric Archeological Resources of the Maryland Coastal Zone* was prepared under a Program Development Grant from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. The second volume here under review consists of the first three chapters of the larger work. Both publications reflect the growing awareness and concern in federal and state governments of the valuable and non-renewable nature of archaeological resources. Both works are directed towards a reading public unfamiliar with the details of archaeological investigations. The first cited publication is aimed primarily at government agencies and personnel who may be involved in the evaluation and preservation of archaeological remains while the second volume is oriented to the general public.

*Prehistoric Archeological Resources* is comprised of six chapters and three appendices. The first three chapters discuss the nature of prehistoric resources, their disturbance and destruction, the goals of the study, and major findings and recommendations in Chapter 1; a review of present and past environmental conditions of Maryland's coastal region and their role in effecting archaeological sites in Chapter 2; and a review of the known cultural chronology of the Maryland Coastal Zone in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 discusses the methods used in surveying the coastal area and presents a summary of the nature, abundance, distribution, and significance of prehistoric resources in the coastal counties (Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Calvert, Caroline, Cecil, Charles, Hartford, Kent, Prince George's, Queen Anne's, St. Mary's, and Talbot Counties). Chapter 5 outlines the varieties of natural and human activities which damage or destroy prehistoric resources, and evaluates current and possible future stresses on prehistoric sites in the surveyed areas. Chapter 6 reviews current programs available to manage prehistoric resources in Maryland; suggests future legislative, management, and other planning strategies; and presents suggestions for management of resources in each coastal county. Appendix A presents information of fieldwork, Appendix B consists of reprints of federal and state legislation concerning prehistoric resources, and Appendix C lists federal and state agencies, universities, museums, libraries and societies which are sources of information on Maryland's prehistoric resources.

In general, the volume succeeds in achieving its goal of taking an initial assessment of prehistoric resources in coastal Maryland and suggesting broad strategies to insure their protection. The quality of the prose is good despite occasional stiffness in writing, and there are few typographic errors. The reproduction quality of line drawings (mostly maps) and photographs is very good in the reviewed copy. The use of sections of De Bry's sixteenth-century engravings of the native populations of the region is effective in visually enlivening the volume.



Although the volume is useful as an introduction to the nature of prehistoric resources and the myriad problems involved in protecting sites in the coastal zone, it suffers from several weaknesses. The problems of the study lie in the field methods used in surveying and evaluating sites, the comprehensiveness of the study, and the significance of the volume compared to the contribution it could have made to knowledge of prehistoric Maryland.

The field work for the report consisted of two months of shoreline inspection and was organized of parties of 2 persons spaced at 50 foot intervals (p. 68). The shoreline-coastal zone was defined as a 200 foot wide strip of land along the water's edge. Survey crews limited their activities to visual ground inspection and no attempts were made to clear ground cover, nor were shovel test pits used to examine subsurface deposits. No artifact collections were made (p. 69). These procedures diminished the amount of recovered data. The wide spacing of crew members and lack of adequate testing procedures have probably resulted in missing many small and buried sites.

The sites which were accounted for were discussed only within the context of whether they were made up of shell deposits or if shells were absent. No site sizes are given and the cultural occupations are not discussed in the volume. The absence of this critical information limits the volume's use as a managerial and scholastic tool. Neither a predictive model nor a managerial plan for preserving sites can be made without knowledge of the patterned environmental and cultural variability of the known cultural resources. Modern American archaeology no longer judges the significance of sites in terms of the "oldest," "biggest," or "best preserved" but in relation to their role in cultural processes in terms of their interaction with natural and cultural factors on a regional bases. Sites must be evaluated with these goals in mind as well as in terms of the number of sites of a particular time period or function which remain for scientists to study and for future generations to enjoy.

The areas chosen for the study seem to have been selected with care. However, southern Dorchester County, Wicomico County, and the shoreline of Prince George's County were not examined in the survey. As these areas are part of the coastal zone, and especially because rapid population growth is to be expected in the tidewater regions of the Pautuxent and Potomac River areas of Prince George's County, it is disheartening to discover that these areas were not subjected to field investigations.

The criticisms of the report should be tempered with the recognition that the volume was designed only as an overview, an initial step towards managing Maryland's coastal prehistoric resources. As stated above, in the preliminary nature of the task at hand the volume has succeeded in its goals. As, apparently, large sums of money were spent in the preparation of this volume, it is disappointing to consider that with relatively small amounts of additional funding and work the volume could have provided a great wealth of information on Maryland's coastal prehistoric resources.

Part of the problem lies in the way in which many such "management overview" reports are conceived and funded. These reports are developed for a general audience of government officials, but in actuality it is archaeologists who make up the bulk of the readership of these reports and who will be most active in managing cultural resources. Enough work has been undertaken in the last five years—the period in which projects of this type have blossomed—to demonstrate that feasibility studies of the potential for formulating predictive models of archaeological resources and management plans are unnecessary. There is no need to test the feasibility of performing such studies—they can always be done. A predictive model can always be developed because there are almost always prehistoric and historic sites in areas attractive to modern populations and industrial development. The problems to be faced are the accuracy with which such

models can be applied to a particular area and the quality and quantity of the data base which is fast being affected by population growth and development plans. Surveys that do not recover basic information on site sizes and cultural occupations are ultimately of little use. The funds required to resurvey, and reexamine areas which have received feasibility studies increase the costs of cultural resource management to the woe of the tax payer. The authors of the volume have done a good job within the scope of their contracted work, but the scope of the work should have been greater.

*Prehistoric Peoples Of Maryland's Coastal Plain* is an excellent introduction to the prehistory of Maryland. It will well serve the general reader in introducing basic concepts and data concerning the prehistory of the area and may be of great use as an introductory text in classes on the prehistoric peoples of Maryland.

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*Ancient Washington: American Indian Cultures of the Potomac Valley.* By Robert L. Humphrey and Mary Elizabeth Chambers. (GW Washington Studies, No. 6.) (Washington, D.C.: Division of Experimental Programs, George Washington University, 1977. Pp. vii, 36. Illustrations, bibliography. \$3.00 paper.)

This is No. 6 of a series of monographs by members of George Washington University focusing on Washington D.C. Previous monographs dealt with social, political, and economic topics.

The co-authors are competent anthropologists, and their principal interest is the prehistory of Washington, D.C. and the Potomac Valley. A brief introductory chapter describes the pioneer archeological work in Washington by William Henry Holmes published in 1897 by the Bureau of American Ethnology, 15th Annual Report.

Subsequent chapters are entitled *The Paleoindian Period*; *The Archaic and Transitional Periods*; and *The Woodland Period*, terms used by American anthropologists for theoretical prehistoric Indian cultural levels. There is a *Conclusion* and an excellent *Bibliography*.

Buildings and streets have obliterated the aboriginal quarries and other occupational features excavated by Holmes, although the authors point out that when the President's swimming pool was being excavated in 1975, the debris contained chips, flakes, two quartz arrowheads, and a potsherd. Other evidence of pre-Columbian occupation have also recently come to light, and the authors optimistically believe that an increased awareness of the importance of archeological research "promises that the capital's prehistory will not long remain in the shadows."

One hopes their prediction will materialize, but the historian also wishes that the void relating to the historical Indian tribes could also be filled. The authors make references to the Powhatan Confederacy, and the Piscataway-Conoy (who lived northward from the Potomac River to present Baltimore), but one can not expect anthropologists to delve into primary historical documents as they do in the soil. Thus, the monograph adds nothing to the ethno-history of the tribes of Washington, D.C. and Maryland not already known. The late William B. Marye made a notable beginning through his careful documentary research, but much still remains to be written about the historic tide-water Indians.

Several historical contributions could have been made in the present monograph without diluting its archeological purview. For example, Figure 10 is entitled "John

Smith's 1612 Map of Virginia" (which includes present Maryland, as well as Washington, D.C.). This is actually a miniature version of the tenth state of Smith's map, engraved in 1632, which has been reproduced in dozens of publications. An enlarged section of the map depicting only the Potomac River area would be more useful than a reduction of the whole map on which the place-names and physical features of Washington, D.C. and environs are illegible.

Six engravings by De Bry of "Virginia Indians" have also been reproduced in numerous publications. Theodore De Bry copied and redrew drawings made by John White in 1585-86. White had been to America and had seen Indians in their native habitat—but De Bry had not.

If the authors had consulted David Bushnell's three-part article, "John White—the First English Artist to Visit America" in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 1927-28, they would have found faithful reproductions of White's drawings, which they might have reproduced for their readers. By using De Bry's embellishments they helped to immortalize elaborations rather than the originals, thus giving their readers a second-hand impression of Indian life and custom.

Although I do not wish to nit-pick, if there is a second printing, several typographical errors should be corrected. Atlatl (a spear thrower) is so spelled twice on p. 13, but rendered "Atl-atl" on other pages. The outstanding American journalist, editor, and diplomat, Ephraim George Squier is referred to as Ephraim Squier on p. 3 and his surname is misspelled "Squiere" on p. 35. One might overlook this misspelling of a name from the distant past, but it is inexcusable for two anthropologists to refer to Melburn D. Thurman, a living anthropologist, as Thurmond on p. 5 and again on p. 36. "Indian" on p. 36 appearing in a title of a paper by Witthoft is misspelled "Indain," and on the inside back cover the Iroquois Research Institute in Fairfax, Virginia is rendered "Iriquois."

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C. A. WESLAGER

John C. Kraft, ed. *The Pre-European Archaeology of Delaware and Science and Archaeology in Colonial Delaware*. Transactions of the Delaware Academy of Science, Vols. 5 and 6 (1976).

In 1974 and 1975, the Delaware Academy of Science sponsored meetings which addressed the themes of *The Pre-European Archaeology of Delaware and Science and Archaeology in Colonial Delaware*. These papers were published together as Volumes 5 and 6 of the Transactions of the Academy. Under consideration in this review is Volume 5 (1974), *The Pre-European Archaeology of Delaware*.

In "A Brief History of Archaeology in Delaware," C. A. Weslager presents a general description of the growth and development of archaeological activities in Delaware from the nascent interest in Indian artifacts, to the organization of the Archaeological Society of Delaware, and the detailed, professional excavation of the Island Field Site. In two complementary papers, Elwood S. Wilkins' "The Lithics of the Delaware and Nanticoke Indians" and M. James Blackman's "The Geochemical Analysis of Jasper Artifacts and Source Material from Delaware and Pennsylvania" demonstrate the significance of geochemical analysis of lithic materials in determining prehistoric trade patterns, diffusion of cultural traits, and actual migrations of populations. Ronald A. Thomas, Delaware's first State Archaeologist, describes the "Webb

Phase Mortuary Customs at the Island Field Site." Daniel R. Griffith's "Ecological Studies of Prehistory" generates a model of prehistoric subsistence potential and its relation to settlement patterning on the Delmarva peninsula. John C. Kraft attempts "Geological Reconstructions of Ancient Coastal Environments in the Vicinity of the Island Field Archaeological Site, Kent County, Delaware." And finally, Thomas presents "A Brief Survey of Prehistoric Man on the Delmarva Peninsula."

The value of *The Pre-European Archaeology of Delaware* is two-fold. First, the papers provide a coherent, interpretative, and insightful perspective of recent research of the Delmarva peninsula. Second, the material presented by Wilkins, Blackman, Griffith, and Kraft must be viewed as seminal in nature and as preliminary efforts which require further research and testing. This volume presents a very successful collection of important papers which strongly suggest the rich possibilities for future work in the prehistory of the Delmarva peninsula.

*The Newberry Library*

FRANK W. PORTER III

*Indians in Maryland and Delaware: A Critical Bibliography.* By Frank W. Porter, III. (The Newberry Library Center for the History of the American Indian Bibliographical Series. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979. Pp. xix, 107. Indexed. \$4.95.)

*The Delawares: A Critical Bibliography.* By C. A. Weslager. (The Newberry Library Center for the History of the American Indian Bibliographical Series. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978. Pp. viii, 84. Indexed. \$4.95.)

The recent revival of scholarly interest in American Indian studies, combined with voluminous writings from earlier years, has made it increasingly difficult to maintain familiarity with the literature of the field. This difficulty is complicated by the participation of members of several academic disciplines and compounded by the uneven quality of their writings. The lack of synthetic reference works has been felt by advanced scholars as well as neophytes. The Newberry Library's Center for the History of the American Indian has addressed this need in its bibliographical series, publishing a total of eighteen guides since 1976. The heart of each volume is a critical essay, cross-referenced to an alphabetical list of authors and sources containing full bibliographic citations. Organized around tribal divisions, cultural or geographic areas, or topics of special interest, each bibliography has been compiled by an expert in the field.

Of greatest interest to readers of this magazine is Frank W. Porter, III's *Indians in Maryland and Delaware*, a recent addition to the series. Containing a total of 230 selected entries and spanning the period from prehistory to the twentieth century, this work shows that a bibliography need not be dull reading to be both useful and informative. Using primarily an historical approach, Porter takes note of the problems faced by early scholars in gaining recognition of their work. The pioneering contributions of William B. Marye, Frank G. Speck, and C. A. Weslager helped to legitimize east coast studies in face of the narrowly-conceived version of Indian history then written. Listings and a critical review of current and forthcoming studies bring the volume up-to-date. Lest we compare earlier works too harshly to more recent studies, Porter pithily notes that *Maryland: A History*, edited by Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox (1974) "blatantly ignores the existence of Indians in Maryland." (p. 5)

A companion volume in the series, following a tribal organization, is C. A. Weslager's *The Delawares*. Two hundred twenty-four selected entries highlight major

issues and points of contention in historical and cultural studies of the Lenni Lenape. Twenty-four references to his own works reflect the breadth of Weslager's career as well as his own point of view. From the very beginning of European contact, our knowledge of the Delawares has been marred by the misinformed and often incomplete accounts of culturally biased observers. Unfortunately many of their errors have been perpetuated in later writings. Weslager reminds us, however, that much can be learned from a careful and critical reading of the early accounts. The published *Archives of Maryland*, Weslager says, are of "utmost reference value" (p. 17) to this end.

Other works in the series address specific tribes, *Indian Missions*, and such topics as *Native American Historical Demography*. All are moderately priced and contain suggestions "for the beginner" and "for a basic library collection." Despite the wealth of entries contained in either book, the authors are careful to note gaps in our understanding and opportunities for further research. Both authors emphasize the need for and the value of the insight of scholars in the many academic disciplines involved in Native American studies.

Maryland Historical Society

KAREN A. STUART

*Archaeological Bibliography for Eastern North America*. Compiled by Roger W. Moeller and John Reid; edited by Roger W. Moeller. (Published jointly by Eastern States Archeological Federation and American Indian Archaeological Institute, 1977. Pp. xiii, 198. \$7.00.)

The American Indian has been the subject of a vast number of archaeological, ethnographic, and historical studies during the past century. This emphasis on Native American study has generated an almost equal number of bibliographies designed to aid the scholar or the novice in mastering the material. Moeller and Reid's *Archaeological Bibliography for Eastern North America* is a current addition to the field. The authors compiled their bibliography as a supplement to *An Anthropological Bibliography of the Eastern Seaboard, Volume II*, published in 1963 by Alfred K. Guthe and Patricia Kelly, which was itself a continuation of Irving Rouse's volume of the same name published in 1947. The region covered by the Moeller and Reid bibliography includes the area east of the Mississippi River in the United States, and the eastern provinces in Canada. Their volume contains approximately 8,000 entries, covering works published from 1959 through 1976 and pertaining predominantly to prehistoric archaeology. Moeller and Reid chose not to include entries in historical archaeology, ethnology, ethnography, or history except where "they would be useful to the interpretation of prehistoric sites." (p. v)

In their compilation of this bibliography, Moeller and Reid also chose to exclude certain classes of work, most notably unpublished manuscripts, unpublished meeting papers, and "articles on or photographs of artifacts which glorify them as art rather than data." (p. v) Although that omission was a conscious one, knowledge of the existence of those types of works is sometimes invaluable to the researcher. Articles portraying artifacts as art may not be of specific archaeological interest, but the scholar can nevertheless benefit from a descriptive or pictorial account. Where meeting papers and unpublished manuscripts are sometimes difficult to obtain, information found in those sources often serves as an essential guide to unique or parallel work in progress. The omission of masters' theses from the bibliography is similarly regrettable. Given

their deliberate omissions, the authors should be applauded for their thoroughness of coverage in the types of works they did select. The entries are thoroughly researched and well chosen.

A more overriding criticism of this bibliography is organizational. Moeller and Reid classified entries into eight categories: culture history; artifacts and features; ecology; techniques; reviews; theory; mathematics, and physical anthropology. Entries in each category are listed in alphabetical order according to author. This scheme of organization was chosen with the hope of facilitating use by scholars at all levels of sophistication. Numerous shortcomings must, however, be noted. Although many entries could easily have been included in two or more categories, the authors arbitrarily class each entry under one of the eight headings. No system of cross-referencing or indexing exists. The scholar with specific regional interests, for example, would have a great deal of difficulty in locating appropriate sources, a problem not found in the earlier work by Guthe and Kelly. The reader in search of area-specific information would find it necessary to survey the entire volume. Granted, the authors note that full cross-referencing would have made "a very cumbersome and expensive volume" (p. v), but subdivision or limited indexing would have outweighed the cost by far in usefulness. Short critical essays after the pattern of the Newberry Library's American Indian bibliographical series would have been of particular help to the beginning scholar.

In short, though intended for a wider audience, Moeller and Reid's *Archaeological Bibliography* will be of greatest usefulness to the more experienced scholar. Those seeking an introduction to the field would be well advised to consult other more rudimentary works. In spite of any shortcomings, it should be stressed that this bibliography is the most extensive recent compilation of sources for prehistoric archaeology in existence. Moeller and Reid deserve much credit for that achievement.

*University of Pennsylvania*

ELIZABETH A. CROWELL

## NEWS AND NOTICES

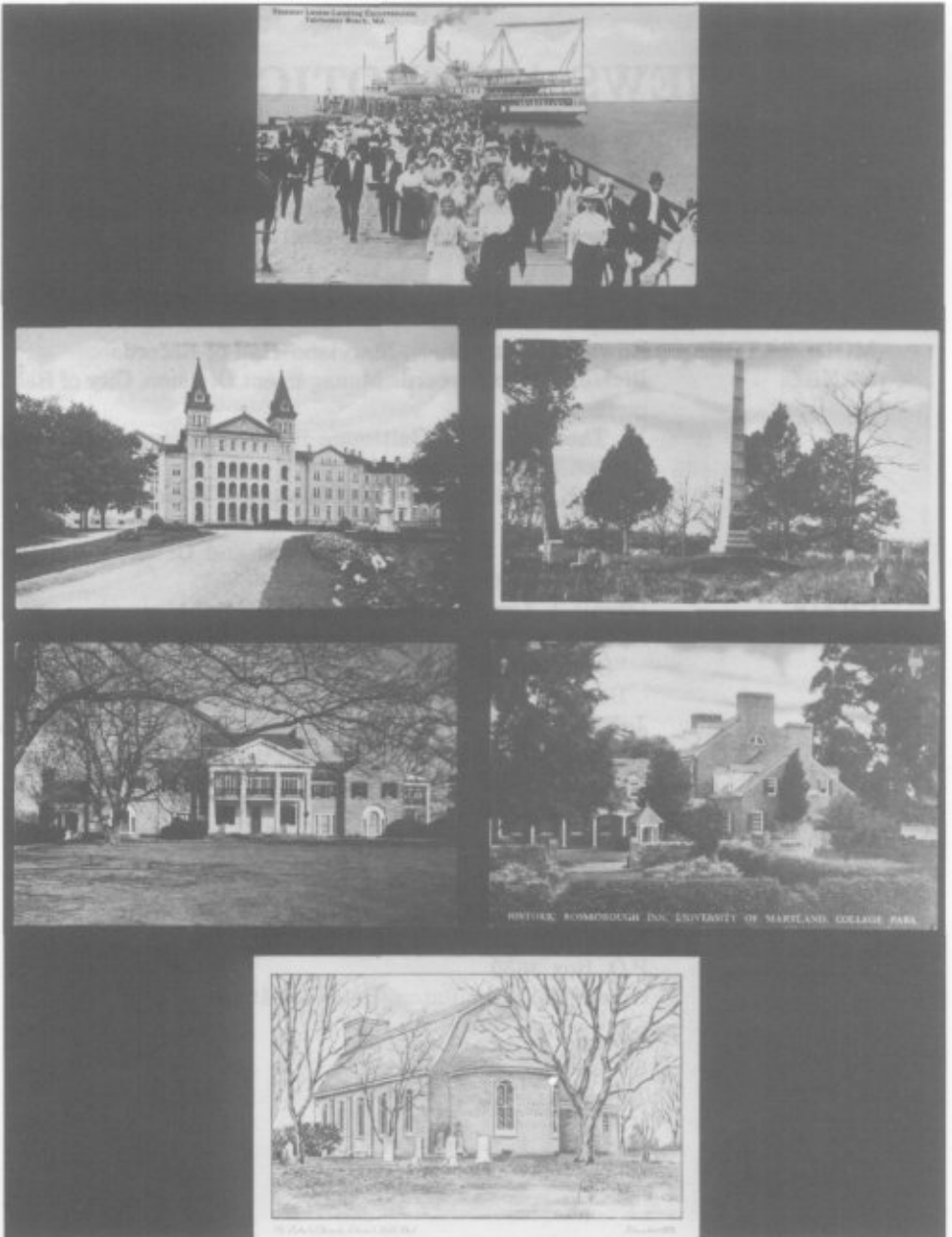
The Regional Economic History Research Center, Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, will sponsor a conference on Friday, April 25, 1980 at 1:30 p.m.

- I. PROGRAM:** Baltimore History: Resources and Opportunities for Research (1:30-2:45)  
**MODERATOR:** Edward C. Papenfuse, Maryland Hall of Records  
**PANEL:** Richard J. Cox, Records Management Division, City of Baltimore  
W. Theodore Dürr, Baltimore Region Institutional Studies Center, University of Baltimore  
Larry E. Sullivan, Maryland Historical Society
- II. PROGRAM:** 19th-Century Baltimore: Historical and Geographical Perspectives (3:00-5:00)  
**CHAIR:** Dennis J. Zemballa, Baltimore Industrial Museum  
**SPEAKERS:** Edward K. Muller, University of Pittsburgh  
"Spatial Order before Industrialization:  
Baltimore's Central District, 1833-1860"  
Joseph L. Arnold, University of Maryland Baltimore County  
"Baltimore and Its Neighborhoods, 1800-1980"  
**COMMENT:** Theodore S. Hershberg, University of Pennsylvania

For further information contact:

William H. Mulligan, Jr.  
Regional Economic History Research Center  
Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, Inc.  
P.O. Box 3630  
Greenville, Wilmington, Delaware 19807

## COUNTIES IN POSTCARDS



Third in the series representing Maryland counties are examples of two types of postcards useful in historical collections: early twentieth century cards valued as artifacts and as records of scenes which have changed greatly and more recent cards valued as images of historic buildings. *Top*: Kent County, Tolchester Beach excursion, ca. 1920. *2nd row*: Howard County, St. Charles College, ca. 1910; St. Mary's County, Leonard Calvert Monument, ca. 1916. *3rd row*: Montgomery County, Bowie residence, built 1830s. Prince George's County, Rossborough Inn, built 1798. *Bottom*: Queen Anne's County, St. Luke's Church, built 1732.



# COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY HAPPENINGS



Howard County Historical Society

*Howard County:* Headquarters Building (pictured) open every Tuesday and the first and third Sundays 1-4 P.M. and also by appointment. Building houses historic exhibits as well as a library and vertical file of local history materials. Activities of the 1979-80 year include: regular meetings with programs held in January, May, November, and December; a champagne reception honoring a Sir Thomas Lawrence portrait of Marianne Caton on loan to the Society; a candlelight dinner and dance at Glenelg Country School (Glenelg Manor) in June; a Christmas House Tour of five county homes and one church with a reception at the Society; and a tour of Burleigh Manor for members in September. Both tours were very popular and were oversubscribed. Extensive restoration of the Society's building was the main project in 1979, and a recent addition is the Mellor Memorial, a new entrance and vestibule allowing access for handicapped persons to the building.



### GEDDES-PIPER HOUSE

and Sale; Philadelphia; Longwood Gardens and Fair Hill plus Montpelier and The Lindens. Understandably, there has been a 40 percent membership increase!

*Kent County:* Record attendance at the Society-sponsored Candlelight Tour in Chestertown each fall provides funding for the continuous restoration of the group's eighteenth-century townhouse, Geddes-Piper House on Church Alley, Chestertown. Dedicated volunteers and the Chestertown Garden Club manicured the Headquarters' grounds. A highly successful Decorative Arts Forum at Washington College is sponsored annually by KCHS. The April '79 Forum dealt with the White Swan Tavern restoration. Life in the great Victorian houses in England, the Maryland Environmental Trust, and Historic Annapolis, Inc. were recent lecture topics. Membership tours included Olde Princess Anne Days; Maryland Historical Society's Maryland Antiques Show



CAROL STUART WATSON

*The Beall-Dawson House, c. 1815  
home of the Montgomery County Historical Society  
103 W. Montgomery Ave., Rockville, Maryland*

*Montgomery County:* An "Old House Studies" series and a planning grant from the American Association for State and Local History began MCHS's year of 1979. Phase I of Daniel R. Porter's (Professor of Museum Studies, Cooperstown) study was approved and implemented by the general membership, and a Phase II planning committee was appointed. Formation of a now-active Genealogical Club took place. A new Docent/Guide Committee became "shakers and movers" and a Building Committee was formed. New paint and a flower border around the Beall-Dawson House were given by the City of Rockville. MHS/MCHS/Rockville Historic District Commission's special reception on the occasion of Rockville's fourth designation as an All-American City was held at the Museum and Library of Maryland History, Baltimore. A festive June Garden Party, the October Doll House Show at Rockville Civic Mansion, and the MCHS Christmas Shop at the Commons, Rockville were exciting special projects. Other activities included a winter candlelight musicale series, a librarians' workshop, study of old gravestones in Rockville Cemetery, and a tour of Mount Clare. Members enjoyed lectures on Takoma Park and ornamental plaster work. MCHS is indeed becoming a major community resource.



The Prince George's County Museum of History is located in the 240-year-old George Washington House (Indian Queen Tavern) in Bladensburg.

23 at the University of Maryland and features the presentation of the St. George's Day Awards to individuals and organizations who have contributed significantly to the preservation of the county's heritage. The Society holds six additional meetings, celebrates with a Christmas Party at Montpelier, the Snowden home in Laurel and publishes a monthly newsletter. Sales of Helen Brown's two-volume work, *Prince George's County, Maryland: Indexes of Church Registers, 1686-1885*, published by the Society in 1979, continue to be brisk.

*Prince George's County:* The opening of the Prince George's County Historical Society's new library and offices at Riversdale, the 1803 Calvert mansion in Riverdale, marks significant expansion of the Society's public program. Owned by the Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Riversdale is a National Register property currently being furnished and restored. The Society's 7th annual St. George's Day Dinner, held on the anniversary of the county's founding in 1696, takes place April



*Queen Anne's County:* Two major annual events, Queen Anne's Day and the July 4th Paca ceremony at Wye Plantation, receive overwhelming support from QACHS members, many of whom actively participate in these nationally recognized celebrations. Guest of Honor for the May 2-4, 1980 Queen Anne's Days will be the Duke of Gloucester. Ongoing projects include: restoration and dedication of the original county courthouse in Queens-town; interior work at Tucker House, Centreville, and the second phase of the Historical Sites Survey by Orlando Ridout, V. Membership meetings in 1979 featured lectures about marine history by R. J. Holt, Director, Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum, and basic genealogical research methods. QACHS's President encourages members and/or those with county ties having authenticated lineages to send copies for the Society files, as "we receive many queries and your lineage may contain the answers." Wright's Chance continues to attract many visitors and is open Fridays, May through October.



### **CHRONICLES OF ST. MARY'S** *Monthly Bulletin of the St. Mary's County Historical Society*

*St. Mary's County:* Organized in 1951, the SMCHS has grown to a membership of over 800. Its headquarters and museum are in the old County Jail, Courthouse Square, Leonardtown. Open by special appointment is an exhibit of old home and farm equipment located at the County Fairgrounds. At Great Mills, the Society maintains the Cecil Water Mill and Country Store. Here St. Mary's County Art Association and the Crafts Guild of St. Mary's County, Inc. periodically display and sell native craft items.

A very active Genealogical Committee is busy responding to those seeking their "roots" in the Mother County. The committee has published an index to the 1850 U.S. Census of St. Mary's County. The Society's award-winning "Chronicles of St. Mary's" has been published monthly for the past 27 years. Society members periodically assist in conducting tours of St. Mary's County. Recently members of the North Atlantic Treaty College of Rome, Italy, public school teachers, and many school children have enjoyed these tours. The Society holds four dinner meetings yearly, which are sellout affairs with prominent speakers on subjects of interest to the members. SMCHS is planning now to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the receipt of the Charter of Maryland by Cecilus Calvert (June 20, 1632); the sailing of the *Ark* and *Dove* from England (November 22, 1633); the arrival of the first settlers in Maryland on St. Clement's Island (March 3, 1634), and the first Mass and ceremonies of formal possession of the colony (March 25, 1634).

## **Bulletin to All Members:**

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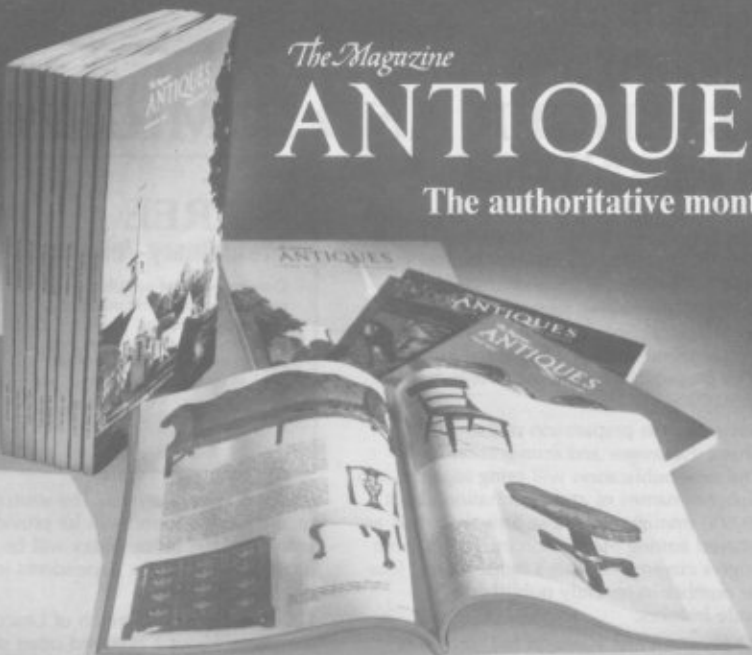
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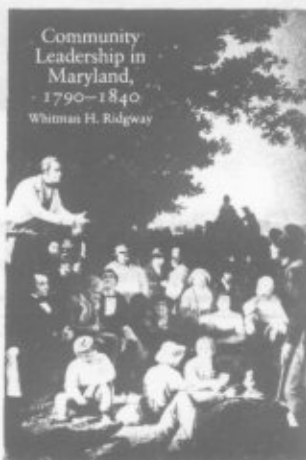
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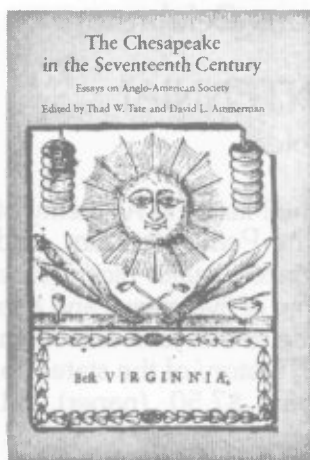
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