

Nanticoke and Neighboring Tribes

CHRISTIAN F. FEEST

Language and Territory

When first visited by European explorers and colonists, the region of southern Maryland between the lower Potomac River and Chesapeake Bay and most of the Delmarva peninsula—including two counties in Virginia, nine in Maryland, and adjacent parts of Delaware—was inhabited by a number of Algonquian-speaking tribes* some of whom were joined together to form a smaller number of larger political entities (fig. 1). Their territory bordered upon that of the related Delawares to the northeast, various Iroquoian-speaking and other groups to the northwest, and the Algonquian tribes of Virginia to the south.

Most of the Virginia Eastern Shore was inhabited by a group of tribes often collectively referred to as Accomac; however, some bands near the Maryland line were more closely allied to the Pocomokes on the bay side to the north of them. The tribes on the Atlantic side of eastern Maryland, although perhaps not fully united politically, may be subsumed under the name of the major group of this region, the Assateagues. The Nanticoke and Choptank inhabited the drainage systems of the rivers that bear their names, while the little-known Wicomisses and Tockwochs were first encountered on the Chester and Sassafras rivers respectively. All tribes in southern Maryland, with the possible exception of the Patuxents, were part of the Conoy group, so called by their Iroquoian name to differentiate between the larger political unit and its leading tribe, the Piscataway. Some Conoy bands lived on both sides of the Potomac, and groups like the Doeg moved back and forth throughout the seventeenth century.

Evidence for the linguistic affiliation of these groups comes from the reports of early observers and from a very small number of linguistic records, which include a Choptank word list recorded in 1792; Nanticoke word lists taken in 1785, around 1800, and in 1914 (Speck 1927:35-76); Piscataway materials dating to the time of the Jesuit mission (Harrison 1633); and a few Piscataway phrases (Md. Arch. 49:483) and Assateague (Kickotank) words (Norwood 1844). John Smith, exploring the

Chesapeake Bay in 1608, found the Accomac language the same as the tribes of tidewater Virginia, while that of the groups to the north of them was different (Barbour 1969:344, 407).

According to Nanticoke traditions recorded by Heckewelder (1819:74), the Nanticoke at an early date detached themselves from the Delawares and settled on the Eastern Shore of Maryland where they increased and subsequently split up into several separate groups; one of them, the Conoy, removed to the western shore between the Potomac and Susquehanna rivers. In a speech delivered in 1660 to the governor of Maryland, the Conoy dated their arrival in southern Maryland from the east to a time 13 generations of chiefs before 1636 (Md. Arch. 3:403). Archeology so far provides no conclusive evidence to confirm these traditions, which are supported by the close linguistic relationship. The Accokeek Creek site on the Potomac River below Washington, which was last inhabited by the Conoy, shows no significant break in cultural development throughout Woodland times.

Seventeenth Century

Throughout the early history of Maryland, there is some confusion about tribal identities and alliances. In the case of identities this is explained by the fact that groups frequently were known by the name of their village, which resulted in the use of a different name every time a new village was established. This situation applies, for example, to the designations Moyans and Accokeek and may hold for rarely mentioned groups such as the Mikikiwomans, Manesquesend, Lamasconsans, and Kighahnixons (all of southern Maryland). Although some Maryland groups shared their names with Virginia Algonquian groups (Pamunkey, Potapaco, Mattapanient), this implies neither identity nor any especially close relationship between the namesakes. Even within the area under discussion separate groups bore the same name (Kickotank, Nasswatex or Nuswattocks).

The question of alliances is related to the political organization of the groups. The Conoy, Assateague, and Accomac (fig. 2) consisted of several bands each led by a chief, while a varying degree of central authority was vested in a paramount leader referred to as "emperor" by the English. At least in the case of the Accomac, the

*The languages of the Nanticoke and neighboring Algonquian tribes are extinct. Lacking adequate early recordings, the spelling of native terms and proper names follows their historical orthography.



Fig. 1. Tribes and villages, 1608. Based on John Smith's map with additions from the John White map of 1585/6. Tribal names according to later usage, village names according to the source. Locations of some villages are tentative. 1, Accochanock; 2, Accowmack (Combec); 3, Acquaskack; 4, Acquintanacsuck; 5, Cecomocomo; 6, Cinquaoteck; 7, Kuskarawaok; 8, Macocanaco; 9, Mataughquamend; 10, Mattapanient; 11, Monansuk; 12, Moyacos; 13, Nacotchtank; 14, Nantaquack; 15, Nause; 16, Nushemouck; 17, Nussameck; 18, Nuswattocks (Mashawatoc); 19, Osuatuck; 20, Opanient; 21, Ozindes; 22, Pamacocack; 23, Pawtuxunt; 24, Pocatomough; 25, Potapaco; 26, Quactastaugh; 27, Quomocack; 28, Quotough; 29, Tauskus; 30, Tessamatuck; 31, Tockwogh; 32, Wascocup; 33, Wasapokent; 34, Wasinacus; 35, Wepanawomen; 36, Wesameus; 37, Wighocomoco. The following villages are mentioned by Smith (1894: 414, 567-568) but cannot be localized: Assacomoco or Attooughcomoco and Paccamaganaut (both Patuxent villages) and Arsek or Arsek and Seraphanigh or Sarapinagh (both Nanticoke villages).

subordinate chiefs were tributary to the head chief (Anonymous 1671-1673:143, 150). Among the Conoy, members of the head chief's family could rule over dependent villages (Hall 1910:158). The Nanticookes also had an "emperor" (who during the late seventeenth century was replaced by two coequal leaders), but neither subdivisions (except for towns) nor subchiefs are ever mentioned. The Pocomokes, on the other hand, con-



Fig. 2. Tribes and villages, 1620-1837. Locations of some villages tentative. Not all synonyms for villages are given. Dates give period of documented or inferred occupation. 1, Accokeek; 2, Acquaskac; 1640; 3, Askequeson, 1705-1742; 4, Askiminikansen, 1670-1686; 5, "Buckingham," ?-1686; 6, Chicacoan, 1668-1723; 7, Choptank Fort, 1683-ca. 1700; 8, Great Monie, 1662-1680; 9, Kiekotank (Assawoman), 1650, 1685-1688; 10, Locust Neck, 1665-1837; 11, Mattapanient, 1634; 12, Pamunkey, 1670, 1700; 13, Patuxent, 1634; 14, Piscataway (Kittamaquond), 1632-1680; 15, Piscataway Fort (Sacayo), 1680-1692; 16, Piscataway Fort (Rock Creek), 1692-1697; 17, Potapaco, 1632-1663; 18, Pockamee, 1678; 19, Queponca, 1678-1686; 20, Trasqualin, 1659-1678; 21, Wicomiss, 1634; 22, Yaocomaco, 1634; 23, Yaocomaco, 1642; 24, ?, 1670; 25, ?, 1620. Reservations: I, Broad Creek, 1711-1768; II, Chicacoan, 1684-1768; III, Choptank 1669-1799 (reduced in size); IV, Gingaskin, 1641-1813; V, Indian River, 1711-1744 (reduced in size); VI, Piscataway, 1668-1700. These Nanticoke villages are mentioned for 1707 but cannot be localized (Pa. Col. Recs. 2:387): Matcheattochousie, Matcheouchtin, Witichquao, Natahquois, Teahquois, Byengeshtcin, Pohecommoatl. Places on the Eastern Shore mentioned in 1678 that cannot be localized (Md. Arch. 15:236): Parrahockon, Tundotanake, Cottingham Creek.

sisted of several bands, but their head chief was only known as a "king," perhaps due to some kind of loose and/or late dependent relationship with the Assateagues. The Choptanks had several chiefs (perhaps repre-

senting villages), but central authority was weakly developed and "emperors" are therefore only infrequently referred to; while there is strong evidence for Choptank independence, they are at various times mentioned as if part of the Nanticokes or Assateagues, reflecting temporary shifts of location between 1684 and 1694 (Feest 1975). Similarly, the tribes along Patuxent River were apparently lacking a strong central leadership while largely independent of the Conoy. Not enough is known about the groups on the Eastern Shore north of the Choptanks to allow any statement on their organizational form and their alliances.

Demography

Data on the population of the Nanticokes and their neighbors at contact time and throughout the colonial period are incomplete and unreliable. John Smith's figures (table 1) are the only ones relating to the whole area at a given time; but his estimates for Accomac cover only two tribes out of many more, and from later figures and evidence on depopulation it can be seen that the total he gives is at least four times too low. The same applies to his other Eastern Shore estimates. For southern Maryland, Smith is not so far off, primarily because he did not miss so many groups. However, in view of Fleet's estimate (Neill 1876:26, 35) of 5,000 persons on both sides of the Potomac River (excluding the Patuxents) and other evidence, even these figures could conservatively be doubled (Feest 1973). An informed guess for the population of the tribes here described during early contact times would be upward of 12,000 persons.

By 1700 Accomac population was said to have decreased by 90 percent, even though there were few armed conflicts in this subarea. Although only one epidemic has been recorded for Accomac during that century, smallpox and other diseases introduced by Europeans were primarily responsible for population decline in the whole area (Feest 1973; Md. Arch. 23:247, 25:256). The use of poisons by the Nanticokes has been likewise blamed for depopulation, but ruthless wars of extermination as waged by the English colonists against the Wicomicesses, as well as early quarrels with Iroquoian groups, probably had a greater impact (Marye 1938-1939; Neill 1876:26).

Contact and Dislocation

The earliest evidence for European contacts with Indians of this area dates to the 1580s when the English Roanoke colonists located three Indian villages on Accomac and Spanish explorers left records of their activities in the Potomac area and on the Eastern Shore (Quinn 1955, 1:map 7, 2:807-809). Interaction increased with the establishment of the Jamestown colony in 1607.

Table 1. Population estimates, 17th century

	1608 ^a	1621	1632	1634	1648	1697 ⁱ
Accomac	400 ^b	2,000 ^c				335 ^j
Assateague						— ^k
Choptank						— ^k
Conoy	1,000 ^c		2,500 ^f	1,665 ^g		265-300 ^l
Nanticoke	665					10 towns ^m
Patuxent	665 ^d					
Pocomoke	335					— ^k
Tockwogh	335					
Wicocomoco						
Wicomiss	200				235 ^h	

^a These estimates, by John Smith (Barbour 1969:341-344), are given in terms of warriors. Smith's own ratio of 3:10 is used throughout the table for computation of total population.

^b Including the Accomac (Gingaskin) and Acohanock.

^c Including the Yaaccomaco, Potapaco, Pamunkey, Piscataway, Anacostank.

^d Including the Acquintanacsuck, Patuxent, Mattapanient.

^e John Pory's estimate (Smith 1884:570) of Eastern Shore total population probably refers to Accomac population only.

^f Henry Fleet (Neill 1876:26, 35) estimates a total population of 5,000 persons along both sides of the Potomac River. The distribution of villages on the Smith map suggests about equal distribution of population on both sides.

^g Father White (Hall 1910:41) says that 500 bowmen greeted the colonists at Piscataway. While this may be too high for village population, it certainly does not represent total Conoy fighting strength.

^h The Wicomiss is mentioned as one of two tribes, tributary to the Susquehannock, who had together 140 warriors (Marye 1938-1939:150).

ⁱ The Accomac estimate is by Gov. Edmund Andros (Sainsbury 1860-1912, 15:456); the other estimates, by Sir Thomas Lawrence (Md. Arch. 25:256). Both were replying to queries from the Board of Trade.

^j 100 bowmen living in 9 unnamed towns. Nicholson (1699) lists 5 towns and another report to the Board of Trade in 1702 lists 8 towns, both without population figures, while Beverley (1705:232) names 10 towns with notes on population that imply a total slightly higher than 100 bowmen.

^k The existence of Eastern Shore Indians besides the Nanticokes is acknowledged but "tis almost impossible to have the Exact number of men or Towns."

^l 80 or 90 bowmen including the Piscataway, Choptico, and Mattawoman. The Pamunkey are mentioned but not included in this figure. Two years later, the refugee Conoy at Harrison Island were also estimated at 80 or 90 bowmen (Palmer et al. 1875-1893, 1:64-65).

^m The Nanticokes themselves claimed to have 7 towns in 1696 and again in 1707, so 10 perhaps includes towns of neighboring groups as well (Md. Arch. 20:434; Pa. Col. Recs. 2:387).

The peacefulness of the Accomac tribes induced many English to settle there, even though the bay separated them from the center of colonization. The bad state of Indian-White relations near Jamestown diverted the beaver trade to the Potomac region and the Eastern Shore, where early flares of hostility (such as Conoy participation in the 1622 massacre) subsided in the face of profitable trade (Barbour 1969:403; Smith 1884:586,

592, 596; Kingsbury 1906-1935, 4:9, 61, 450; Torrence 1935:7, 485; Neill 1876:20-25). The Algonquian groups of Maryland were also glad to ally themselves with the English against the "Massawomeck" and Susquehannock who raided them, but to some extent also traded with them. After the "Massawomeck" had severely attacked the Conoys in the late 1620s, the Anacostank placed themselves under their protection and acted as their middlemen in the fur trade. The foundation of Maryland and the establishment of a Jesuit mission were welcomed by the Yaocomaco, who needed help against the Susquehannock (Neill 1876:25-26; Hall 1910:42, 74; Barbour 1969:361, 401, 407, 409). With the depletion of local resources and increasing direct contacts of the colonists with the Iroquoian groups, the tribes in southern Maryland lost most of their share in the fur trade but peacefully remained under the protection of the colony. On the Eastern Shore of Maryland, where intensive colonization began only during the 1650s and the Iroquoian threat was less severe, some hostilities between the Indians and the Whites developed. In 1642 both the Wicomiss and Nanticoke were declared enemies of the colony, but while the Nanticoke came to terms with the English, the Wicomiss were first subjected by the Susquehannock, who pushed them and other groups north of the Choptank River southward, and finally almost obliterated in the Wicomiss War of 1669, when their remnants were deported to Barbados (Md. Arch. 3:106, 116; Marye 1938-1939). Expeditions against the Assateagues and Pocomokes were planned and executed by the Virginian colonists of Accomac (Anonymous 1651-1654:40, 1666-1670:55; Md. Arch. 2:379-380).

The policy of colonial Maryland toward its Algonquian-speaking Indians was to enter into formal treaty relations with them. By placing themselves under the protection of the colonial government, the tribes received guarantees for reserved lands (see fig. 2) and hunting and fishing rights, for which they were to (1) pay an annual tribute, usually consisting of bows and arrows, (2) return fugitive servants and slaves, and (3) have their chiefs confirmed by the governor. The treaties further regulated Indian-White contacts and determined judicial procedures in cases involving Indians and Whites. The Nanticoke signed such treaties in 1668, 1678 (renewed in 1687), 1693, 1705, and 1742; the Conoys, in 1666 (renewed in 1670), 1692, and 1700; the Assateagues, in 1668, 1678, 1705, 1722, and 1742; the Pocomokes, in 1678, 1692, 1722, and 1742; the Choptanks and various other groups of the Eastern Shore, in 1659; the Choptanks alone, in 1705. The Patuxents were granted protection in 1640, while separate treaties were signed by the Choptico and Mattawoman in 1692 and the Pamunkey in 1700. Treaties with the Nanticoke were also made by the governor in 1642 and by a group

of settlers in 1662, but their texts have not been preserved (Md. Arch. 2:25-27, 3:87-88, 129, 362-364, 5:558-560, 29-30, 65-66, 8:317-323, 533-538, 15:173-174, 213-215, 25:87-90, 393, 26:442-444, 27:40-44, 28:582-589). The Indians of Accomac never signed any treaty with Virginia, but they were regarded as tributary Indians by virtue of the treaties of 1646 and 1677 made with the Algonquian tribes on the Western Shore. Even the Pocomoke of Maryland were considered tributaries of Virginia by 1663 (Anonymous 1663-1666:44).

These treaties did not adequately protect the Indians from encroachments on their lands by White settlers. Typical complaints referred to the destruction of fences around the Indians' corn fields by the English and their livestock, and—on the other side—to the killing of English hogs by the Indians. White pressure on the Indians' lands and increasing inroads by the Five Nations, particularly after 1676, led to a further consolidation of the scattered groups in southern Maryland. Some Patuxents, for whom a joint reservation with the Chopticos and Yaocomacos had been planned in 1651 but who by 1674 were still living on their own lands, joined the Chopticos in 1692 (Md. Arch. 1:329-330, 2:354, 369-370, 10:272). An attempt to induce the Conoys to remove to the Eastern Shore failed in 1680. The Piscataways instead fled to Zachiah Swamp where after being besieged by the Iroquois, a peace was made (Md. Arch. 15:284-285, 17:365-367; NYCD 3:321-328). At about the same time, the Nanticoke and with them probably other neighboring tribes had become tributary to the Five Nations (Pa. Col. Recs. 2:387).

Consolidation on reservations also took place on the Eastern Shore, but nevertheless most of the Pocomokes and Assateagues were continually pushed northward by the advancing White settlements, while the Choptank lands were drastically reduced in size by repeated land sales (Marye 1936-1938, 5:1-15, 1940). In 1742 an attempt by the Eastern Shore tribes to jointly rebel against the English was detected in time by the colonists. The resulting treaties aimed at preventing a repetition of the "conspiracy" of 1742, but were basically similar in content to the former treaties and were the last to be concluded between Maryland and its Algonquian Indians (Md. Arch. 28:257-270).

Culture

The meagerness of the available source materials on the Indians of seventeenth-century Maryland makes it difficult to provide an adequate summary of their culture and in particular to deal with regional variations within the area. Such differences are to be expected in economy where environmental variations probably influenced patterns of exploitation. Scarcity of deer in the Accomac region, for example, caused a greater reliance on fishing and fowling in this area. Horticulture was apparently of greater importance among the Piscataways and in the

territory of the Accomacs than among neighboring Virginia Algonquians. The Jamestown colonists regarded the Indians of Accomac as the best cultivators, producing a surplus of corn that was traded to both Indians and Whites on the Western Shore; similarly, the colonists found it easier to trade for corn on the Maryland side of the Potomac than south of the river (Smith 1884:568, 570, 592, 596; Kingsbury 1906-1935, 3:705).

The crops, planted by the women on patches cleared by the men, included corn, beans, and pumpkins. The men hunted deer, bears, squirrels, turkeys, partridges, and other game and fowl with bows and arrows, whose shafts of wood or reed were armed with glued-on points of flint, antler, or bone and fletched with turkey feathers. Bows and arrows were soon replaced by guns, as were wooden clubs by trade tomahawks. Trapping increased in importance with the developing beaver trade. Spring-pole snares for catching deer are reported from Kickotank in Maryland, while the Nanticokes are said to have been notable for their custom of felling trees across rivers on which to set their traps (Hall 1910:43, 82, 86; Anonymous 1907:333-334; Norwood 1844:39, 42; Heckewelder 1819:76).

Fishing and shellfishing along the sea coast, in the bay, and in the rivers were of considerable economic importance. Among fishing methods, only the use of bone-tipped spears among the Accomac and the shooting of fish with bow and arrows in Maryland are reported, but others were undoubtedly present. The gathering of wild plant foods, such as various kinds of nuts, contributed also to the diet (Anonymous 1907:333; Barbour 1969:359, 400).

Corn was pounded to meal in a mortar and baked into bread, or boiled to make hominy, which was eaten with vegetables, meat or fish. Meat was also roasted on spits, stewed, or eaten with oysters that were also roasted. Food was served in wooden bowls, with shells serving as spoons (Norwood 1844:35, 37-38, 42; Hall 1910:44, 82, 85, 87; Anonymous 1907:333). Other household utensils, all made by the women, included baskets of yucca or rushes and pottery vessels for cooking, some of which were traded to the Whites from the 1650s onward.

Boats were usually of the dugout type, but bark canoes were also made by both the Nanticokes and Piscataways, probably for use in expeditions beyond the fall line. During the second half of the seventeenth century, Indians were frequently employed to make dugouts for Whites (Hall 1910:42; Neill 1876:26; Norwood 1844:31; Md. Arch. 8:10-11, 15:364-369, 416).

Clothing was made of skin and consisted for men and women at least of a breechclout or apron reaching to the knees, fastened by a belt. Untailored cloaks were worn in winter with the fur inside, in summer without fur. Subadults sometimes wore no clothes at all. European dress was introduced early and was accepted particularly by Indians of high status. The chiefs of Piscataway,

Patuxent, and Potapaco had English clothes before 1640 (Hall 1910:43-44, 87-88, 127; Norwood 1844:36). At least among the Conoy, chiefs and their great men wore distinctive types of dress and ornaments, such as cloaks ornamented with circular rows of shell beads and fish-shaped copper ornaments on their foreheads (Hall 1910:43, 125).

Both men and women used vegetal and mineral pigments to paint their bodies and faces and anointed themselves with bear grease. Considerable variation prevailed in men's hairstyles: while some part of the hair was usually cropped, locks were left growing at one or both ears, on the forehead, or on the crown of the head. Women wore their hair long and loose. Bird wings and claws were worn as ornaments, as were animal teeth, copper beads, and shell beads of tubular and discoidal types worked into necklaces, bracelets, or headbands. Shell beads were also used as a substitute for money, to compensate crimes, and (in the tubular form) woven into belts used in connection with treaty making. Kuskara-waoke, in the country of the Nanticokes, was famous for its production of shell beads (Hall 1910:43, 86-88, 79, 90; Norwood 1844:45; Anonymous 1907:333; Smith 1884:418; Md. Arch. 2:15, 26, 5:167).

A mnemonic device used by the Indians of the Virginia Eastern Shore consisted of little sticks, by which they kept "their promises, as a tally" (Smith 1884:570). Similarly, Conoy delegates in 1666 asked the Maryland Assembly to furnish them with sticks painted with black or red characters to signify English laws (Md. Arch. 2:72).

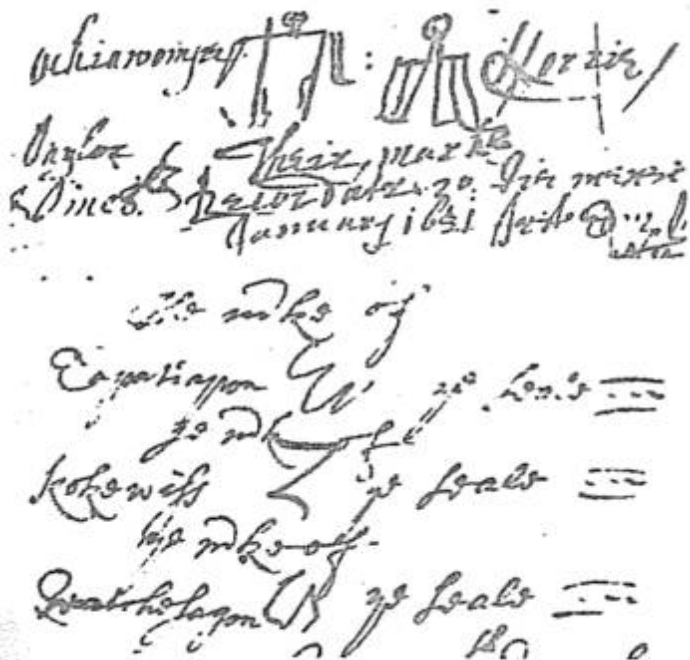
Villages usually were situated near the banks of rivers. In areas bordering on Iroquoian groups, they were frequently rather compact and enclosed by palisades fortified with brush or bark (Barbour 1969:407; Stephenson and Ferguson 1963:49-55). The rectangular, barrel-roofed houses of the Piscataway area were covered with bark or mats, furnished with a smoke hole to let out the smoke arising from the central fire and with low, mat-covered scaffolds along the sides for beds. About 10 feet high, their length ranged from 20 feet upward. The chief's house at Kickotank was partitioned with mats to form several compartments along both sides, each with its own platform and apparently also its own fireplace. The chief's compartment within this house was twice the size of the other divisions, and his bed was made particularly comfortable with skins and furs. Mats were generally laid on the ground to sit on. At Piscataway, the chief soon after the founding of Maryland asked the colonial authorities to build him an English-style house (Hall 1910:43-44, 73, 85-86, 88; Norwood 1844:35-36).

Little is known about the size and composition of the household. In 1699 the average household size of the Conoy village on Harrison Island was around 10 persons (Feest 1973). Polygyny was common, at least among the Conoy, depending on the wealth and economic capacity

of the husband. Monogamy was obviously encouraged by the Jesuit missionaries. After marriage, the wife would move to her husband's house. Marriages are described as stable; in case of divorce, the children remained with their mother. Marriage restrictions in the Accomac region excluded a large number of consanguineal and affinal relatives as possible spouses (Hall 1910:44, 85-86, 127; Smith 1884:570).

Hereditary chiefs ruled over the tribes and the greater political entities with considerable authority. Tribal chiefs, some of which were women, were called wizes by the Conoys, while the term for paramount chief or "emperor" was tayac among the Conoys and tallak among the Choptank or Nanticoke. The Conoy paramount chiefs were assisted by their council, consisting of the wizes and perhaps others. War captains are mentioned for both the Conoy and Nanticoke. A special position was that of "speaker" for the tribe. The term *crotemen*, reported as the word for councilor among the Kickotank (Assateague), may be a corruption of Dutch *groot man* 'big man' or *groot* 'nobleman'. The chiefs and their advisers (fig. 3) together formed an upper stratum of society distinguished from the common people by their wealth, distinction in attire, and respect accorded them (Hall 1910:43, 84, 87, 71, 73, 124-125; Norwood 1844:36; Md. Arch. 3:453, 5:65, 555, 15:291, 25:85; Beverley 1705:212; Speck 1927:49).

Chieftainship was inherited matrilineally among the



Va. State Lib., Richmond.

Fig. 3. Top, signatures of Ochiawompe (Okiawampe), "great King of the Eastern Shore" or Accomac paramount chief, and Norris, one of his "great men" on copy of a deed dated October 10, 1650. These are rare examples of clearly figurative signatures by Algonquian Indians of this area. Bottom, signatures of Tapatiapon (Debedeavon), Okiawampe's successor, and two of his "great men" (Kokewiss and Watchesagon) on a deed dated November 9, 1663. These signatures are typical of nonfigurative marks by Algonquians of Virginia.

Conoy, but during the second half of the seventeenth century a strong patrilineal tendency appeared. Evidence for succession to office among the Nanticoke, Accomac, and the Conoy subtribes, all dating from after 1650, invariably indicates patrilineality (MacLeod 1926; Md. Arch. 2:15, 8:53, 533; Weslager 1961:27).

The huskenaw ceremony, a puberty rite better known from Virginia and North Carolina Algonquians and in early records referred to as the "making of black boys," was practiced in southern Maryland; but it was absent from the Eastern Shore of Virginia. The expression "black boys" has its origin in a confusion between "black" and "blake" (northern English for white) and refers to the white body paint of the participants in the rite (Hall 1910:85; Smith 1884:570).

Various plants were used by the Indians for their medicinal qualities (Hall 1910:79). Particularly the Nanticoke were famous for their proficiency in preparing a poison of unknown composition, which was used for poisoning arrows and wells in fighting their enemies and also to clear the way for changes in political leadership. This reputation as poisoners was frequently combined with accusations of the practice of witchcraft. It was claimed that the Nanticoke introduced this complex to both the Delawares and the Six Nations (Weslager 1948:108-110; Speck 1937:135-142; Gipson 1938:195; Anonymous 1663-1666:44; Anonymous 1645-1651:217).

The Conoys believed in a benevolent, remote god but made offerings mainly to appease a punishing deity whose image was kept in temples. Priests were present, but their functions are not precisely known. The first fruits of horticulture, hunting, and fishing were offered to the friendly god by old men (perhaps the priests) and subsequently feasted upon by the people. Another ceremony involved the blowing of the smoke of tobacco on all parts of the body. The widely distributed flood myth was also known to the Conoy (Hall 1910:45, 88, 130).

For both the Potomac region and the Nanticoke territory there is ample archeological evidence for ossuary burials (of up to 600 individuals, but usually less than 300) as the prevalent mode of burial in early historic times. These secondary interments were preceded by primary inhumation among the Nanticoke and apparently by scaffold burials among the Conoy. Chiefs' corpses were treated differently, at least among the Assateagues, Choptanks, and Nanticoke, by preserving their bones in the temples. This conforms to a general southeastern Algonquian practice (Ubelaker 1974; Feest 1973a; Thomas 1973).

Migrations

In 1697 about 300 Conoys left southern Maryland in the face of increasing pressure on their lands and their physical security. They first retired to a hideout in the Bull

Run Mountains. Two years later they moved to Harrison Island in the Potomac River, just above the mouth of Goose Creek. They were repeatedly visited by emissaries from the governor of Maryland to induce them to return, which at least some of them (including most of the chiefs) did in 1700, when another treaty was signed and the village of Pamunkey was accepted as their new residence. But since the majority of the tribal population apparently was unwilling to come to Pamunkey, even those who had returned decided not to stay. Shortly thereafter, the refugee Conoy moved higher up the Potomac River and settled on Conoy (now Heater's) Island where an epidemic drastically reduced their population in 1704 (Palmer et al. 1875-1893, 1; Md. Arch. 22-26, 19). In the following year, the Conoy petitioned the governor of Pennsylvania for permission to settle at Tulpenhocken, but nothing seems to have happened, because by 1712 they were still living on Heater's Island. While the exact year of their removal from that island is unknown, they had already lived at Conejoholo and later at Conoy Town, both on the Susquehanna River, when in 1743 they decided to follow the advice of the Six Nations to settle at Shamokin. By 1749 some Conoys were living with a Nanticoke group at the mouth of the Juniata River, in 1755 they are found in the same company at Otsiningo on Chenango River near Birmingham, New York, and by 1758 the two refugee groups were considered to be one nation. Sharing their history of migrations with the Nanticokes, the Conoy nevertheless retained their identity up to their removal to the Maumee River (Pa. Col. Recs. 2:191, 4:657, 5:390, 8:176; Weslager 1948:86; Todd 1920:247, 383, 391; Kemper 1921; Aupaumut 1827:97-98).

Dissatisfied with their condition in Maryland, the Nanticokes of Broad Creek in 1743 applied to the Six Nations for permission to remove to Pennsylvania, and in the following year they were permitted to leave Maryland (Md. Arch. 28:338-33; Weslager 1948:10-11). In 1744 the emigrants had established themselves at the mouth of the Juniata River where they were joined by the Conoy, while others were living between 1747 and 1753 at Wyoming on the Susquehanna River. By 1755 the Nanticokes had moved to settlements at Otsiningo and Chemung (the latter on Chemung River near present-day Chemung), which they shared with other tribes (Weslager 1948:57-68). In 1753 the Nanticokes were admitted as nonvoting members to the League of the Iroquois under the wing of the Cayugas, where they were regarded as "one family" forming the "Wolf Clan" (Weslager 1948:65; Speck 1927:22-26). During the 1750s and 1760s, Nanticokes from Chicacoan and probably neighboring groups as well joined their tribesmen in Pennsylvania and New York. Except for the Conoy, no group is ever mentioned by a separate name in contemporary records.

Remaining neutral during the French and Indian

Wars, the Nanticokes and Conoys then sided with the British during the American Revolution and consequently removed to Niagara. In 1781 at least 166 Nanticokes lived together with others at Buffalo Creek, having removed from Aughquagy near Colesville, New York, which they had shared with some Cayugas and Tutelos. After the Revolution, part of the Nanticokes took up residence with the Six Nations at Grand River in Canada, although by 1785 only 11 and by 1811 only 10 were found there, while in 1789, 28 of the "Wolf Tribe" dwelled at Buffalo Creek. About 50 Nanticokes were living there in 1843 and 1845, forming two groups known as "Old Families" and "New Families," these names probably referring to their arrival at Grand River at different dates. During the early twentieth century the number of Nanticoke descendants at Grand River was given as around 300. A few words of the old language were still remembered, but no specific Nanticoke customs apparently survived. Before 1870 they delegated four, and afterward two chiefs to the council of the League (Weslager 1948:67-90; Speck 1927:17-19; Johnston 1964:52, 281, 307; Schaeffer 1942:xv).

A faction of the Nanticokes and Conoys, rather than going north to the Six Nations, went west with the Delawares. By 1769 some Nanticokes had come from Otsiningo to the predominantly Munsee village of Goshgoshink on the western side of the Allegheny River. In 1785 a Nanticoke party "not amounting to 50 men" moved probably from the Buffalo Creek settlement to a village on the Maumee River, close to both the Shawnees and Delawares, after having visited their old chief Robert White (Wolahocremy) at the Clinton River mission in southeastern Michigan. They apparently had their own village on the Maumee in 1792, while the Conoy in the same year are mentioned as living at Big Cat's Town. Sometime after Anthony Wayne's Treaty of 1795 (Greenville) they settled on the White River, Indiana, where in 1805 they were living 20 miles downstream of the Moravian mission. By 1818 they had crossed the Mississippi, in the course of time to live with the Delawares in Kansas and, after 1867, in Oklahoma. During the early twentieth century, a few Indians still knew about their Nanticoke ancestry, although they had been absorbed by the Delawares for some time. A ceremony known as the Skeleton Dance, which was associated with the custom of secondary burials, was according to tradition performed up to 1860 by Nanticokes who were also referred to as "Wolf Clan." Here as well as among the Iroquois the term "Wolf Clan" was apparently used to integrate the newcomers into the existing framework of the clan structure of the tribes that incorporated them, rather than implying such a structure for the Nanticokes themselves (Speck 1937:135-149; Weslager 1948:90; Heckewelder 1819:76, 1820:360; Gipson 1938:359; Aupaumut 1827:97-98).

Remnants

When the majority of the Conoy left Maryland, an unknown number of them remained near their old homes, some of whom worked as indentured servants on White plantations. Since their tribe was no longer officially present in the colony, and the remnants apparently did not reorganize, they lost their official status as Indians and were classified as "free Negroes." Little is known about their history until the 1880s, when they started to identify themselves as "Wesorts" in an attempt to be recognized as a separate, non-Black group. They succeeded to the extent of having this term used for their racial identification on birth certificates, marriage licenses, and church records; but they never had schools of their own. There has been a strong tendency to marry within the group or with Whites. Although unions with Blacks were ostracized, some probably took place particularly on White plantations and may have been tolerated in their early history. The prevalence of endogamy is illustrated by the small number of surnames.

Some of these remnants identify themselves specifically as descendants of the Piscataway, Mattawoman, Nantemaick, or Sacayo tribes and prefer these names to the term Wesorts, while others have adopted the designation "Brandywine People." Around 1970 there were an estimated 7,000 of them living in several neighborhoods in Charles County and adjacent parts of Prince Georges and Saint Mary counties. In 1974 a group incorporated under state law as the Piscataway tribe. While many of them are still farmers or farm laborers, an increasing number live in or commute to Washington, Baltimore, and other cities in the Middle Atlantic area. Practically all are and have been for a long time Roman Catholics. Small groups of Conoy descendants have also been reported from near Point of Rocks, Frederick County, and other locations in Maryland along the emigration route to the north (Gilbert 1945).

Of the 10 small groups still present on Virginia's Eastern Shore around 1700, only one kept its identity into the nineteenth century. On their reservation of about 650 acres, laid out in 1641 and confirmed to them in 1680, the Gingaskin Indians continued to decrease in numbers. Trustees were appointed for them in 1769 to aid and protect them in legal and land matters. The Gingaskins carried on their traditional economy of fishing, hunting, and horticulture. They paid an annual tribute of three arrows for their lands to the colony and later to the state of Virginia, which was their only safeguard against White encroachments. From at least the 1780s onward, their White neighbors pressed for allotment of the reservation, on the grounds that it had become "an Asylum for free Negroes," and in the hope of subsequently being able to buy out the individual landowners. Allotment of the reservation in fee simple was finally carried out in 1813 upon the petition of the Indians themselves, who in turn sold most of their land to their

neighbors until 1832. The last three of 26 plots remaining in Indian ownership were sold between 1832 and 1860. While some of the Gingaskins left Virginia after selling their lands, others merged with the local Black community. By the 1970s, there was no group or individual claiming Indian identity on the Eastern Shore of Virginia (Rountree 1973; W. Hall 1952:376).

After the Nanticokes had left Maryland following the treaty of 1742, several small bands remained on the Eastern Shore. Some Nanticokes continued to live on the Chicacoan reservation until part of them joined the Choptanks of Locust Neck, while the rest removed out of the colony. Chicacoan and Broad Creek reservations were sold in 1768. Payment was apparently made only to some of the former inhabitants. Chicacoan was fraudulently claimed in 1801 by a man who had obtained a forged deed allegedly signed by Nanticokes among the Six Nations. In 1852 a group of Canadian Nanticokes claimed compensation for this reservation, which was denied them by the Maryland Assembly (Weslager 1948:81-83; Anonymous 1910; Anonymous 1852).

The village at Locust Neck was inhabited by nine persons living in six households in 1792. Seven years later, the reservation was reduced to 100 acres, to be divided among the four Indians still living on their lands. The Indians were also to receive annuities from the proceeds of the sale of the remaining part of the reservation. By 1837 two or three descendants were occupying this land, who were regarded as "intermixed with negro blood" by their White neighbors (Marye 1936-1938, 5:13-14; Bozman 1837, 1:115; Speck 1927:41).

While nothing is known about the fate of the Pocomokes living off-reservation in 1742, the Assateague reservation on Indian River decreased in size through sales to a White neighbor, and in 1744 it was completely in White ownership. Although some of the Indians probably continued in the vicinity, others ended up with the Nanticokes on Nanticoke River where they were competing for leadership in the tribe (Marye 1940:13-16). A strong group of Indian descendants who identify themselves as Nanticokes survived off-reservation as a separate part of the "free colored" population. The majority of this band was located near the old Indian River reservation, Sussex County, Delaware, incorporated in 1881 under state laws, and reorganized in 1922 as Nanticoke Indian Association (inactive since 1955). During the 1920s and 1930s they were active in the newly formed "Powhatan Confederacy" consisting mainly of off-reservation groups in coastal Virginia. A smaller number of Nanticokes was living in Worcester and Dorchester counties, Maryland. The only eighteenth-century Indian name in use among the modern Nanticokes is Mulberry, an old Choptank name. The name Street occurred among both the Canadian and Indian River Nanticokes. The location of the groups may also indicate some Assateague ancestry.



Mus. of the Amer. Ind., Heye Foundation, New York.
 Fig. 4. Corn cribs of the Nanticoke. Photograph by Frank Speck, southern Delaware, 1911-1914.

The last speaker of the native tongue died in 1856, but several survivals in the realm of material culture were recorded in the twentieth century. These include spring-pole snares and gravity box traps for catching small game, various implements of the corn-farming complex (figs. 4, 5) (digging sticks, corn-husking pegs, log mortars), wooden netting needles, and splint basketry (figs. 6, 7, 8) (Speck 1915b). As with the groups in southern Maryland and in Virginia, endogamy has been the rule. Marriages with Whites have occurred, but those with Blacks have been avoided for a long time for fear of further discrimination. Close association with Blacks, however, certainly occurred among the Nanticokes at an early date; since a word list recorded among them in the 1740s in Pennsylvania has been identified as Mandingo, a West African language. This Black element may account for early reports about the dark complexion of the Nanticokes (Brinton 1887; Weslager 1948:116).

The modern Nanticokes are predominately Methodists. Until the time of integration they had their own schools; some of the children were sent to Indian schools in Oklahoma to receive higher education.

Synonymy

Since the languages of the Nanticokes and their Algonquian neighbors are no longer being spoken, no attempt has here been made to supply either etymologies or pronunciations of tribal names.

Accomac: Accawmack, 1612 (Barbour 1969:359); Easterlings, 1621 (Smith 1884:569); Eastern Shore Indians, 1672 (Anonymous 1671-1673:143).

Accomac subtribes: Acohanock, 1612 (Barbour 1969:344); Occahannock (Anonymous 1657-1664:117). Chiconessex (Beverley 1705:232); Chicconessick, 1663 (Anonymous 1663-1666:22). Gingaskin, 1660 (Anony-

mous 1657-1664:73); Gingaskoyne, 1650 (Anonymous 1645-1651:217); Gangascoe (Beverley 1705:232); also known first after their village, later after the region as Accomack, 1612 (Barbour 1969:344); Accomack, 1784 (W. Hall 1952:376); Combec, 1586 (Quinn 1955, 1: map 7, village name). Kiquotank, 1702 (Anonymous 1894:362); Kikotanke, 1650 (Anonymous 1645-1651:217); Qiuotanck, 1675 (Anonymous 1673-1676:285); Kickatanck, 1675 (Anonymous 1673-1676:314); Kiequotank (Beverley 1705:232). Matchapungo, 1702 (Anonymous 1894:362); Mache-pungo, 1653 (Anonymous 1651-1654:217); Matsiapungo (Nicholson 1699); Matchopungo (Beverley 1705:232). Machateege, 1650 (Anonymous 1645-1651:217). Matomkin (Beverley 1705-232); Motomkin, 1651 (Wise 1897:34); Matompkin, 1702 (Anonymous 1894:362). Nandue, 1648 (Anonymous 1645-1651:135a); Nandewy (Nicholson 1699); Nanduye (Beverley 1705:232); also known after the name of a subvillage as Nuswattocks, 1653 (Anonymous 1651-1654:174); Mashawatoc, 1586 (Quinn 1955, 1:map 7, village name). Onancock, 1663 (Anonymous 1663-1666:39); Anancock, 1661 (Anonymous 1657-1664:117); Oanancocke, 1654 (Anonymous 1651-1654:225). Pungotege, 1702 (Anonymous 1894:362); Pungoteque (Beverley 1705:232).

Assateague: Assatege, 1659 (Md. Arch. 3:379); Assateagues, 1684 (Md. Arch. 5:480); Asouthteague, 1684 (Md. Arch. 17:193); Assategue, 1722 (Md. Arch. 25:392). At least part of the Assateague later became known as Indian River Indians, 1705 (Md. Arch. 26:442).

Assateague subtribes: Manasksons, Maraughquaick, Moteawaughkin, Quequashkecasquick, Wachetak, 1684 (Md. Arch. 5:480, where also the Choptank subtribes are mentioned as dependent on the Assateague); probably also the Kickotank, 1650 (Norwood 1844:46).

Choptank: Choptank, 1682 (Md. Arch. 7:291); Chapticoe, 1697 (Md. Arch. 19:574), not to be confused with the Conoy subtribe.

Choptank subtribes: Trasquakin, 1659 (Md. Arch. 3:363); Traskokin, 1661 (Anonymous 1657-1664:117); Transquakines, 1686 (Marye 1936-1938, 5: appendix 8); while this was a village name, they were also known after their chief: Ababcos Indians, 1669 (Md. Arch. 2:195); Abapco's Indians, 1702 (Marye 1936-1938, 5: appendix 6); Babcos, 1705 (Md. Arch. 26:442); Babco, 1759 (Md. Arch. 31:356). Quowaughkutt, 1659 (Md. Arch. 3:363) band or village of chief Tequassino, 1669 (Md. Arch. 2:196); probably identical with the Choptico mentioned as an Assateague subtribe, 1686 (Md. Arch. 5:480). Taquasons, 1726 (Marye 1936-1938, 5: appendix 10). Hatsawap, 1686 (Md. Arch. 5:480) after the name of their chief, 1669 (Md. Arch. 2:196). Hatswamp, 1704 (Marye 1936-1938, 5: appendix 15); Hatchswamp, 1726 (Marye 1936-1938, 5: appendix 18); Heard Swamp,



Mus. of the Amer. Ind., Heye Foundation, New York.

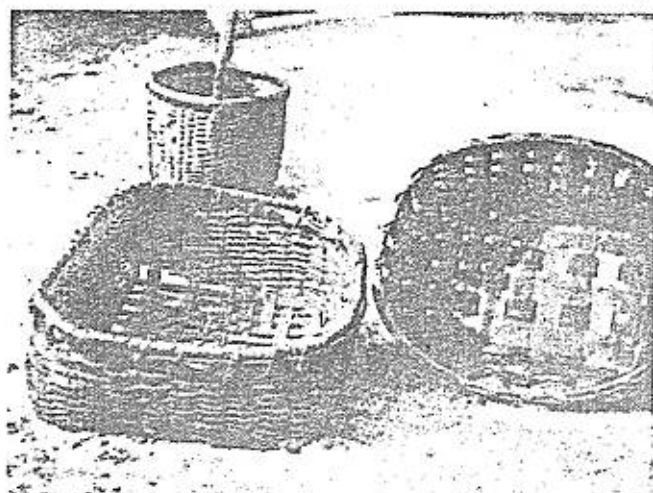
Fig. 5. Nanticoke man demonstrating shelling mortar for removing corn kernels from the ears. The hollow log has wooden bars as a grating across the cavity. When the ears are beaten with a pestle the loosened kernels fall through the grating. The woman is pounding the kernels into flour. Photograph by Frank Speck, southern Delaware, 1911-1914.

1759 (Md. Arch. 31:355); Ahatchwoops, 1705 (Md. Arch. 26:442); they were probably identical with one of the following bands signing the treaty of 1659 with the other two Choptank bands: Amusteack, Maquamti-cough, Monoponson, Rasoughteick, Sequawaughteick, Tetuckough (Md. Arch. 3:363). Of these tribes, the Monoponson were the former inhabitants of Kent Island, and the Tetuckough may possibly be identical with the Tockwogh; the others are in all likelihood similar to the Monoponson and Tockwogh inhabitants of the region north of the Choptank River, which was ceded in 1652

by the Susquehannocks to Maryland. They may have been living with the Choptanks in 1659.

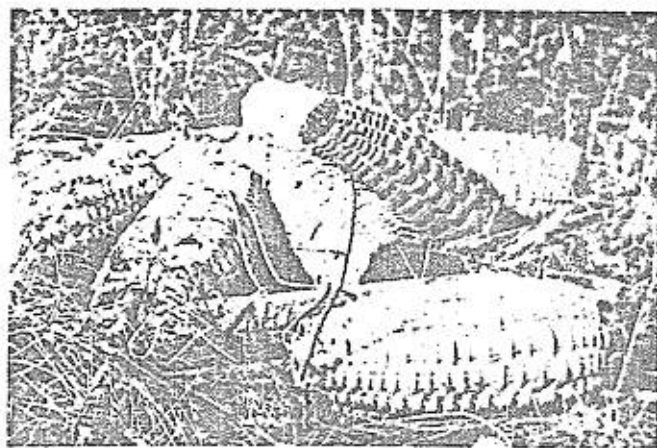
Conoy: Conoys, 1759 (NYCD 7:380); Connays, 1757 (NYCD 7:268); Cachnawayes, 1682 (NYCD 3:323). Ganawense, 1705 (Pa. Col. Recs. 2:191); Gonoois, 1685 (Md. Arch. 17:366); Canai (Heckewelder 1819:74); Ganawagohono (Speck 1927:30, Cayuga name for Nanticoke); Kuhnauwautheew (Aupaumut 1827:77); Piscataway, 1682 (NYCD 3:322).

Conoy subtribes: Anacostank, 1666 (Md. Arch. 2:25); Anacostin, 1694 (Md. Arch. 20:68); Anacostans, 1640



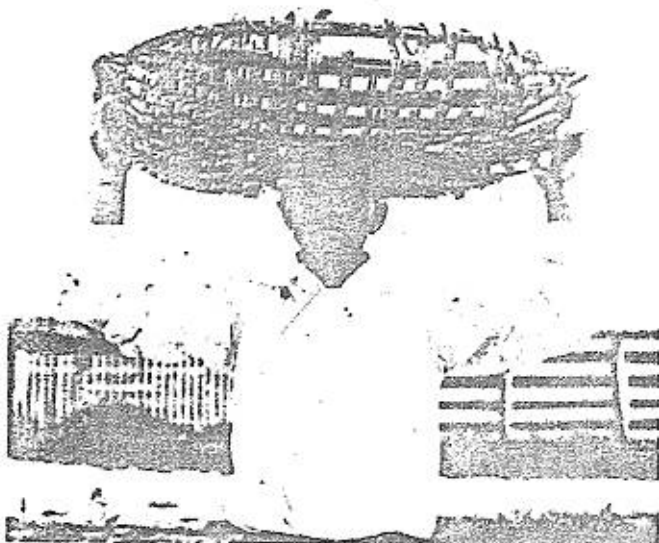
Mus. of the Amer. Ind., Heye Foundation, New York.

Fig. 6. Old Nanticoke splint baskets. Photograph by Frank Speck, southern Delaware, 1911-1914.



Mus. of the Amer. Ind., Heye Foundation, New York.

Fig. 8. Nanticoke splint baskets used for catching eel. These eel-pots are about 45 to 65 cm in length. They were sunk with stones in the water along the shore. Photograph by Frank Speck, southern Delaware, 1911-1914.



Mus. of the Amer. Ind., Heye Foundation, New York.

Fig. 7. Nanticoke man with large flat splint basket. Photograph by Frank Speck, southern Delaware, 1911-1914.

(Hall 1910:132); Necosts, 1624 (Smith 1884:596); Necochincos, 1623 (Kingsbury 1906-1935, 4:9); Nacotchtanke, 1612 (Barbour 1969:341); Nacostines, 1632 (Neill 1876:25); Annacostin, 1679 (Md. Arch. 15:252). Chingwawateick, 1666 (Md. Arch. 2:25); Chingwoatyke, 1663 (Md. Arch. 3:482); Cinquaoteck, 1612 (Barbour 1969:map facing 374, village name). Choptico, 1666 (Md. Arch. 2:25); Chapticoe, 1676 (Md. Arch. 2:489); Chopticons, 1651 (Md. Arch. 1:329). Doegs, 1666 (Nugent 1934:558); Doags, 1666 (Md. Arch. 2:25); see also "Virginia Algonquians" under Tauxenent. Manesquesend, 1666 (Md. Arch. 2:25). Mattawoman, 1670 (Md. Arch. 15:291); Mattawomans, 1666 (Md. Arch. 2:25).

Mikikiwoman, 1666 (Md. Arch. 2:25). Nangemaick, 1666 (Md. Arch. 2:131); Nangemy, 1676 (Md. Arch. 2:489); Nushemouck, 1612 (Barbour 1969: map facing 374, village name); Nanjemy, 1679 (Md. Arch. 15:252). Pamunkey, 1700 (Md. Arch. 25:85); Pamunkie, 1676 (Md. Arch. 2:489); Pamunckye, 1676 (Md. Arch. 15:91); Pamacacack, 1612 (Barbour 1969:341); Pomonky, 1689 (Md. Arch. 8:85); Pomunkey, 1698 (Md. Arch. 25:256). Pangayo, 1666 (Md. Arch. 2:131). Piscataway, 1682 (Md. Arch. 17:214); Pascatowies, 1632 (Neill 1876:26); Paschatoway, 1634 (Hall 1910:88); Pazaticans, 1624 (Smith 1884:586); Pascoticons, 1624 (Kingsbury 1906-1935, 4:450); Paskattaway, 1638 (Hall 1910:158); Pascatacon, 1634 (Md. Arch. 5:165); Piscattaway, 1698 (Md. Arch. 25:256); Puscattaway, 1676 (Md. Arch. 2:489); also known by the name of their villages Mo-yaoncer, 1608 (Barbour 1969:186); Moyowances, 1612 (Barbour 1969:341) or Accocick, 1699 (Md. Arch. 25:72); Accokicke, 1697 (Md. Arch. 19:574). Potapaco, 1612 (Barbour 1969:341); Portoback, 1634 (Hall 1910:88); Portaback, 1663 (Md. Arch. 3:489). Sacayo, 1666 (Md. Arch. 2:25); Sachia, 1689 (Md. Arch. 8:85); Zakiah, 1690 (Md. Arch. 8:224); perhaps identical with Secowocomoco or Cecomocomoco, 1612 (Barbour 1969:341, map facing 374). Yaocomaco, 1634 (Hall 1910:73); Youcomako, 1676 (Md. Arch. 15:91); Wicomocoms, 1651 (Md. Arch. 1:329).

Nanticoke: Nanticoke, 1655 (Anonymous 1654-1655:135); Nantaquack, 1612 (Barbour 1969: map facing 374, village name); Nanticoque, 1642 (Md. Arch. 3:106); Nantecoche, 1693 (Md. Arch. 8:533); Nentégo (Heckewelder 1819:76); Kuskarawaokes, 1612 (Barbour 1969:344, after a village); Trappers (Heckewelder 1819:76). They were called by the Munsee *wonehtkow* (Ives Goddard, personal communication 1973), earlier written *Wonehtko* (Speck 1931:16), *Unéchtgo* (Heckewelder 1819:76); by the Unami *wonehtku* (Ives Goddard,

personal communication 1973); by the Mahican Wenuhtukowuk, 1792 (Aupaumut 1827:77) and Otayácho (Heckewelder 1819:76), Tiawco, 1757 (NYCD 7:294); by the Iroquois Sganiateratieh-rohne (Heckewelder 1819:76), *skanyataratihá'ka?* (Mohawk), *skanyata'tihó'nq?* (Cayuga; Speck 1927:30; Wallace L. Chafe, personal communication 1974).

Patuxent: Pautuxentes, 1612 (Barbour 1969:361); Pawtuxunt, 1621 (Smith 1884:567).

Patuxent subtribes: Acquintanacksuck, 1612 (Barbour 1969:342). Mattapanient, 1612 (Barbour 1969:342); Mattapanians, 1651 (Md. Arch. 1:329); Mattapany, 1674 (Md. Arch. 2:354). Patuxent, 1639 (Hall 1910:124); Pawtuxunt, 1612 (Barbour 1969:342); Patuxants, 1651 (Md. Arch. 1:329); Patuxon, 1674 (Md. Arch. 2:354); Pattuxunt, 1634 (Hall 1910:57). Perhaps also Lamascons and Kighahnixons, 1651 (Md. Arch. 1:329).

Pocomoke: Pocomoke, 1651 (Wise 1897:33-34); Pocomoke, 1663 (Anonymous 1663-1666:44); Wighcocomoco, 1612 (Barbour 1969: map facing 374); from confusion between Wicomico and Pocomoke rivers).

Pocomoke subtribes: Acquintica, 1678 (Md. Arch. 15:213); Aquinteca, 1686 (Md. Arch. 5:520); Aquintakee, 1668 (Anonymous 1666-1670:55). Annamessex, 1678 (Md. Arch. 15:213); Annamesick, 1661 (Anonymous 1657-1664: 117). Gingoteque (Beverley 1705:232); Gingateege, 1650 (Anonymous 1645-1651:217); Gingo Teague, 1650 (Norwood 1844:46); Yingoteague, 1678 (Md. Arch. 15:213); Chingoteague, 1678 (Md. Arch. 15:215). Manokin, Mannanokin, 1661 (Anonymous 1657-1664:117); Monoakin, 1686 (Md. Arch. 5:479). Morumsco, 1678 (Md. Arch. 15:213). Nasswatex, 1686 (Md. Arch. 5:479); Nuswattax, 1678 (Md. Arch. 15:215). Quandanquan, 1686 (Md. Arch. 5:520).

Tockwogh: Tockwogh, 1612 (Barbour 1969:344).

Wicomoco: Wichocomocos, 1638 (Md. Arch. 3:74); Wicacocomoco, 1661 (Anonymous 1657-1664:117); Wicomomico, 1682 (Md. Arch. 17:95).

Wicomiss: Ozinies, 1612 (Barbour 1969:344); Wiccimisses, 1669 (Md. Arch. 2:195); Wiccomeese, 1677 (Md. Arch. 15:146); Wicomesses, 1648 (Marye 1938-1939, 4:150); Wicomesses, 1634 (Hall 1910:88).

Sources

Ethnographic sources are not plentiful for the Nanticokes and their Algonquian neighbors. No prephotographic pictures have survived, and no collections of material culture were made before the twentieth century. Archeological evidence is therefore of even greater importance than elsewhere, even though many of the published reports on excavations of historic and late prehistoric sites have been mainly concerned with mortuary practices and the Potomac River area (Graham 1935; Stewart and Wedel 1937; Ferguson 1940; Stephenson and Ferguson 1963; Ubelaker 1974).

John White's map and the Spanish report on the expedition of 1588 are the earliest European sources on the southern margin of this area (Quinn 1955). John Smith explored the Chesapeake Bay in 1608 and particularly his map, but also his brief notes, on the Indians of the Eastern Shore and southern Maryland are of considerable interest (Barbour 1969). His *Generall Historie of Virginia* has material on Indian-White relations in the Potomac area up to 1623 and also contains John Pory's account of Accomac and Patuxent of 1621 (Smith 1884:245-784). The fur traders on the Potomac River left few records, with the major exception of Henry Fleet's journal of 1631-1632 (Neill 1876:19-37). The most detailed information on southern Maryland is contained in *A Relation of Maryland* (Anonymous 1910a; see also Hall 1910:70-112), which draws on Smith and White but adds much original material, including a map. White's *Briefe Relation* written in 1634 and excerpts from the annual letters of the Jesuit missionaries have been published in both Latin (Hughes 1907-1917, 1) and English (Hall 1910:29-45, 118-144). The only narrative dealing with Eastern Shore Indians is Norwood's (1844) account of his brief sojourn with the Kickotank near Assawoman Bay in 1650.

During the late seventeenth century, George Fox at least mentions the Algonquians of Maryland in his journal (Hall 1910:393-406), while Heermans' map (1673) gives clues to the location of villages. Hugh Jones (1700) and an anonymous writer (Anonymous 1907) give some ethnographic details, while in 1792 Murray deals with the Choptank remnants in Maryland (Speck 1927: 39-42). After leaving Maryland, the Nanticokes were contacted by Moravian missionaries, who recorded additional specific information (Heckewelder 1819, 1820; Zeisberger 1910). Beverley (1705) supplies little more than population data for the Accomac region.

The majority of data derive from administrative records. The *Archives of Maryland* in particular is a mine of information on Indian-White relations and is also a rich source for ethnography. For the Accomac region, an unbroken set of court records is available, the earliest of which have been published (S.M. Ames 1954, 1973; see also Anonymous 1645-1651, 1651-1654, 1657-1664, 1663-1666, 1671-1673, 1673-1676). Kingsbury (1906-1935) and Palmer et al. (1875-1893, 1) relate to both the Eastern Shore and the Potomac area, while the colonial records of Pennsylvania (Pa. Col. Recs.) and New York (NYCD) deal with the emigrant groups. The remnant bands in Delaware were briefly described by Babcock (1899) and subsequently studied by Speck (1915b, 1942, 1943, 1946, 1949), who in addition assembled a collection for the Museum of the American Indian, New York, and by Weslager (1943, 1955). The Indian descendants in southern Maryland received attention from Gilbert (1945). Speck (1927) also supplies valuable material on the Canadian Nanticokes.

The secondary literature on the history of the Nanticoke and neighboring Algonquians includes the writings of Semmes (1929, 1937), who made extensive use of the

Archives of Maryland; Marye (1936-1938, 1938-1939, 1940), who in addition drew on unpublished land records; and Weslager (1943a, 1944, 1948, 1961).

NOTICE THIS MATERIAL MAY BE
PROTECTED BY COPYRIGHT LAW
(TITLE 17 U.S. CODE)

**For Reference
Not to be taken
from this library**