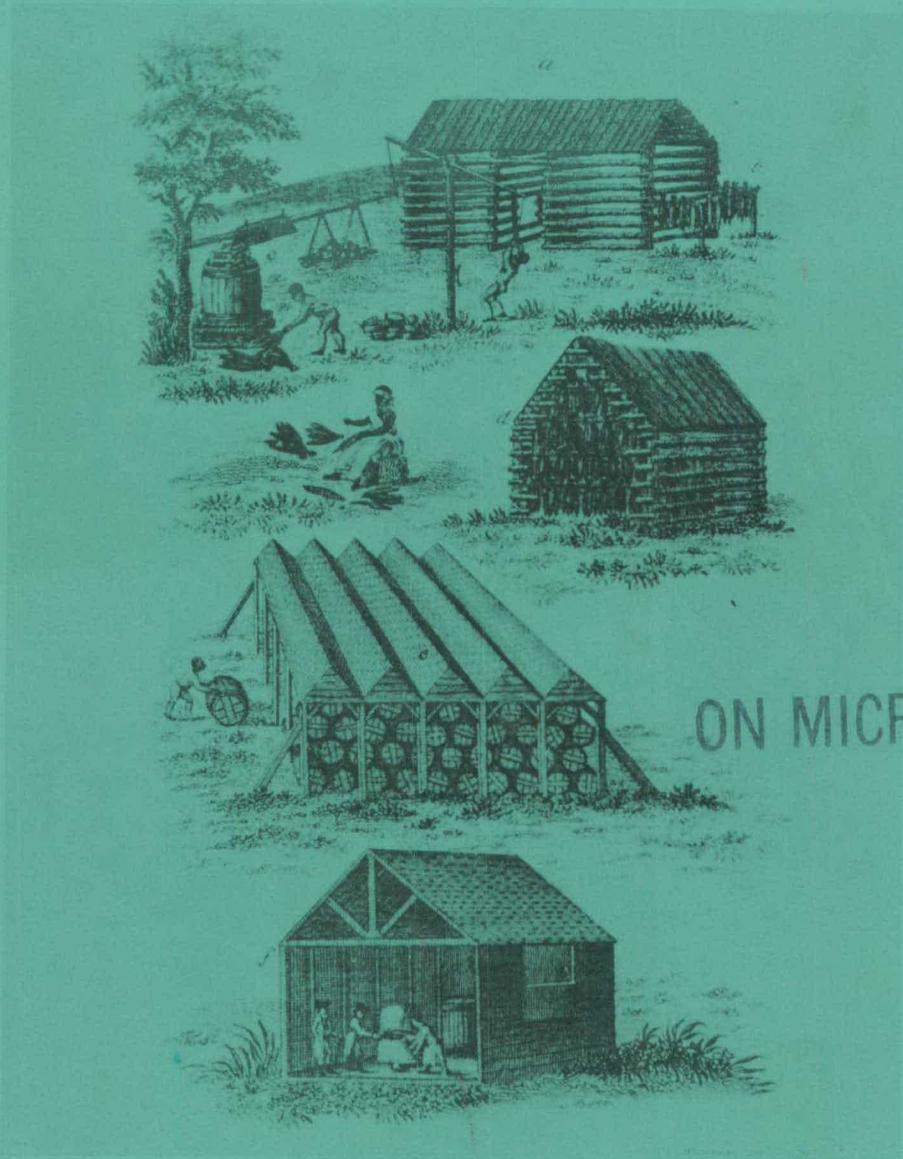


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IN  
STORAGE

# PISCATAWAY PARK

## GENERAL HISTORIC BACKGROUND STUDY



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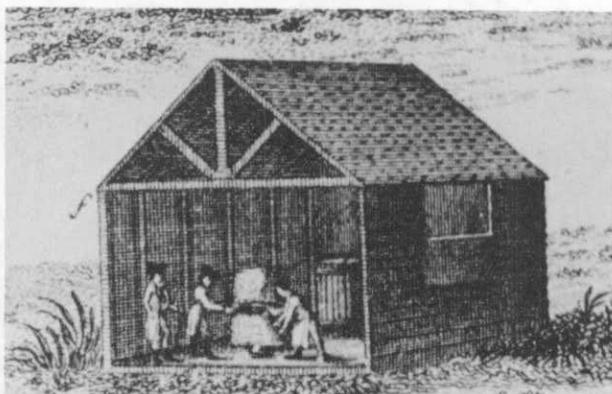
# PISCATAWAY PARK

MARYLAND

## GENERAL HISTORIC BACKGROUND STUDY

*By*

*Anna Coxe Toogood*



DIVISION OF HISTORY

OFFICE OF ARCHEOLOGY AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION

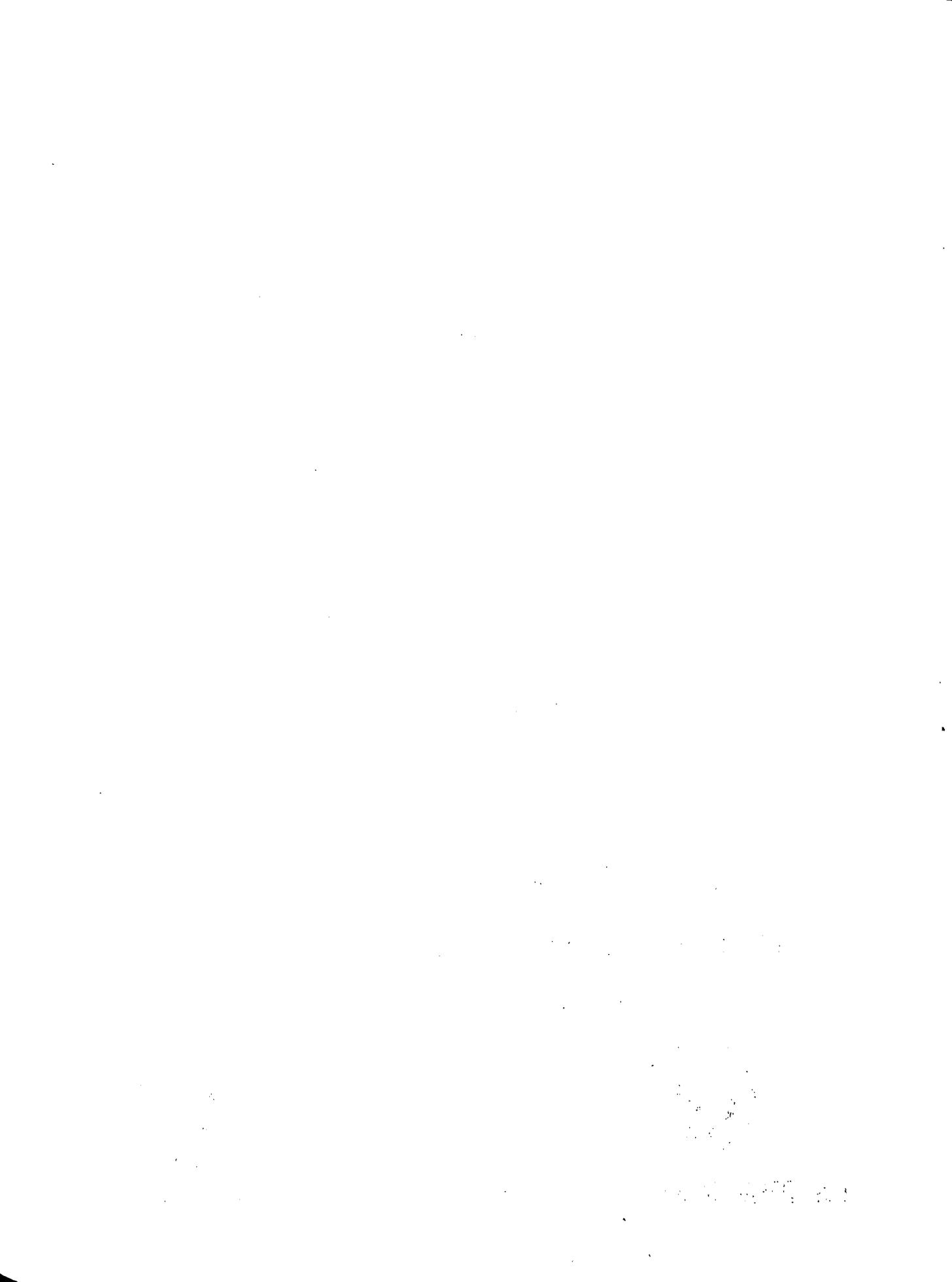
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## CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
PREFACE	
CHAPTER I: Explorers and Traders	1
The Fall of Moyaone	3
The Rise of Piscataway	7
CHAPTER II: Piscataway Indians and the Early Colonial Frontier	11
Best of Intentions	11
Riches to Dazzle a Settler	14
Dangers Confronted	17
Susquehannocks	20
Iroquois: Five Nations	23
Initial Contact: Promising Prospects	24
Calvert and Contingent	24
Jesuits to Piscataway	28
Mounting Tension and Turmoil	40
TheVise Closes	40
Articles of Peace and Amity, 1666	49
Follow-up to 1666: The End in Sight	52
Susquehannock Fort, 1675	56
Epilogue	71

	<u>Page</u>
CHAPTER III: Settlement and Growth of Colonial Piscataway	77
Early Settlement: A Period of Transition	77
Natural Endowments Steer Development of Piscataway Area	84
Tobacco Production and Legislation Lead to Piscataway Boom	92
Golden Age of Piscataway, 1757-1775	97
The Gentry	98
Yeomen, Bondsmen, and Slave	106
Merchants and Traders	111
1774-1775: The Eve of the Revolution in Piscataway	116
CHAPTER IV: Revolution and Readjustment in Piscataway	121
The Revolution	121
The Decline of Commerce	128
The Civil War	129
The Twentieth Century	130
BIBLIOGRAPHY	132
APPENDICES	
ILLUSTRATIONS	

## List of Illustrations

1. Facsimile of Captain John Smith's Map of Virginia 1612.
2. Map of Maryland from "A Relation of Maryland," 1635.
3. Colonial Maryland, circa 1670.
4. Diagram of Susquehannock Fort, 1675.
5. Tracts laid out in Piscataway area prior to 1696.
6. Colonial Map of Maryland, circa 1757.
7. Tobacco Storage in Colonial Maryland.
8. Tobacco Transport in Colonial Maryland.
9. A Tobacco Warf, 1751.
10. Landownership of Calvert Manor, 1662-1800.
11. Samuel Vaughan Map of Mount Vernon, 1787.
12. Piscataway Park and Environs, c. 1965.

## PREFACE

The establishment of approximately 1,152 acres of land along the Potomac River in Prince Georges County as Piscataway Park in 1961 resulted from a drive to preserve the scenic and historic overlook of Mount Vernon, the estate of George Washington, from impinging industrial development and urban sprawl. The research completed for the General Historic Background Study for Piscataway Park (ENCP-H-14) demonstrates that Piscataway has a significant history of its own, beginning centuries before the first white man ever scanned the shoreline of the Potomac River.

In writing a general background study for the Piscataway area, concentrating on the years around 1750, a number of problems arose. The Maryland colonial records for the mid-eighteenth century offer sparse information on the subject of daily existence in a local rural and commercial area such as Piscataway. As time did not allow a detailed tracing of the family histories of the known landowners in the vicinity, much of the social history had to be gleaned from secondary sources and from pertinent papers dated later in the century which, we might presume, reflect rather directly on the mid-century period. The 1774-1776 Letterbooks of Alexander Hamilton, for example, offer a clear insight to both the articles of luxury and necessity requested by the citizens of Piscataway. Hamilton's letters, moreover, reveal a good bit

about the area's trade habits, as well as its political leanings prior to the outbreak of the Revolution.

However, while these letters offer us information on the commercial and political lifestyle of Piscataway, they do not shed any light on the area's agrarian lifestyle. Nothing especially revealing turned up in researching the actual farm life in the Piscataway area during the mid-century, and it was after this report was approved for typing that the author discovered the Federal Tax Assessment of 1798 which describes in detail the dwelling houses and outbuildings on the Piscataway lands. Although the descriptions fall one half a century after the target date of 1750, they strongly suggest the probable scene of the colonial period.

While several landowners within the Piscataway Manor possessed considerable wealth in farm facilities such as tobacco houses, Negro houses, meat houses, corn houses, dairies, and the like, those farmers who actually resided within the boundaries of the present Piscataway park clearly did not share the comforts of the gentry class. All the homes listed within Piscataway Manor were of wood and valued at an average of 150 dollars in contrast to the homes of the area's gentry, such as the Digges family across Piscataway Creek, whose 2-story brick home valued

at 1700 dollars.<sup>1</sup> Most likely the living patterns in the Piscataway area had not changed significantly between the 1750s and 1798.

Relevant portions of this new finding--the Federal Tax Assessment for 1798--have been incorporated as an appendix of the report. The author wishes to acknowledge with appreciation the patience and good nature of Mrs. Maxine Gresham during this unexpected interruption in her very fine typing of the report.

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1. The Digges Home, Warburton Manor, fell into a different administrative hundred than the homes within the present Piscataway park boundaries, and, therefore, was not included in the appendix. For information on Warburton, see Federal Tax Assessment, 1798, Piscataway and Hynson Hundreds, Prince Georges County, Maryland. The Maryland Federal Tax Assessment of 1798 can be found either at the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore, or the Hall of Records in Annapolis.

## CHAPTER I

### EXPLORERS AND TRADERS

After twelve days in a small, battered barge, wearied from heaving at the oars and eating rotten, soggy bread, the fifteen men on Captain John Smith's expedition out of Jamestown became the unexpected discoverers of the Potomac River on the 16th of June, 1608.<sup>1</sup> As he sailed up the river Captain Smith encountered hostile Indians at Patwomeck, Cecocawone, and other sites, but "at Moyaones, Nacotchtana, and Tauxenent,"<sup>2</sup> he later wrote, the Indians welcomed the expedition. After taking a survey of the natural riches in the area, but failing to confirm rumors of a "glistening" metal, rumors that had prompted the exploration in the first place, Smith returned to Jamestown.<sup>3</sup> Four years later his published accounts of the Potomac River encouraged Virginia traders to exchange their wares with the friendly Indians living on what today is the Maryland shore of the Potomac.

From that historic voyage up the Potomac Captain Smith composed a map, charting on it the sites of Indian villages he

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1. Walter Russell and Anas Todkill, "Proceedings of the English Colony in Virginia," in Lyon Gardiner Tyler, ed., *Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625* (New York, 1907), p. 143.

2. As quoted in Alice L.L. Ferguson, *Moyaone and the Piscataway Indians*, (Washington, D. C., 1937), p. 10. Mrs. Ferguson carried on extensive archeological and historical research on the Moyaone site. The above and following citations on Smith's travels she takes from Edward Arber, ed., *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, 1580-1687* (Edinburgh, 1910).

3. Russell and Todkill, p. 145.

had visited or seen. This Smith map is considered remarkably accurate for its time; and, from it we can establish that Moyaone--one of only two villages marked with a king's hut to distinguish the tribe's sovereignty in the area--was situated within the boundaries of Piscataway Park, just south of Piscataway Creek and north of Accokeek Creek.<sup>4</sup>

When describing the Indians he encountered on his travels, Smith gave an estimate of the tribal populations: "On the western side of this bought is Tauxenent with 40 men. On the north of this river is Secowocomoco with 40 men. Somewhat further Potapaco with 20. In the East part of the bought of the river is Pamacacack with 60 men. After, Moyowances with 100. And lastly, Nacotchtanke with 80 able men."<sup>5</sup> Clearly, Moyaones held the highest count in the area; modern studies estimate that approximately 340 Indians lived there, mostly women and children. Archeological findings indicate that these Indians lived in a large stockaded town, which at some time around 1623 burned to the ground.<sup>6</sup> The story of the destruction

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4. For a thorough discussion on the location of Moyaone as determined by early maps and archeological findings, see Ferguson, pp. 4-11. See Illustrations for Smith Map of Virginia.

5. Captain John Smith, "The Description of Virginia," in Tyler, p. 86.

6. Archeologists working with Mrs. Ferguson found when excavating the Moyaone site that, "in many places the ground under the top soil was covered with a thin layer of charcoal. Fragments of several large charred posts were found in place, and the majority of the post holes of the main stockades were full of charcoal." These findings left no doubt that Moyaone was burned. Ferguson, p. 26.

of Moyaone has never been satisfactorily established from the available sources, but a logical, though hypothetical, explanation can be constructed from the documentary evidence.

#### THE FALL OF MOYAONE

While Moyaone clearly represented one of the major Indian towns during the period of early Virginia settlement, colonial records of Maryland make no mention of the town. Moreover, Maryland colonial history opens with Lord Calvert's visit to Piscataway, the seat of the "Emperor of the Piscataways," on the south side of Piscataway Creek, not far from the Moyaone site. The premise follows that some time before that meeting in 1634 the village was destroyed and a new Piscataway stronghold arose, which figured significantly in Maryland's early history.

The ruin of Moyaone apparently was a by-product of the troubles across the Potomac in Virginia, where the Powhatan Confederacy of Indian tribes--the ancient and fierce enemy of the Maryland tribes--maintained hostile relations with the Jamestown settlers, who reminded them of their earlier, bitter exposure to Spanish slave traders. In 1622 the successor to the great Chief Powhatan carried out a massacre of 340 colonists, a bloodbath that set off a series of reprisals from

the Virginia settlement. By the following year the Virginia Council reported to the London Company: "We have slain more of them this year than have been slain before since the beginning of the colony."<sup>7</sup>

The Virginia settlers, however, continued to live in perpetual fear of hostile Indians. At the same time, they often faced the necessity of trading with the Indians for corn, or starving. One trade expedition out of Jamestown in 1622--the same year as the massacre--ended in heated animosities between the Maryland and Virginia Indians and the Virginia government as well.

At this time Jamestown traders maintained trade relations with the King of Potomac--one of the most powerful chiefs of the Confederacy--who, in turn, sought to benefit from his alliance with the English. The king appealed to Captain Croshaw, a trader who lived and was long associated with the Potomac tribe, "to be his friend, his contenancer, his Captaine and director against the Pazaticans, the Nacotch tanks, and Moyaons his mortall enemies," all of whom were Maryland Indians. Nothing came of this request until a Captain Hamer arrived at Potomac to arrange for a supply of corn sorely needed in Jamestown. The King told the traders that he had no extra corn,

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7. Report of Governor and Council, Jan. 20, 1623, as cited in Ferguson, p. 25.

"but that the Nacotchtanks and their confederates had, which were enemies both to him and them; if they would fetch it, he would give them 40 or 50 choise Bow-men to conduct and assist them." The English accepted the offer and led an expedition to Nacotchtank, where "the Potowomeks were so eager of revenge, they drive them not only out of their towne, but all out of sight through the woods; thus making what they liked, and spoiling the rest, they retired to Potawomek."<sup>8</sup>

The Indians at Moyaone, long-time allies of the Nacotchtank against the Potomac tribe, apparently considered it their duty to revenge this incident, and, according to a clear inference in a letter from Governor Wyatt of Virginia, they effectively<sup>9</sup> raided the Potomac village in return. Subsequently the countryside on both sides of the Potomac River erupted into mutual hostilities, and numbers of innocent settlers perished in the<sup>10</sup> raids.

In the midst of this confusion, a Captain Madison had been sent out from Jamestown to help the King of Potomac in his revolt against the leader of the Powhatan Confederacy, Opechankanough.<sup>11</sup> Oddly enough, Madison picked up a month's provisions

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8. Captain John Smith, "The Generall Historie of Virginia, The Fourth Book," in Tyler, pp. 372-377.

9. Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1660, p. 56 as cited in Ferguson, p. 25.

10. Smith, "Generall Historie," in Tyler, p. 381.

11. Ferguson, p. 25.

at Moyaone, "and was promised much more." That Madison completed his trade at Moyaone with such success suggests that the Maryland Indians were eager to encourage and provide for the white man's expeditions. In fact, word of favorable trade relations such as Madison encountered most likely reached another Virginia trader, Henry Spelman, who, in 1622, set sail up the Potomac River in the pinnace, "Tiger," to search for corn.<sup>13</sup> The fate of Spelman's expedition appears to have touched off the ultimate destruction of Moyaone.

Henry Spelman had spent most of his life with the Indians and had thereby gained excellent experience as a trader in the beaver and corn markets of the New World.<sup>14</sup> He evidently felt little fear of falling victim to the bloody exchanges which were disrupting all the surrounding countryside at this time. However, when he landed among the Anacostans, his companion, Henry Fleet, a trader who later was to become a prominent citizen of Maryland, was taken prisoner and, ultimately, held for five years.<sup>15</sup> Captain Spelman and nineteen of his men met with a more permanent fate: somewhere "about Patowomek," as the five survivors later recounted, they were murdered by

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12. Smith, "Generall Historie," in Tyler, p. 381.

13. Rev. Edward Duffield Neill, *The Founders of Maryland* (Albany, 1876), pp. 13-14.

14. Neill, p. 10, and Ferguson, p. 26.

15. Ferguson, *ibid.*

16

Indians and one head was thrown down the bank of the river. Reportedly Governor Wyatt, having heard that the Indians responsible for these murders were the Pascaticons, led a party of Virginians himself up the Potomac and took severe revenge on the tribe. In a letter to the Board of Trade in 1624, the Governor reported the accomplishment of his mission: "Have also revenged the treachery of the Pascaticons and their associates, the greatest people of these parts, for cutting off Captain Spilman and Mr. Prentis pinnace and murdering great numbers of their ancient allies the Potowmacks."<sup>17</sup>

Judging from this letter, it seems possible and likely that Spelman made the unfortunate mistake of sailing near Potomac, where he had built a stockade on Potomac Creek,<sup>18</sup> just at the moment that the Piscataways of Moyaone had chosen to retaliate for the slaughter of their allies, the Nacotchtanks.

#### THE RISE OF PISCATAWAY

The revenge to the Pascaticons, or Piscataways, to which Governor Wyatt made reference in his letter probably was the burning of Moyaone in 1623. The Piscataways who survived this attack from the Virginian forces most likely chose the closest possible site to gather their depleted ranks, and this site,

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16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. As quoted in *ibid.*

it has been supposed, was the Piscataway village visited by Lord Calvert in 1634. According to colonial maps of Maryland, Piscataway sat on the south side of Piscataway Creek, near the western end of the estuary. Virginia traders soon came to Piscataway to bargain for beaver and corn; the account of Henry Fleet, one of these traders, reveals the rapid recuperation and growth which the Piscataway tribe must have experienced during the decade prior to the first Maryland settlement.

On a trade expedition up the Potomac in 1632, Henry Fleet--the member of the Spelman expedition held captive by the Anacostans for five years--kept a journal which gives eloquent testimony of the Piscataways' reascendency in the region. Fleet recounted stopping at Piscataway where a powerful chief resided, to stock up on supplies, and to make trade agreements. Farther up the river Fleet made efforts to seal a trade agreement with an Iroquois spokesman who offered to bring Fleet bountiful beaver skins from the Iroquois encampments to the north. But because the Piscataways had "had a great slaughter formerly to them to the number of 1000 persons in my time," Fleet "found my neighbor Indians to be against my design." The Piscataways themselves, hearing of Fleet's plan, sent a delegation "in their birchen canoes" to urge him not to trade with their mortal enemies, the Iroquois. At this, Fleet complied and

returned to Jamestown. On his way he stopped at Piscataway to try to make amends with the tribal chief for his indiscretion by inviting sixteen Piscataways on board his ship, the Warwick, and dividing the best part of his goods equally among them.<sup>19</sup>

The tales which traders such as Henry Fleet carried back to England excited the interest of many English merchants anxious to share in the vast wealth of the beaver trade. Money invested in the trade rapidly multiplied into great fortunes. In 1633, for example, an English newspaper advertised the spectacular figures announced for the year previous that one merchant independently grossed 40,000 gold crowns from the beaver skins he had exported from the Potomac alone.<sup>20</sup>

In addition, the traders' enthusiastic accounts of the natural riches along the Potomac River, such as

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19. See Fleet, "A Brief Journal of a Voyage Made in the Bark Virginia to Virginia and other Parts of the Continent in America," in Neill, pp. 26ff. Fleet's account is the last description known of beaver trade along the Potomac. Apparently the trade fell off rather sharply after the settlement of Maryland, though it prospered for several years in the Chesapeake and the Eastern Shore areas. By 1700, fur no longer was an important export from the colony. In the Potomac area, reckless killing of beaver and other large game, the increasing danger from the Senecas, and inter-colonial rivalry added to its decline. See Ferguson, p. 26.

20. Neill, p. 11.

This place without all question is the most pleasant and healthful place in all this country, and most convenient for habitation, the air temperate in summer and not violent in winter. It aboundeth with all manner of fish. . . . And as for deer, buffaloes, bears, turkeys, the woods do swarm with them, and the soil is exceedingly fertile.<sup>21</sup>

when printed and circulated in England, must have enticed many of the adventuresome group who sailed together to America in 1633 to establish the first permanent settlement in Maryland.

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22. Fleet, "A Brief Journal," in Neill, p. 27.

## CHAPTER II

### THE PISCATAWAY INDIANS AND THE EARLY COLONIAL FRONTIER

From 1634, when the first settlers arrived in Maryland, until 1680, Piscataway and its vicinity remained essentially a frontier for the Maryland colony located near the mouth of the Potomac at St. Mary's. The Piscataway Indians lasted as allies to the colonists throughout these 34 years and their cooperation made a significant difference to the development of Maryland. Although the two races lived together peacefully, their coexistence, at first mutually enriching, increasingly benefited the colonists at the expense of the Indians. And even though the first settlers' intentions were noble in respect to their Indian brothers, their ultimate treatment of the Piscataways contributed greatly to the rapid decline of the tribe in Maryland.

#### THE BEST OF INTENTIONS

When Charles I granted a charter to the Calverts for the lands of Maryland, in 1632, one of his chief reasons, it then was said, "sprang from the pious zeale and royall compassion of our most gracious and godly Sovereigne towards the conversion and civilizing those barbarous heathens that live like beasts without the light of faith or any knowledge of their Master."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Raphael Semmes, *Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland*, (Baltimore, 1957), p. 426.

Coincidentally, both Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, and his brother, Leonard--each a good Catholic--demonstrated a deep interest in the conversion of the aborigines. Cecil, in sending his brother to the New World as the first Governor of Maryland, gave specific instructions that as soon as a settlement had been determined, Leonard, or one of his commissioners, should "make some short declaration to the people of his Lordship's intentions which he means to pursue in his plantation, which are, first the honour of God, by endeavouring the conversion of the savages to Christianity."<sup>2</sup>

Cecil Calvert responded not only to his devout religious inclinations when he chose his guiding principles for the first Maryland colony, but also to the lessons of history. At Jamestown only eleven years before, the Powhatan Indians had nearly wiped out all the settlers in a full-scale massacre, and many Virginians had since aggravated hostilities by aiming to rid the country of all Indians. Calvert, on the other hand, judged it wise to placate the Indians, make them their allies, and treat them justly. Robert Wintour, an early colonist, reflected Calvert's logic when he spoke as a member of the Maryland Council:

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2. Ibid., p. 427.

whereas it may be said that the planters in Virginia have heretofore felt the Indian's rage, I answer that the Virginians had then thought to extirpate and destroy them, a thing diametrically opposite to the dictamens of our Colonists, whose chiefest and perhaps only and that a right noble and Christian ambition, is to civilize, cherish and preserve to eternity their manners, bodies and soules.<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, Lord Baltimore issued, as an important part of his instructions, distinct orders that the settlers not only placate the Indians upon arrival but that they secure a site for the colony by treaty and purchase as well. Even though the exchange for land amounted to trifling barter goods, such as beads and the like, the gesture of buying, instead of taking, symbolized the good will and anticipations of the first Maryland colonists.<sup>4</sup>

Even though Father Andrew White, a Jesuit priest who accompanied the first colonists to Maryland, testified that "The first and most important design of the Most Illustrious Baron Of Baltimore. . . is not to think so much of planting fruits and trees in a land so fruitful, as of sowing the seeds of religion and piety,"<sup>5</sup> there seems to be little question that Calvert intended to reap profit from the wealth of the land. Cecil counted on furs, land, and agricultural products to defray

3. As quoted in *ibid.*

4. Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland: Province and State* (Garden City, New York, 1929), p. 30.

5. Semmes, p. 427.

the huge costs of settlement, and, later, to yield his family  
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a substantial income. But this ambition did not seem particularly conflicting to his best intentions, considering the abundant riches awaiting exploitation in the New World.

#### NATURAL RICHES TO DAZZLE A SETTLER

Word of the natural riches of the Potomac River basin spread to England quickly and facilitated Cecil Calvert's effort to arrange the first boatload of settlers to Maryland. Even before the colony had been established, the graphic narratives by Captain John Smith, Henry Fleete, and Henry Spelman were convincing many disaffected, speculative, and adventuresome Englishmen to chance the long voyage across  
7  
the Atlantic to a strange land inhabited by savages.

The testimony of the first settlers themselves, moreover, no doubt influenced more Englishmen to migrate to America than ever before. An anonymous writer published "A Relation of Maryland" in 1635 which obviously had its propaganda overtones, but which also gave a clear feeling for the astounding natural riches in tidewater Maryland:

The country affords naturally, many excellent things for Physicke and Surgery, the perfect use of which, the English cannot yet learne from the Natives. . . . The timber of these parts is very good, and in abundance, it is useful for building houses, and

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6. Katharine A. Kellock, *Colonial Piscataway in Maryland* (Accokeek, Maryland, 1962), p. 6.

7. Paul Wilstach, *Potomac Landings* (Garden City, N.Y., 1921), p. 26.

Shippes. . . . Also there are divers sorts of Fruit-trees, as Mulberries, Persimons, with severall other kind of Plummes, and Vines, in great abundance. The Mast and the Chesnuts, and what rootes they find in the woods, doe feede the swine very fat, and will breede great store. . . . In the spring, there are severall sorts of herbes. . . . In the upper parts of the Countrey, there are Bufeloes, Elkes, Lions, Beares, Wolves, and Deare there are in great store. . . .

In winter there is great plenty of Swannes, Cranes, Geese, Herons, Ducke, Teale, Widgeon, Brants, and Pidgeons. . . .

The Sea, the Bayes of Chesopeack, and Delaware, and generally all the Rivers, doe abound with Fish of severall sorts. . . .

The Mineralls have not yet beene much searched after, yet there is discovered Iron Oare; and Earth fitt to make Allum, Terra Lemnia. . . . 8

The soil generally is very rich.

Since the first colonists had to brave the elements and depend on the natural surroundings for their livelihood, reports such as the above must have helped dispel the fears of the unknown and undeveloped American coast. Moreover, the relation even coaxed potential settlers by assuring them that the climate suited both comfort and farming, the former of which would be a luxury, while the latter, for most people, would be a necessity:

The temper of the Ayre is very good, and agrees well with the English. . . . In summer its hot as in Spaine, and in Winter there is frost and snow, but it seldom lasts long. . . . the last Winter both their Cattell and Hoggs kept themselves in the woods, without any fodder, or other helpe, and the Hoggs thrived so well, that some of them were killed out of the woods for Porke and Bacon, which was excellent good and fat.<sup>9</sup>

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8. Anonymous, "A Relation of Maryland, 1635," in Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684* (New York, 1910), pp. 79-81.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-79.

Probably the most poetic and enticing depiction of the virgin lands of Maryland, however, sprang from the pen of the Jesuit priest, Father White, who spent some twenty years in the fledgling colony:

This [the Potomac] is the sweetest and greatest river I have ever seene, so that the Thames is but a finger to it. There are noe marshes or swampes about it, but solid firme ground, with great variety of woode, not choacked up with undershrubs, but commonly so farre distant from each other as a coach and fower horses may travele without molestation. The soyle is so excellent that we cannot sett downe a foot, but tread on strawberries, raspires, fallen mulberrie vines, acchorns, walnuts, saxafra, etc. and those in the wildest woods: The ground is commonly a black mould above, and a foot within ground of a readish colour. All is high woods except where the Indians have cleared for corne. It abounds with delicate springs which are our best drinks. Birds diversely feathered there are infinite, as eagles, swans, hernes, geese, bitters, duckes, partridge read, blew, partie coloured, and the like, by which will appeare, the place abounds not alone with profit, but also with pleasure.<sup>10</sup>

Lord Calvert could not have hoped for a better description of his colony for promotional purposes. Profit and pleasure, as Father White concluded, awaited the lowliest of Englishmen who chose to emigrate. But what the Proprietor and early publications on Maryland neglected to depict realistically, however, was the danger of Indian attack and the fragile protection the colony had secured in its early years.

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10. As quoted in Wilstach, pp. 30-31.

## DANGERS CONFRONTED IN COLONIAL MARYLAND

The Maryland colonists hoped to establish good relations with the Indians--to placate them, convert them, befriend them, and share with them the riches of Maryland. The first settlers did not anticipate, however, the complicated rivalries and hostilities among the tribes of Maryland and the North, nor that they would become embroiled in these power struggles.

At the time of the colony's establishment, the Piscataway Indians held reign in Southern Maryland but under stiff competition from tribes pushing in on them from the South and North. Constant warfare with the Susquehannocks, a tribe located at the head of the Chesapeake Bay, with the Five Nations, commonly known as the Iroquois from New England, and with the Powhatan Confederacy of Virginia, sorely depleted the strength and numbers of the Piscataway tribe. Thus the Piscataways, on account of their tenuous durability under such stress, developed peaceful relations with the Maryland colonists; and the tribes' enemies in turn became the common enemies for them both.

### Piscataway Indians

According to the terminology of colonial Maryland, the chief or Tayac of Piscataway represented one of only three Indian leaders who ranked over the "Kings" as "Emperor" of his tribe. <sup>11</sup>

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11. According to William Marye, the Marylanders first dubbed all the ordinary Indian chieftains "kings," and, consequently, when they came to designating those Indian chiefs who ruled over other kings, they decided that "emperor" was the only fitting term. See Marye, "Piscattaway," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, (Sept, 1935), p. 183.

The Emperor of Piscataway alone held sway on the Western Shore, while on the Eastern Shore the Emperors of Nanticoke and Assateague shared the lands. Archeological excavations near Piscataway Creek and a 1674 account given by the Piscataway Indian leaders that a succession of thirteen "Emperors" had ruled at the Piscataway site before them, suggest that this tribe probably had lived in western Maryland since about the  
12  
fourteenth century.

Geographically, during the period of early colonial history, the Piscataway empire occupied the western part of the west peninsula of tidewater Maryland as far north as the Falls of the Potomac, including the valleys of the Port Tobacco and  
13  
Wicomico Rivers. As<sup>a</sup> contemporary chronicler explained it, generally the Indian kingdoms were "circumscribed by the narrow confines of a single village and the adjacent countryside," whereas the Tayac of Piscataway had "a much more extensive dominion, stretching about 130 miles, to whose empire also other inferior  
14  
chieftains are subject."

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12. Alice and Henry Ferguson, *The Piscataway Indians of Southern Maryland* (Accokeek, 1760), p. 11. According to the Fergusons, successive concentric lines of post molds uncovered in the excavation of Moyaone indicate that the village may have existed for about 300 years before Smith paid his visit in 1608. The famous account which related the Piscataway heritage and traditions may be found in *Maryland Archives*, III, pp. 402-03.

13. Alice and Henry Ferguson, p. 7.

14. Anon., "Annual Letter of the Jesuits, 1639," in Hall, p. 125.

At their peak of glory, the Piscataways could boast that they held subject the powerful Potomacs who were, perhaps, the principal people of the south shore of Potomac River.<sup>15</sup> However, constant warfare--largely with the Powhatan Confederacy to the South--steadily drained the Piscataway numbers and strength. By the time Smith stopped at Moyaone the Empire combined probably numbered no more than three thousand.<sup>16</sup> In 1623 the Piscataways fell victim to the bloody revenge of the Virginians over the Spelman incident.<sup>17</sup> And at some point between 1627 and 1631 the Piscataway Nation lost some one thousand persons to a raid from the Seneca, a tribe of Iroquois.<sup>18</sup> Each defeat seemed to signal another.

By the time of the first settlement in Maryland, the Piscataways were caught in a vise and threatened with extermination. On the south and west, their ancient enemy, the Powhatan Confederacy, waged relentless war on them; on the east, the Chesapeake Bay hemmed them in; and, on the north, the Susquehannocks and Iroquois pressed down on them with increasing effect. Thus, when the colonists offered protection and

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15. Marye, p. 185.

16. Alice and Henry Ferguson, p. 12.

17. See Chapter I for details.

18. Fleete, "Journal," in Neill, p. 25. Henry Ferguson argues that Moyaone burned down in the Virginian raid of 1623, that the Piscataways rebuilt the village on the same site, and that the Senecan raid destroyed Moyaone by fire for the second and last time. The tribe then moved last to the Piscataway Fort site south of the creek. Ferguson makes his deduction from the archeological evidence of two lines of charred post holes at the Moyaone site. Alice and Henry Ferguson, p. 24.

friendship to the Piscataways, the Tayac accepted the offer with more readiness, most likely, than he would have at a time when his tribe had a greater control over its destiny.

Possibly one reason the Piscataways suffered so many casualties in their warfare with other tribes was that they were predominantly agriculturists. The Piscataways appeared to be a relatively easy-going tribe of Indians who harvested their corn, feasted, danced, and hunted, each in an appointed season of the year. When there was no food, they went hungry; when there was plenty, they gorged. Thus, fat in summer, lean in winter, they apparently spent no Spartan-like care on main-<sup>19</sup>taining their warriors in excellent physical condition.

And yet, according to an impression left by an early colonist, the Piscataway Indians "have able bodies, and generally,<sup>20</sup> taller, and bigger limbed than the English, and want not courage." However, in comparison with the Indians to the North--the Susquehannocks and Iroquois--the Piscataways hardly appear as a warlike tribe.

#### The Susquehannocks

The warlike, fearsome Susquehannock Indians, located at the head of the Chesapeake Bay, drew considerable attention and often admiration, from the early traders and explorers, as well

19. Fergusons, *Piscataway Indians of So. Md.*, p. 15.

20. "Relation of Md." in Hall, p. 83.

as from the first settlers of Maryland.

In the summer of 1608 Captain John Smith, while touring the Chesapeake Bay, encountered sixty Susquehannocks, whom he described as "such great and well proportioned men as are seldome seene, for they seemed like Giants to the English, yea and to their neighbours, yet seemed an honest and simple disposition." Unable to steer his barge through the many rocks and swift current of the river, Smith failed to visit the main settlements of the Susquehannocks, but he heard that they lived there, "pallisadoed in their townes to defend themselves from the Massowomekes [or Iroquois] their mortell enemies."<sup>21</sup>

Although greatly outnumbered by their northern enemies, the Iroquois, the Susquehannocks maintained, until their final defeat in the 1670s, an aggressive and warlike stance throughout their region. The relation of 1635 remarks that they "did usually make warres, and incursions upon the neighbouring Indians, partly for superiority, partly for to get their women, and what other purchase they could meet with."<sup>22</sup> As George Alsop described them in 1666: "These Susquehannocks are for the most part great Warriors, and seldom sleep one summer in the quiet armes

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21. Smith as quoted in Semmes, p. 540.

22. "Relation of Maryland," in *Narratives of Early Md.*, p. 74.

of a peaceable Rest, but keep the several Nations of Indians  
round about them, in a forceable obedience and subjections."<sup>23</sup>

The Susquehannocks manifested these hostile habits in their relations with the Piscataway Indians. Although they never succeeded in subjugating the Piscataways, they did keep trying throughout the early colonial period.

On the other hand, the colonists saw the wisdom of winning the friendship and alliance of the Susquehannocks who, so strategically located at the head of the Chesapeake Bay, might serve as a buffer from Iroquois raids on Maryland plantations south of the Susquehannock village.<sup>24</sup> A fur trader, Cyprian Torowgood, managed to open cordial relations with them, but his initial success in behalf of the colony proved to be short lived: so strongly did the Susquehannocks resent and hate the Piscataway Indians that they broke off relations with the Maryland colony only one year after its founding because the colonists had allied with the Piscataways as well, and were extending military aid to them.<sup>25</sup> Thus, the colonists unintentionally and unhappily became embroiled in inter-tribal relations which lost them the security of a warlike nation to protect their frontier, and earned them the resentment and wrath of one of the fiercest tribes in the region.

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23. George Alsop, "A Character of the Province of Maryland, 1666," in Hall, p. 367.

24. Semmes, p. 515.

25. Ibid., p. 508.

The Iroquois: Five Nations

The Maryland colonists not only had the dangers of local Indian tribes to contend with, however, but also the awesome strength of the great Iroquoian confederacy of Five Nations-- Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca--located in Northeastern America. The Seneca, more than the others, concentrated their war raids on the tribes of Maryland.<sup>27</sup> The Susquehannocks and Piscataways especially made prestigious targets for conquest. Moreover, once the colonists chose to make alliances with the Maryland Indians, they immediately alienated the Iroquois Indians who, in turn, afflicted the colony with unrelentless raids on colonial plantations near the frontier.

Thus, though the incentive to migrate to Maryland to benefit from the riches of the colony had its rewards, the English settlers soon became painfully aware of the precarious setting in which they had established their colony, and at first, they made every effort to work their associations for the welfare and good fortune of all.

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26. Some confusion on the Iroquois Indians arises from the nomenclature which the colonists from different nations or sections of America used: the French used Iroquois; the Swedes, Mingos; the English, Five Nations; the Indians to the South, Massawomacs; and, the Marylanders used three different names, Seneca, Northern Indians, and Canada Indians. The Susquehannocks were also Iroquoian Indians but they did not belong to the Five Nations. Ferguson, *Moyaone and the Piscataway Indians*, pp. 23-24.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

## INITIAL CONTACT: PROMISING PROSPECTS

For the first six years of Lord Baltimore's colony, mutual respect and generosity governed most of the relations between the settlers and Indians of Southern Maryland. The initial contact between Governor Calvert and the Tayac of Piscataway proved to be the beginning of a short span of peace which encouraged a cultural exchange beneficial to both parties. Such a promising beginning not only gratified Lord Baltimore's aspirations for his colony, but it also encouraged more settlers to seek their livelihood in Maryland. Ultimately, however, this initial success helped to aggravate an irreversible deterioration of the bond which had held together the first settlers and their neighbor Indians.

### Calvert and Contingent

In November 1633 Leonard Calvert--appointed Governor of the colony by his brother, Lord Baltimore--along with other gentlemen adventurers, their servants, and two Jesuit priests, numbering some 200 in all, set sail for America in a 500-ton ship, the Arke, and a 50-ton pinnace, the Dove.<sup>28</sup> According to the testimony of one of the Jesuits, Father White, Governor Calvert upon arriving at the Potomac River in March 1634 was advised not to make a final selection for the colony site,

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28. "A Relation of Maryland, 1635," in Hall, pp. 70-71.

till he spoake with the emperour of Pascatoway, and told him the cause of his comeing, (to wit) to teach them a divine doctrine, whereby to lead them to heaven and to enrich them with such ornaments of civill life as our owne country abounded withall, not doubting but this emperour being satisfied, the other kings would be more peaceable.<sup>29</sup>

Accordingly, Leonard Calvert, accompanied by a few trusted followers and his interpreter, Henry Fleete, sailed in the pinnace up the Potomac River to Piscataway, where they found 500 bowmen and the Werowance or Emperor, on the shore awaiting their arrival.<sup>30</sup> Calvert sent Captain Fleete ashore to invite Emperor Wannas (or Uwanno) to a parley on board the Dove. Fleete, it was mentioned earlier, had much experience with the Indians along the Potomac through his dealings in the beaver trade, and when Calvert made him the offer to serve as interpreter in return for a portion of the colonists' beaver trade, he accepted the position.<sup>31</sup> Being well versed in the Indian tongue and well esteemed by the Piscataways,<sup>32</sup> Fleete was able to coordinate successfully the meeting of the two leaders.

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29. "Father White's Briefe Relation," in *ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

30. Father Andrew White in his "Briefe Relation of the voyage Unto Maryland, 1634," (Hall, pp. 29-45) wrote that Fleete accompanied the Governor on his journey to Piscataway and that 500 Indians met the visiting party on the shore. The Relation of Maryland, however, said that Fleet was already at Piscataway when the Governor arrived, and that the boat was met only by "many Indians assembled." As the latter writer most likely was not a member of this first expedition to Maryland, the version given by Father White is used in the above narrative. See Hall, pp. 41 and 72.

31. White, in Hall, p. 41.

32. A Relation, in Hall, p. 72.

The Piscataways at first feared the intentions of the white men, but the Emperor, nonetheless, agreed to come aboard alone. There he found kind usage at the hands of the Calvert party.<sup>33</sup> The Governor asked the Werowance "whether he would be content that he and his people should set downe in his Countrey, in case he should find a place convenient for him," and the Indian Chief replied "that he would not bid him goe, neither would he bid him stay, but that he might use his owne<sup>34</sup> discretion."

Such a guarded response from the Emperor, neither friendly or hostile but aloof, reflects the wary initial approach the Piscataways took towards white settlers on their lands. Moreover, the tribesmen apparently trusted the strangers even less than their king did, for, when he did not reappear from the conference after a time, they hovered at the waters' edge, fearing he had been slain. Even two Indians sent by the chief to inform them of his safety failed to ease their anxiety. Finally, Wannas had to show himself on the deck to satisfy his<sup>35</sup> people.

Discouraged by the Emperor's response and also having decided that it would be better to select the site for the first settlement nearer to the mouth of the Potomac River, Calvert

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33. White, in Hall, p. 41.

34. "A Relation," in Hall, p. 72.

35. Ibid.

and his party sailed back down the river where Captain Fleete suggested "a spot so charming in its situation, that Europe<sup>36</sup> can scarcely show one to surpass it." Thus, Fleete's old trading post, Yowaccomoco, developed into St. Mary's, the<sup>37</sup> capital of colonial Maryland.

That Calvert chose not to settle his people near the lands of the Piscataway probably eased some of the unspoken tension between the colonists and Indians and contributed to the spirit of good will that underlined their relations in the next decade. Only an erratic stream of traders, government officials, militia-men, hunters, and Jesuits made the long trek north to<sup>38</sup> Piscataway, and the infrequency of their visits encouraged more personal exchanges. Governor Calvert himself participated and shared in the spirit of mutual cooperation; in 1636 he wrote his brother, Lord Baltimore, to explain:

The matts wch you wrot for amounts to such a charge to be bought from the Indians that I had not sufficient meanes to purchase it. . . . I am sure my Brother Porttobacco now Emperor of Paskattaway, will assist me in it as much as he can for he is much your friend and servant and hath expressed himselfe to me to be so and giveth y<sup>u</sup> many thancks after his Indian fashion for your guift sent by mr. Leger. He hath w.<sup>th</sup> in this two yeares stept into the Empire of the Indians by killing his eldest brother, the old Emperor, and enjoyeth [it] yet w.<sup>th</sup> peace through the good correspondencie he keepeth w.<sup>th</sup> me w.<sup>ch</sup> aweth his Indians from offereing any harme unto him.<sup>39</sup>

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36. Father White, as quoted in Neill, p. 16.

37. Neill, *Ibid.*

38. Kellock, p. 13.

39. "Letter of Leonard Calvert to Lord Baltimore, 1638," in Hall, pp. 158-59.

Together the colonists and Piscataways flourished during these inter-dependent years of the 1630s. Each reinforced the other to protect their people from the attacks by hostile Indians north of the colonial frontier established at Piscataway.<sup>40</sup> Joint militia--white and Indian together--patrolled from a garrison established in 1637 at the Piscataway Indian fort on the south side of the creek.<sup>41</sup> The overall peace and security maintained during this period made possible the Jesuits' mission to the Piscataways and their hopes to conduct a more permanent cultural exchange with the Indians.

#### The Jesuits to Piscataway, 1630-1640

In pursuing his ambitions for this colony, Cecil Calvert applied to the Superior of the Jesuits for clergymen "to attend the Catholic planters and settlers, and to convert the native Indians in Maryland," and so when the Arke and Dove embarked for America, Fathers Andrew White and John Altham were among the voyageurs.<sup>42</sup>

The first five years of mission work for the Jesuit priests mostly centered around the colony at St. Mary's.<sup>43</sup>

Father White, however, "bestowed much labor and time" in the

40. Semmes, p. 275.

41. Alice and Henry Ferguson, p. 33.

42. B.V. Campbell, "Early Christian Missions Among the Indians of Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 1 (1906), 294-95.

43. Annual Letters of the Jesuits, 1634, 1638, in Hall, pp. 118-22.

field attempting to convert the King of Patuxent. But Father White failed, and so by June 1639 he had made his way north to Kittamaquund, the metropolis of Piscataoa, to try his persuasions on the new Emperor for whom the Indian village was named.<sup>44</sup> This Tayac, the Jesuits reported, controlled a much more extensive dominion than the other tribal kings in the vicinity,<sup>45</sup> and he ruled with a bloody sceptor, for he had murdered his own brother, Wannas (Uwanno), to gain the succession.<sup>46</sup> Such a powerful and savage Indian must have greatly intensified the zealous religious aspirations of Father Andrew White.

Wannas, the brother whom Kittamaquund had murdered to gain power, had laid the groundwork for a warm reciprocation between the Piscataways and Jesuits, and ironically, for the development of a key underlying factor in the gradual decline of the Indian tribe. As the story goes, Father White and a Father Gravener had appeared to Wannas in his sleep, and simultaneously, a voice had admonished him, "Finally these are the men, who from their soul loved him with all his tribe, and had brought with them those blessings, by which he could be

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44. Annual Letter, 1639, in Hall, p. 124.

45. Ibid., p. 125.

46. Ibid., p. 126. Wannas was Emperor when Governor Calvert and his party first visited the Piscataways in 1634. Kittamaquund killed him in the same year.

happy, if he desired." Kittamaquund, it appears, had retained such a vivid impression from his brother's dreams, that he at once recognized Father White, although he did not know him, and "embraced him with remarkable affection."<sup>47</sup>

This auspicious beginning set the tone for the exchange between the Piscataway Tayac and the mission workers for the next two years. The Tayac on his part showed his love and veneration for Father White by insisting that the Father accept only the hospitality of his own palace, while his queen bestowed her respects on the priest by painstakingly serving him with her own hands. On his part, Father White labored long and hard to convert the Tayac and relieve him and his tribe of physical pressures besetting them from natural causes. When the Emperor "was in danger from a severe disease," and forty conjurers had been unable to give him aid, Father White received permission from the ailing man to administer medicine and to let some blood, and "not long after [the Emperor] became altogether well."<sup>48</sup>

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47. Ibid. Fortunately, the Governor of Maryland likewise received "the greatest affection" from the Tayac Kittamaquund on account of the superstition of a dream, but not so much as Father White, who appeared in Kittamaquund's sleep accompanied by a god "who excelled the unstained snow in whiteness." Thus, spiritual beliefs sealed firmly the Piscataways' early relations with the white man in Maryland. For the full account see *ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*

In the summer of 1640 a severe drought struck the Piscataways with a famine. The mission workers assisted the Indians by purchasing corn for their bread. Even though their effort worked a hardship on the priests because corn then sold at a great price, they persevered with their aid throughout the greater part of the winter so that "we might not appear to neglect their bodies, for the care of whose souls we had made  
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so great a voyage."

Indeed, their voyage to Piscataway was long and arduous and reflected the dedication and courage of the Jesuit priests who followed Father White there. On a routine excursion, a party of three--a Father, an interpreter, and a servant--sailed up the Potomac River in a pinnace or galley, two persons struggling with the oars to propel the boat in adverse or feeble winds, and one person steering at the helm. With them they took merely

a little chest of bread, butter, cheese, corn, cut and dried before it is ripe, beans and a little flour--another chest, also, for carrying bottles, one of which contains wine for religious purposes, six others holy water for the purpose of baptism; a box with the sacred vessels, and a slab as an altar for the sacred functions; and another casket full of trifles, which we give the Indian to conciliate their affection--such as little bells, combs, knives, fish-hooks, needles, thread and other things of this kind. We have, besides, a little tent, when we are obliged to lie out in the open air, which is frequently the case; also a larger one, which is adapted to keep out the rain.<sup>50</sup>

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49. Annual Letter of the Jesuits, 1640, in Hall, p. 132.

50. Annual Letter, 1642, in Hall, pp. 136-37.

In addition to confronting "this humble fare and hard  
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couch," however, the Jesuits faced constant dangers from  
the Indians they were trying to convert whom, they feared,  
might turn on them without notice and attack them. A threat  
of such an occurrence with the Patuxent Indians apparently  
had been the cause for Father White's departure from this  
52  
tribe before his mission to Piscataway.

Nonetheless, the priests joyfully accepted these hardships--  
even preferring them to more luxurious provisions in Europe--  
because they felt comforted by the belief "that God now imparts  
to us a foretaste of what he will give to those who labor  
faithfully in this life, and mitigates all hardships with a  
degree of pleasantness; especially because His Divine Majesty  
53  
appears to be present with us, in an extraordinary manner."

Father White at Piscataway even went so far as to say,

For my part, I would rather, laboring in the conversion  
of these Indians, expire on the bare ground, deprived of  
all human succor, and perishing with hunger, than once  
think of abandoning this holy work of God from the fear  
of want; God grant that I may render him some service:  
the rest I leave to his Providence.<sup>54</sup>

Father White not only brought this remarkable dedication to  
his Christian mission to the Piscataways but also an ability to  
learn the language and customs of the aborigines. Moreover,

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51. Ibid.

52. Annual Letter, 1639, in Hall, p. 124.

53. Annual Letter, 1642, *ibid.*, p. 137.

54. White as quoted in Campbell, "Early Missions,"  
*Md. Hist. Mag.*, 1, 304.

inspired by an initial receptiveness to his teachings among the Indians, Father White applied his energies to writing and printing a grammar, dictionary, and catechism in the native tongue of the Piscataways. In the colony Father White earned due recognition: his humility, patience, and zeal in performing his duties, and his outstanding success in reaching the hearts of the Indians, won him the title of the "Apostle of Maryland."

Father White, however, shared this marked success at Piscataway with the Indians, who, he reported, proved most willing converts. The Emperor himself experienced probably the first and most earnest conversion of his tribe following his complete cure by Father White shortly after the priest arrived at Piscataway. When the Emperor announced to the Father his resolution to be initiated in Christian rites along with his wife and two daughters as soon as possible, the priest immediately commenced to give him instruction. Not long after, at a "convention of the empire," the Tayac announced--in an assemblage crowded with his chiefs, a circle of the common people, Father White, and some English--his determination "to

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55. Campbell, p. 314.

56. Semmes, p. 430.

57. Semmes, p. 449.

take the part of Christ." His audience received this announcement with "a murmur of applause," which gave the mission members hope that "when the family of the Emperor is purified by baptism, the conversion of the whole empire will speedily take place."<sup>58</sup>

The rest of the Piscataway tribe, however, did not impress the Jesuits as much as their intense leader. One priest explained,

Whoever shall contemplate in thought the whole earth, will perhaps nowhere find men more abject in appearance than these Indians. . . . They are inclined indeed to vices, though not very many, in such darkness of ignorance, such barbarism, and in so unrestrained and wandering a mode of life; nevertheless in their disposition they are docile, nor will you perceive in them, except rarely, the passions of the mind transported in an extraordinary manner.<sup>59</sup>

At the same time, the Indians proved to be "readily swayed by reason," and willing to accept "the truth set forth in a credible manner." This "natural disposition," then, prompted the Jesuits to believe that they would witness "a most desirable harvest hereafter."<sup>60</sup>

The baptism of the Emperor, implicitly acknowledged by the council of Jesuits as a medium to convert the rest of the Piscataway tribe, was carefully planned to be a veritable spectacle in colonial Maryland. When Kittamaquund paid a visit to the

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58. Annual Letter, 1639, in Hall, pp. 124-30.

59. Ibid, pp. 129-30.

60. Ibid., p. 130.

colony, he again insisted that he receive the gift of baptism, but the council suggested that it be deferred a little so that "it could be performed with splendid display, in the greatest solemnity, and in the sight of his countrymen." The Emperor, flattered by the Catholics and by their prolonged hospitality, returned to Piscataway, where he commanded that his people prepare the church by next Pentecost, the time appointed for the baptism.<sup>61</sup> Undoubtedly, his entire tribe shared in the excitement of the preparations and the anticipations of conversion; and surely, many of his numbers contemplated receiving the glory associated with this ceremony and religion brought by the white man.

Father John Brock, the Superior in Maryland, confirmed the Jesuits' greatest hopes for a mass conversion following the Emperor's baptism in a letter describing the events of that occasion:

Since my last letter, written in the course of the preceding year, it has pleased Divine goodness to open the way to the conversion of many, I trust, thousands of souls, by calling to the Orthodox Faith, the Emperor or Great King of Pascataway: for he has many kings subject to his power. He was baptised on 5th July, 1640. His former name Chitomacon, was changed into Charles, on the occasion: and his Queen was baptized at the same time by the name Mary; with an infant at the breast, who was christened Ann. The King's principal council or, Mosorcoques, was baptized at the same time, by the name of John; and his infant son was christened Robert. The ceremonies were performed in the presence of the Governor's Secretary, and of Father Altham, and of many others of the English

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61. Ibid., p. 129.

Colony, by Father Andrew White, at Piscataway in a chapel made in the Indian fashion of the bark of trees, and erected expressly for this occasion. Very many would have followed the Emperor's example, and been admitted to the sacred Font, if Fathers White and Altham had not been attacked by sudden illness and necessitated, for the recovery of their health, to leave the country for St. Mary's town, in the English Colony.<sup>62</sup>

Although Father White had to leave Piscataway at such a strategic moment in his work of conversion, he returned with Father Brock at the first moment he found himself somewhat convalescent in order "to cultivate the vineyard." Father Brock expressed his concern that, "considering his age and infirmities, I fear he must soon sink under his accumulated labors." Nonetheless, Father White never relented in his mission work; speaking the Indian language, he engaged the affection of the natives and instructed them to receive baptism. Many of the "better sort" soon showed themselves well disposed towards the Christian Faith. And in the early months of 1641 the "King of Piscataway sent his daughter, the heiress of his dominions, to St. Mary's town, to be educated

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62. Extract of a letter written by Father John Brock, S.J., the Superior in Maryland, May 3, 1641, as reprinted in Campbell, "Early Christian Missions, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, 1, p. 302. The Annual Letter of 1640 also describes this baptismal ceremony and the aftermath. It is very possible that Father White wrote this version himself, for the author writes, "On the 15th of February we came to Piscatawa, not without the great gratulation and joy of the inhabitants." This timing coincides with Father Brock's testimony that "he [White] returned with me last February." A significant difference appears in the two accounts of the ceremony: while Father Brock made mention of the Governor's Secretary as present, the Annual Letter reported "the Governor was present at the ceremony together with his secretary and many others; nor was anything wanting in display which our means could supply." This added notable at the baptism of course enriches the fanfare of the occasion. See Hall, pp. 131-32, for the full account of the Annual Letter, 1640.

amongst the English, and prepared for baptism."

The exultation felt by the Jesuits over the baptism of the Emperor and his family in 1640 and the subsequential conversions in 1641 became over-shadowed during the latter year by an ominous Susquehannock raid on the Patuxent mission which resulted in the death of the missionaries there and the loss of

all their goods.<sup>64</sup> The alarm prompted the priests to

fear we may be compelled to abandon Piscataway, on account of its proximity to the Sesquesehanni, which nation is the most savage and warlike of these regions, and hostile to the Christians. . . . And unless they be restrained by force of arms, which we little expect from the counsels of the English who disagree among themselves, we shall not be safe there.<sup>65</sup>

The fears of the missionaries turned to fact during the year: the Governor and Council failed to take any action against the Susquehannocks--although they did issue an ineffectual proclamation announcing that these Indians were enemies to the Province--and the raids on the plantations on the Piscataways accelerated

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63. *Ibid.*, p. 303. Kittamaquund apparently loved his seven-year-old daughter "with great affection." She received special care at St. Mary's in respect for the Emperor: her guardians were Governor Leonard Calvert himself, and Mistress Margaret Brent (who assumed the responsibilities of the Governor after his death). The child learned the English language and was christened Mary Brent Kittamaquund. She later married an Englishman, and their son attempted to claim the empire of the Piscataways. See Semmes, p. 437, and Marye, "Piscattaway," p. 183.

64. Semmes, p. 509; Annual Letter, 1642, in Hall, p. 135.

65. Annual Letter, 1642, *ibid.*

to the point that the mission post finally had to close down. Even though Father Andrew chose to return to Piscataway that year, the center for mission work moved to Portobacco to the southeast.

Ironically, the Jesuits themselves probably played a determining role in the closure of their mission at Piscataway. The effect of their Christian teachings and the introduction of western dress and thinking to the Piscataways must have sharply aggravated the Susquehannocks' disdain for their neighbor Indians. Moreover, the Jesuits had begun to lose favor with the Proprietary Government on account of the effect their teachings had on the Piscataways. Father Andrew White exemplified one conflict when he replied to the Governor--who had explained to him the advantages the Indians might derive from trade with the English--that "he considered that but slight gain in comparison with the treasure received from the Fathers, in the knowledge of the true God: which knowledge, is now, and always shall be the chief object of my wishes."

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66. A Proclamation by the Lieutenant Generall read: "These are to publish and declare that the Susquehannocks are enemies of this Province, and as such are to be reputed and proceeded against by all persons. Given at St. Maries Sept. 13, 1642." See Semmes, p. 509.

67. Annual Letter, 1642, *ibid.*

68. The Emperor adopted not only the Christian religion but also many of the white man's ways. According to the Annual Letter of 1639, he had exchanged his skins for European garments, endeavored to learn English, given up his concubines for one wife, observed abstinence from meat on the proper days of the week, and even had built for himself a house "like the English" in which he lived. The Susquehannocks, so proud and fierce, must have seen the Piscataways as weak and inferior when so tainted by the white man. See Hall, p. 127.

69. Campbell, p. 302.

This yearning for spiritual riches rather than material seemed to obsess much of the Emperor's thinking as well, and probably inspired him to offer the Jesuits some land at Piscataway for their mission work.<sup>70</sup> Not only did this train of thought imply possible disruptions in the profitable colonial trade with the Indians, but it also infuriated Lord Baltimore, who having learned of his brother's approval of the Piscataway gift of land to the priests, wrote:

I understand that not withstanding my prohibition of last yeare you did pass Grants, under my seale here to those of the Hill, of St. Inigoes and other Lands at St. Maryes and also 100 acres at Pascataway.<sup>71</sup>

Clearly, the Lord Baltimore felt no regrets at the news that the missionary post at Piscataway had to be disbanded on account of frontier raids. Moreover, the failure of the English to furnish adequate protection for their allies at Piscataway, and along the frontier, from the Susquehannock raids appears as a

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70. Semmes, p. 435.

71. Kellock, p. 14. The Jesuits provoked Calvert into an open collision by their claims on the land offered to them by the Indians, by their refusal to pay quitrents like every other landowner, and by their intention to see that canon law prevailed with all the privileges owed to the church when Catholics held the power in England. Lord Baltimore, even prior to his letter chastising his brother for granting the lands offered by the Piscataways to the Jesuits, had made threats of expelling all Jesuits from his Province. The plan to have permanent mission lands near the Piscataways and near other tribes in Maryland only reinforced his fear that the Jesuits would shortly arm the Indians against him. He therefore ordered that no other grants be given to any member of the Hill, or Jesuit order. See *ibid.*

symbolic turning point in the relations between the Maryland government and its Indians. That the provincial authorities never punished the Susquehannocks for their attack on the Jesuit mission on the Patuxent nor agreed on a definite policy of action must have encouraged other raids, not only from the Susquehannocks, but from other Maryland Indians as well, for many tribes appeared restless at this time.<sup>72</sup> Thus the period of relative peace and profitable exchange closed surprisingly rapidly and a transition stage set in, which strengthened the position of the white man while it weakened and gradually drove away the Indians in Maryland.

#### MOUNTING TENSION AND TURMOIL

##### The Vise Closes

The recurring raids from the Susquehannock Indians, brought on, it appears, by the colony's alliance with the Piscataways, forced the Maryland Assembly in May of 1639 to commission Giles Brent, a member of the Council, to form a regular militia of "all the inhabitants of our said colony able to bear arms," and to train and instruct them "in the art and discipline of war."<sup>73</sup> The fear of Indian troubles persisted in the years to follow and contributed to a general caution with all Indians.

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72. Semmes, p. 510, and Andrews, p. 73.

73. Bozman, p. 163.

The Council voted on laws attempting to prepare the colonists for attack. In 1642 they decreed, "no man able to bear arms to goe to church or chappell or any considerable distance from home without fixed gun and one charge at least of powder and shott."<sup>74</sup>

The same year the officials formally declared the Natiockes, the Wicomeses, and Susquehannock Indians as enemies of the colony and ordered a "march against the Indians."<sup>75</sup>

In addition the Governor gave a commission to Robert Evelin:

Whereas it is necessary at this present time to put the English liveing at Piscatoway in a posture of defense agt the Indians, we. . . appoint and authorize you . . . to take the charge and command of all or any the English in or near abt Pascatoway, and to leavie train and Muster them upon all occasions . . . to make war, resist, or offend any enemies whatsoever, that shall assault you or them,. . . and either <sup>76</sup> to Save or kill them at your pleasure by the Law of war.

The establishment of martial law on the Piscataway frontier, created ominous and harmful effects for the Piscataways. The provincial government ruled it legal to shoot Indians on sight if they were Susquehannocks or Wicomeses but they did not simultaneously assist the settlers with the difficult task of distinguishing by sight the different tribes. Moreover, orders went out that "No inhabitant or householder entertain any Indian upon any color

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74. Ferguson, p. 31.

75. Campbell, p. 309.

76. *Md. Archives*, III, pp. 102-03.

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of liscence." Thus erosion of mutual friendship and trust began to appear more clearly in the dealings between the settlers and Indians of Maryland.

Nonetheless, the colonists needed the protection gained by having the Piscataway tribe at their frontier and they consistently planned their defense on the basis of this safety valve. On the same hand, the Piscataway Indians increasingly looked to the Maryland government for support and supplies. Consequently, each maintained the formalities exchanged by allies, while each struggled to tackle the imminent dangers around them.

In 1644 frequent raids near Piscataway called for emergency measures. The Assembly passed "An act for the defence of the province" which, for that year only, stationed a garrison at Piscataway and impressed colonists for service there. The Assembly, unable to finance such plans, charged each "head able to bear arms inhabiting within the province" no more than "a barrel of corn, or fifty pound of tobacco with cask, at the choice of the party." This sum undoubtedly helped pay the salary of "three and twenty barrels of corn, or one thousand weight of tobacco with cask,

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77. As quoted in Ferguson, p. 31.

and three barrels of corn, for a year's pay" to the men assessed from each hundred who served as soldiers at the Piscataway  
78  
garrison.

The Piscataways, it appears, initiated their own defense efforts by arranging a conference with the Susquehannock chiefs, presumably to work out some form of peace. The Assembly, concerned that the Indians might conspire against them, sent Henry Fleete with twenty men to the Piscataway fort, allegedly to attend the conference and make peace with the Susquehannocks, but really to prevent any plots. Apparently nothing materialized  
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from these meetings, and hostilities continued.

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78. Bozman, p. 636.

79. Ferguson, p. 31, and Andrews, p. 77. The instructions which the Council gave Fleete for this mission reflect an instance of a cold and calculated use of force by the Maryland government in its dealings with the Indians, even with the colony's allies the Piscataways:

"You are to goe up wth yor company to pascatoway, and there to consider by the best meanes you may, what hope there is of a reall & firme peace or truce wth the Sequihanowes. . . .If you shall not think best to treat or truce wth them you are to use all lawfull & discreet meanes you can to pillage, or take them, or (if it shall seeme best) to kill them; and to break off all league & treaty betweene them & our Confederates; and to terrifie our confederates & specially such as you shall note most bold & active that way from leaguings or treating with the common enemy afore or against our liking or consent, and the Pascatowayes without the authority or consent of their queene residing here." *Md. Archives*, III, pp. 149-50.

The defenses at Piscataway weathered the barrage of Susquehannock raids during these years, probably largely because the Susquehannocks simultaneously were rebutting relentless attacks from the Iroquois, who, in turn, were also driving down closer to the settlements. In 1652 the Susquehannocks in desperation turned to the Maryland government for help against the northern Indians. Assured by treaty of the friendship and aid of the proprietary government, the Susquehannocks for the next twenty years waged a brilliant fight against their enemies, the Iroquois. At the same time, they formed a second barricade for the colonial settlements to the south, allowing the officials at St. Mary's to breathe somewhat easier.

The Piscataways, however, having been included as allies in the treaty with the Susquehannocks, suffered harsh reprisals from the Iroquois who murdered five Piscataways and threatened the Piscataway fort. The Maryland government, most likely feeling that the most populated areas stood relatively secure, apparently made no effort to assist the Piscataways on the Maryland frontier. Inadequate defenses, moreover, finally drove the Piscataways in 1660 to petition the English for four men to help them make their fort stronger. A year later the

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80. Semmes, pp. 513-14. For the text of the 1652 treaty see Bozman, pp. 682-83.

Susquehannocks appealed to the Maryland government for similar assistance so that they might build a blockhouse<sup>81</sup> like the ones the English had.

Even though these measures of protection for the Maryland Indians were carried out, they were not enough to stem the wave of Iroquois raids during the 1660s. A decisive blow to the Susquehannocks in 1662 made it necessary for the colonists to deliver over "two Barrells of powder and two hundred weight of lead and guns" in 1663, and in 1668, five thousand pounds of tobacco worth of powder to the Susquehannocks<sup>82</sup> to prevent their total destruction.

Up to this point the provincial government had managed to protect the colony by depending on the frontier tribes, along with a handful of colonial soldiers, to act as buffer states. In 1664, however, the Piscataway Indians captured two Iroquois of the Oneida tribe and forced from them a confession that the Five Nations planned to kill the Susquehannocks and the English that summer. Governor Calvert thereupon declared war on the Iroquois.<sup>83</sup> The Piscataways demonstrated their hostility for the Iroquois by issuing invitations to the torture of the captured Indians<sup>84</sup> -- a feeble gesture, however,

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81. Ferguson, pp. 31-32.

82. *Maryland Archives*, 11, pp. 319-339.

83. Semmes, p. 565.

84. Ferguson, p. 32.

considering the unstable nature of the Piscataway Empire at the time, for in 1664 the empire was only a shadow of its former self.

The Piscataways, while trying to keep up a constant vigilance against the relentless Iroquois raids, had been struggling as well to maintain a strong and stable leadership. But the erratic pattern of succession following the death of Kittamaquund, "the Great Tayac," in 1641, suggests that rivalry, jealousy, and ruthlessness had undermined the long tradition of "Brother always succeeding to the brother till they be all dead." Moreover, before he died, Kittamaquund had delegated the right to choose the Piscataway emperors to the English, a right which when exercised by the Governor undoubtedly had a detrimental effect on the unity of the empire.

At the same time, the Piscataway leaders, although obligated to accept the Governor's choice of a Tayac, showed an obvious desire and intent to take a dominant role in the selection process. Thus in 1641 Governor Calvert chose Weghucasso, a member of one of the two families living at Piscataway that were considered to be of a "royal" line. When Weghucasso died in 1660 the "great men" of the tribe merely announced to the governor that they spoke for Uttapoingasenem, "present Emperor." The Governor, although

irritated that he was not consulted in the choice, did not interfere. But when Uttapoingasenem died two years later, the Governor was quick to announce to the Piscataways that he planned "to appoint them a King or Emperour" and that he awaited their joining him "in that affaire." The chiefs immediately made a request, and the Governor acquiesced that Wannasapapin, the son of Wannas, assume leadership. Preparations commenced for a formal ceremony at Piscataway to be held after a house and "other necessities" had been prepared  
85  
for the new emperor.

Thus, on May 30, 1662, the Governor, accompanied by the Hon. Henry Sewell and Jerome White, Esq., arrived by appointment at Piscataway to participate in the elaborate ceremony. The next day the great men of "all the Neighbouring Townes," joined them. On June 1 the election of the emperor took a surprising turn when the Indians presented an eleven-year-old boy, Nattowasso, to the Governor for confirmation. No explanation was given on the fate of their first selection, Wannasapapin, and it seems likely that his disappearance was deliberately kept secret. The Governor, probably suspecting that Wannasapapin

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85. Marye, pp. 191-93. Marye points out that "there was nothing in the shape of a royal residence at Piscattaway. The emperors lived in Indian cabins, which were probably somewhat larger and better appointed than those of the commonality of the people."

had met with a treacherous death, warned the Piscataways against doing any harm to the young Tayac "upon any pretence, eyther by poysoning of him or by other indirect wayes."<sup>86</sup>

This infant emperor, then, had ruled for two years before Governor Calvert declared war on the Iroquois in 1664. It seems unlikely that the boy could have offered the strong leadership needed to combat the Iroquois raids; instead, the chiefs together probably made the decisions for the Emperor, thereby, perhaps, giving rise to an demoralizing breakdown in tribal tradition.

Certainly the Piscataways' stamina against invasion had begun to falter during these critical years. At the same time, the Indians felt the increasing pressure put on them from settlers moving north onto Piscataway lands. Even though the early settlers on the frontier shared with the Piscataways the responsibilities of patrolling the area and searching out the enemy, they also introduced major conflicts of life-style which worked to the Piscataways' disadvantage. By 1666, the weakened state of the Piscataway nation obliged the great men of the tribe to make a degrading and revealing speech which served as a preamble to the treaty they made that year with the Maryland government: "Let us have no quarrels for killing hogs, no

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86. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

more than for the cows eating the Indian corn. . . . Your hogs and cattle injure us; you come too near us to live and drive us from place to place. We can fly no farther; let us know where to live and how to be secured for the future from the hogs and cattle."<sup>87</sup>

Thus the Piscataways felt their numbers and strength sapped by the vise closing in on them from all sides. Moreover, the sequential treaty of 1666 with the English clearly defined their tenuous and subordinate position in the colony of Maryland. While on the surface the treaty met the pathetic requests of the Indians, its overall impact helped confirm the Piscataway downfall.

88

Articles of Peace and Amity, 1666

The treaty made between the colonists and Piscataway Indians in April 1666 included eleven tribes subordinate to the Piscataways--Anacostaub, Doags, Mibibiwomans, Masquestend, Mattawomans, Chingwawaters, Nangemaick, Portobackes, Sacayo, Pangayo and Choptico. Fourteen articles defined the contract; several confirmed previous agreements, while others answered problems that had arisen between the races. None, however, provided adequate protection for the Indians' survival at Piscataway.

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87. *Md. Archives*, II, no page numbers.

88. See Appendix A for full text of treaty.

On paper, the treaty demonstrated a seemingly genuine concern for the Indians' plea for protection from white encroachment. Their hunting and fishing rights according to law were to be inviolably preserved; the Government was to provide lands for them in case of danger, and assure them that their wives and children would not become servants to the English in case the men were killed. Most importantly, the treaty promised a reservation for the Indians at Piscataway.

On the same hand, other articles looked to the protection of the English from Indian conspiracy. Any Indian who killed an Englishman would die for it. The Piscataways could make no peace with the enemy, or new wars, without the consent of the Governor. The Governor's right to appoint the Piscataway Emperor was confirmed.

Still other articles handled conflicts and problems which aggravated relations between the settlers and Indians. Each of the solutions, however, favored the preferences or complaints of the white man. Thus, the treaty answered the sensitive question of how to prevent the nervous settlers from shooting Piscataway Indians whom they could not "easily distinguish" from hostile, roving, Iroquois Indians, by instigating a degrading greeting system whereby the Piscataways could wear no paint, and had to

call aloud before they come within three hundred paces of any English [sic] mans cleer ground and lay down their Armes whether Gun, bow or Arrows or other weapon for any English man that shall appear upon his call to take up and in Case no one appear that he shall there leave his said Armes if he come neerer and that afterwards he shall by calling aloud Endeavour to give notice to the English of his neerer approach.

Any Indian, moreover, who refused to throw down his arms and make this greeting was to "be deemed as an Enemy," and, therefore, be a legal target for the Englishman's bullet. To simulate equal justice, a clause warned any Englishman who killed an Indian after he had given the required greeting that he would die for it the same as an Indian who killed an Englishman. However, no records of a white man being executed for the murder of an Indian have been turned up to suggest that this measure was ever exercised.

To remedy the clash between the Indians and settlers over the grazing of hogs and cattle in the Indian crops, the Maryland officials simply obliged the Piscataway Indians to fence in their corn fields, and promised them that those settlers who willfully destroyed the fences would be penalized. Likewise, any Indian who killed any cattle or hogs would be punished as a white man. Apparently, this issue reflected most clearly the bitter conflict of life-styles. The Indians both farmed the land and hunted on it. The settlers' hogs and cattle ruined the Indian crops while the Indians' hunting often disturbed or killed the colonists' livestock. Law enforcement on the frontier protected the settlers' rights before it did the Indians'.

Finally, the English included in the treaty a clause ordering the Indians to return to them any runaway slaves or servants. Apparently, the Piscataway Indians had welcomed runaways, possibly because they had hoped to strengthen their tribal numbers and their morale as well.

The irony of this treaty of 1666 lies in the eloquence of its expression, its concepts, and of its confirmation. While the English couched the demeaning clauses in terms of fair and equal justice for white and Indian alike, and while the Governor made a respectful gesture to the Piscataway chiefs by planning a formal ceremony at the Piscataway fort--instead of at St. Mary's-- to confirm the treaty and appoint a new Emperor for them, the Articles of Peace and Amity fell far short of restoring any of the former glory to the Piscataway nation. Rather, they only defined more closely the constricted path the Piscataway Indians were to follow in the years to come.

#### The Follow-up to 1666: The End in Sight

Three years passed before a survey was made for the reservation promised to the Piscataway Indians and their subsidiary tribes in the Treaty of 1666. In January 1669 Jerome White, Esq., Surveyor General of the Province, mapped out the lands between the "head of Mattawoman Creek and the head of Pascattaway Creek. . . within which bounds the said severall Nac̄ons of Indians (provided

it stands with their liking) are to retreat and draw together with their wives and families." The Governor even provided that if the Indians preferred to remain at their locations at the time of the peace treaty, lands would be set aside for them there.<sup>89</sup>

Concentrating their forces on a reservation, however, did not seem to strengthen substantially the Piscataways' defenses against attack from the Iroquois. In July 1670, when the Piscataway leaders came to the English seeking to revive the 1666 treaty, they expressed their state of exhaustion from the constant struggle for survival:

first in the name of the Boys next in the name of the elder persons that they might eat, drink, sleepe & play in quiet; the women in like manner desire the peace, acknowledging the Lord & Protector, next the old men desire it that they may sleep by their Wives quietly & take their tobacco.<sup>90</sup>

In addition, the Piscataway Indians pathetically explained that they bore with them no traditional gift for the English because "they are now reduced to a small number & therefore they cannot present any thing considerable." Moreover, the Maryland records showed that the Piscataways, driven by visions of their own imminent doom, had appealed to the Governor, "from the miserable poor. . . that herein when their Nacōn may be reduced to nothing perhaps they may not be scorned & chased out of our Protection."<sup>91</sup>

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89. Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1667-75, *Maryland Archives*, V. pp. 34-35. See Appendix B for boundaries surveyed in 1669.

90. *Md. Archives*, V, pp. 291-92. See Appendix B for text.

91. *Ibid.*

Having reassured the Piscataway Indians that the treaty would remain intact so long as the Indians kept the articles, the Maryland officials requested to speak to the Emperor concerning a murder of a settler, but they were informed that the Emperor was "at the Sasqueanough."<sup>92</sup> Certainly it seems strange that the Emperor chose to send a speaker to renew the treaty with the English, on whom his people depended so greatly, while he went himself to confer with his recently established allies, the Susquehannocks. Perhaps the Emperor foresaw the need for an Indian alliance to combat the Iroquois because the English never adequately protected their frontier from the attacks which hit first the Maryland Indian villages lying north of Saint Mary's. Whatever the reason, the Maryland officials seemed to look with consternation and suspicion on this meeting which, most likely, only contributed to the deteriorating relations between the Indians and the colony.

Moreover, the meeting, if intended to reinforce the two tribes to ward off their northern enemy, failed to protect the Susquehannocks from suffering a total defeat at the hands of the

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92. Ibid.

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Iroquois in late 1673. Some of the "Great Men" of the Susquehannocks then came to St. Mary's in person to ask for a location within the colony where they might settle their people.<sup>94</sup> The Maryland officials, fearing that the Susquehannocks "may corrupt our Indians and Mould them so to their own future Designs, as it will inevitably prove prejudicial to this Province," ordered that they settle some place above the falls of the Potomac.<sup>95</sup> In stern tones, they warned the Indians that they must go "Where the Governor pleaseth to appoint them or that they shall be forced by Warr."<sup>96</sup> The Susquehannocks, having agreed to go to the place designated, proceeded instead to Piscataway, where they settled next to the Piscataway Fort south of the creek.<sup>97</sup> This direct disobedience formed the background for the last imposing event to take place at Piscataway during its habitation by the Indians of Maryland.

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93. The English indirectly contributed to the Susquehannock defeat because they had initiated peace efforts with the Iroquois in June; with peace feelers out, they would have been reluctant to aid the Susquehannocks and risk alienating the Iroquois, who represented a greater threat to the colony. In addition, the English had helped contaminate the Indians with smallpox, a disease that killed many Susquehannocks just prior to the fall of their fort. See Semmes, pp. 519-20.

94. Semmes, p. 520.

95. *Md. Archives, II*, P. 429.

96. *Ibid.*

97. Semmes, p. 520.

## The Susquehannock Fort, 1675

The events which followed the arrival of the refugee Susquehannocks in the Piscataway area weigh significantly in the early history of this country. The siege of the Susquehannock Fort on Piscataway Creek led directly to the 1676 Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia--the first rebellion by the colonists against England, preceding the Revolution by one hundred years. The siege also marked one of the last chapters of Susquehannock history, and one of the most elaborate military campaigns undertaken by Maryland in the seventeenth century. In addition, the grandfather of George Washington, Col. John Washington, played a major role in the operations of the siege, as the commander of  
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the Virginia forces.

In 1677 a Royal Commission of Investigation set out to reveal the causes of the rebellion led by Nathaniel Bacon against the Crown, and the testimony the Commission collected shed much light  
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on the events of the siege of the Susquehannock Fort. Although many of the details of the accounts vary widely, the general facts coincide. Moreover, a map exists (See Illustrations) which sketches the fort, presumably for the Commission. This map, except for a

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98. Alice L.L. Ferguson, "The Susquehannock Fort on Piscataway Creek," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVI (Baltimore, 1941), p. 1.

99. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

few discrepancies, coordinates with testimony given by  
Thomas Mathew in 1705, some thirty years after the event. 100

The trouble apparently began when some Doeg Indians--whom  
the Susquehannocks had harbored in their Piscataway encampment--  
in order "to revenge a private Injury received from some att the  
Head of the Rappahanoc, did in September 1675, Murder fower

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English." A party of thirty or more Virginians led by  
Colonel Mason and Captain Brent crossed the Potomac in pursuit

of these Doegs, and there they shot down some twenty-four  
Indians before one shook his arm saying, "Susquehannock friends." 102

Virginians and Marylanders paid dearly for this gross error:

the fierce Susquehannocks, aroused for revenge, raided and  
murdered on both sides of the river. 103  
The Governor of Maryland,

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100. "Thomas Mathew's Narrative," in Charles McLean Andrews, ed., *Narratives of the Insurrections, 1675-1690* (New York, 1946), p. 17. Herein cited as "Mathew's Narrative," Andrews, N.I., For a discussion on the accuracy of the sketch, see Ferguson, "The Susquehannock Fort," pp. 3-4.

101. Anon., "Virginia's Deplored Condition: Or an Impartiall Narrative of the Murders comitted by the Indians there, and of the sufferings of his Majesties Loyall subjects under the Rebellious outrages of Mr. Nathaniell Bacon Junior to the tenth day of August Anno Dommino 1676," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, IX, Series 4 (Boston 1870), p. 165.

102. "Mathew's Narrative," in Andrews, N.I., p. 17.

103. *Ibid.*, p. 18, and Thomas Jefferson Wertebaker, *Torchbearer of the Revolution* (Gloucester, 1965), p. 78. It was probably during one of these raids that the Hanson family, living within three miles of the Susquehannock Fort, were attacked and killed. *Md. Archives*, XV, p. 126. This slaughter particularly outraged Colonel Trueman, the leader of the Maryland troops, and inspired in him a deeper drive for revenge.

resentful that Virginians had intruded in his province to turn friendly Indians into deadly enemies, reluctantly ordered up a militia to coordinate with a Virginia militia in a campaign to force the Susquehannocks to withdraw from the region.

Military preparations commenced. Colonists assembled provisions of wheat, corn, and salt; powder and shot; nails, water casks and tents on plantation wharves along the Potomac, and sent them by sloop to Piscataway, while, by land, messengers rapidly passed the summons for a Maryland militia. "On either side the River both Countrys raised their Quotas of a 1000 Men," and "Boats of War were Equipt to prevent Excursions over the River." The Susquehannocks, aware of an impending war, selected an open piece of ground a few hundred feet from Mockley Point, where Piscataway Creek flows into the Potomac, and began to build a fort. When the English got word of the fort, they felt confident that they would have no difficulty in taking it. They reasoned that since the fort stood close to the water's edge and to the Piscataway Fort, it could easily be surrounded by the troops, sloops, and allies of the English.

104. Wertenbaker, p. 78.

105. *Ibid.*

106. "Mathew's Narrative," in Andrews, *N.I.*, p. 18. In her article on the Susquehannock Fort, Alice Ferguson wrote, "Maryland raised five hundred men, including two hundred and fifty horses. . . . Virginia sent an equal force," but she did not document this record so that it could be readily verified. Her facts, however, seem logical enough: most likely the two colonies together could muster no more than 1,000 fighting men, rather than the 2,000 indicated in Mathew's account. Marye cites the Maryland army as 250 strong, which seems to be an even more likely count than the latter two. Marye, p. 238.

107. Wertenbaker, p. 79.

But the English soon realized that the Susquehannock fort was far stronger and more complex than the traditional Indian enclosure with its single circle of palisades, since the Marylanders themselves had given the Susquehannocks careful instruction in the art of fortification. <sup>108</sup> As Thomas Mathew remembered it, "The Walls of this fort were high banks of Earth, with Flankers having many Loop Holes, and a Ditch round all, and without this a Row of Tall Trees fastned 3 foot Deep in the Earth, their Bodies from 5 to 8 Inches Diameter, watted 6 Inches apart to shoot through with the Tops twisted together, <sup>109</sup> and also Artifically Wrought."

When the first troops under Major Trueman arrived at the site, however, the Susquehannocks had not yet completed their <sup>110</sup> fort; but the Indians had time to spare, for Trueman had orders to wait on the north side of Piscataway Creek for the Virginians before they jointly proceeded with the plan to force the Susquehannocks to "remove themselves to the place they assured <sup>111</sup> the last Assembly they would goe and seate themselves."

Major Trueman, it appears, did not await the Virginians as directed, but invited Harignera, the Susquehannock chief, to a

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108. Wertenbaker, p. 81.

109. "Mathew's Narrative," in Andrews, *N.I.*, p. 19.

110. Marye, p. 208; *Md. Archives*, V, p. 134.

111. Ferguson, "Susquehannock Fort," p. 2, and *Md. Archives*, XV, p. 49.

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parley. Since Harignera was dead, the Susquehannocks under  
a flag of truce, sent out five other "great men" who, it was  
said, "ask'd the Reason of that Hostile Appearance." <sup>113</sup> The  
Commander immediately charged them with the murders in Maryland,  
especially with the attack on the Hanson plantation. <sup>114</sup> The  
next day, September 27, the Virginians led by Col. John Washington  
and Col. Isaac Allerton, disembarked on the north bank of the Piscataway  
Creek and proceeded to accuse the Indian chiefs of murders in  
Stafford County. <sup>115</sup> The Indians denied all charges and they  
showed the English a medal of friendship given to them by a  
Maryland Governor, claiming that the Senecas were responsible. <sup>116</sup>

That day the Five chiefs, without warning, were executed  
in the camp by English troops. Apparently Major Trueman, having  
ordered the Indians bound with the stated purpose of taking them  
to the Hanson house so that they might identify the dead Indians,  
ordered his men to knock them on the head. <sup>117</sup> Colonel Washington

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112. Wertenbaker, p. 79, and Ferguson, "Susquehannock Fort,"  
p. 3. One account said that hunger drove the Susquehannocks to send  
out six chiefs to commence a treaty. Anon., "The History of Bacon's  
and Ingrams's Rebellion, 1676," in Andrews, *N.I.*, p. 47. This  
version, however, stands in contrast to the others.

113. Wertenbaker, p. 79, and "Mathew's Narrative," Andrews,  
*N.I.*, p. 19.

114. Wertenbaker, *ibid.*

115. *Ibid.*

116. Ferguson, p. 3.

117. Wertenbaker, p. 80, and Ferguson, *Moyaone & Piscataway  
Indians*, p. 35.

later was able to prove that Trueman had acted on his own initiative, and that he had had no intimation that the Indians were to be killed.<sup>118</sup>

Once the Susquehannocks learned of the murder of their leaders; the siege commenced. As Thomas Mathews recalled, the Indians put up "an Obstinate Resistance, Shooting many of our Men, and making frequent, fierce and Bloody Sallyes; and when they were Call'd to or offerd Parley, Gave no other Answer than,<sup>119</sup> 'Where are our four Cockarouses, ie. Great Men?'"

The three English commanders had pitched camp on the hillside and had established their lines around the Indian fort.<sup>120</sup> But they made little headway in taking the fort, since they had no cannons to blast the palisades and platforms, and they could not undermine the construction because of the surrounding marsh land.<sup>121</sup> Moreover, as mentioned, the fort had been solidly built on the lines of English fortifications. In perplexity, troops constructed a

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118. Wertenbaker, p. 81. Later, the lower House of the Maryland Assembly impeached Trueman, the upper House found him guilty, fined him, and sentenced him to imprisonment. The Council denounced his deed as "so great and unheard of a wickedness" that it was with difficulty that he could get his men to carry out his orders, and that afterwards "not a man would own to have had a hand in it." Ibid.

119. "Mathew's Narrative," in Andrews, *N.I.*, p. 19.

120. Wertenbaker, p. 82.

121. "Mathew's Narrative," *ibid.*

tower on wheels, the "mount" as they called it, from which they could fire over the palisades into the fort. This, however,<sup>122</sup> availed them little.

Meanwhile, the Indians exploiting the negligence of the English guards and the ineffective defenses of the colonial army, gained from their frequent raids supplies of fusils and spades, and enough of the troops' horses to replenish their food supply.<sup>123</sup> Thus, the siege dragged on for seven weeks with only 100 warriors staving off the English forces; and before the siege ended, between 50 to 100 colonial troops were dead.<sup>124</sup>

Finally, probably realizing that they could not remain indefinitely, 75 Indians with their women and children stole "(by moon light) past [the] guards, hallowing and firing at them without opposition, leaving three or four decrepits in the Fort."<sup>125</sup> Before they made their escape, the Indians "destroyed all things in the fort that might be servisable to the English," and, as they slipped through the enemy lines, they apparently "knocked ten men on the head, who lay carelessly asleep in there [sic] way."<sup>126</sup> "The next morning the English followed, but could not, or (for fear of ambuscades), would not overtake these Desperate fugitives."<sup>127</sup>

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122. Wertenbaker, *ibid.*

123. Wertenbaker, p. 83.

124. *Ibid.*, and Ferguson, "Susquehannock Fort," p. 3.

125. "Mathew's Narrative," in Andrews, *N.I.*, p. 48.

126. "Hist. of Bacon's and Ingrams' Rebellion," in Andrews, *N.I.*, p. 48.

127. "Mathew's Narrative," *ibid.*

In their flight the Susquehannocks left a bloody trail of revenge for the murder of their chiefs. They fell on the outlying plantations on the upper Rappahannock and Mattapony Rivers and within a few days had slaughtered sixty innocent people, men, women, and children. <sup>128</sup> As one historian commented, however, the dead were fortunate compared to those <sup>129</sup> whom the Indians dragged deep into the forest and tortured. Tales of horror drove the frontier settlers from their homes <sup>130</sup> in a wild panic. Apparently, since the winter was coming on, "little could be don, onely all care imaginable was taken for <sup>131</sup> security of the fronteere county." Bacon's Rebellion started out in Virginia as one of these measures to protect the frontier.

In Maryland, the Piscataway Indians and their allies suffered losses from their alliance with the English during the <sup>132</sup> brief war. In 1676 the Maryland government made a present of eighty matchcoats to the Piscataways as a reward for their services; the implication seems to be that only eighty warriors survived the <sup>133</sup> struggle.

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128. "Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion," *ibid.*, and Wertenbaker *ibid.* "Virginia's Deploured Condition," *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, IX, p. 165.

129. Wertenbaker, *ibid.*

130. According to Wertenbaker, the Susquehannocks bound their prisoners to stakes and roasted them with slowly burning fires; they cut strips of flesh from their bodies and tore their nails from their fingers. *Ibid.*

131. "Virginia's Deploured Condition," *ibid.*

132. The Emperor of Piscataway and the King of Mattawoman offered to march with the English against the fort, but probably they had no choice in the matter. Marye, p. 208.

133. *Md. Archives*, II, p. 428, and Marye, p. 187.

The Susquehannocks, however, lost more than just men in the war, for they finally had to submit to the Iroquois and be absorbed into two villages of the Five Nations.<sup>134</sup> Such an ominous combination of hostile Indians kept the colony in constant alarm. The Council in 1676 defined the threat, declaring that

Foreasmuch as the province is daily threatened to be invaded by Indians and the inhabitants of this province lying so dispersed and that in many places they are in so small numbers that they are utterly unable to defend themselves.<sup>135</sup>

Moreover, acknowledging the precarious position of their ally Indians, the Council ordered "In case the Piscataway Indians desire any men to assist them it is resolved that forty or fifty men be appointed for that purpose."<sup>136</sup>

The next year, Governor Notley sent Henry Coursey, Esq., as an envoy to Albany, New York, to make peace with the Iroquois. His instructions specifically stated that he "must include the Pascattoway Indians by name, and all our other low land Indians in amity with us," in any treaty he arranged.<sup>137</sup> Such terms, Coursey and the Maryland officials well realized, created obstacles to peace since the northern Indians so detested the

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134. Ferguson, p. 36.

135. As quoted in *ibid*, p. 37.

136. *Ibid*.

137. *Md. Archives*, V, pp. 244-45.

Piscataway tribe. Nonetheless, all treaty protection propositions did include the Piscataways, probably partly due to a genuine concern for justice, but, more

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because the public faith is given to the Pascattoway that we will include them in our peace with the northern Indians, and we are never safe from the northern Indians as long as they have any pretence of war with our friend Indians, nor from our neighbour Indians as long as they can have any color of a war to hide their own faults and lay it upon their enemies.<sup>140</sup>

The last clause alluded to the fact that some Piscataways--undoubtedly expressing resentment of their increasing dependence on the English, as well as skepticism for the protection the English offered them--reportedly had murdered several settlers on the frontier.<sup>141</sup> When queried by the Council, the Emperor<sup>142</sup> alleged "that forreigne Indians committed the said murder." Investigations and procedures dragged on through the summer of 1678 and by that time the Council members felt sure that the Piscataways had "clandestinely and privately done us severall<sup>143</sup> mischiefs," as well. But ultimately, heeding the appeals of the Emperor, the Council allowed one Indian charged to go free.

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138. Semmes, p. 586.

139. According to Semmes, however, not until the Royall government took over the Proprietary in Md. in 1690, did the Indians receive a more fair treatment.

140. As quoted in Ferguson, *Moyaone and Piscataway Indians*, p. 37.

141. *Md. Archives*, XV, pp. 179, 180, 187, 218.

142. *Ibid*, p. 187.

143. *Ibid.*, cited in Semmes, p. 343.

However, two were shot without a trial.

At the same time, despite the apparent success of Coursey's peace mission, both the English and Piscataways faced ever more devastating raids from the Susquehannocks and Iroquois throughout 1678.<sup>145</sup> These raids in turn put a greater strain on the relations between the colonists and Indians in Southern Maryland. The settlers, it appears, grew increasingly suspicious of all Indians, no matter what tribe. Thus, the Maryland records for this year noted, "Fought the Piscataways by mistake, they being our friends."<sup>146</sup>

In March 1678, a captured Seneca Indian testified that "the Susquehannocks laugh and jeare at the English saying they cann doe what mischief they please for that the English cannot see them,"<sup>147</sup> and another, held prisoner at the Piscataway Fort, reported "that the Greate man of the Susq<sup>S</sup> made a speech. . . that he was pretty well satisfied with the Revenge he had taken on the Virginians. . . And now did intend to fall upon the Pascattoway Indians and the English in Maryland."<sup>148</sup>

More specifically, the rumor went "that the Sinnequo Indians (by Instigation of the Remaineing pt of the Susquesahannogas now amongst them) are Designed to come downe and make warr upon the

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144. Semmes, p. 347.

145. Semmes, p. 592.

146. As quoted in Ferguson, *Moyaone and Piscataway Indians*, p. 37.

147. *Md. Archives*, XV, p. 234.

148. *Ibid.*, p. 240.

Piscattoway Indians toward the latter end of this summer." 149

The Piscataways clearly alarmed and fearful, immediately requested a

supply of Powd<sup>r</sup> and Shott setting forth the great want they are in and Daily expecting their Enemy to fall upon them and that unless his L<sup>SPP</sup>: will please to furnish them for their Defence they must be forced to fall to makeing of Bows and Arrows wherein for want of practice they have not that experience as formerly and soe consequently must inevitable suffer for want of better provisions to secure themselves. 150

Thus, the Piscataways, once highly skilled bowmen (Father White claimed that he had seen Indians shooting down birds no larger than a sparrow at twenty yards) 151 admitted to one more cultural casualty, ironically to preserve their declining numbers.

The Council's response to the Piscataways' plea for assistance mirrored the delicate relations between the two. The officials ordered Captain Randolph Brandt to assemble twenty men with a week's provision of arms and ammunition, and then to "march to Pascattoway ffort and acquaint the Indians there that you are not come with any Designe to hurt or annoy them but are ord<sup>r</sup>ed forth with yo<sup>r</sup> men to keepe ranging for the security of yo<sup>r</sup> County from the assault of any fforreigne Indians." 152

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149. Ibid, p. 175.

150. Ibid., p. 242.

151. Ferguson, *ibid.*, p. 15.

152. *Md. Archives*, XV, p. 187.

Moreover, that same month, August 1678, the Council decreed that this ranger patrol be weekly relieved by another to maintain a watch on the frontier until further orders be given. <sup>153</sup>

In addition, the English attempted to confer with the northern Indians who, it was reported, had encamped at the site of the old Susquehannock Fort at the head of the Chesapeake Bay, where they were preparing for a raid on the Piscataways. Governor Notley sent interpreter Jacob Young as an envoy to remind the Indians that they had signed a treaty and that Maryland was bound <sup>154</sup> to protect and defend the Piscataways.

No measures of defense and protection, however, seemed to distract the Iroquois. They constantly harassed the Piscataways so that by February 1680 they did not even have time to grow corn for themselves, and the Council had to come to their rescue with "a Supply of thirty pounds of powder and Sixty pounds of Shott for their Defence, together with twenty barrells of Corne for <sup>155</sup> their sustenance."

In April of the same year, the Emperor, "being very desirous to conclude and confirme a generall peace with all the Northern Indians," requested safe passage for his envoy to the old

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153. *Ibid.*

154. *Ibid.*, p. 175; Semmes, p. 593.

155. *Md. Archives*, XV, p. 330.

Susquehannock fort. Even though the Proprietary officials granted a free pass to the Indians, "affording them civill treatment and friendly kindness, with all possible aid and assistance in their passage," the settlers at the head of the bay refused to assist the envoy across the Susquehanna River, and thus prevented the completion of the mission.

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The next month William Chandler, High Sheriff of Charles County, reported that Piscataway Indians had informed him that

the Sinniquo and Susquehannoh Indians have built them a ffort within sight of the Pascattoway effort, they judge it to be about five hundred yards Distance, and about three hundred of them, when our Indians discovered them they immediately engaged with them,<sup>w<sup>ch</sup></sup> had been the best part of two Daies when the Indian came downe, I understand their desire, is that they might have some English men to Assist them.<sup>158</sup>

But instead of sending troops, as the Piscataways had requested, the Council sent Captain Brandt to the fort a week later to ascertain what the facts were. By mail Brandt informed the Proprietors that upon his arrival at the fort he had discovered that the Piscataways, "much concerned that we came not to them sooner," had completed a treaty with the Sinnequos, after which the latter had departed "much dissatisfied," and the Piscataways "expect them daily with a much greater number." Moreover, the Piscataways, Brandt reported, requested that they have some powder, and, "that they may remove from thence down to Mattawoman or where your L<sup>SPP</sup> shall appoint for they will not stay."

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156. *Md. Archives*, XV, p. 279.  
 157. *Ibid.*, and Semmes, p. 576.  
 158. *Md. Archives*, XV, p. 280.  
 159. *Ibid.*, p. 281.

APPENDIX E

FEDERAL TAX ASSESSMENT

OCTOBER 1798

PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY

MARYLAND

KING GEORGES AND GRUBBS HUNDREDS

Most likely reluctant to emigrate permanently from their ancient hunting grounds, however, the Piscataways transmitted a second proposition through Captain Brandt on May 17, 1680:

if y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>SPP</sup> will ord<sup>r</sup> the neighbouring Indians (viz) Mattawomans, Chopticos &c: up to Piscattaway they will keepe their ground & mantaine their ffort against their enemies, or otherwise if y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>SPP</sup> will appoint a small party of English to be at their ffort for the security of their wives and children they shall then bee encouraged to stay and make Corne.<sup>160</sup>

Apparently not even waiting for an official response, however, the Piscataways deserted their fort, probably because "a great number of strange Indians" had again appeared in the area.<sup>161</sup>

Had the Piscataways chosen to stay in expectation of a favorable response from the Governor, they would have been disappointed by the message sent to them "that his L<sup>SPP</sup> is certain that if all the Choptico Indians and the Mattawomans were at Pascattoway with the Emperor they are not able to fight the Sinniquos & Susquehannoghs who are above one Thousand men."<sup>162</sup>

Thus the Lord Proprietor appointed for the Piscataways a place at Zachiah Swamp where they might retire until the colony had established peace with the northern Indians.<sup>163</sup> But the demoralized Piscataways were never to return to their home on Piscataway Creek; rather, they were doomed to a painful and

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160. Ibid., p. 286.

161. Ibid., p. 300.

162. Ibid., p. 287

frustrating search which finally drove the once great tribe of Southern Maryland to its extinction.

### Epilogue

The Piscataway Indians spent their last years as a tribe in a desperate search for peace and security. Their protective measures always seemed feeble, however, weighed against the pervasiveness of their hostile environment. On one side the Iroquois haunted the Piscataways wherever they went: before the latter had even completed their fort at Zachiah the Iroquois were threatening to besiege them.<sup>164</sup> In 1681, an envoy of Iroquois boldly arrived at St. Mary's to confer with the governor. They wished to know whether they could buy arms or ammunition from Maryland should their forces attack the Piscataways; and they announced that they were about to launch such an attack, boasting, "We have brought their heads to be as small as a finger and we will now see if we can make an end to them."<sup>165</sup> Soon after, the Iroquois built another fort next to the Piscataway Fort at Zachiah and in August attacked, taking seventeen prisoners, men, women and children.<sup>166</sup>

Thus, "in daily fear almost to despair,"<sup>167</sup> the Piscataways appealed for, but never received, protection from the English.

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164. *Ibid.*, p. 313.

165. *Md. Archives*, XVII, pp. 3-5.

166. Fergusons, *Piscataway Indians of S. Md.*, p. 41.

167. *Ibid.* Quoted from the Governor of Maryland.

Instead, their supposed allies offered them only promises and reassurances, words which gave little comfort to the belabored Indians. One major problem seemed to be that the discussion in the legislature never met with action because the two houses could never agree. The Assembly members, mostly larger planters, apparently were unwilling to tax themselves to protect the frontiersmen.<sup>168</sup>

Moreover, the English freely exploited their alliance with the Piscataways by employing their warriors as "scoutes to find out the Northern Indians and treat with them," or as rangers to patrol the frontier with the white soldiers.<sup>169</sup> In considering a treaty with the Iroquois in the spring of 1682, the English even debated whether or not to include the Piscataways in a peace agreement. Only with the fear that

if we abandon the Piscattaways they must incorporate with the Northern Indians, and in that case become another Enraged Enemy with the Susquehannoghs. That then no Nation, not even the Northern Indians themselves, will even trust Us more. . . after which we shall be left as friendless as faithless, and utterly unable to deal with this skulking enemy that Warrs ony by Surprize.<sup>170</sup>

did they choose to continue their trust with the Piscataways.

But trust between the two races in Southern Maryland had increasingly shaky foundations. Even though a treaty was signed

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168. Fergusons, p. 41.

169. *Md. Archives*, XV, pp. 380, 385.

170. *Md. Archives*, VII, pp. 270-71.

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in 1685 which alleviated the threat of Iroquois attack,  
relations between the English and Piscataways continued to  
deteriorate. The English plied the Indians with liquor, and  
the Indians imbibed heavily, probably to forget the bleakness of  
their future. In 1692, the Emperor and Great Men complained to  
the Council of the "irregularity of their young Men when they  
get drunk," and asked for "the prohibition of carrying Rum and  
other strong Drink among them for the future." 172 In addition,  
the Senecas jeered at the young men of the Piscataways, telling  
them that they were old women and that by living close to the  
English, they had no chance to be men. Even more disturbing,  
Virginia traders spread rumors among the Piscataways that the  
Marylanders intended to kill them all, and that Virginia would  
protect them should they come to live there. 173

Lured by the promise of peace and protection, the Piscataways  
left Maryland in 1697 and settled in the mountains of Virginia. 174  
At once, Governor Nicholson of Maryland dispatched a delegation  
to the Piscataways to try to persuade them to return. Apparently  
that year considerable unrest in Maryland had kept the colonists  
in constant fear of an Indian insurrection, and had obliged them  
to strengthen their ranger forces, the cost of which had inspired

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171. Fergusons, p. 41.

172. *Md. Archives*, VIII, p. 327.

173. Ferguson, *Moyaone and Piscataway Indians*, pp. 40-41.

174. Marye, p. 229.

the Maryland government to hope that if they could get the  
Piscataways to come back, they could withdraw the rangers. 175

Although the Emperor promised that his people would return the following spring, he likely had no intention of fulfilling the commitment, as he clearly felt strongly disillusioned by his former allies. That same year the Emperor reflected his attitude toward the Maryland government in a conversation with the Senecas, who had come to renew the peace agreement. When asked by a Seneca chief which side he would take if there were a war, the Emperor reportedly replied that it would be a matter of indifference to him whether he fought for the Senecas or for Maryland, as "One drove him from his home and the other robbed him of his corn and goods." 176

Meanwhile, some murders in Virginia, supposedly carried out by the Piscataways, led the Council to invite the Emperor down to discuss the issue. The Emperor flatly refused, replying that he was very busy but if his Excellency wished to come to him some of his great men would see him. Obviously perturbed and impatient, the Governor in 1698 remarked, "that he could have the Emperor of the Piscataways and his Indians knocked in the head but he lets them alone to be sick and starve." 177

The next year the Piscataways, then known by their Iroquois name, Conoys, moved to Conoy Island near Point of Rocks. They

175. Ferguson, *ibid.*, p. 42.

176. As quoted in Ferguson, *ibid.*, p. 41.

177. As quoted in *ibid.*, p. 43.

built a fort about fifty or sixty yards square, with eighteen cabins inside the enclosure and nine out. In April 1700 the Emperor and some of his Great Men arrived in Annapolis to renew the treaties and request that the Piscataways might come live either at Accokeek or Pamunkey. The Governor granted this request and the Emperor promised to come back with his family and as many Indians as he could persuade to accompany him within two months. But they never appeared, and in 1705 the last record of the Piscataways in the *Maryland Archives* noted, "since the Piscataways failed to come."<sup>178</sup>

Instead, the Piscataways sometime around 1704 abandoned their fort on Conoy Island suddenly and completely--even leaving their corn in the fields--on account of a serious outbreak of smallpox. In 1711 the Piscataways, by invitation from the Iroquois, settled at Conejohola on the west bank of the Susquehannah River, in what is now York County, Pennsylvania. Some eighty years later the Piscataways made their last appearance as a tribe in a conference in Detroit where they used a wild turkey as their signature. At that time only fifty Indians remained.<sup>179</sup>

Today only one known individual claims direct descent from the Piscataway Indians: a Mr. Philip Sheridan Proctor (Indian name Turkey Tayac) who is a long-time resident of the Piscataway

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178. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

179. *Ibid.*, and Marye, p. 231.

area. He has expressed great pride in his ancestors and a deep concern for the preservation of Indian burial sites on the park lands south of Piscataway Creek. In an interview with representatives of the National Park Service in 1967, Mr. Proctor was assured that the Service would not desecrate the burial sites.<sup>180</sup> Perhaps Turkey Tayac, acting out the quest characteristic of the Piscataways throughout most of their contact with white men, is seeking to assure his ancestors the peace they failed to find in Maryland during the seventeenth century.

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180. Memorandum, Historian Charles H. McCormick to Chief Historian, August 22, 1967, RSP file, Piscataway Park, OAHP.

## CHAPTER III

### SETTLEMENT AND GROWTH OF COLONIAL PISCATAWAY

During the century between 1662 and the Revolution, colonial Piscataway mushroomed into a thriving trade center of tidewater Maryland. The farmers who were living on the lands that today constitute Piscataway Park transported their tobacco to the wharves at Piscataway town, where boats awaited cargo while merchants and traders completed their exchanges. Although the growth and development of Piscataway and its environs ebbed after the Revolution, at its peak the town could boast of many social and cultural amenities--and unpleasantries--characteristic of the wealthiest river port communities in early American history. With the decline of tobacco as a currency and with the gradual silting of the creek and exhaustion of the farmland in the area, members of the Piscataway community were increasingly forced into a rural and isolated existence from which they apparently emerged only during this country's two great conflicts--the Revolution and the Civil War--when they had to express their loyalties.

#### Early Settlement: A Period of Transition

Although the first grant to land within the park boundaries was not issued until 1662, it is certain that prior to this date some hardy frontiersmen poached on the area and shared with the

Piscataway Indians the perils of hostile Indians to the north. Little is known about these few pioneers, other than they probably filled the ranks of the many ranger groups formed to patrol the frontier, and that they likely were members of the garrison ordered up by the Maryland Council in 1642 "to put the English living at Piscatoway in a posture of defense agt<sup>1</sup> the Indians."

The daily threat of Susquehannock and Iroquois raids on the frontier, however, discouraged any rapid population growth in the area. Even though the bulk of the land running along the south side of Piscataway Creek had been laid out in tracts during the 1660s, most of the landowners chose to live in the more protected areas near St. Mary's to the south. Moreover, if they wished to farm the lands, it seems they sent bondsmen and slaves up to clear the woods and plant crops.<sup>2</sup> Certainly some farms were located in the vicinity of the Piscataway village in 1666 when the Indians implored the authorities at St. Mary's that they receive protection from the settlers' hogs<sup>3</sup> and cattle, which were trampling the Indian corn fields.

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1. *Md. Archives*, III, pp. 102-03.

2. Katharine A. Kellock, *Colonial Piscataway in Maryland* (Accokeek, 1962), p. 15. See illustrations for tracts laid in the Piscataway area prior to 1696.

3. See Chapter II for the pathetic speech from the Piscataways which prefaced the treaty of 1666 between the Indians and colonists.

Within the present park boundaries there were only two landowners during this period. One, Randle Hanson, a bondsman<sup>4</sup> who had completed his service and had claimed his freedom dues, received a grant in August 1662 from Charles Calvert, son and heir of Cecil, Lord Baltimore, for 500 acres along the Potomac River south of Piscataway Creek in payment for his financing the voyage of ten servants from England to the Province. This tract he named Hansonton. Only one year later Hanson applied for and received another 360 acres adjoining his first tract-- 300 in compensation for bringing in six more servants, and sixty on a warrant bought from someone else. This tract he named<sup>5</sup> Charley. It is believed that Hanson actually settled his family on these lands and began to farm, for in 1675, when the Susquehannocks built their fort on Mockley Point, a band of Indians reportedly raided the Hanson farm, killing several of<sup>6</sup> the English defenders.

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4. When a bondsman had completed his service, he was entitled by a law set down in 1640, "one good Cloth suite of Keirsy or broad cloth, a shift of white linen, one new pair of stocking and Shoes, Two hoes, one axe, 3 barreles of Corne and fifty acres of land."

5. In order to encourage people to enter his colony, Lord Baltimore set up the head-right system whereby every man who carried over a designated number of "able" men between the ages of 16 and 50 received a certain acreage of land, for which he was to pay an annual "quit rent." Kellock, pp. 7 and 27. See Appendix C for Deeds.

6. See Chap. 11 for details on raid and subsequent siege of the Susquehannock Fort by the Maryland and Virginia forces.

It was probably after this bloody foray that Hanson returned south to safer areas, where he established himself as a respected citizen. Within ten years of his bondmanship Hanson had acquired over 1,000 acres of land, had become Randolph and a "Gent." in the records, and had been appointed as a Commissioner of St. Mary's County--all in spite of the handicap of illiteracy.<sup>7</sup> Even though Hanson apparently never returned to his 860 acres at Piscataway--in 1679 he bought an estate, St. John's, in Charles County where he lived until his death in 1698--he did not sell his Piscataway property until just before he died.<sup>8</sup> By that time, most of the danger from Indian attack had passed, and the lands had become open for speculation and settlement.

William Calvert, the other landowner within the park boundaries, apparently never took up residence on his 3,000-acre estate lying east of the Potomac and south of Piscataway Creek. This tract, laid out in 1662, and later known as Calvert or Piscataway Manor, constituted the heart of the Piscataway Indians' traditional lands, including their town, Piscataway, which stood on a hill just on the southeastern corner of the property line.<sup>9</sup> Most likely the Lord Baltimore made a grant of these

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7. Kellock, p. 10.

8. Ibid., p. 29.

9. In his second deposition concerning the boundaries of Calvert Manor in 1719, Francis Marbury testified that James Neale had told him that "the High hill wch he shewed the Comissrs near Piscattaway Creek is the hill topp on which the old Indian fort stood where Mr. Henson told this Deponent he was with the Lord Baltimore at the chusing of an Indian emperour; which Indian fort said Henson told this Deponent was in Calvert's land." Quoted in Marye, p. 235. See Appendix D for the Calvert Deed.

lands to temporarily delay settlement in the area and thereby appease the restless Indians, for he incorporated the manor lands as well as Hanson's property into the Indian Reservation of 1669. However, in creating the reservation, he did not rescind any of the land grants made within its boundaries, and his government apparently did not hinder other whites from settling within the reservation, all which suggests that Calvert never questioned the tentativeness of his gesture to  
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the Indians.

Nonetheless, some twelve Indian tribes gathered within the 10,000-acre reservation seeking asylum, among them a band of Anacostan Indians who had sometime earlier settled beside Accokeek Creek, named their town Aquakkeke, and had become incorporated into the Piscataway tribe. The only mention of these Aquakkeke Indians and of their village seems to be in the first grant of land to Randle Hanson in 1662. Apparently at that time, Aquakkeke stood near the northern boundary of  
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Hansonton.

Meanwhile, as settlement crept slowly north from St. Mary's,  
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new counties and hundreds were formed. Thus, in 1658, the

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10. Kellock, p. 13.

11. Marye, pp. 198-99.

12. In Maryland a "hundred" was merely an election and fiscal district, represented by a constable, one of whose duties was the collection of poll taxes. Kellock, p. 1.

Maryland Council laid a northern boundary for St. Mary's and erected Charles County above it extending indefinitely northward. By 1670, the administration process called for the subdivision of Charles County into hundreds, one of which, on the western part of the county north of Mattawoman Creek, became Piscataway Hundred. But in the Piscataway area a community did not begin to develop until after 1692 when a strong royal government took over for the Proprietary, and some order was restored on the frontier. That year the Anglican Church divided Maryland into parishes--then a symbol of permanent settlement--designating for Piscataway parish the same boundaries as Piscataway Hundred.<sup>13</sup> By 1694 a report to the Maryland Assembly showed that Piscataway parish already had a church agreed upon, but, like all the other parishes, it needed a minister and vestrymen.<sup>14</sup>

By 1695 enough settlers had moved north of Mattawoman Creek to authorize the erection of a separate county--Prince Georges.<sup>15</sup> But statistics for the next year showed only about 1,710 inhabitants living within the county borders, primarily around the

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13. Ibid., pp. 1 and 14.

14. Margaret Brown Klapthor and Paul Dennis Brown, *The History of Charles County, Maryland* (La Plata, Md., 1958), p. 40.

15. Effie Augusta (Gwynn) Bowie, *Across the Years In Prince Georges County* (Richmond, 1947), p. vii.

Patuxent River. Moreover, as late as 1700 and after, visitors to the Piscataway area wrote of wolves that frightened them and of primitive living conditions.

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Sparse though the population was around Piscataway at the close of the seventeenth century, however, a few hardy families had made headway in developing the land. When Randolph Hanson sold 360 acres of his property in 1698, he included in the transaction "all Dwelling houses messuages

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16. James Douglas Watson, *Prince Georges County, Past and Present*, Washington, D.C., 1962), p. 7, and Daniel Green, *A Brief History of Prince Georges County in the Perspective of Three Centuries* (Avondale, Md., 1946), p. 3.

17. Kellock, p. 2. In his fictional account, *The Sotweed Factor, or a Voyage to Maryland, A Satyr*, published in 1708, Eben Cook suggested the rugged nature of Piscataway's early community: the Sotweed factor, or tobacco merchant, upon arriving at Piscataway, exclaimed:

Intending there to open store  
 I put myself and Goods a-shoar:  
 Where soon repair'd a numerous Crew,  
 In Shirts and Drawers of Scotch-cloth Blue  
 With neither Stockings, Hat nor Shooe.  
 These Sot-weed Planters Crowd the Shoar,  
 In hue as tawny as a Morr:  
 Figures so strange, no God design'd,  
 To be a part of Humane kind.

18. Although Hanson's family most likely did not live on the farm, he probably hired one of the many poor yeomen families to work the land, or perhaps he put to work some of the bondsmen for whom he paid passage from England.

buildings barns stables Gardens Orchards Outhouses profits  
Comodities Heriditaments Advantages and Appurtenances " 19 --

hardly a small investment for a frontier farm. Thus, by 1700 the period of transition marked by an Indian-dominated frontier had come to an end at Piscataway, and the natural enticements of the area--its fine geography, climate, and location--began to excite extensive land speculation and active settlement of patents and purchases.

#### Natural Endowments Steer Development of Piscataway Area

The locale, climate, and geography of Piscataway not only were excellent for the raising and trade of tobacco--the foremost commercial product of colonial Maryland for over a century, and the key to the rapid growth of Piscataway as a river port--but also for the development of fisheries, and lime manufacturing, and for the deworming and protective anchorage of trading ships. Moreover, the rich soil and topography of Piscataway provided for a diversified agriculture including corn, wheat, and fruit orchards--and abundant livestock, and a thick cover forest, all of which contributed to the emerging lifestyle of eighteenth-century Piscataway.

The coastal location of Piscataway--the town and the land within the present park boundaries - made a significant difference

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19. Land Records, Liber A, p. 20, Prince Georges County Courthouse, Upper Marlboro, Maryland.

in the area's historical development. Arthur Middleton, in his *Tobacco Coast*, strongly emphasizes this point:

The influence of geographic factors upon the historical development of a region is nowhere more clearly seen than in the colonial history of the Chesapeake tidewater. The presence of the Bay profoundly affected the history of Virginia and Maryland by providing an unsurpassed network of natural waterways. This in turn opened 10,000 square miles of hinterland to immediate settlement and made possible the adoption of tobacco as a staple. These factors account for the rapid growth of the Chesapeake Country in population, wealth, and preeminence among the American colonies.<sup>20</sup>

The unusual transportation facilities, then, provided by the navigable waterways of Piscataway Creek and the Potomac River, opened up the area to the production and trade of tobacco on a world-market scale during the eighteenth century. Moreover, without access to water transport, the tobacco crop would have perished, for

The problem of conveying thousands of hogsheads (averaging nearly one half a ton apiece) many miles through densely wooded country to a distant seaport would have been insuperable not only because of the difficulty of road building, but because tobacco was too delicate to be rolled as much as 20 miles overland without suffering damage and loss of value.<sup>21</sup>

As the above quotation suggests, the waterway system stunted the growth of roads in tidewater Maryland. In the Piscataway area only one major road connected Piscataway with Port Tobacco

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20. Arthur Pierce Middleton, Ph.D., *Tobacco Coast, A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era* (Newport News, Va., 1953), p. 33.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

to the south, and Upper Marlborough to the north.<sup>22</sup> Other-  
wise, connections with travelers and traders were made by the  
water. Prior to the expansion of Piscataway town as a tobacco  
inspection center--and thus a trade center, in the mid-eighteenth  
century, each planter had his own wharf, or access to one, to  
receive the traders' boat and to load his tobacco.<sup>23</sup>

On the same hand, the convenience of individual landings  
for trade hampered the development of any large towns or major  
seaports in southern Maryland.<sup>24</sup> Even when Piscataway came  
into its own, it did not measure as a large town in size and  
population.

The bodies of water surrounding Piscataway brought other  
benefits to the local community. Writing in 1966, Robert  
Stephenson noted "The Potomac River and Piscataway Creek are  
both excellent fishing grounds today and have been throughout  
historic times. Both commercial and sport fishing have been  
included in the activities of Marylanders in this area for  
over two centuries."<sup>25</sup> In a letter to a friend describing his  
estate Mount Vernon, and its natural surroundings in 1759,  
George Washington confirmed this statement:

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22. See illustration for colonial map showing the road. That  
this road did pass through Piscataway speaks for the early signifi-  
cance of the area. Kellock noted that this road "by the 1750s was  
part of the main inter-colonial route. Ibid, p. 49.

23. Roger Thomas, "Southern Maryland," in Morris Leon Radoff,  
*The Old Line State, A History of Maryland, 1956* (Hopkinsville, Ky).,  
1956), p. 134.

24. Ibid.

25. Robert Lloyd Stephenson, *Accokeek: A Middle Atlantic  
Seaboard Culture Sequence*, (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1956), p. 39.

a river (Potomac) well stocked with various kinds of fish at all seasons of the year, and in the spring with shad, herring, bass, carp, sturgeon, etc., in great abundance. The borders of the estate are washed by more than ten miles of tide-water; several valuable fisheries appertain to it; the whole shore in fact is one entire fishery.<sup>26</sup>

Although Washington of course was describing the Virginia shores across the Potomac River from Piscataway, there is little doubt that the Marylanders also exploited the abundant fish throughout the eighteenth century. When cartographers began to design their maps with finer detail in the nineteenth century, fisheries appeared all along the Maryland shores, two of which lay within the present park boundaries--one off Bryan's Point, and one north of it, closer to Mockley Point.<sup>27</sup> Today, now that the Potomac River has become so thick with pollution, only Piscataway Creek<sup>28</sup> where it is a stream maintains the heritage of fine fishing.

George Washington, in conducting his trade affairs, informed us of yet another advantage provided Piscataway by the surrounding waters: during his residency at Mount Vernon, Washington urged Robert Carey and Co. of London to send an annual ship to Piscataway

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26. George Washington Parke Custis, *Memoirs of Washington* (New York City, 1859), p. 153.

27. *Martenet's Map of Prince George's County, Maryland*, G.W. Beall, Surveyor (Baltimore, 1861), National Archives.

28. Edwin Beitzell, whose family has lived along the Potomac River for generations, wrote that in the spring people can still stand on the banks of the Piscataway stream "with dip nets, and in a few hours catch enough herring to last them until the next season." Beitzell, *Life on the Potomac River* (Abell, Maryland, 1968), p. 101.

Creek just opposite his home, recommending this location as a good anchorage, safe from the winds, and "out of the way of the worm which is very hurtful to shipping a little lower down."

Archeological findings give us one last clue to developments in the Piscataway area on account of the river and creek. Robert Stephenson, in his survey of the Accokeek site in 1956, reported finding the ruin of an old brick lime kiln in which oyster shells were burned to make lime, probably for construction. Stephenson reasoned that since the northern limit of oyster growth lies several miles down the Potomac from the location of the kiln, and since the kiln stands at the upstream end of swamp near Accokeek Creek, that the "swamp must have been a cove with open water of sufficient depth to permit access by, perhaps, small but heavily laden boats." Although the kiln has not yet been dated, Stephenson figured that it "certainly is post-1675. Possibly it belongs to the eighteenth or early nineteenth century."

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29. As cited in Middleton, p. 36. Middleton later comments that gusts and squalls are very characteristic of the region, particularly when the wind is from the southwest, which especially points out the advantages of the protective anchorage in Piscataway Creek. (P. 61.) Middleton also offers an excellent explanation of the "worm," or "Teredo navalis": the "worm," he writes, "caused considerable damage to wooden vessels in the days before metal sheathing came into general use. . . . The worms were a menace from their rise in June until the first great rains after the middle of July. . . . The easiest means of prevention was to run the vessel up the rivers into the freshes during the five or six weeks when the worms were active, 'for they never bite, nor do any Damage in fresh water or where it is not very salt.'" (p. 36.)

30. Stephenson, p. 30.

The excellent soil and climate of the tidewater Maryland also profoundly affected the development of the Piscataway area, for it encouraged a predominantly self-sufficient agricultural community. Each farm not only had the light, sandier soils<sup>31</sup> important in the production of tobacco, but also the proper conditions to raise corn and fruit orchards. While tobacco served as the cash crop or currency of colonial Maryland until well into the eighteenth century, corn provided a nutritious diet staple for man and his livestock, and the fruits supplied the colonial settlers with an abundant quantity of hard liquor.<sup>32</sup>

As an anonymous traveler in Maryland in 1705-06 noted, production and consumption of alcohol became quite a lavish procedure for early settlers:

all sorts of aple Peare Cherry Quinces [are here] in great quantity and innumerable Quantities [of] Peaches to that degree that they knock downe Bushells at a time for there hogs, besides what vast quantity they still and make a very good spirit off nott much inferior to Brandy and they also distill a great quantity of Brandy from sider. . . . they are so Generous. . . . that as long as he has any: for if they know a Man has a Gallon of Brandy by him they will goe halfe a dozen honest ffelows to pay a visitt and never leave him till all be out tho the [sic] goe tenn Miles.<sup>33</sup>

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31. Watson, p. 7.

32. Wilbur Harvey Hunter, Jr., *A Research Report on the Proposed Agricultural Historical Museum at Bryan Point on the Potomac River* (Accokeek, Md., 1958), p. 8, and Kellock, p. 42.

33. As quoted in Kellock, p. 42.

By 1788, however, the standards of hospitality had eased sufficiently, Washington assured an associate, so that it no longer was considered fashionable for a host to force his guests to drink themselves blind.<sup>34</sup>

By the latter part of the eighteenth century, the state of the economy,<sup>35</sup> as well as that of the soil, called for a greater diversification of crops. Gradually farmers began to plant more corn and wheat on their partially-exhausted tobacco fields, and then sell it on the market. As this substitution process commenced, so also did the decline of Piscataway as a commercial center. Moreover, soil erosion from extensive farming throughout the century rapidly silted up Piscataway Creek,<sup>36</sup> thereby blocking the navigable passage to the town. In this manner, the geographic factors contributed in lifting Piscataway to its height of development as well as in returning the area to a strictly rural and local community.

The diversified natural terrain in the Piscataway area, besides supporting crops, also offered to even the poorest farmers the opportunity to keep horses, cattle, swine, for, until late in the eighteenth century, livestock ran wild, feeding off the miscellaneous herbage in the woods, grassy marshes, and occasional natural meadows.<sup>37</sup>

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34. Kellock, *ibid.*

35. The economic factors contributing to the issue of crop diversification will be dealt with later in this chapter.

36. Hunter, *ibid.*, and Middleton, pp. 42, 157 and 158.

37. Hunter, *ibid.*

Finally, the abundant forests of colonial Maryland undoubtedly provided a ready source of construction material for the farms, as most of the homes, except on the large manorial estates, were made of logs. <sup>38</sup> Mr. Stephenson, in his dissertation on the archeology of the Accokeek site, noted that his excavations exposed the remains of two colonial homes near the Moyaone site, just south of Mockley Point. He explained that "Both had been of noggin construction, that is, double walls of planks filled with rubble. The dates or other details of these structures are unknown. Presumably, on the basis of the <sup>39</sup> type of construction, they relate to the 18th century." Indeed, as late as 1798 the majority of dwelling houses and outhouses on the farm properties in the Piscataway area continued to be wooden, as the Federal Tax Assessment for that year clearly <sup>40</sup> reveals.

Thus, the community of Piscataway grew and expanded to its peak during the eighteenth century by fully exploiting and benefiting from the area's rich natural resources, until finally, at the end of the century, the intensive cultivation of the land started to affect the Piscataway area adversely.

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38. Greene, p. 10.

39. Stephenson, p. 57.

40. See Appendix E for portions of the Tax records.

Tobacco Production and Legislation Lead to Piscataway Boom

As early as 1666 George Alsop noted, "Tobacco is the currant Coyn of Mary-land, and will sooner purchase commodities from the Merchant, than money."<sup>41</sup> Fifty years later, after the turn of the century, Oldmixon reiterated this idea, only more emphatically:

Tobacco is their [Marylanders] Meat, Drink, Clothing and Money; not but that they have both Spanish and English money pretty plenty, which serves only for Pocket-Expenses, and not for Trade, Tobacco being the Standard of that, as well with the Planters and others, as with the Merchants.<sup>42</sup>

Tobacco grew so prevalent in Maryland in the business and official worlds during the eighteenth century that

The clergy, inkeepers, artisans, and others whose main occupation was something other than tobacco planting often tended a small patch in their spare time in order to meet the various county and parish levies and to make purchases in local stores--levies and retail prices usually being in tobacco because of the scarcity of coin.<sup>43</sup>

Moreover, tobacco became a medium of payment for clothes, manufactured goods, taxes, fines for violations of court orders, and contributions for the construction of churches. Tobacco even paid the salaries of lawyers, clergy, jurors, members of the

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41. Alsop, "A Character of the Province of Maryland, 1666" in Hall, p. 364.

42. As quoted in Gould, p. 49.

43. Middleton, p. 124.

Assembly, and the Governor himself. And in all land transactions, for rent or sale of property, tobacco served as currency. 45

As tobacco production increasingly dominated the Maryland economy, the English merchants increasingly regarded Maryland, and her neighbor, Virginia, the two most satisfactory colonies because their inhabitants purchased enormous quantities of British goods and exported almost nothing that competed with the mother country. <sup>46</sup> Trade between those who produced tobacco and exchanged it for manufactured goods, and those who imported manufactured goods and exchanged them for tobacco was so direct that debits offset credits and no medium, other than <sup>47</sup> the articles of commerce themselves, were needed.

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44. Watson, p. 22.

45. The author found when looking through the land records at the county courthouse in Upper Marlborough that until 1761 most all leases and sales were assessed in pounds of tobacco. In November 1761, however, James Edelin sold 111 acres of land along Piscataway Creek to Joseph Boarman for 13 lbs sterling money. Up to this point, coin--gold, silver, and copper--for the most part, paid only personal expenses and other small debts. Gould, p. 9. For examples of land transactions, at Piscataway and other sections of Prince Georges County during the eighteenth century, see Liber A, Folio 413-414; Liber M, pp. 70, 295; Liber I, p. 642; Liber T, p. 454; Liber Y, pp. 413, 490-91; and, for the above-mentioned sale in sterling, Liber JRM, p. 185.

46. Middleton, p. 133.

47. Gould, p. 51.

Serious flaws existed in the Maryland trade practices, however, which, after 1730, recurringly deflated the tobacco sales. Up to this point, planters in Maryland and Virginia alike contracted with local merchants for trade during the winter, and, in the spring, their tobacco, having been stripped and packed into hogsheads, was rolled to the water<sup>48</sup> over "rolling roads" where it was loaded aboard ship.

But the packing of the tobacco into the wooden casks consistently proved to be carried out hastily, carelessly, and with a lack of uniformity. Moreover, many shipmasters and small planters arranged to export illegally large quantities of tobacco in bulk, that is, in loose parcels, as this smuggling proved more profitable to both parties concerned. In addition, the quality of the tobacco declined rapidly with the increasing introduction of lugs, suckers, slips, and other trash along with the good tobacco. Finally, a protracted depression in the 1720s which brought considerable distress to many planters prompted Virginia in 1730 to establish an inspection system to regulate its exported tobacco.<sup>49</sup>

The improvements to the Virginia trade after 1730 gradually awakened the Marylanders to the fact that the inspection system

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48. *Ibid.*, p. 50, and, Watson, p. 24.

49. Middleton, pp. 118-21.

operated to the advantage of their neighbor and to the disadvantage of Maryland. In 1743, Daniel Dulaney warned Lord Baltimore that Maryland tobacco was in such disrepute that the expenses of its freight to England would barely cover the value of the cargo, and that he thought the planters in Virginia had such an advantage with their inspection system that Marylanders would soon lose all their trade to them. Finally, in 1747, the Maryland Assembly passed an Inspection System law of its own, which lasted more-or-less permanently until the Revolution.

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The warehouse system was a great success in boosting the Maryland trade. Most significantly it produced a standardization of the tobacco trade so needed to maintain a prosperous market.

At each inspection point, set at about 12 or 14 miles apart from each other along the shoreline, public warehouses were established where official inspectors, nominated by local vestries, appointed by the Governor, and paid an annual salary by the colony, examined all the crops from the area. All hogsheads were stored in a shed until the expert judge rolled them out, broke them open, and meticulously picked over the leaves, checking for trash tobacco which, if found, was condemned

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50. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

to be burnt. Then, the inspector reprimed, nailed, and marked on the cask the name of the warehouse, the tare, and the option to take a non-transferable receipt or one or more transferable notes stating the amount, condition, and quality of his tobacco. This method of regulation facilitated tobacco payments and the use of tobacco as currency.<sup>51</sup>

Following the implementation of the inspection law, the volume of tobacco produced and exported in Maryland rose steadily until the Revolution. Around 1750, 30,000 hogsheads of tobacco were produced each year, at a valuation of £5 each, which allowed £1 per capita for the 150,000 population--free, bond and slave--<sup>52</sup> in the colony. In the closing years of the colonial period, the Chesapeake colonies as a whole were producing about 90,000,000 or 100,000,000 pounds annually. By 1775, tobacco represented over 75 percent of the total value of commodities exported from<sup>53</sup> the Chesapeake colonies and was worth about \$4,000,000.

Thus, Piscataway town, having been designated as an inspection point in 1747, happened to flourish as one of the small but principal river towns of the Chesapeake Bay during the twenty-odd years remaining before the Revolution. Piscataway during this time acted as a commercial center to the adjacent areas, receiving

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51. Middleton, pp. 123-26, 385, and Gould, pp. 58-59.

52. Gould, p. 51

53. Middleton, pp. 95 and 132.

sloops and schooners in her harbor laden with European and West Indian goods for the local community, and sloops and small craft, called flats, bearing the planters' produce in tobacco, corn, wheat, and, most likely, in some small wood products, such as pipe, barrel, and hogshead staves and headings.<sup>54</sup> Stores and warehouses, taverns and inns, mushroomed in the town to accommodate the newcomers. These were the years of Piscataway's brief boom.

#### Golden Age of Piscataway, 1747-1775

In size, Piscataway town did not grow extensively from its official establishment in 1735<sup>55</sup> to 1774, when Philip Vickers Fithian, a visitor to Piscataway, described it as "a small Town of low Houses not more than two in it two stories High."<sup>56</sup> Nonetheless, the active trading at the Piscataway wharves during these years preceding the Revolution gave the area some new wealth and prestige, enough so that the town won the distinction to be the first on the Potomac to receive an acting performance by the celebrated company of players from Annapolis--one of the first theatrical companies on this side of the Atlantic--in 1752.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, the fact that many of the landed gentry in the colonial Piscataway area ranked among the aristocracy of the colony frequently

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42, 101, 165.

55. Kellock, p. 4.

56. Hunter D. Farish, ed., *The Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773-1774* (Williamsburg, Va., 1957), p. 97.

57. Paul Wistach, *Potomac Landings* (Garden City, New York, 1921), p. 106; and Beitzell, p. 199.

attracted such distinguished visitors as George Washington to the great estates along the Potomac River in Maryland.

However, much of the population within the area of Piscataway seems to have been small farmers, tenants, bondsmen, and slaves. Although less is known about this group because not a great deal was written about them other than their mention in financial or legal transactions, they indirectly and directly played important roles in the development of the Piscataway area.

In the middle, serving both the rich and poor elements of the society, was the crop of merchants and traders--Scottish, English, and local--who opened up stores in the area to provide more varied, dependable, and accessible source of products.

### The Gentry

While planting was the chief occupation in colonial Maryland--in 1750 eighty percent of the people were involved in the business of planting in one form or another--land accumulation and land trading, at a profit, was the greatest source of wealth. Many landowning families inter-married to augment their properties or to keep tracts together. Thus it was that the lands within the Calvert Manor and Hanson tracts of Charley and Hansonton changed hands so often during the eighteenth century, and that the names Calvert, Neale, Edelen, Fendall and Noble, reappeared so often in the related land records.

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58. Paul H. Giddens, "Land Policies and Administration in Colonial Maryland, 1753-1769," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVIII, p. 42, and Kellock, p. 15.

59. See illustrations for chart showing land transfers.

Moreover, some of these Piscataway families gained wealth and prestige not only by being part of the landed gentry of Maryland, but by being related to the ruling families of the colony as well--as were the Calverts and Fendalls--or by serving in the county and/or state governments. George Noble, Esq., of Piscataway typified a prestigious gentleman of the early and mid-eighteenth century: by 1726 he had purchased 1,600 acres of the original Calvert Manor, 600 of which he bought from the notable Maryland gentleman from Annapolis, Daniel Dulaney.<sup>60</sup> Apparently Noble decided to settle on this 600-acre tract, which lay between the south side of Piscataway Creek and "the northside of a small Creek called Akokeek," for, as one recent contributor to the *Maryland Historical Magazine* wrote, the Nobles "lived on the south side of Piscataway Creek, at its juncture with the Potomac River, their estate being a part of the Piscataway or Calvert Manor."<sup>61</sup> Noble grew to be one the most respected and influential men in Prince Georges County: Besides his occupation as a merchant, Noble served as a justice of the county court, finally earning the title of Chief Justice.<sup>62</sup>

Although the gentry owned most of the land around Piscataway, there is no evidence to suggest that any elaborate manorial estates, such as were the rage in this "golden age of colonial

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60. Land Records, Liber I, p. 642, and Liber M, p. 71, Prince Georges County Courthouse, Upper Marlboro, Md.

61. Louise Joyner Hinton, "Sidelights: The Free School in Prince Georges County, 1723-1774, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LIX, p. 381.

62. *Ibid.*

culture," stood within the park boundaries. Several show-piece mansions of the Potomac region had been constructed nearby, however. Marshall Hall, an estate begun around 1690 by Randle Hanson's son-in-law, William Marshall II, stood just to the south of the park boundary; to the west, across the Potomac in Virginia, George Washington lived on his elegant estate, Mount Vernon; across Piscataway Creek to the north of the park stood Warburton Manor, a 1,573-acre estate owned by the influential Digges family since 1717; and northeast of Warburton, on the "ffreshes of Piscataway,"<sup>64</sup> was "Mount Airy," the estate of Benedict Calvert, the illegitimate son of Lord Baltimore, who married his own cousin, Elizabeth Calvert, Daughter of Charles Calvert, Governor of Maryland, 1720-1727. These distinguished families entertained regularly among themselves, rotating visits and parties from home to home, in keeping with the custom of the gentry. Moreover, after 1759, both Warburton and Mount Airy received frequent visits from George Washington, who rarely failed to stop over on his trips north to Annapolis, Philadelphia, Princeton, and New York.<sup>65</sup>

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63. A. Claud, "Colonial Period," in Radoff, p. 28. In his article, Claud set off "golden age of colonial culture" with quotation marks.

64. As quoted by Wilstach, p. 109.

65. Kellock, pp. 15, 16, and 37; Wilstach, *ibid.*, and pp. 65, 174. Wilstach also mentioned that Washington "crossed the Potomac at the ferry above Mount Vernon, landing on Piscataway...making his first stop with Mr. Calvert at Mount Airy," when the General was en route to New York in June 1773. *Ibid.*

Undoubtedly included in many of these social gatherings, although they did not likely own estates as elegant as the above-mentioned, were the Edelens and Nobles, who, by 1725, had bought up all 3,000 acres of Piscataway Manor. When William Calvert died he left 2,400 acres to his son, Charles, and 600 acres to his daughter, Elizabeth, and her husband, James Neale. In 1689 Charles sold his share to Charles Edgerton whose son sold it in 1715 to Thomas Edelen and George Noble. In 1719 Neale sold the remaining 600 acres to Daniel Dulaney who, in 1725, sold it to Noble. In subsequent years Edelen divided his 1,400 acres into 300 and 400-acre plots for his three brothers and one daughter, who, in turn, divided their plots among their children and grandchildren, or leased them out in parcels of 170 acres for tenant farming. By the 1760s, Zachariah Bond, Thomas Marshall, and Joseph Boarmann had also bought small sections of the original manor from the Edelen family, splintering the ownership even more. (Boarmann's 111 acres probably lay partially within park boundaries as it was adjoining the 600-acre Noble tract which, after 1756, was divided between Nobles' two surviving sons, George and Thomas.)

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66. Land Records, Liber M, pp. 70, 71, 295; Liber I, p. 642; Liber Y, p. 413; Liber T, pp. 218-19; Liber C.C. No. 2, p. 95, Prince Georges Co. Courthouse, Upper Marlboro, Md., and Kellock, p. 24-27.

Essentially the same process occurred with the Hanson tracts. The 860 acres either became part of Marshall Hall when Elizabeth Hanson married William Marshall, or they passed on to the descendants of her second marriage to John Fendall, the son of Josias Fendall, one-time Governor of Maryland.<sup>67</sup> Perhaps it was because the lands of Piscataway Manor and the Hanson tracts were transferred and divided so often during the mid-century that no estate on the lines of the Calverts' and Digges' was ever known to have been built on them.

Nonetheless, it is probably that by the mid-eighteenth century a larger percentage of the landowners within the Manor and Hanson tracts were settling on their properties and were turning to the business of managing their tobacco plantations. Most likely George Noble was one of the first of the gentry to take up permanent residence within the manor. His sons probably remained on the estate and officially established themselves as "Planters--as did the Edelen sons--even though their father had been a merchant and county official. The land records give a clue to this apparent shift between generations: in the early eighteenth century most of the landowners in the Piscataway area had the titles of "Gentleman" or "Merchant," and, more rarely,

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67. The Marshalls received the tract "Charley," and Fendall got "Hansonton." Ibid, Liber A, p. 22.

"Planter." The latter nomenclature appears more towards the middle of the century, once the tobacco inspection law had started to make Piscataway a commercial center. It seems possible that with the influx of English and Scottish merchants, some of the local landowning merchants found they could make a greater profit by administering to the production on their estates, while retaining their status in the community.

The landed gentry of the mid-century, regardless of their titles, certainly had the wealth and time needed to pursue social and cultural activities. As has been mentioned, the gentry usually entertained in their homes with frequent informal visits and parties. Engagements and plans for the week often were made at another popular social gathering, Sunday church. The majority of Piscataway families, rich and poor, were Protestant and worshipped in a church completed in 1695 at Broad Creek, a few miles north of Piscataway Creek. The Catholics, legally forbidden to worship in public, had to meet in private homes.<sup>68</sup>

Moreover, the gentry used their leisure to race horses. By the mid-century Piscataway had developed into a racing center, sporting at least two race tracks where some of the prize thoroughbreds in the colony may have competed. In 1768, the *Maryland Gazette* informed its readers of a race between horses owned by

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68. Kellock, p. 15. Religious affiliation was so important in colonial Maryland that marriages generally followed religious, as well as class lines. Ibid.

Robert Hanson and John Addison at the "Piscataway Race Ground." As the advertisement intended, some people who read the newspaper in other parts of Maryland may have also come to Piscataway for the racing attractions.

But most of the people in Maryland at this time were still illiterate, trying to survive as small tradesmen, or servants. Nonetheless, the proportion of people in and around Piscataway who read, not just newspapers but books as well, seem to be one of the highest in all of Maryland. Out of a total of 85 subscription orders sent out from the colony of Maryland for Robert Bell's edition of Robertson's *History of Charles V*, twelve sets were ordered by the Scottish factor, Alexander Hamilton, for his store in Piscataway.<sup>70</sup> Moreover, by the time of the Revolution, Hamilton's account books showed an increase in book buying. Among the more popular were Thomas Bacon's compilation of the laws of Maryland, a handy guidebook for property owners, *Easy and Plain Rules for Trade and Business*, and *The Farmer's Companion*. In addition to such guides to better business, the store also sold catechisms, horn-books, spellers, and almanacs, and a manual for the women: *The Complete Housewife*. Finally, those who sought more stimulating and exciting reading could take their choice of such

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69. Kellock, p. 48. Mrs. Kellock also sketches the development of thoroughbred horses in Maryland. See *ibid*.

70. Joseph T. Wheeler, "Booksellers and circulating Libraries in colonial Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIV (1909) 131.

works as *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Gulliver's Travels*, volumes of Ovid and Homer, *Modern Adventures*, *The Generous Briton*, *Charlotte Seymour*, *Jenny Salisbury*, *Lucinda Courtney*, and *The Parish Girl*.<sup>71</sup>

Only the wealthier members of the Piscataway community could afford to educate their children during this period, however, since there were no public or even private schools in the vicinity.<sup>72</sup> George Noble showed exceptional initiative by contracting with a private tutor, Peter Robinson, to live at his home and teach his five children--three sons and two daughters.<sup>73</sup> While this method was perhaps an economical one--most of the wealthier neighbors sent their children abroad to England for their schooling--it may have provided an exceptional opportunity for his two daughters. Apparently girls received no education whatsoever in colonial Maryland,<sup>74</sup> but it seems possible that Noble hired Robinson to be a schoolmaster for all five siblings.

While the landed gentry cultivated their interests and entertained their fancies much in the vein of the Old Country aristocracy, the gap between the social classes was widening.

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71. As cited in Kellock, p. 47.

72. Ibid. p. 47.

73. Hienton, p. 381.

74. Kellock, *ibid.*

As the eighteenth century progressed, the lower classes more freely and actively expressed frustration with their hard lives and with the social and economic system, which, they sensed, deprived them of a better existence. For them, the period from 1750-1775 was no "golden age of colonial culture," but, rather, a time of constant indebtedness and constant toil, or, for some, a time of demeaning and dehumanizing bondage.

#### Yeomen, Bonded, Slave.

It is not surprising that there developed class tensions during these years when one considers the grievances, spoken or implied, which arose from each side of the necessary work relation between planter and field hands.

The landed gentry found it increasingly difficult through the eighteenth century to find reliable supervisors to run their plantations and dependable, steady farmers to work their tobacco fields. In the years of early settlement, landowners were able to buy the labor of bondsmen--people like Randle Hanson, who could not afford passage to the colony, and who worked for an average of six years to earn their freedom dues--but once these servants were free to go, they often moved on to claim their own land. By the 1720s the Edelens took to leasing sections of their Piscataway properties to tenant farmers who probably were former

bondsmen who had decided to stay on at Piscataway as share-  
75  
croppers. Judging from the wording in a lease made out by  
Edward Edelen to James Reed in 1728, tensions had already begun  
to develop over the way these tenant farmers treated the land  
they rented: "that he the said James Reed shall and will keep  
the houses and fences therein erected or hereafter to be erected  
in good and tenantable repair and so leave the same at the end of

76  
the term." Moreover, a lease which the same Edelen drew up  
with Edward Pye in 1736 reflects other problems that had arisen  
between tenant and landowner: "the said Edward shall and will  
keep no more than three working hands to make a crop on the said  
plantation at a time not embezel sell or give any timber or any  
ways make use of the same but what shall be necessary for the use  
77  
of the plantation."

Edelen may have made a specification on the number of hands  
to assist Pye because the latter may have bought the services of  
some of the criminals who were being exported from England. The  
deportation of all sorts of felons, murderers, and military  
prisoners had steadily been increasing during the century, so that  
Maryland was receiving thousands of England's "undesirables" during  
its period of fastest growth and expansion. Undoubtedly some

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75. Kellock, p.

76. Land Records, Liber M, p. 295, Pr. Geos. Co. Courthouse,  
Upper Marlboro, Md.

77. Land Records, Liber T, p. 454, *ibid.*

of these convicts, having been transported over seas in irons,  
were brought to Piscataway, where they may have taken up some  
of their old habits.<sup>78</sup>

Probably the most serious complaint of the landed gentry,  
however, concerned the continual loss of their tenant farmers  
who, once they felt experienced enough and self-sufficient  
enough, moved on to uncleared lands which they could buy  
inexpensively. As the century progressed, the plantation owners  
throughout Maryland turned more towards slave labor as a solution  
to the efficient running of their estates.<sup>79</sup>

By 1750, about one third of Maryland's population were  
slaves.<sup>80</sup> In the western half of Prince Georges County, 3,400  
out of 8,441 males were slaves in 1776.<sup>81</sup> These Negroes from  
Africa and the West Indies rarely lived to see their freedom--  
only 55 blacks in the area were free according to the 1776 census  
cited above.

While slave labor on tobacco plantations was growing in  
the Piscataway area during this period, some of the tenant and  
small, independent farmers undoubtedly still had to toil in the  
fields alongside their bonded servants or slaves. Moreover, the  
tenant farmers often owed the landowners hundreds of pounds

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78. Kellock, pp. 10-11.

79. Ibid., pp. 43-44.

80. Giddens, "Land Policies," p. 142.

81. "Census of August 1776, in St. John's and St. Georges  
Parishes," as cited in Kellock, p. 14.

of tobacco as rent for the land.

The production of tobacco even today is an arduous pains-  
 taking, and time-consuming process.<sup>83</sup> In eighteenth century

Maryland, crude tools and no fertilizers made the process even  
 more difficult.<sup>84</sup> As the anonymous traveler of 1705-1706

observed," the Chiefiest Comodity which is so much looked affter  
 is Tobacco which implays all hands in every Family. . . .there is  
 more Paines taken to raise itt than any one thing in the world  
 again."<sup>85</sup>

An anonymous writer of the mid-century related in  
 some detail the meticulous care needed to produce quality tobacco:

all the whole time from its planting it has to be  
 carefully watched, and every Plant that is perceived  
 to be dying must be taken away, and a fresh one set  
 in the Hill, from whence the dead and dying Plant is  
 removed.

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82. In 1769 Richard Edelen left his grandson, Philip Edelen, a parcel of land "being part of a tract of 3000 acres formerly granted to a certain Wm Calvert Esq.," the deed specified that the land was that "whereon Thomas Holly and Joseph Crown lived." These two persons undoubtedly had leases on the land, and may have paid over 1,200 pounds of tobacco a year to the Edward Edelen family for rent, (as 1,200 was the fee charged in 1744 by Edward Edelin to Robert Thompson, Land Records, Liber Y, p. 413). Land Records, Liber BB, No. 2, p. 452.

83. See Watson, p. 22, for a discussion of tobacco cultivation today.

84. "Narrative of a Voyage," p. 336.

85. Kellock, pp. 42-43. Mrs. Kellock explained that "After land was cleared, the sole implements needed were one broad and one narrow hoe to a man. Plows. . .were rarely employed in Maryland tobacco production." Ibid.

Tobacco Plants are very subject to be undermined, eaten and destroyed, by a Grub or Worm that breeds about its root, which sometimes in spite of all the care and skill of its most ingenious Planter, will destroy the whole crop, nor do they escape some mischief from it; so that a tobacco Plantation from "January" that they sow the seed till "August" that they cut it is a continual care and Full Labour in Sowing Planting Ploughing Weeding Worming Succouring and Renewing; it has several accidents attending it, till it be cut and carried into the Curing-House, where it is hanged Plant by Plant at an equal Distance, till it becomed Powder Dry; at which time of the Year that country is subject to great fogs and Mists which make it become waxy and if it rises again, then it is fully cured, and become fit to be casked; all Sweet scented requires about three weeks time, and the "Oronokr" about six seeks time; and in about Three Weeks more after its Casking, it shows itself whether it be well cured or not.<sup>86</sup>

In addition, having spent so many months carefully cultivating the tobacco, the farmer had to sell his whole crop at once, for if he held it over one season, its value rapidly decreased.<sup>87</sup>

Moreover, contemporary sources indicate that the farmers often stood in perpetual debt to the merchants' stores in Piscataway, presenting thereby, a complication, although not always very binding, for acquiring basic necessities for the farm and family. By the 1770s this economic frustration encouraged many of the indebted citizens of Piscataway to seek means to evade debts, and to assure

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86. As cited from the *Harleian Miscellany* (1744-1746) in Kellock, p. 43.

87. Gould, p. 56. The majority of Yeomen, bondsmen or slaves in the Piscataway area, as in most of Maryland at this time, had a similarly rural existence, working on the gentry's plantations or on small, individual farms. Probably the farms differed only in size, each having some outhouses such as those mentioned in the 1798 Federal Tax Assessment--tobacco houses, corn cribs, kitchens, dairies, and the like. See Appendix E.

for themselves at the same time, all the merchandise they found  
88  
difficult to afford at the town stores.

Possibly the two taverns which stood within five miles of  
89  
Piscataway by 1795 served during these years of unrest pre-  
ceding the Revolution as a meeting place for the lower classes  
to plan their strategy for the political activities, activities  
that reflected the breach between them and the moneyed interests  
of Piscataway--the landed gentry and merchants.

Nevertheless, even though the farmers faced such a daily  
existence of hard work, and the unremitting prospect of indebted-  
ness, many had left behind them in England little more, or even  
90  
less, than what they found in the colony.

### Merchants and Traders

The stores and warehouses that flourished in Piscataway during  
the town's boom years most likely were clustered in the vicinity  
91  
of the tobacco inspection warehouse on the Hawkins family land.  
The conglomerate of Scottish trade companies established in  
Piscataway by the time of the Revolution reflected the steady growth

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88. Richard K. MacMaster and David C. Skaggs, eds., "The Letter-  
books of Alexander Hamilton, Piscataway Factor, Parts I and II,"  
*Md. Hist. Mag.*, LXI (June and December, 1966) pp. 146-66 and 305-28.

89. J. Louis Kuethe, "A List of Maryland Mills, Taverns, Forges  
and Furnaces of 1795," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXI (1936), pp. 163-67.

90. Kellock, pp. 9-14.

91. In 1757 the Inspection depot was on George Hawkin's land.  
(Kellock, p. 40.) In 1773 the depot stood on the land of John Hawkins,  
Jr. (MacMaster and Skaggs, Part II, p. 309.)

Glasgow firms had had in the Chesapeake Bay area between 1750 and 1775. By 1774, three of the seven major Glasgow firms that were concentrating their trade in Maryland had definitely set up shop in Piscataway. These three were: John Glassford and Company, the largest Glasgow importer in Maryland, which in 1774 imported 4,506 hogsheads; George and Andrew Buchanan Company, which, in 1774 imported 403 hogsheads; and James Brown<sup>92</sup> and Company, which the same year imported 638 hogsheads.

Although Philip Fithian had the impression that "all the Merchants & shopkeepers. . .are young Scotch-Men," local Piscataway<sup>93</sup> men also competed for the tobacco trade. Among these were Contee<sup>94</sup> and Bowie, Contee and Magruder, and Claggett & Company, Warehouses.

In addition to the Scottish and local traders, consignment merchants, chiefly from London and Whitehaven, also vied for the tobacco crop from the planters around Piscataway. Even though they had no well-stocked stores in town to entice customers, these merchants usually met with some success because they offered the<sup>95</sup> possibility of a better price for the tobacco.

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92. *Ibid.*, Part I, pp. 146-47, 154.

93. As quoted in *ibid.*, p. 145.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 150. According to contemporary records, Thomas Claggett not only was a successful merchant--he owned 16 slaves in 1776--but also a substantial landowner--in 1771 he owned 500 acres of land. Moreover, he married into another well-established merchant family, that of Enoch Magruder, who was a partner in one of the Piscataway stores. See *ibid.*, p. 160.

95. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

Once the Scottish firms decided upon a location in the colony to base their trade, they hired factors to represent the company interests, to manage the company store, and to establish trade relations with the local planters. In Piscataway during the critical years of 1774-1775, Alexander Hamilton was acting as a factor for John Brown & Co.;<sup>96</sup> his letters to the company directors give an overall view of the economic and political problems that beset the Glasgow firms at this time, as well as a view of the local sentiments which preceded the out-<sup>97</sup>break of the Revolution. Moreover, Hamilton, it appears, operated as the chief factor for the firm in Maryland; this, of course gives some reflection on the significance of Piscataway as<sup>98</sup> a tobacco trade center during this period.

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96. In 1768 Hamilton arrived in Maryland and secured a position in Piscataway as assistant factor for the Simson, Baird, & Co. store, with the expectation of entering business on his own once he had gained sufficient experience in the tobacco trade, and once he had received his expected inheritance. In 1773 he was promoted to factor when the firm, emerging as John Brown & Co., changed management. *Ibid.*, pp. 149-50.

97. The complete collection of Hamilton letters can be found among the John Glassford and Company Papers in the Library of Congress. All the above citations come from the letters edited by MacMaster and Skaggs in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

98. MacMaster and Skaggs, Part I, p. 150. In addition, Henry Riddell, Glassford & Co.'s chief factor in Maryland, was also based at Piscataway; according to the census of 1776, he lived in St. John's Parish, Piscataway. *Ibid.*, Part II, p. 310.

Hamilton's letters indicate that the Piscataway merchants, Scottish, local, and consignment, cooperated with each other when conducting their trade. Thomas Clagett, for instance, imported at least part of his wares through Glassford's Company,<sup>99</sup> and Hamilton sometimes sent some of his shipment of hogsheads to England on contract with other merchants when neither of the company ships were at Piscataway.<sup>100</sup> On the same hand, Hamilton sometimes had to arrange exchange freights with other factors, filling the company ships with their tobacco as well as his own, so as to return the ships to England with a full cargo. Moreover, cooperation particularly became an economic necessity for the merchants when trying to reach agreements with the planters on their demands for higher prices, and on their unpaid debts.<sup>101</sup>

In his letters Hamilton enumerated at great length the complications and obstacles he faced when arranging a boatload of hogsheads for the company. The fact that Hamilton rarely mentioned any commodities other than tobacco when discussing business, mirrors the crop's dominance in the trade around Piscataway at this time. By 1765, however, the use of tobacco as a money had died out in the older regions of Maryland. In fact, at that time, only the central part of the Eastern Shore and the tidewater

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99. Kellock, p. 40.

100. The two Brown & Co. ships were the *Jenny* and the *Moore*.

101. MacMaster and Skaggs, Part I, pp. 151, 160; Part II, p. 317.

regions of the Western Shore were still cultivating and circulating tobacco.

102

Moreover, although Hamilton frequently remarked on the abundant growth of corn and wheat in the area--in August 1774 he states, "There has been double the quantity of Wheat made than ever was before. The prospect for corn is vastly greater than had been seen in the Memory of the Oldest men"--

103

he never discussed them in terms of trade. Nonetheless, it seems likely that such an abundant quantity of corn and wheat not only met the food needs of the local population and their livestock, but that it also filled some of the cargoes leaving from Piscataway during the mid-century.

The ships that arrived in Piscataway Creek, on the other hand, brought a wide variety of supplies, ranging from basic necessities manufactured in England, such as shoes, nails, cotton and linen cloth, to pounds of rum and sugar, probably picked up in the West Indies, "for the Rum store" in Piscataway.

104

A statement Hamilton made in passing that "the Jenny will have been three weeks at her Moorings" seems to confirm a supposition that even in 1774 the cargo ships arriving at Piscataway could not reach the wharves of the town. Instead, scows and flatboats

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102. Gould, p. 73.

103. MacMaster and Skaggs, Part II, p. 311.

104. Ibid., p. 310. In a later letter Hamilton indicated that Brown & Co. had its own Rum store in Piscataway. MacMaster & Skaggs, "Letterbooks of Hamilton, Part III, 1775-1776," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LXII (June 1967) p. 167.

105. Ibid., Part II, p. 317.

most likely transported the freight out to the estuary where the ships were anchored. Occasionally, when the tobacco came from inspection points other than Piscataway, accidents occurred which delayed the ship's departure. Such was the case in May of 1774, as Hamilton reported: "a flat (boat) with thirty Hogsheads of my Tobacco on her way to the Ship and off Mrs. Stoddert's above the mouth of Pomonkey Creek, was suddenly overset in the Middle of the River by a severe Squall of Wind."<sup>106</sup>

But many more serious problems impaired the smooth operation of trade between the merchants and planters, and these problems grew to be heated issues by the time the Revolution broke.

#### 1774-1775: The Eve of the Revolution in Piscataway

Hamilton's letters demonstrate that even though tensions had arisen between the Scottish factors and the planters in the tobacco country of the Chesapeake, the overall sentiment voiced by the people was opposed to violence and revolution. This conservative stand left many of the farmers, especially the poorer ones, unprepared for the long struggle for independence.

Hamilton used the term, "the people," when he discussed the political and mercantile problems in the vicinity of Piscataway. Vague though the term is, specific information on some of the

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106. Ibid., Part I, p. 156. In Part II, p. 320, Hamilton writes "I intended to have shipped 10 Hhds. more, and had delivered them to the Master of the flatt who carried the 16 from this W'house."

individuals that Hamilton mentions suggest that "the people" included most all landed farmers, except, at times, the gentry. For instance, when he referred to the people in debt, Hamilton cited one gentleman, John Baynes of Piscataway, who was listed in the Debt Books of Prince Georges County as a landowner with 432 acres in 1756 and 515 acres in 1771. In addition, Colonel John Baynes held the appointment as justice of the peace in 1769 and 1773. Although he ranked among the debtors, Baynes must have commanded much respect in the community.

In his letters Hamilton repeatedly indicated that since just about all the people of tidewater Maryland depended on the tobacco trade to keep the stores stocked with needed supplies, and since 1774 and 1775 were especially good crop years for wheat, corn, and tobacco around Piscataway, most of the people preferred "living in amity with Britain." In Piscataway, and probably throughout the tobacco counties, however, the people, especially those in debt, expressed mounting resentment for, and opposition to, the trade system which brought great profits to the Glasgow firms.

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107. *Ibid.*, Part II, p. 309. In Part III, p. 144, MacMaster & Skaggs note that Col. Baynes also was a consignment agent for Whitehaven tobacco merchants, for whom he frequently sold goods at Piscataway.

108. *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 164.

Planter indebtedness appears to have been the most critical problem besetting the factors in Piscataway. Hamilton treats the subject to the point of obsession in his detailed accounting to the company directors. Although he often reported that he had "received many promises of payment," they never seemed to be forthcoming. In May 1774 Hamilton somewhat sardonically explained the delay in collecting the tobacco that was long due the company:

You say you are astonished at the small remittance made you last year from this store. . . . I can assure you that I did every thing in my power to make it Better and did not a thing neglect your Business. But there being no Inspection Law and People not obliged to Bring their Tobacco to the Warehouses until they pleased, and the prices lower than expected, many of them would not carry at all, and to sue them, which had been the case with many, had not yet compelled a payment; from the State [ment] I sent you last, you will see that I have sued a great many, few, or none of which I have Received any Payment from yet, nor do not expect before the 10th day of February next. . . . You are very well acquainted with the tediousness of the Law here and the generally litigious disposition of the people, how well they are acquainted with every chicanery that the law will admit of to keep off payment of their debts & what good use they make of that knowledge.<sup>109</sup>

The inspection system to which Hamilton referred dramatically influenced the trade and politics in Piscataway during these years. When the 1747 inspection act expired in 1770, a three-year conflict between the governor and the Lower House of the Assembly

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109. *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 159.

began over its re-enactment. During the interim years, no legal inspection system for grading tobacco existed, and without it, many persons fulfilled their obligations with sub-standard tobacco. The Assembly finally reinstated the system in 1773<sup>110</sup> but apparently inspection continued on an irregular basis. Thus it was, probably, that Hamilton blamed the lack of an inspection law for the poor turnover of tobacco in his May 28 letter, and just 10 days earlier wrote,

the Inspection Law has already been of very considerable Service to the Staple. There never has been in the length of time since the Inspection Law took place in this Province so much Tobacco Refused at the Warehouses. . . . I am in great hopes that the Staple will be greatly amended by it, the quantity lessened, and the price raised for you.<sup>111</sup>

But Hamilton's hopes were not to be fulfilled. Only three months later, he wrote to his employers to forewarn them that, although the tobacco was "in the most flourishing growing state that I have ever seen it,"

The Quality of this Inspection is exceedingly bad, more so than I have yet seen. . . .the crop will not be good. The people in debt have been extremely careless in the Cutting down, housing and management in the House and that has proceeded greatly from an opinion they had entertained that there would not be any Inspection Law.<sup>112</sup>

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110. Ibid, Part II, p. 312.

111. Ibid., Part I, p. 156.

112. Ibid., Part II, p. 311. MacMaster and Skaggs explained in their note that "The debtors, who paid most of their obligations in tobacco, were careless in the cutting, handling, and curing (ie. putting the tobacco into the tobacco barns or 'houses') of the crop. Hamilton accuses them of wanting to produce tobacco in quantity rather than in quality in order to meet their debts." Ibid.

Moreover, besides contending with the poor quality of crops, Hamilton and the other factors in Piscataway had a difficult time regulating the quantity of tobacco they received because the planters increasingly bartered with competitive interests in Patuxent and Portobacco. In May 1774 Hamilton cautioned his employers: "The Loss of some very Considerable Customers and the Superior prices given on Patuxent for these some years past has Reduced this Store's purchase greatly & I do not see any Chance of Retrieving it until the prices  
113  
here are equall to the Patuxent prices." In August of the same year he pointed out that

The Consignment Gentlemen have this year taken a very unusual method to gain consignments. [They]. . . advance Cash to those who ship, they, the shippers paying up whatever more the cash advance amounts to than the net proceeds of their Tobacco when they received their Accts. of sales. . . . There is more shipped on Consignment from Portobacco Warehouse this Inspection than there has been since the inspection Law first took place.<sup>114</sup>

Besides the incentive of gaining a better price for their tobacco at Patuxent and Portobacco, planters most likely started to take their trade to other tobacco centers because the market for staple articles in Piscataway began to dry up at this time. While the Brown and Co. store in Piscataway suffered from a sparsity of staples, it also had received from the Bladensburg

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113. Ibid. Part I, p. 159.

114. Ibid., Part II, p. 309.

store a large quantity of supplies which, Hamilton had to explain repetitively, mostly represented unsaleable goods "such as shalloons, Riggs, Hessians, white Rolls, Bad Irish, Dowles, Pomerania linen, fine Irish Linen, an enormous quantity of Checks, Stript & Brown Holland, Shaggs  
115  
& many other Articles." Hamilton attempted to coax his employers: "I should be glad to have such a Supply as will Command some respect to this store." But the next month in June 1774, he still was awaiting "what goods you will think proper to Send." At the same time, Hamilton did not need to fear losing business to his competitors on account of the lack of staple articles because, as he noted "Most of the stores here & in this Neighbourhood have got theirs, but have not opened them, nor do not intend untill they see how matters are  
116  
likely to be settled betwixt Britain and the Colonies."

In August the situation was getting desperate for Hamilton at the Brown Store. He wrote once more to the company:

I am at present very bare of the staple, articles, not 200 Ells Osnab[urg]s altogether good & bad, not Irish Linen under 1/6, about 100 yds. of Brown sheeting, not a yard of White, no Dunlaps of any kind, no Osnabg, thread, Coarse cloth, German serge & Druggets, shoes Men's saddles, snuff, writting paper, not one Ell Rolls, but fine white which does not answer, no Nails but one Cash of 8d., no Locks, Iron potts, Dutch ovens, Best cord, Trane and seine Rope, thread stockings, sticking thread, pine, Needles, Men's & Boys' Falt Hatts, & low priced Castor Hatts.

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115. Ibid., Part I, p. 161.

116. Ibid., p. 164.

Moreover, he assured them, if he had supplies, he was confident he could sell them all at a profit, because of "the Scarcity there will be of Goods this fall." Already, he noted, "Goods are very scarce at Portobacco and below," and "the people are alarmed at the scarcity of Goods."<sup>117</sup>

In addition, planters that summer were bringing in their tobacco so slowly to the warehouses that the *Jenny* could not be loaded until November. As Hamilton observed, "Without goods to supply the Necessitys of the people, they will be obliged to sell some of their Tobacco for that purpose, and prevent us from getting enough to load her."<sup>118</sup>

But Hamilton's warning to his managers fell on deaf ears. In October he acknowledged receipt of a small cargo from England which again failed to fill the order of needed articles, and which "proved very prejudicial to my purchase, & many of my best customers have been under the necessity of lying out part of their crops at other places."<sup>119</sup>

This increasing shortage of supplies and tobacco on the market from May 1774 to the outbreak of the Revolution related directly and indirectly to the interference of colonial and local politics in trade transactions. Hamilton's letters suggest

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117. *Ibid.*, Part II, pp. 309-11.

118. *Ibid.*, p. 311.

119. *Ibid.*, p. 315.

that most of the politics that affected trade along the Potomac during the spring and summer of 1774 generated from Annapolis and Boston. In May the City of Annapolis posted Resolutions throughout the Province calling for non-importation and non-exportation of goods with Britain. Hamilton commented on what he thought the outcome might be in Piscataway: "Should they adhere to those Resolutions the consequences will be extremely fatal to the People trading from Great Britain, at all events it will be productive of a great deal of Mischief by encouraging those, who at all times are tardy, to delay the payments of their debts." Hamilton also related the rumor that "the Bostonians have strongly recommended to the Southern Colonys to distress as much as they can the trade from Scotland," and that this was done "to terrify the trade of Glasgow & force them to petition the Parliament for a Repeal of the Tea Act, well-knowing they have very considerable property in this part of the continent."<sup>120</sup>

It appears, however, from Hamilton's informal survey taken in the Piscataway area that the local planters had invested too heavily in the Glasgow trade to throw such obstacles in its path. According to Hamilton, "The most thinking part of the People with whom I have had any conversation on these Resolves blame these violent measures of the Metropolis, & say that Such

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120. Ibid., Part I, p. 162.

an inconsiderable Province as Maryland ought not to have taken the Lead at any rate, but have waited the Resolves of the more Considerable ones."<sup>121</sup>

Local resistance to the principles set down in the Resolutions at Annapolis continued in the face of gathering political forces in opposition to King George. Although a congress scheduled to meet at Annapolis with delegates from each Maryland county, as well as a general congress planned for representatives from all the colonies, both were expected to compromise to authorize free exportation and partial importation, the people in the tidewater, Hamilton reported, feared they would never subsist "without an importation of some articles such as Cottons, osnaburgs, coarse cloths, coarse white Linens, Nails, salt, and some shoes for some considerable time to come, not having materials and hands proper to manufacture these articles." Probably the squeeze already felt by June 1774 from the scarcity of manufactured products around Piscataway brought anxiety to the people and prompted them to be especially "desirous of living in amity with Britain."<sup>122</sup>

By August 1774, however, a group of Piscataway planters, probably infected with the political fever that was sweeping the colonies, started to organize to bring about favorable alternations in the tobacco inspection system. As Hamilton so wryly depicted his opposition:

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121. Ibid.

122. Ibid., pp. 164-65.

The present inspectors in many of the Warehouses have been so nice, that associations have been formed to turn them out before their time was out (for associations are the Modes of procedure now, when people do not get every thing done their own way) and people have been elected as vestry men for that purpose by the disaffected to prevent them being chosen next inspection.<sup>123</sup>

By assuring more lenient tobacco inspectors, then, the political activists in Piscataway probably hoped to alleviate their economic bind by passing off more low-grade cash crop through the warehouses. At least the people of Piscataway had not yet resolved violently with the merchants, by freely looting stores, as they had done in Virginia. However, in citing this episode of violence in Virginia, Hamilton did not differentiate between that colony and Maryland; but, rather, he warned his employers, "Such is the Confusion this Country is at present running into."<sup>124</sup>

Nonetheless, two months passed before Hamilton reported any other political decisions or violent disruptions, which suggests that the remainder of the summer dragged on with debated, unsettled issues. In mid-October, however, Hamilton confirmed the fact that the first Continental Congress had unanimously resolved that the non-importation of British goods be effective as of December 1, 1774, and that, as of September 1775, all exports to

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123. *Ibid.*, Part II, p. 312. As MacMaster and Skaggs explain it, "Among the non-religious duties of the Anglican vestries was the selection of tobacco inspectors for their particular parish. Apparently Hamilton feels that some of the lesser freeholders of the parish were backing the election of vestrymen who would select more lenient inspectors which would be important to those owing debts payable in tobacco." *Ibid.*

124. *Ibid.*

Britain and the West Indies be stopped. Both these Resolutions, Hamilton related, were to continue "until the Act of Parliament  
125  
so Obnoxious to the Americans is repealed."

That same month Hamilton, carefully watching out for company interests, informed his employers that the large crop, which already had been stored in warehouses for shipping (despite the political excitement in the colonies) would probably fetch a good price on the European market, provided no settlement between Britain and the Colonies was reached before planting time, for few colonists would plant if they anticipated  
126  
the non-importation law scheduled for September 1775.

Hamilton's uninterrupted trade from Piscataway to this date, however, apparently merely reflected the particular insularity of the tobacco region. In Annapolis, for instance, he heard reports that a violent mob, nominally headed by the Committee of the City & County, had forced a shipowner to burn his cargo of tea and his ship as well, or face death. The people in the lower counties of Maryland looked upon this event as "a most Scandalous insult offered to them by these people from the Upper  
127  
Countys."

While Hamilton and the other factors in Piscataway continued, although not always successfully, to keep trade lines open and

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125. Ibid., p. 313.

126. Ibid., p. 318.

127. Ibid., p. 318-19.

operating normally, the poorer elements in the community, those who first suffered from the constriction of goods in the area, increasingly represented a potentially disruptive and revolutionary force. As Hamilton speculated in October 1774:

Should the difference betwixt Britain and the Colonys continue one twelve-month longer, and the imports & exports be strictly adhered to, the poor people and all those who could not lay in Goods than would answer their present Necessity will be in the Utmost Distress, and will I am affraid be exceedingly riotous against the better sort of people who have<sup>128</sup> fully supplied themselves for a Length of time.

As Hamilton feared, violence, anarchy, and confusion hit the Piscataway area by December 1774 and disrupted much of the business of trade. Hamilton even went so far as to say--after his months of frustration without proper supplies--that "The present Confusions here are greatly against importing Goods or having any kind of trade and I am now well satisfied that you sent no more Goods than you did."<sup>129</sup> Moreover, the breach that was widening between the Scottish merchants and the political activists in the area showed clearly in Hamilton's interpretation of the disturbances that month in the courts of neighbouring Charles County. He wrote "This Week at Charles County adjourned Court, a few Men of desperate fortune, Viz. Joseph Hanson Harrison, Frances Ware & Doctor John Parnham"--all three of whom were Patriot leaders and members of the Charles County Committee

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128. Ibid., p. 319.

129. Ibid., p. 321.

of Observation--"were into Court and made a motion that the Courts of Justice should be immediately stopped." Hamilton even quoted Dr. Parnham's argument for abolishing the Courts of Justice, an argument that fully anticipated an imminent confrontation between the colonists and the British: "That by continuing to administer Justice impartially, the Trader would receive the payment of his debts and of course be enabled to make remittances to his Constituents, and which would be furnishing our enemies with weapons to fight us, and which we ought by every Method in our power to prevent them from receiving."<sup>130</sup>

So some of the politically verbal members of tidewater Maryland felt on the eve of the Revolution. But the bulk of tobacco planters, at least as far as Hamilton was aware, seemed to persistently disregard the violence and confusion surrounding them. In December 1774 Hamilton reported "The People expect great prices for their Tobacco this ensuing summer. . . , the crop is large and very good." At the same time, Hamilton acknowledged receipt of a cargo of seven packages which had arrived on the 24th via the ship, the *Annapolis*.<sup>131</sup> This continued activity at the wharves of Piscataway must have allayed what fears the

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130. *Ibid.*, p. 321.

131. *Ibid.*, p. 322.

farmers may have held concerning a break in trade between Britain and the colonies, for even as disruptions grew more frequent, the farmers seemed to hold tenaciously to their belief that there would be no war. Thus, in April 1775, Hamilton reported on one hand that, "Regularity and Justice seem to be declining fast," and, on the other, that

the Tobacco Colonys are as forward in preparing another Crop as ever I knew them, and very small preparations for raising any thing to provide against the Worst, being very sanguine in their opinion that the Laws will be Repealed and plenty of goods in this Summer, Should an accommodation not take place, the People will be in the Greatest distress imaginable, and I am afraid will create a great deal of Mischief among themselves.<sup>132</sup>

It seems almost baffling that the people around Piscataway would have resisted the trend towards violence that was rocking every section of the country, especially since the desperate shortage of goods at the time prompted other Prince Georges county communities to take over factors' stores and put the wares up for auction. Yet, in May, at the same time that word had spread of the engagement between "the Regulars and the Country people off Massachusetts Bay," Hamilton wrote the company that "The Crop will be an average one, and in quality very good. People very forwards for another one, but great Complaints for want of plants." Thus, gradually, the shortage of supplies began to discourage the planters from dealing with

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132. Ibid., pp. 324-325.

133. In Dec. 1774 Hamilton reported that the Committee of Observation in Prince Georges County had sold the goods from the Brown & Co. store in Bladensburg, and had given the difference between the cost and price of the Invoice to the poor of Boston Ibid., p. 323.

the British. But up until May 1775 the Piscataway tobacco growers had "put little faith in the non importation & exportation, and said with their usual Jelousie, that it was all a trick of the Merchants to get their Tobacço for little or  
134  
nothing." Such an attitude, if Hamilton related it accurately, reflects a political and economic naiveté that may suggest why Piscataway's history rarely emerged thereafter from a strictly local occurrence.

And so, finally, the colonies were preparing for revolution, no matter how reluctantly for some. And in Piscataway, the planters, Hamilton noted, at last were beginning "to think very seriously of it, [the non-importation and exportation]...and [were] beginning to sow flax and cotton, & putting their  
135  
Tobacco grounds into Corn."

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134. Ibid., p. 327. The engagements to which Hamilton made reference were later to be called the Battles of Lexington and Concord.

135. Ibid., p. 328.

## CHAPTER IV

### REVOLUTION AND READJUSTMENT IN PISCATAWAY

The coming of the Revolution to Piscataway removed the main economic buttress of the town as a commercial center--the British factorage system. While the Revolution acted as a vehicle for the people to express their resentment against the indebtedness this system inspired, it also acted as a harbinger for radical change in the town of Piscataway, and for a perpetuated insularity in the rural community of farmer, bondsman, and slave. After the Revolution the fast-growing port of Baltimore drew off what was left of any formal trade that colonial riverports such as Piscataway might have retained. And, too, geographic factors--the silting of Piscataway Creek and the continued cultivation of tobacco in the area--influenced the direction Piscataway history took during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

#### The Revolution

Again, the Letterbooks of Alexander Hamilton, factor for John Brown & Co. in Piscataway, give a broad insight into the local history of the area. His letters for 1775-1776--the last until the end of the war--discuss the economic, social, and political disruption that hit the Piscataway area with the coming

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of the Revolution. Hamilton's primary concern during these years continued to be the collection of debts in the face of mounting disorder. The political harassments and pressures of the Patriots in the community finally drove many of the social and financial establishment of Piscataway back to England. Through Hamilton's letters, one can gain a general understanding of what prompted his gloomy prophecy in September 1775 that unless the riotous conditions ended, "This once happy and flourishing province will become a scene of horror and bloodshed."<sup>2</sup>

From June to October 1775 Hamilton's letters elaborated on the economic and political tensions developing in the colonies, and in the Piscataway area specifically, but increasingly they showed signs of the censorship applied to suspicious persons, especially the British factors. Then for three months--November 1775 through January 1776--the company received no word from Hamilton, which perhaps suggests that the personal dangers he endured at this time prevented him from writing, or that no ships were able to complete the journey to Glasgow to deliver mail. Finally, Hamilton's last wartime letters, in February and March 1776, carefully avoided any mention of the political affairs in the colonies. Clearly, by the spring 1776, the patriotic flood

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1. See MacMaster and Skaggs, eds., "Letterbooks, Part III," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LXII (June 1967), pp. 135-69.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

had swept over the conservative opposition in Piscataway, forcing them to toe the line, or sink.

Up until September 10, 1775, the date set for the embargo on British goods, all the merchants in Piscataway strained to collect as many debts in tobacco as possible to ship them off to England. At the same time, the farmers had planted abundantly. In June, Hamilton reported: "The harvest of Rye and Wheat is come on, the greatest I have ever seen since I came to this country."<sup>3</sup> In August, he added:

There will be a very fine Crop of both Corn & Tobacco, if the Weather continues favourable, especially of the former; of the latter there is not so much planted as usual, but it will be much better tended and it is on their best ground, so that I think it will be a good average Crop. There has been amazing large and good crop of Wheat made. I never saw such plenty of grain of every kind.<sup>4</sup>

But, Hamilton concluded, "It must go very much against the Inclinations of the People to see their Crops ly in their houses wasting and destroying by Vermin. I believe none will be exported." Evidently, the farmers had banked their hope on a peace settlement, only to face the frustrating reality of a non-exportation law.

As it grew increasingly apparent that no peace would be reached, however, the people paid fewer and fewer debts to the factors. Moreover, by August the adjournment of county courts

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3. Ibid., p. 143.

4. Ibid., p. 149.

blocked the factors' usual legal channels to enforce payment.<sup>5</sup>

Anarchy and confusion, in the words of Hamilton, swept over the area; so also did a growing zealousness towards the principles of the Association.<sup>6</sup>

While it wasn't until August that affairs around Piscataway seriously declined, hostilities had erupted in many of the northern colonies by June and July. Hamilton discussed the resolves the "Congress. . . still sitting at Philadelphia" had made concerning trade with the British fisheries off the American coast, those concerning the creation of the Continental Army with General George Washington as its Commander in Chief, and those that dealt with the raising of troops "throughout the Colonys for defence of their liberty," so that they might be "prepared for a bloody War." Moreover, Hamilton explained that he had little factual information of the recent "engagement at Boston"--the Battle of Bunker Hill on June 17, 1775--because "there is no press open but for one side of the present dispute it will be some considerable time before the particulate comes out." Hamilton lamented the fact that "there is but small hopes for an accommodation soon," and that "Matters. . . appear to me to be growing worse every day."<sup>7</sup>

Indeed, matters did grow worse rapidly, so that one member of Governor Eden's staff noted, "Speech is become dangerous;

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6. I.e., The Association of the Freeman of Maryland, July 26, 1775. Ibid., p. 152.

7. Ibid., pp. 145-47.

letters are intercepted; confidence betrayed; and every measure<sup>8</sup> evidently extends to the most fatal extremities." In August Hamilton wrote home with the gravest report to date.

there is no knowing to what lengths a few Violent people may carry their Malice & Ill against a few foreigners, who cannot by the Smallness of their Numbers, make any resistance. Our Provincial Convention is now sitting, and unless the Moderate part get the ascendancy, I am greatly affraid I shall be obliged to pay you a visit as well as many others. The most unexceptionable Conduct will not screen any Man. The cry is now if they will not fight for us, they are against us, no neutrality now.<sup>9</sup>

For their part, the local and provincial leaders made certain efforts to organize and guide this rampant emotionalism building up over the breach with Britain. In August orders arrived in the Piscataway area, Hamilton reported, "That all who are capable to bear arms from 16 to 50 are to muster & learn the Military Exercise and that one fourth of that number is to ingage themselves to march whenever requested to any part of the Continent. . . .These<sup>10</sup> are called Minute Men." Moreover, the Piscataway patriots paid such close attention to the Convention's September 10 embargo law that Hamilton informed his employers on the 14th that "so strict are the Committees that they will not suffer any to be put on Board<sup>11</sup> after the 10th." While the embargo severely hampered the factors'

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8. Ibid., p. 145.

9. Ibid., pp. 148-49.

10. Ibid., p. 152.

11. Ibid., p. 158.

business transactions, other political manifestations endangered their continued well-being in Maryland: "I am told that every body is to have ten days to Consider before he signs the Association, and those who refuse to sign it are to be returned (their names) to the Council of Safety in the recess of the Convention, and to the Convention if they are sitting."<sup>12</sup>

Hamilton and others like him who did not intend to sign the Association underwent considerable anguish during these fall months, for, as he explained, "we are altogether in the dark in respect of the Consequences of Refusal."<sup>13</sup> Although his letters never divulged the consequences, enough personal danger existed to prompt the prominent rector of Piscataway's parish, Henry A. Addison, along with several factors from the various Glasgow firms, to pack aboard the last company ships leaving port in September and October 1775.<sup>14</sup>

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12. Ibid., p. 152.

13. Ibid., p. 153.

14. Ibid., pp. 156 and 164. The Reverend Mr. Addison, a member of a prominent Prince Georges County family, married into the equally prominent Dulaney family. He acted as rector of St. James parish from 1742 to 1775, when he fled to England because his loyalist leanings made him obnoxious to the existing leaders, Hamilton explained, adding that if he had stayed longer he might have been treated harshly. Ibid., pp. 155 and 156.

Hamilton, however, largely for personal reasons remained in Maryland and continued to report as much as he could to his Glasgow employers. But the cursory letters sent between October 1775 and March 1776 reveal little of relevance to Piscataway history. The next shred of information comes from the Revolutionary Muster Rolls, which show the creation in June 1776 of a Prince Georges County Flying Camp Company. Evidently some substantial Piscataway landowners joined the Revolutionary ranks, for the names of three Edelens and their in-law, Thomas Dyer, appear on the company list.<sup>15</sup>

Nothing of significance turned up in the research concerning wartime activities around Piscataway except a brief correspondence between Josias Beall, Esq., of Prince Georges County, and the Maryland Committee of Safety in July 1776, which gives some suggestion as to the pattern of events in the area during the seven years of Revolution. Even though there were five militia companies posted near Piscataway in July 1776, Beall reported that the people felt apprehensive because of a shortage of ammunition. Beall also proudly noted that our people have shewn a manly disposition" in response to the alarm guns set off Monday, July 22:

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15. *Md. Archives*, XVIII, pp. 29-35.

"they marched to the shore with great firmness. I was with them all the day and from their behavior make no doubt they would have behaved well had the enemy appeared and tryed them."

The Committee, well pleased with Beall's news, rushed five quarter barrels of Powder to Piscataway and praised the fighting spirit the people of Piscataway had demonstrated.

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### The Decline of Commerce

With the end of the War for Independence, Piscataway began her decline in the world of commerce. Without the British factorage system, the dependable and active tobacco trade faltered. Moreover, the installation of a state inspection system in 1816-17 to replace the local warehouse inspection points reportedly caused a "deplorable state of the tobacco market."<sup>17</sup> Finally, instead of restoring the function of village and county town warehouses, the state officials authorized their sale; in 1856 the county commissioners sold the Piscataway inspection warehouse.<sup>18</sup> In addition, the channel to the Piscataway wharves had so silted up by 1835 that the tobacco warehouse had been moved downstream a half mile. Although dredging kept a

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16. The above cited letters were quoted in full in Watson, p. 38.

17. Bowie, p. ix, as quoted from the *Marlboro Gazette*, July 7, 1836.

18. *Ibid.*

six-foot channel open for small steamers up to Farmington Landing, 2-1/2 miles below Piscataway town, until 1925, Piscataway commercial life buckled under all the accumulated  
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obstacles.

Farming, however, continued to be the main occupation in the Piscataway community throughout the nineteenth century,  
20  
with an increasing development of the fish industries.

Few if any repercussions seemed to have affected the Piscataway community with the construction in 1808 of the "fort at Warburton" (in 1935 renamed Fort Washington), or its destruction during the War of 1812. The fort, rebuilt in 1815, remained as a mere military post having one or two companies of artillery  
21  
until the outbreak of the Civil War.

#### The Civil War.

During the Civil War the Potomac River was strongly fortified  
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on both sides. In 1861 a detachment of U.S. Marines under Colonel John Harris, Commandant, took over Fort Washington, in  
23  
the heart of a strongly southern-minded area. Apparently

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19. Stephenson, p. 29.

20. See Chap. III, footnote 27, for information on nineteenth century fisheries along the Piscataway coast.

21. Bowie, p. 260, and De Benneville Randolph Keim, *A Guide to the Potomac River* (Washington, D.C., 1881), p. 27.

22. Anon, *The Potomac River from Great Falls to Point Lookout* (Wash. D.C., 1878), no pagination.

23. Bowie, p. 60.

because Prince Georges County planters, unlike others in Maryland during the nineteenth century, had continued to cultivate tobacco with an increasing dependence on slave labor, the people of the area had a natural allegiance to the Confederacy in the Civil War.<sup>24</sup> Even though the Confederate states lost the war, however, southern sentiments apparently continued in Prince Georges County into the twentieth century,<sup>25</sup> along with the cultivation of tobacco.

### The Twentieth Century

Following the Civil War the Piscataway community once again turned their attention to farming. Life continued in a typically uneventful agrarian fashion. As the century progressed, improved technology encouraged the expansion of planting to include hay, oats, rye, potatoes, sweet potatoes, fruits, and vegetables, although the principal crops continued to be corn, wheat, and tobacco,<sup>26</sup>

Tobacco, in fact, according to a study completed in 1962, still represented the main crop of Southern Maryland farmers. Moreover, in 1962 Prince Georges County ranked first among the counties of the state in acres of tobacco under cultivation:

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24. Watson, p. 7.

25. Ibid.

26. Stephenson, p. 37.

about 3/4 of all county farms were growing some. In addition,  
only 28 counties in the Nation were planting more acres of  
tobacco than Prince Georges.<sup>27</sup>

In 1962 population charts for Prince Georges County were  
still showing the area as "Open Rural with Scattered development."<sup>28</sup>  
This perpetuation of an agrarian society in Piscataway throughout  
the years had depended largely on the area's insularity, an  
insularity broken only in short periods of boom or war. Although  
development has recently been seeping into the area from the out-  
skirts of the capital, no outside forces to date have fundamentally  
altered Piscataway's well-documented rural tradition. And thus  
it appears especially fitting with the establishment of Piscataway  
Park to preserve the area as an historically agrarian environment  
with a heavy interpretive emphasis on the last 25 years of the  
colonial period when Piscataway flourished, on account of its  
tobacco production, as a commercial center in Maryland.

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27. Stephenson, p. 37.

28. Ibid.

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APPENDIX A

Treaty of 1666

The Articles of peace made with the Pascattoway Indians Anno One thousand six hundred Sixty Six and since ratified & renewed one thousand Six hundred Seaventy were delivered into the Office for Lands by the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Philip Calvert Esq<sup>r</sup> Chancelo<sup>r</sup> the Seaventeenth of this instant May and are as foll viz:

Articles of Peace and Amity concluded & agreed upon Between the right hon<sup>ble</sup> Caecilius Lord & Proprietor of the Province of Maryland & Avalon Lord Baron of Baltemore and the Indians of Pascattoway, Anacostaub, Doags, Mibibiwomans, Masquestend Mattawomans, Chingwawaters, Nangemaick, Portobackes, Sacayo, Pangayo and Choptico the Twentieth day of Aprill One thousand six hundred Sixty & Six.

1. Imprimis the aforementioned Indians do ratify & Confirm acknowledge & declare the sole power of constituting & appointing the Emperour of Pascattoway to be & remain in the right hon<sup>ble</sup> Caecilius Lord & Proprietor of this Province & his heirs Lords & Proprietors of this Province and do desire the Govern<sup>r</sup> with what convenient speed he can to appoint an Emperour in the place of Walmsasco the second lately deceased.

2. If any Indian kill an English man he shall dye for it.

3: Forasmuch as the English cannot easily distinguish one Indian from another that no Indian shall come into any English Plantacōn painted & that all the Indians shall be bound to call aloud before they come within three hundred paces of any Insligh mans cleer ground and lay down their Armes whether Gun, bow or Arrows or other weapon for any English man that shall appear upon his call to take up and in Case no one appear that he shall there leave his said Armes if he come neerer and that afterwards he shall by calling aloud Endeavour to give notice to the English of his neerer approach And if any English man shall kill any Indian that shall come unpainted & give such notice & deliver up his Armes as aforesd he shall dye for it as well an Indian that kills an English man and in case the English & Indians meet accidentally in the woods every Indian shall be bound imediatly to throw down his Armes upon call and in Case any Indian so meeting an English man shall refuse to throw down his Armes upon call he shall de deemed as an Enemy.

4. The Priviledge of Hunting, Crabbing, ffishing, And fowling shalbe p<sup>r</sup> served to the Indians Inviolably

5. That in Case of Danger the Governr shall appoint a place to which the Indians of the aforesaid Nacōns shall bring their wives

& children to be secured from danger of any forreign Indians and that in Case the men of the aforesaid nacōns chance to be killed that the women & children shall remain free & not be Serv<sup>ts</sup> to the English.

6. That Nicholas Emanson do make the Indians of Nangemaick satisfaccōn for the damage by him done to their Corn in Case George Thompson & John Brown testify that the said Emanson did willfully thrown down their fence about their Corn ffield

7. That the Indians of Nanjemaick shall remain upon the place where they now live and that Necutahainon son to their last King be King over that people imediatly und<sup>r</sup> the Protection of the Lord Prop<sup>r</sup>ietor of this Province and Subject to no Indian whatsoever.

8. That John Roberts & Thomas Maris do pay the Indians of Chingwawateick one hundred & twenty arms length of Roan Oak for the Indian that was Slain by them at the head of Portoback Creek in August last

9. That every Indian that killeth or stealeth a hog calf or other beast or other Goods shall undergo the same punishm<sup>t</sup> that an English man doth for the same offence

10. That the severall Nacōns aforesaid shall continue upon the places where they now live and that the hon<sup>ble</sup> the Govern<sup>r</sup> be desired to lay out their sev<sup>r</sup>all bounds as to him in Justice shall seem most for the publique good between this and the last of June next ensueing within which bounds it shall not be lawfull for the said Nacōns to entertain any forreign Indians whatsoever to live with them without leave from the Lord Prop<sup>r</sup>ietor or his chief Govern<sup>r</sup> here for the time being and that the said Indians shall not be forced or removed from the said places so to be limited & appointed to them by the Govern<sup>r</sup> as aforesaid unless the Nacōn or Nacōns or any particular person of those Nacōns hereafter to be removed shall signify their willingness to be removed by the Consent of their Matchomaco to such com<sup>rs</sup> as the s<sup>d</sup> Lord Prop<sup>r</sup>ietor or his chief Govern<sup>r</sup> here for the time being by Commission under the great Seal of this Province to be Authorized to take the same & lycense thereupon from his said L<sup>pp</sup> or his Govern<sup>r</sup> here to remove had & obteyned.

11. That the aforesaid Nacōns shall from & after the first of December next ensueing fence in their Corn ffields from hoggs & Cattle of the English And if any Englishman willfully throw down any of their fences they shall make the Indians full Satisfaccon for their Damage

12. In case any Servants or Slaves run away from their Masters & come to any of the Indian Towns aforesaid that the said Indians shall app<sup>r</sup>hend them and bring them to the next English Plantacon

to be conveyed to their Master and if any Indian convey or assist any such ffugitives out of the Province that he shall make the respective Master or Mistrs of such serv<sup>t</sup> or serv<sup>ts</sup> such satisfaccōn as an English man ought to do in the like Case.

13. That all great men here p<sup>r</sup>sent do imediatly sign these Articles & that the great men of Those Towns that were here & are returned or otherwise did not come but by their Proxies shall come to the Govern<sup>r</sup> when he comes to Pascataway to make the Emperour & sign the Peace here concluded or else to be deemed & declared Enemies as well to the English as to the Indians that do joyn with the L<sup>d</sup> Prop<sup>r</sup>ietor in this Peace

14. That the said Nacons shall not make any new Peace, with our Enemies And shall not make any new warr without the Consent of the right honble the Lord Propriet<sup>r</sup> or his chief Govern<sup>r</sup> here

That from this Day forward there be an Inviolable Peace & amity between the Right hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lord Prop<sup>r</sup>ietary of this Province & the Indians aforementioned upon the Articles before us in this Treaty agreed upon to the World end to endure.

The Marke of X Monattbone for Pascattaway & Sacayo

The Marke of X Amehoick for the Matchecomico of Pascattaway

The Marke of X Choticke Councell<sup>r</sup> of Chingwawateick & Pangayo

The Marke of X Wetat for the Matchecomico of Chingwawatieck  
& Pangayo

The Marke of X Unawcawtanim for Mattawoman

The Marke of X Necutahamon King of Nangemy

The Marke of X Mawnawzimo for Nangemy

APPENDIX B

RESERVATION OF LAND, 1669

To the Honble the Lieu<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>ll</sup> and Councill August the XXV Mdelxix By virtue of an order of the Honble Govern<sup>r</sup> and Councill I Jerome White Surveyo<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>ll</sup> of the province of Maryland have laid out for the Pascattoway Annacostancke Doags, Mikikiwoman, Manusquesend Mattawoman Chingwawateg Nanjemaick Portobacco Lanays Pangayo and the Choptico Indians all that tract of land lying between Paskatoway Creek and Mattawoman creek beginning at Mattawoman Creek at a marked white oak standing near a path that leadeth over the said creek from Pascattoway unto Zaccaya and running from the said oak north untill it meeteth with the main fresh falling into Pascattoway creek bounded on the north by the said Creek fresh and creek unto potomack River bounded on the west with the said Potomack River from the said pascattaway Creek unto the above said Mattawoman Creek bounded on the south by the said Mattawoman Creek unto the above mentioned white oak and bounded on the east by the above said north line.

As cited in Marye, pp. 239-40.

## APPENDIX C

### Hansonton

"August 13th, 1662: Laid out for Randle Hanson of this province planter a parcell of Land on the east side of pascattoway River in Charles County near unto an old Indian Town called Aquakeeke beginning at a marked pokehikary standing by the water side and running east north east up the River for breadth the Length of Two hundred and fifty perches to a marked oak standing by the River side, a bounding on the east with a Line drawn south south east from the said oak for the length of Three hundred and twenty perches, to a marked poplar standing in an old Indian feild, on the south with a Line drawn west south west from the end of the former line for the length of Two hundred and fifty perches, to a bounded oak that Intersects a parallel Line drawn from the first marked pokickary on the west with the said parallel on the north with the sd river containing and now laid out for five hundred acres more or less"

### Charley

"'Charley' surveyed May 4th, 1663: Laid out for Randall Hanson of this province a parcell of Land lying on the east side of pascattoway River in Charles County (called Charley) Beginning at a marked pokehickary standing by the River side, being the bound tree of his own Land formerly laid out called Hansonton, bounding on the east with the sd Land for the length of Three hundred and twenty perches to a marked oak staining in the woods, on the south with a Line drawn west south west from the said oak for the length on one hundred and eighty perches to a marked red oak, on the west with a Line drawn north north west from the end of the former Line to a bounded oak standing by the water side on the north with the sd River, containing and now laid out for Three hundred and sixty acres more or less."

As cited in Marye, pp. 237-38.

## APPENDIX D

### Calvert Manor

"August 31, 1662: Layd out for Willm Calvert of this Province Esqr a tract of Land on the east side of Pascattaway river [Potomac River] & the south side of a Creeks in the said River called pascattaway creeks beginning att a marked oake the bound tree of Randall Hanson and running south south east up the hills for the Length of five hundred perches to a marked oake bounding on the south wth a Line drawne south east from the said Oake for the Length of One thousand & twenty perches to a marked oake on the east with a line drawne north east from the end of the former Line to a marked Ash standing in an ashing swampe by the Creeke side near an Indian ffeild on the north with the said Creeke on the west with the River and the Land of Randall Hanson aforesaid containing and now Layd out for three Thousand acres more or Less"

As cited in Marye, p. 236: Warrants, Liber X, 1661-1663, folio 271.

GENERAL LIST OR DESCRIPTION OF ALL LANDS, LOTS, BUILDINGS AND WHARVES, owned, possessed or occupied on the first day of October, 1798, within the King Georges and Grubb Hundreds being within Prince Georges County in the State of Maryland, excepting any such Dwellings, Houses as with the Out-houses appurtenant thereto, and the Lots on which they are erected, not exceeding two Acres in any case, are above the value of one hundred Dollars.

Name of Owner	Remarks: Number, Description, & Dimensions of Buildings & Wharves, situation, boundaries, or names of the adjacent Proprietors; also, circumstances under which an exemption from valuation is claimed.	Dwelling houses & Out-Houses a value not Exceeding 100 dollars		QUANTITIES OF Lands & Lots Claimed to be exempted from valuation			QUANTITIES OF Lands & Lots admitted to be subject to valuation			Valuation of each tract, Lot &c. by the Assistant Assessor		Valuation of each tract, Lot &c. by the Principal Assessor			
		Number of Dwelling Houses	Value Dollars	Cents	Acres	Perches	Sq. ft.	Acres	Perches	Sq. ft.	Dollars	Cents	Dollars	Cents	
															Dollars
Samuel Bond	pt. Piscataway Manner pt - No Name and Nonsuch Carriage House Stable Corn House 4 Tobc <sup>o</sup> Houses Cow House overseers House 2 Negro Houses adjoining Potomack	1	80				685					3425		3425	
Walter Bowling	pt. Piscataway Manner Althus Choice one Negro House one Corn House One Tobc <sup>o</sup> House adjoining Piscataway Creek						264					660		660	
Joseph Boardman	pt. Piscataway Manner one Negro House one Tobc <sup>o</sup> House adjoining Call Lyles pt of the Ridge one Tenants House very old adjoining Josias Beall.	1	30				218 200					672 300		672 300	
John H. Beans	Hawkines Lot pt. of Piscataway Manner - Servants House Lumber House Corn House fish House Stable two Tobc <sup>o</sup> Houses one Cow House 3 Negro Houses. Adjoining Potomack River 2 miles from Piscataway pt of Ridge. King Georges Hundred Pt of Piscataway Manner 3 Negro Houses two Tobc Houses Adjoining Potomac River. one lot in Piscataway a Ball Room 26 by 20 feet 14 windows 116 sq. feet same						217 500					868 4000		868 4,000	
Mary Edelen	Pt. of Piscataway Manner. An old dwelling House 24 by 20 feet Kitchen 12 feet Corn House & one Tobc House King Georges Hundred	1	40				200					500		500	
Thomas P. Edelen	Pt. of Piscataway Manner logged dwelling House 24 by 16 feet Kitchen 14 feet by 12 feet.	1	30				150					300		300	
William Lyles	Pt of Piscataway Manner an Overseers House Corn House 5 Negro Houses 5 Tobc <sup>o</sup> Houses adjoining Potomack River King Georges Hundred	1	60				489					4890		4890	
Thomas H. Marshall	James & Elizabeth. pt of Piscataway Manner. Resurvey on little Troy hog pen pt of Exeter pt of no name & sure bind - one Tenants House one Tobc <sup>o</sup> House adjoining Thomas Marshall King Georges Hundred	1	60				1133 1/2					3400	50	3400	50

PARTICULAR LIST OR DESCRIPTION OF EACH DWELLING-HOUSE, which with the Out-houses appurtenant thereto, and the Lot on which the Same are erected, not exceeding two Acres, in any case, were owned, kpossessed, or occupied on the first day of October, 1798, within King Georges and Crubb Hundreds in Prince Georges County, Maryland, exceeding in value the sum of One Hundred Dollars.

Name of Occupant or Possessor	Name of Owner	Remarks, Situation, Dimensions, or area, number of stories, number and dimensions of the windows, and materials of which built, both of dwelling houses and out-houses, also circumstances under which an exemption from valuation is claimed.	Number of Houses &c. claimed to be exempted from the Valuation			Number of Houses &c. admitted to be subject to Valuation			Valuation of each Dwelling house, with the Lot and Out-houses appurtenant thereto, by the Assistant Assessors		Valuation of each Dwelling house, with the Lot and Out-houses appurtenant thereto, by the Principal Assessor.	
			Dwelling Houses	Out Houses	Quantity of land in the lots Acres Perches Sq. feet	Dwelling Houses	Out Houses	Quantity of Land in the Lots valued therewith Acres Perches Sq. Feet	Dollars	Cents	Dollars	Cents
	Samuel Bond	pt. Piscataway Manner a wooden dwelling House 24 feet Sq. 9 windows 36 sq. feet Kitchen 16 by 14 feet meat House & Dairy				1	3	1	200		200	
	Walter Bowling	pt. Piscataway Manner a wooden dwelling House 24 feet Sq windows 15 Sq. feet Kitchen 12 Sq. feet.				1	1	1	110		110	
	Joseph Boarmann	pt. Piscataway Manner a woden dwelling House 24 by 20 feet 4 windows 40 Sq. feet Kitchen 16 feet Sq. Dairy meat House Corn House.				1	4	1	150		150	

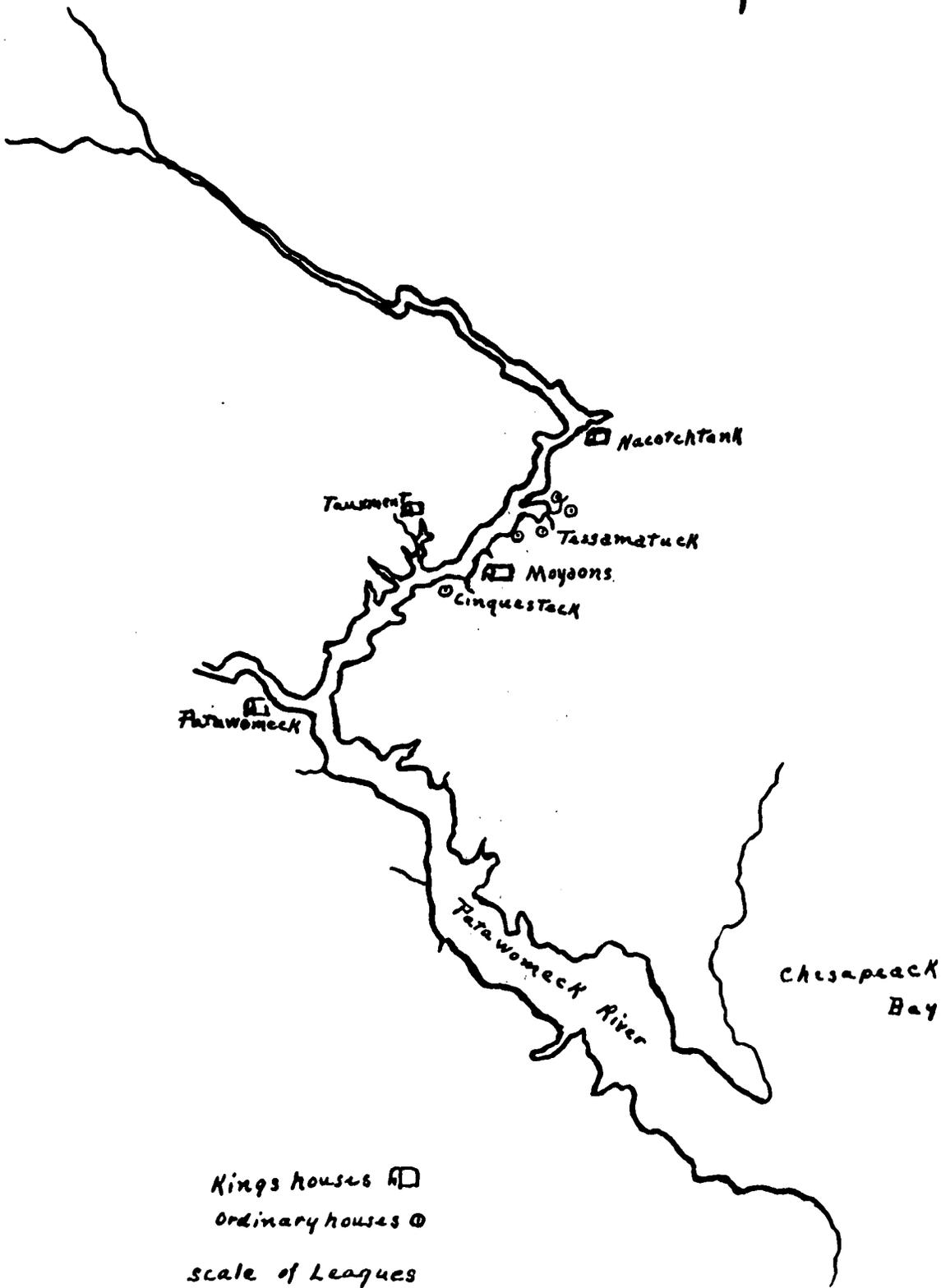
GENERAL LIST OF SLAVES owned, or under the care of Sundry Persons on the first day of October, 1798,  
 within the King Georges and Grubb Hundreds in Prince Georges County

Name of Owner	County, Township, Parish, Town or City	Whole Number of Slaves of all Ages
Samuel Bond	King Georges Hundred	25
Walter Bowling	Same	10
Joseph Boarmann	Same	24
John H. Beanes	Same	80
Mary Edelen	Same	4
Thomas P. Edelen	Same	9
William Lyles	Same	31

## ILLUSTRATIONS

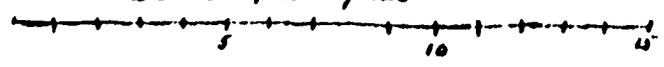
1. Facsimile of Captain John Smith's Map of Virginia, 1612. Note Moyaone and its prominence in relation to other Indian villages. Illustration from Alice Ferguson's, *Moyaone and the Piscataway Indians*.

N  
↑



Kings houses   
Ordinary houses 

scale of Leagues

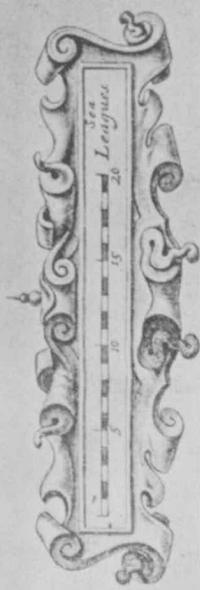
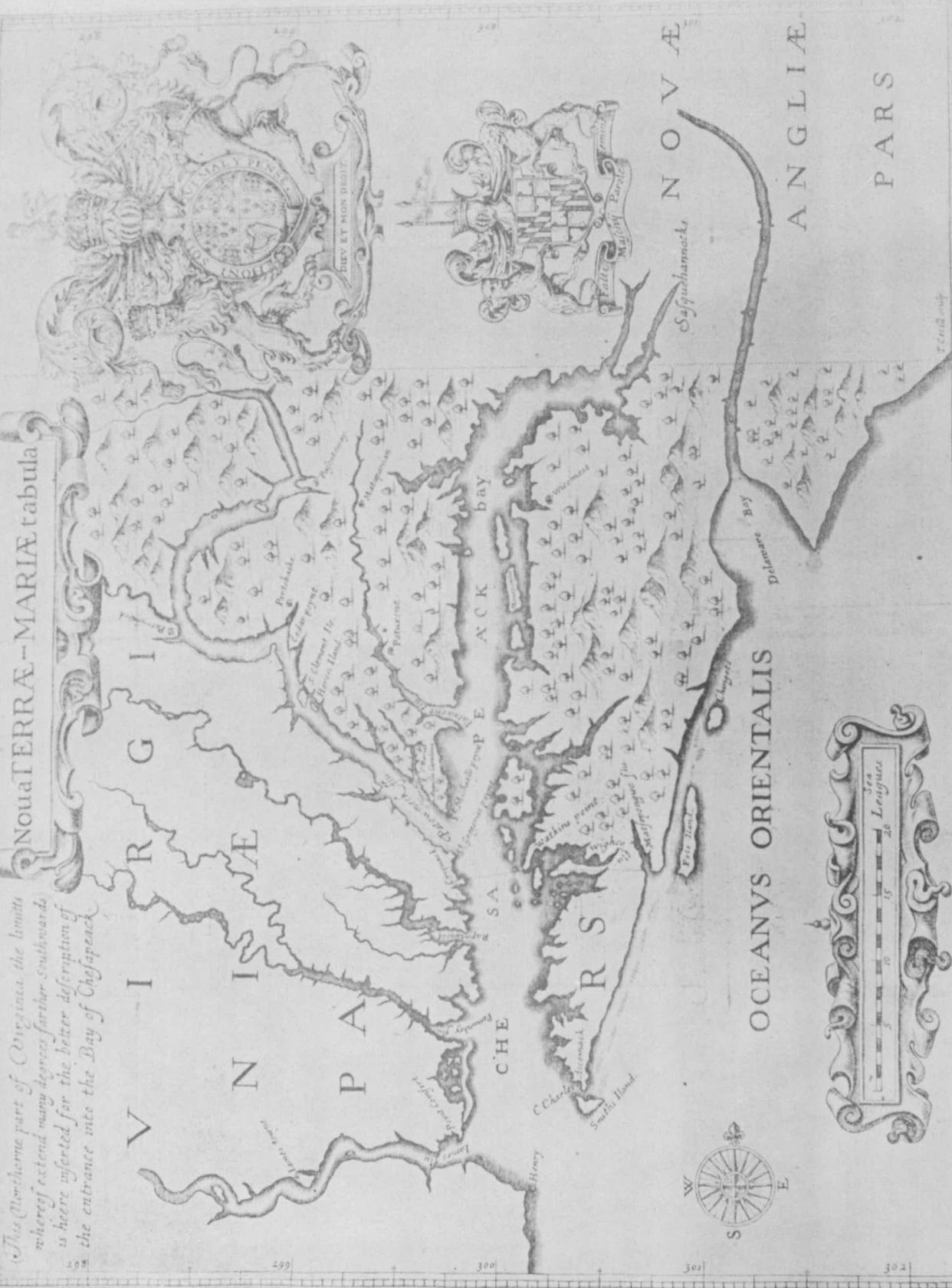


FROM CAPT. JOHN SMITH'S MAP OF VIRGINIA, 1607

2. Map of Maryland, from "A Relation of Maryland," 1635. Pascataway and the other locations marked by a house indicate Indian tribes. From, Clayton C. Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684*.

*This Northern part of Virginia, the limits whereof extend many degrees farther Southwards is here inserted for the better description of the entrance into the Bay of Chesapeake*

NOVA TERRA - MARIÆ tabula



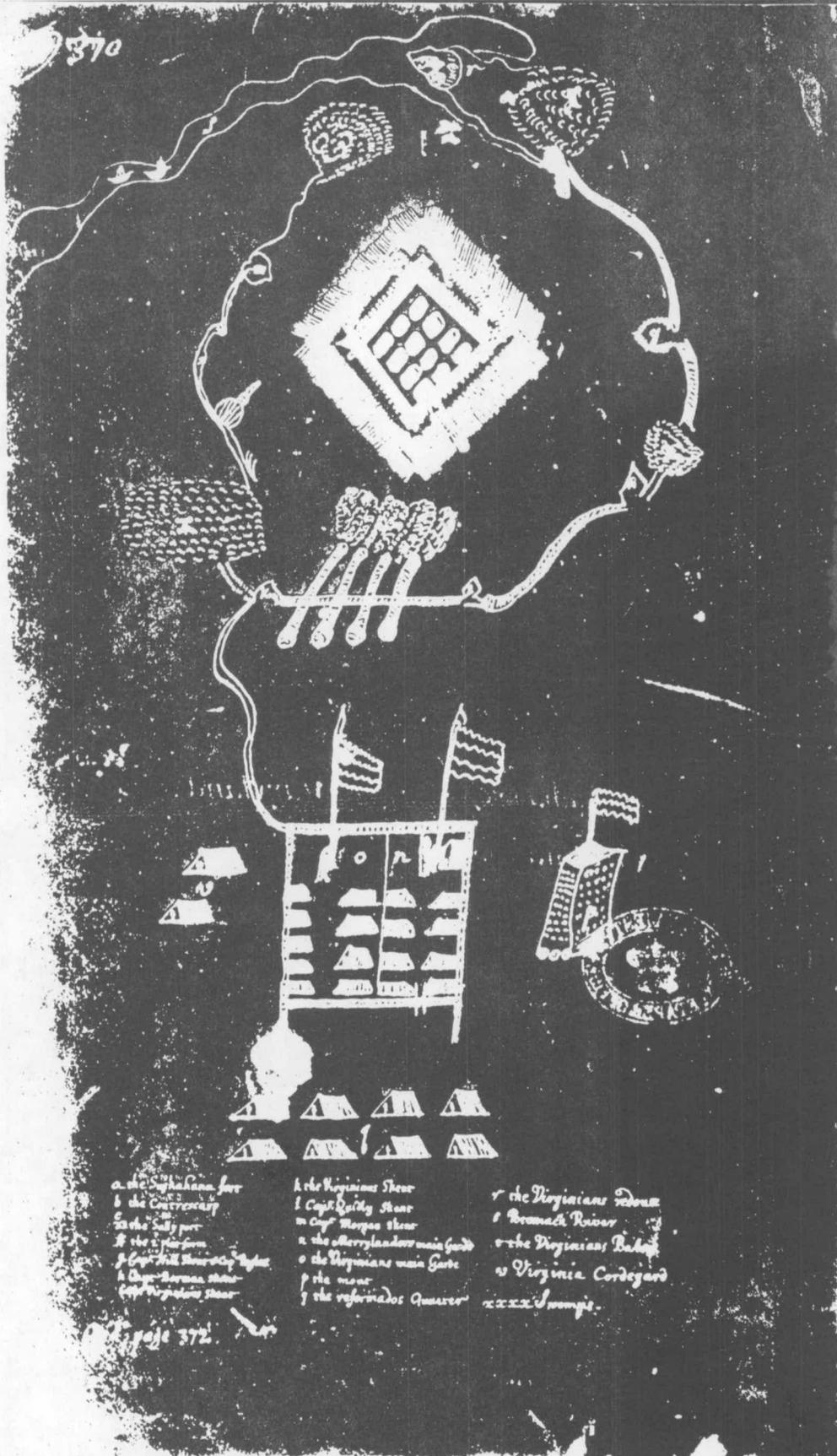
MAP OF MARYLAND, FROM "A RELATION OF MARYLAND," 1635  
 From a copy of the original in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building)

3. Map of Colonial Maryland, circa 1670. Note the three structures marked at Pascattaway, (just above the R in Charles.) These symbols probably represent the Piscataway Indian town, but they may indicate the early farms in the area.

Courtesy of the Library of Congress.



4. Diagram of Susquehannock Fort, 1675. This drawing, found by Dr. T. J. Wertenbaker in the Public Record Office in London, has been key in locating the fort near Mockley Point at the mouth of Piscataway Creek. Facsimile from Alice Ferguson's "The Susquehannock Fort on Piscataway Creek," *Maryland Historical Magazine* XXXVI (1941).

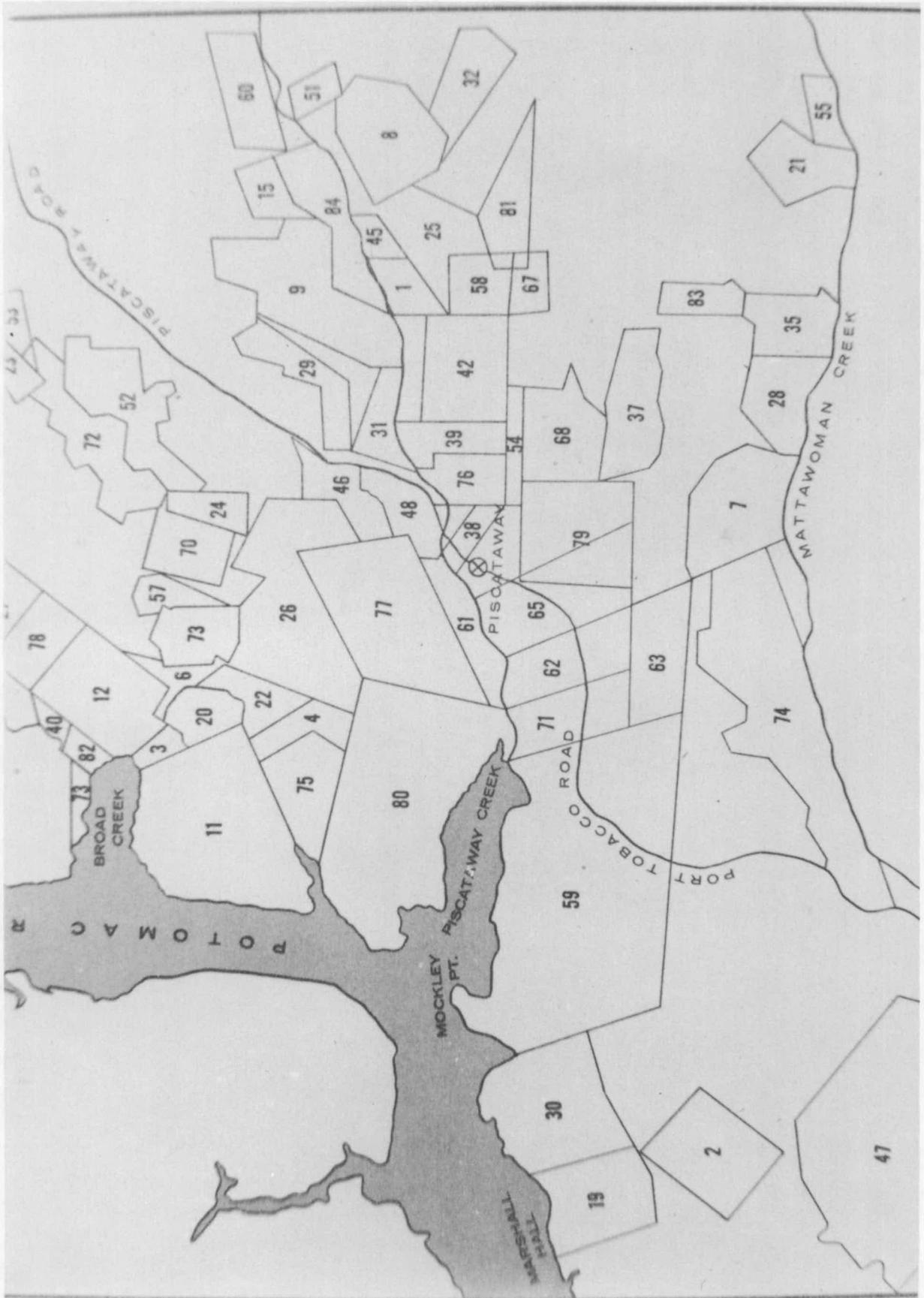


a the Indian fort  
 b the stockaded fort  
 c the Sally port  
 d the 2<sup>d</sup> platform  
 e the 1<sup>st</sup> platform  
 f the 2<sup>d</sup> platform  
 g the 1<sup>st</sup> platform  
 h the 2<sup>d</sup> platform  
 i the 3<sup>d</sup> platform  
 k the 4<sup>th</sup> platform  
 l the 5<sup>th</sup> platform  
 m the 6<sup>th</sup> platform  
 n the 7<sup>th</sup> platform  
 o the 8<sup>th</sup> platform  
 p the 9<sup>th</sup> platform  
 q the 10<sup>th</sup> platform  
 r the 11<sup>th</sup> platform  
 s the 12<sup>th</sup> platform  
 t the 13<sup>th</sup> platform  
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 v the 15<sup>th</sup> platform  
 w the 16<sup>th</sup> platform  
 x the 17<sup>th</sup> platform  
 y the 18<sup>th</sup> platform  
 z the 19<sup>th</sup> platform  
 aa the 20<sup>th</sup> platform  
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 ah the 27<sup>th</sup> platform  
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 al the 31<sup>th</sup> platform  
 am the 32<sup>th</sup> platform  
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 be the 50<sup>th</sup> platform  
 bf the 51<sup>th</sup> platform  
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 bh the 53<sup>th</sup> platform  
 bi the 54<sup>th</sup> platform  
 bj the 55<sup>th</sup> platform  
 bk the 56<sup>th</sup> platform  
 bl the 57<sup>th</sup> platform  
 bm the 58<sup>th</sup> platform  
 bn the 59<sup>th</sup> platform  
 bo the 60<sup>th</sup> platform  
 bp the 61<sup>th</sup> platform  
 bq the 62<sup>th</sup> platform  
 br the 63<sup>th</sup> platform  
 bs the 64<sup>th</sup> platform  
 bt the 65<sup>th</sup> platform  
 bu the 66<sup>th</sup> platform  
 bv the 67<sup>th</sup> platform  
 bw the 68<sup>th</sup> platform  
 bx the 69<sup>th</sup> platform  
 by the 70<sup>th</sup> platform  
 bz the 71<sup>th</sup> platform  
 ca the 72<sup>th</sup> platform  
 cb the 73<sup>th</sup> platform  
 cc the 74<sup>th</sup> platform  
 cd the 75<sup>th</sup> platform  
 ce the 76<sup>th</sup> platform  
 cf the 77<sup>th</sup> platform  
 cg the 78<sup>th</sup> platform  
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 cz the 97<sup>th</sup> platform  
 da the 98<sup>th</sup> platform  
 db the 99<sup>th</sup> platform  
 dc the 100<sup>th</sup> platform

page 372.

FIG. 1. DIAGRAM OF THE SUSQUEHANNA FORT, 1674, AT THE MOUTH OF PISCATAWAY CREEK, MD.  
 Found in the Public Record Office, London (C. O. 5-1374), by Dr. T. J. Wertenbaker, by whose courtesy it is here reproduced.  
 At top the Indian fort with counterscarp, sauteparts and platforms (a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, w, x, y, z, aa, ab, ac, ad, ae, af, ag, ah, ai, aj, ak, al, am, an, ao, ap, aq, ar, as, at, au, av, aw, ax, ay, az, ba, bb, bc, bd, be, bf, bg, bh, bi, bj, bk, bl, bm, bn, bo, bp, bq, br, bs, bt, bu, bv, bw, bx, by, bz, ca, cb, cc, cd, ce, cf, cg, ch, ci, cj, ck, cl, cm, cn, co, cp, cq, cr, cs, ct, cu, cv, cw, cx, cy, cz, da, db, dc, dd, de, df, dg, dh, di, dj, dk, dl, dm, dn, do, dp, dq, dr, ds, dt, du, dv, dw, dx, dy, dz, ea, eb, ec, ed, ee, ef, eg, eh, ei, ej, ek, el, em, en, eo, ep, eq, er, es, et, eu, ev, ew, ex, ey, ez, fa, fb, fc, fd, fe, ff, fg, fh, fi, fj, fk, fl, fm, fn, fo, fp, fq, fr, fs, ft, fu, fv, fw, fx, fy, fz, ga, gb, gc, gd, ge, gf, gg, gh, gi, gj, gk, gl, gm, gn, go, gp, gq, gr, gs, gt, gu, gv, gw, gx, gy, gz, ha, hb, hc, hd, he, hf, hg, hh, hi, hj, hk, hl, hm, hn, ho, hp, hq, hr, hs, ht, hu, hv, hw, hx, hy, hz, ia, ib, ic, id, ie, if, ig, ih, ii, ij, ik, il, im, in, io, ip, iq, ir, is, it, iu, iv, iw, ix, iy, iz, ja, jb, jc, jd, je, jf, jg, jh, ji, jj, jk, jl, jm, jn, jo, jp, jq, jr, js, jt, ju, jv, jw, jx, jy, jz, ka, kb, kc, kd, ke, kf, kg, kh, ki, kj, kk, kl, km, kn, ko, kp, kq, kr, ks, kt, ku, kv, kw, kx, ky, kz, la, lb, lc, ld, le, lf, lg, lh, li, lj, lk, ll, lm, ln, lo, lp, lq, lr, ls, lt, lu, lv, lw, lx, ly, lz, ma, mb, mc, md, me, mf, mg, mh, mi, mj, mk, ml, mm, mn, mo, mp, mq, mr, ms, mt, mu, mv, mw, mx, my, mz, na, nb, nc, nd, ne, nf, ng, nh, ni, nj, nk, nl, nm, no, np, nq, nr, ns, nt, nu, nv, nw, nx, ny, nz, oa, ob, oc, od, oe, of, og, oh, oi, oj, ok, ol, om, on, oo, op, oq, or, os, ot, ou, ov, ow, ox, oy, oz, pa, pb, pc, pd, pe, pf, pg, ph, pi, pj, pk, pl, pm, pn, po, pp, pq, pr, ps, pt, pu, pv, pw, px, py, pz, qa, qb, qc, qd, qe, qf, qg, qh, qi, qj, qk, ql, qm, qn, qo, qp, qq, qr, qs, qt, qu, qv, qw, qx, qy, qz, ra, rb, rc, rd, re, rf, rg, rh, ri, rj, rk, rl, rm, rn, ro, rp, rq, rr, rs, rt, ru, rv, rw, rx, ry, rz, sa, sb, sc, sd, se, sf, sg, sh, si, sj, sk, sl, sm, sn, so, sp, sq, sr, ss, st, su, sv, sw, sx, sy, sz, ta, tb, tc, td, te, tf, tg, th, ti, tj, tk, tl, tm, tn, to, tp, tq, tr, ts, tt, tu, tv, tw, tx, ty, tz, ua, ub, uc, ud, ue, uf, ug, uh, ui, uj, uk, ul, um, un, uo, up, uq, ur, us, ut, uu, uv, uw, ux, uy, uz, va, vb, vc, vd, ve, vf, vg, vh, vi, vj, vk, vl, vm, vn, vo, vp, vq, vr, vs, vt, vu, vv, vw, vx, vy, vz, wa, wb, wc, wd, we, wf, wg, wh, wi, wj, wk, wl, wm, wn, wo, wp, wq, wr, ws, wt, wu, wv, ww, wx, wy, wz, xa, xb, xc, xd, xe, xf, xg, xh, xi, xj, xk, xl, xm, xn, xo, xp, xq, xr, xs, xt, xu, xv, xw, xx, xy, xz, ya, yb, yc, yd, ye, yf, yg, yh, yi, yj, yk, yl, ym, yn, yo, yp, yq, yr, ys, yt, yu, yv, yw, yx, yy, yz, za, zb, zc, zd, ze, zf, zg, zh, zi, zj, zk, zl, zm, zn, zo, zp, zq, zr, zs, zt, zu, zv, zw, zx, zy, zz.

5. Tracts Laid out in Lower Piscataway Hundred Before April 23, 1696. Katharine Kellock drew up this chart of tracts according to a list compiled by Louise J. Hienton. No. 59 is Piscataway or Calvert Manor; Nos. 19 and 30 are Randle Hanson's Charley and Hansonton respectively. From Kellock, *Colonial Piscataway*.



6. Map of Maryland, with the Delaware Counties and the Southern Part of New Jersey by T. Kitchin, Geographer, 1757. Note Piscatawa (to the left of the 1st E in Chesapeake) lies on the only route north to Annapolis. Courtesy of Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland. Maps, Box 4, folder 14.

For the Land Mag.



Printed for R. B. Aldwin in Peter Noctor Row.

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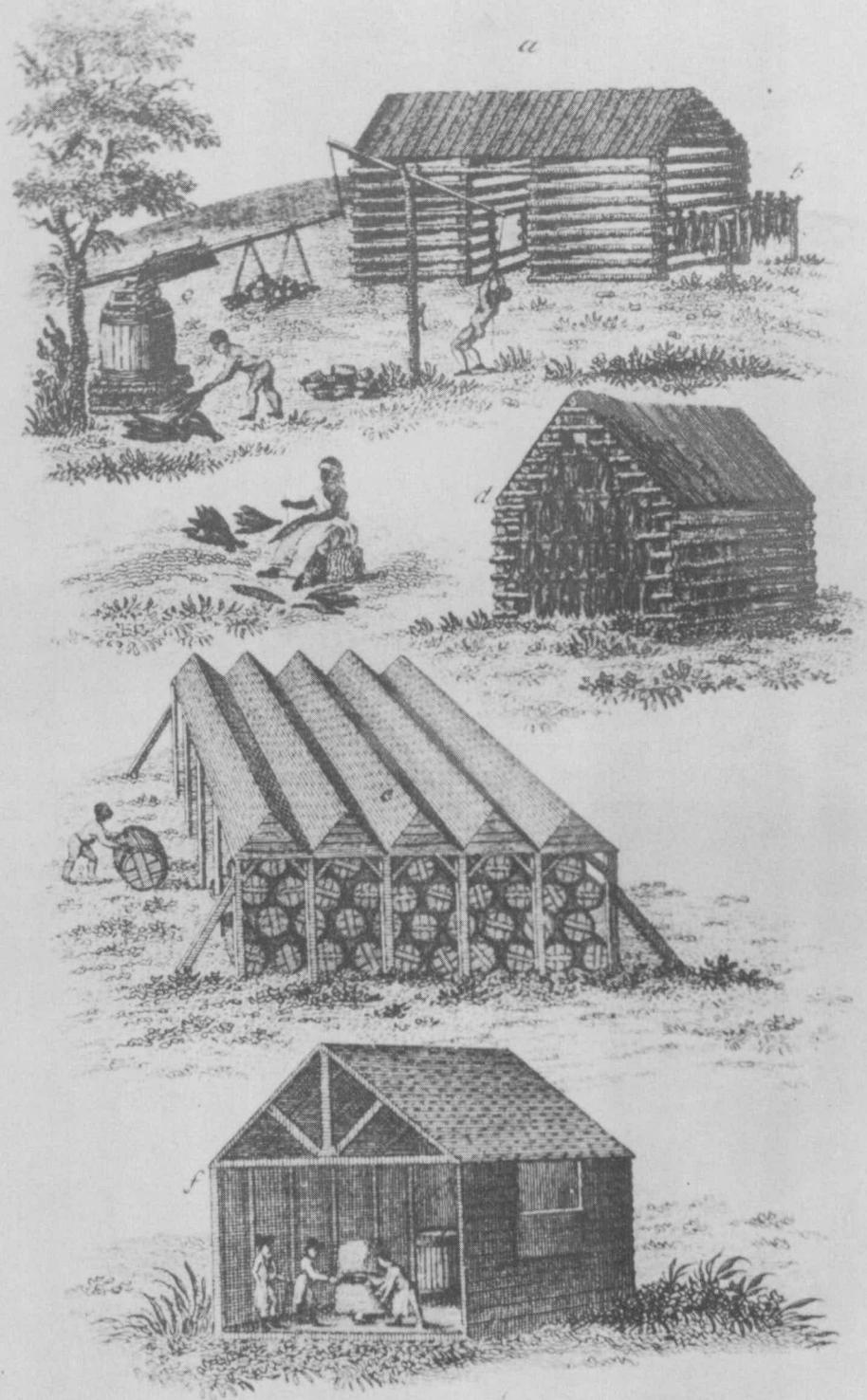
76°

78°

79°

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7. Tobacco storage in colonial Maryland.  
Tobacco curing, prizing, and inspection in  
colonial Maryland. From M. V. Brewington,  
*Chesapeake Bay: A Pictorial Maritime  
History* (New York, 1956).



The Curing and Storage of Tobacco. a, The common Tobacco House. b, Tobacco hanging upon a scaffold. c, The operation of prizing. d, Inside view of a Tobacco House, shewing the tobacco hanging to cure. e, An outside view of public warehouses. f, An inside view of the public warehouse, shewing the process of inspection. From Tatham: *Historical and Practical Essay on . . . Tobacco*. London, 1800. Owned by Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.

8. Tobacco transport in colonial Maryland.  
a) A double canoe, B) a lighter  
c) a wagon d) rolling a hogshead. From  
M. V. Brewington's, *Chesapeake Bay*.



b



c



d



9. A tobacco wharf along shores of Chesapeake, circa 1750.  
From Arthur P. Middleton, *Tobacco Coast, A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era*.



*A tobacco wharf along the shores of the Chesapeake, c. 1750, by Elmo Jones, after Charles Crignion's engraving of Francis Hayman's cartouche on the Fry and Jefferson MAP OF VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND, London, 1751.*

10. Land Ownership of Calvert Manor, 1662-1800.  
This chart is by no means complete. It is intended to indicate the major land exchanges and the families involved in land ownership during the 18th century.  
Compiled from Land Records, Prince Georges County Courthouse, Upper Marlboro, Maryland, and Katharine Kellock, *Colonial Piscataway*.

WILLIAM CALVERT, 1662, CALVERT MANOR

CHARLES CALVERT, son  
2,400 acres, 1666

sale

CHARLES EDGERTON  
2,400 acres, 1689

CHARLES EDGERTON, son m. MARY NEALE  
2,400 acres, n.d.

sale

THOMAS EDELEN  
1,400 acres, 1715

GEORGE NOBLE  
1,000 acres, 1715

ELIZABETH CALVERT m. JAMES NEALE  
600 acres, 1707

sale

DANIEL DULANEY  
600 acres, 1719-20

sale

GEORGE NOBLE  
600 acres, 1725

THOMAS NOBLE, son  
300 acres, 1756

FAMILY  
300 acres, 1763

GEORGE NOBLE, son  
300 acres, 1756

sale

WILLIAM LYLES, JR.  
1779

CHRISTOPHER  
EDELEN, bro.  
300 acres, n.d.

RICHARD  
EDELEN, bro.  
400 acres, n.d.

Thomas

DYER, son-  
in-law, n.d.  
400 acres

RICHARD  
EDELEN, son

sale

PHILIP  
EDELEN, son  
100 acres, 1725

ZACHARIAH BOND

Parcell of land on  
which Thomas Holly  
and  
Joseph Crown lived  
within Calvert Manor

THOMAS MARSHALL  
1759

EDWARD  
EDELEN, bro  
300 acres, n.d.

JAMES  
EDELEN, son

lease

JAMES  
REED  
110 acres  
1728

SALOME  
NOBLE  
sale

EDWARD  
PYE  
200 acres  
1736

ROBERT THOMPSON  
170 acres, 1741

JOSEPH BOARMANN  
111 acres, 1761

JOHN HANCOCK BEANES  
m. H. S. CLAGETT

m. CATHARINE EDELEN  
Bought up Manor lands  
until 1812.

11. Samuel Vaughan Map of Mount Vernon, 1787. Vaughan's depiction of the Maryland shores across the Potomac are sketchy at best but indicate the two major manors lying on the outskirts of Piscataway park: Marshall Hall to the right, and Warburton Manor to the left. Courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association.



12. Piscataway Park and environs, 1966. Present  
Piscataway Park, facing three other historical  
areas, Mount Vernon, Fort Hunt, and Fort  
Washington. From Preliminary Masterplan,  
Piscataway Park, 1966.

