

An Annotated Bibliography of Native American History in Prince William County, Virginia

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Introduction

The aim of this project was to consolidate and contextualize sources on post-contact Native American history in Prince William County into an easily accessible document that serves as the basis for future research and community engagement with this topic. Over the course of three months, a research intern from the University of Virginia (UVA) utilized resources from RELIC in Manassas Central Library and UVA libraries, interviewed several experts in the field, and worked with the Historic Communities Coordinator and the County Archaeologist in Prince William to compile the sources most relevant to this geographic area and period. Each source was then reviewed and summarized in an annotated bibliography format to elucidate its specific subject matter, time period, and geographic focus. While this annotated bibliography is source-centric, the historical information gleaned from these sources appears in an article published in the *Journal of Prince William County History*.

There were two significant challenges to this research. First, few written sources exist on Native American history past the early 18th century, particularly in northern Virginia. As English colonizers displaced Natives from their land—most often through violence, resource domination, and deception—it became safer for Natives to seemingly disappear or move westward, meaning they became largely excluded from the historical record in Virginia. In addition, after the colonial period and especially near the end of the 19th-century, United States policy toward Natives aimed at systematic erasure of Native American culture and identity through assimilation. Combined with Virginia’s 1924 Racial Integrity Act, which prevented Natives from identifying as such on official documents, this means there is little easily accessible or visible documentation of Native Americans in Virginia past the colonial period. The Native groups in Virginia today keep their own records and oral histories; however, because of centuries of exploitation, it will take many years to build a relationship of trust between historians, government workers, and Native groups.

The second significant challenge to this research is that modern-day Prince William County lies on either side of the Fall Line, a well-documented linguistic and cultural border between Tidewater and Piedmont Native Americans. Additionally, there is little historical documentation or compelling archaeological evidence that overlaps with the borders of the county today. Thus, while there is evidence of Native activity in Prince William, the history of Native Americans in this county must be constructed using disparate sources that address groups on both sides of the Fall Line and in areas directly surrounding Prince William but not necessarily within its borders.

Even as some sources met these parameters, there were a few inherent limitations to this research. For one, while primary accounts of Native-English interactions are inarguably valuable to constructing Native American history, we must recognize that Natives are described in these pieces through a lens of English superiority by men who often actively engaged in their displacement and harm. The authors of these accounts and further into the 20th century referred to Natives as “savage” and “barbarous,” more often describing Native American life as inferior

to English life than trying to understand Natives' culture and customs through their own eyes. Therefore, it is crucial to recognize the insight of these authors without assuming and perpetuating their biases.

Another limitation to this type of research is that modern-day borders do not align with specific Native groups' occupation. Native groups were often migratory and even when they settled more permanently had a more fluid understanding of land ownership and use than we do today. For that reason, Native American historical research cannot completely adhere to the borders of a modern-day county. Historians must consider the multiplicity of Native groups whose presence overlapped these borders and who may have carried out activities within them without settling there permanently.

Finally, because this bibliography was created over only two and a half months, it is not a comprehensive list of every source that could be valuable to Native American historical research in Prince William County. Some scholars crucial to this field and geographic area were not able to be interviewed and some sources were not able to be fully reviewed in time to make the final document. It is best to see this annotated bibliography as a resource that makes it easier to find and analyze the most important sources on this topic and as a launchpad for more in-depth research.

As a final note, some sources are easier to interpret than others based on the amount of background knowledge one might have on the subject. A few places to start with no prior knowledge of Native American history are Egloff and Woodward's *First People* and Feest's entries in the *Handbook of North American Indians*. For a more thorough analysis of intergroup relationships in coastal Virginia in the 17th-century, see Potter's *Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs*. Though his writing can get technical and his focus is south of Prince William County, he uses the greatest diversity of evidence of any of the authors and does an impeccable job summarizing relevant debates in the field. For the most comprehensive sources on Native American history in Prince William specifically, see Harrison's *Landmarks of Old Prince William* and Blanton's report "'Few Know Such a Place Exists.'" When reading primary source documents, it is best to first review secondary sources that provide context and citations for those accounts. For a contextualization of English Captain John Smith's crucial writings, see Rountree, Clark, and Mountford's *John Smith's Chesapeake Voyages, 1607-1609*—a book that maps and dates Smith's two voyages along the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers, which can be further researched using Barbour's edited volumes. Finally, to understand the ways in which modern scholars are rebuilding relationships of trust with Native groups and utilizing new technologies to provide greater insights into Native American history, see Strickland et al.'s report on the Rappahannock Indigenous Cultural Landscape. While all of the sources below are useful, these texts mentioned above are the most fruitful sources of information on Native American history in Prince William found so far.

Guide to Archaeological Chronology

Cultural Period	Approximate Dates
Paleoindian	9500-8000 BC
Early Archaic	8000-6000 BC
Middle Archaic	6000-4000 BC
Late Archaic	4000-1000 BC
Early Woodland	1000-500 BC
Middle Woodland	500 BC-AD 800
Late Woodland	AD 800-1600
Contact	AD 1600-1700

Credit: Bedell 2004.

Barbour, P. (editor)

1986 *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith, Vol. 1 & 2.* University of North Carolina Press.

“A True Relation,” “Map of Virginia,” “Proceedings,” and “The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and the summer Isles”

English Captain John Smith’s writings are the best primary account of 17th-century Native Americans in Virginia, particularly because of his detailed map of their settlements and descriptions of Native-English interactions. Barbour’s edited, multivolume compilation of Smith’s writings includes descriptions of life at the English settlement of Jamestown, provides a narrative of Smith’s voyages up the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers, and includes the “Map of Virginia,” which details the location of Native settlements that Smith and his party explored or learned about from Natives themselves. While the source is difficult to read and analyze on one’s own, it serves as the basis for many historians’ writings about Native Americans in Virginia in this period. The best way to use this source for information on Natives in Prince William is to follow the in-text citations of other pieces discussing Natives in the corresponding area.

Smith interacted with Natives along the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers that can be considered inhabitants of modern-day Prince William County. He mentions the Tauxenent, or Doeg, as living on the western bank of the Potomac River bend and numbering 40 men (meaning warriors, or men of fighting age). Unlike with the lower Potomac River groups of the Chicacoans, Matchotics, and Patawomeke, Smith notes that he received a warmer welcome from the Tauxenent, Moyanoe, and Nacotchtank of the upper Potomac. Many historians have taken this to mean that the latter northern groups were not part of the Powhatan confederacy and, therefore, were not ordered to be Smith’s enemies. On Smith’s map, the Tauxenent chief’s village of “Tauxenent” does not overlap with Prince William, but the subsidiary village of Pamacocack most likely does, as it is located on Quantico Creek.

While Smith did not venture west of the Fall Line, he learned about the Piedmont Natives from the Powhatan groups and a Manahoac captive named Amoroleck. From these sources, he describes how west of the Fall Line, there were two Siouan-speaking confederacies: the Manahoac and the Monacan. Amoroleck describes the two groups to Smith as distinct but friendly with each other. The Manahoac lived in the upper Piedmont most likely overlapping modern-day Prince William. Smith notes eight villages in Manahoac territory— Mahaskahod, Hassuiuga (Amoroleck’s people), Tanxsnitania, Shackaconia, Stegara, Outponcas, Tegoneaes, and Whonkentyaes—but only the first five appear on his map. Tanxsnitania is the closest named village to modern-day Prince William, sitting about 20 miles from the southern border. According to Smith, the Powhatan groups talk about the Monacans (and by extension, the Manahoacs) as their enemies. For instance, he records the paramount chief Powhatan’s response to Captain Christopher Newport’s offer to help fight the Monacans—“[A]s for the Monacans, I can defend my owne injuries”—which indicates rivalry between the two groups.

Overall, though Smith's writings do not detail the area that is now Prince William, they do tell us about three general groups of Natives living in and around its boundaries: the Manahoac and Monacan confederacy, the Powhatan confederacy, and the northern Virginian groups possibly a part of neither (Tauxenent, Moyanoe, and Nacotchtank). In this way, Smith's writings have helped give focus to future studies on Native Americans in the area.

Bedell, John.

2004 **“Few Know That Such a Place Exists’: Land and People in the Prince William Forest Park,” Virginia Department of Historic Resources. Prepared for National Capital Region and National Park Service. Prepared by John Bedell with contributions from Eric Griffitts, Charles Lee Decker, Daniel Wagner, and Justine McKnight. The Louis Berger Group, Inc.**

In this report, Bedell and other contributors summarize the history of Prince William Forest Park (PWFP) from ancient times until the 1940s New-Deal era using historical documents and archaeological evidence. The first part of the report (pp. 6-31) includes information on Native American history pre-contact and Native-English interactions in the 17th and early 18th centuries. This is a solid source of information on Native American history within the borders of modern-day Prince William, especially given that this area is often only tangentially mentioned in other sources. However, because it is not a report about Native American history specifically, there is not much specific information on Native groups, particularly after 1722. It is a good introduction to the general timeline of settlement in Prince William and to the Doeg, one of the most prominent Native groups near the Potomac coast in the 17th century.

As Bedell explains, because Native tribes often settled on the banks of waterways, the conditions for preservation of archaeological evidence were poor, leaving an incomplete record of Native American settlement. The oldest Native American artifact found in PWFP is a spearpoint that dates to the Early Archaic Period (8000-6000 BCE). Native groups living in the Early Archaic and Middle Archaic (6000-4000 BCE) were migratory hunter-gatherers, living in groups sometimes as large as 50 to 200 people. Entering the Terminal Archaic Period (2000-1000 BCE), Bedell notes a shift in the style of artifacts and a shift in the character of sites, as large settlements along rivers began to outnumber the smaller, dispersed sites of migratory groups. He associates the Archaic Period with the Williams Branch site in PWFP, which shows evidence of a stone and quarry workshop but, ultimately, “might represent only one hour of human presence a year” (p. 10).

Bedell describes the Woodland Period (1000 BCE-AD 1600) as a time of great change in Native American settlement and culture. During the Middle Woodland Period (500 BCE-AD 800), Algonquian-speaking groups from modern-day Canada and the Great Lakes region migrated to Tidewater Virginia, as evidenced by the similarity of pottery between these regions. Around 700 AD, the bow and arrow—a crucial tool for hunting—was introduced to Tidewater Virginia, as well. As Native groups entered the Late Woodland (AD 800-1600) period, they began to take the form of the societies Europeans would encounter starting in the late-1500s.

Settlements became more sedentary, and tribal confederations, such as the well-known Powhatan, started to form. Natives began to practice slash-and-burn agriculture to cultivate crops such as beans, corn, and squash. At the South Fork floodplain of Quantico Creek, Potomac Creek ware (pottery) indicates Late Woodland Native settlement, though the lack of archaeological evidence might suggest the site served as a seasonal hunting ground rather than a permanent settlement.

At contact, the Algonquian-speaking Doeg, or Tauxenent, populated the Tidewater portion of modern-day Prince William. On John Smith's 1624 map of the Chesapeake, the confirmed Doeg villages include Tauxenent, a chief's village, and Pamacocack. According to Bedell, after the English won the Second Anglo-Powhatan War in 1646, settlers rapidly expanded into northern Virginia and Doeg territory. Many Doeg moved across the Potomac River into Maryland or further into northern Virginia to join the Susquehannocks (Iroquois). In 1675, several Doeg stole hogs from an English settler named Mathews, resulting in a raid of a Susquehannock-Doeg fort in Maryland, retaliatory Susquehannock-Doeg raids on English settlements in Virginia, and, ultimately, the tensions that sparked Bacon's Rebellion in 1676. The last mention of Doeg as a distinct group occurred in 1691 when the "King of the Doegs" testified in Stafford court that he had been held captive by the Seneca (Iroquois) for 14 years. Bedell mentions that English settlers often hired Natives to hunt wolves on their land, and that William Bennet, one of the frontiersmen of Prince William, traded with them on his plantation. Bedell last references Native Americans with the 1722 Treaty of Albany, which "ended the threat of attacks from Iroquois and their allies" (p. 31).

Blanton, Dennis B., Stevan C. Pullins, and Veronica L. Deitrick.

1998 "The Potomac Creek Site (44ST2) Revisited," Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Research Report Series No. 10. Prepared by the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research.

The results of this archaeological study can be very technical and difficult to read for a non-expert, but the conclusions are relatively easy to follow. The authors summarize and cite previous work before presenting their own theories, which gives much-needed context to someone new to the field. They focus on the Patawomeke, who lived just south of Prince William County on the coast of Stafford County and, therefore, most likely interacted with Natives living in Prince William. While this report does not tell a narrative history of the Patawomeke, it does contribute to conversations about broader theories of migration and settlement patterns of the Virginia Algonquians as a whole and the Patawomeke at the Potomac Creek site. It is a prime example of how material culture and archaeological evidence can deepen our understanding of Native American history, which is often our only option due to historic erasure of Native American culture and identity.

The authors investigate two neighboring sites important to the Patawomeke people in this archaeological report: the Indian Point site (44ST1) and the Potomac Creek site (44ST2). They note that Natives left the Potomac Creek site for the Indian Point site shortly before contact, so

while the former is known exclusively through archaeology, the latter was the village “Patawomeke” depicted on John Smith’s 1624 Map of Virginia, the site of Pocahontas’ kidnapping in 1613, the home of English diplomats Captain Crashaw and Captain Madison, and the location of other important 17th-century events. However, this particular study focuses on determining the site date, site function, economic contribution of maize (corn), and interaction of Native groups at the Potomac Creek site specifically. In addition to these goals, the authors use their archaeological data to theorize about the origins of Potomac Creek culture in consideration of the three most prevalent theories: the Montgomery Complex Hypothesis, the Eastern Shore Hypothesis, and the In Situ or Local Development Hypothesis. Before going into their findings, the authors establish that origins of the Potomac Creek complex date to the Late Woodland period (14th century), fortified villages occurred along the Potomac River, the resource economy included horticulture, burials included multiple interments, houses were oval and rectangular, some sites were seasonal, and European contact at Potomac Creek sites led to a shift of Native groups toward the Rappahannock River basin.

After a discussion of their methods and results, the authors conclude that the Potomac Creek site was occupied only during the pre-contact era (~AD 1300-1458). By analyzing enclosure patterns over time and comparing them with a sister site at Moyaone (18PR8) in Maryland, they determined there were several distinct stages of site function: first, a large, heavily palisaded site to keep the community safe from unknown enemies upon arrival to the area (AD 1300-1400); second, a small, less-defended enclosure with settlement occurring outside the walls during a flourishing period (AD 1400-1560); and, finally, the use of the enclosure as an ossuary burial site as the population moved to Indian Point (AD 1560-1650).

As is standard in archaeology, the authors date the site and posits intergroup interactions based on the dates and types of artifacts found there. In that vein, they explain the small amount of Late Woodland (AD 800-1600) ceramic sherds found at the Potomac Creek site demonstrate Natives there interacted with both western and eastern Native groups. Yet, because of the presence of Keyser, Page, and micaceous ceramic types, the authors argue those at the Potomac Creek site probably most frequently interacted with Piedmont Natives. The archaeological record also showed that maize was the most prevalent tropical cultigen, though analysis of human remains revealed it was not as important to Native diets as 17th-century English historical documents claim. Deer meat and hickory nut were the largest sources of subsistence.

In conclusion, the authors use the archaeological evidence collected to argue that Potomac Creek culture originated in the proto-Iroquoian Owasco cultures of the lower Susquehanna River in New York and Pennsylvania. To support this claim, they point out that aspects present at Potomac Creek sites—such as concurrent palisaded walls, encircling ditches, and tropical cultigens—are also present at Owasco sites but not at other sites in Virginia. As a reason for this migration, the authors suggest that the Little Ice Age at the end of the 13th century could have pushed Owasco cultures to move to a warmer southern area in search of better crop yields and longer growing periods.

Bushnell, D.I.

1935 **“The Manahoac Tribes in Virginia, 1608,” *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, 94(8).**

Bushnell summarizes the history of the Manahoac people as known from historical documents, briefly overviews the archaeological sites pinpointed as Manahoac towns on Smith’s 1624 Map of Virginia, and, in conclusion, does a comparative study of material culture in the Rapidan-Rappahannock River area. His summary includes excerpts from many strong primary accounts concerning the Manahoac and Monacan people, and his piece includes 21 plates depicting maps, images, and illustrations of the places and artifacts he describes. Bushnell’s descriptions of the archaeological evidence at each Rapidan-Rappahannock site vary in length and can be disorganized in terms of what place and category of artifact are supposed to be the focus. Still, many of the groups and places he talks about are just miles away from the modern-day borders of Prince William. For instance, one of the Manahoac groups, the Whokentyae (Whokentia), are believed to have occupied modern-day Fauquier County. In addition, the falls of the Rappahannock—where the river splits into the Rapidan—are only 10-15 miles from the border of Prince William. Overall, Bushnell’s piece demonstrates the types of historical documents, archaeological evidence, and sites of archaeological importance relevant to studying the Manahoac occupation past the Fall Line.

Bushnell’s main account of the Manahoac comes from Captain John Smith’s encounter with a Manahoac named Amoroleck, who the English captured on a voyage up the Rappahannock in August 1608 after being attacked by his people. From this visit, Smith notes seven towns comprise the Manahoac territory, though only the first five appear on his map: Mahaskahod, Hassuiuga (Amoroleck’s people), Tanxsnitania, Shackaconia, Stegara, Outponcas, Tegoneaes, and Whonkentyaes. Smith also records that Amoroleck describes the Manahoac as friendly with the Monacan but still a distinct group. Next, Bushnell includes a section of Smith’s writings which details Amoroleck’s negotiations with the Manahoac on behalf of Smith’s party and the presentation of gifts to the English settlers by four “Kings” of the Manahoac tribes, which occurred near the falls of the Rappahannock. However, Bushnell emphasizes that no one provides an account of Manahoac territory (west of the Fall Line) until John Lederer’s 1670 account of his explorations of the lands past the Rappahannock Fall Line. In Lederer’s narrative, he refers to “Mahocks” and “Mohocks” (now believed to be Manahoacs) and describes their role in fighting the English and Pamunkeys in the 1656 Battle of Bloody Run.

From the 1650s-1680s, Bushnell outlines the tense relationships between the Natives and the English and pressure on Virginia Natives from northern Iroquois groups, such as the Susquehannock. His discussion includes a 1661-1662 law forbidding English and tributary Native groups’ trade with the “Susquehannock and other northern Indians” (p. 13), the construction of a fort near the falls of the Rappahannock in 1676, and a 1682 account mentioning Rappahannock Ranger Cadwalader Jones’ siting of Natives in a “periauger” (dugout canoe, p. 15). Bushnell notes an area of Manahoac activity may have included use of the old “Carolina

Road” to get to the James River, the mouth of Mohawk Creek, and the headwaters of Shaccoe (like Shackaconia) Creek.

Because there were no undisturbed mounds along the Rappahannock at that time (1935), Bushnell relies heavily on comparison with other sites along the East Coast to interpret the Manahoac sites. He summarizes archaeological findings around Laucks Island, Motts Run, the Forest Hall site, the mouth of the Rapidan to Richards Ford, Polecat Run, Rogers Ford, Jerrys Flats, Skinkers Ford, and Fox Neck. Analysis of the archaeological material collected from the various sites demonstrate two distinct periods of occupancy in the Rapidan-Rappahannock River area. For example, axes found at these sites were generally either crudely flaked and weathered (earlier period) or polished and grooved (later period). Similarly, the pottery was either basket-impressed (earlier period) or heavy-ware, cord-impressed, and straight-rimmed (later period). Bushnell posits that the earlier period artifacts, particularly the pottery, preceded Siouan (i.e. Manahoac) occupation and supports this conclusion using the wide geographic range of analogous artifact types along the Atlantic Coast and westward toward Mississippi.

Egloff, Keith, and Deborah Woodward.

1992 *First People: The Early Indians of Virginia. The Virginia Department of Historic Resources.*

This book is an excellent summary of Native American history in Virginia, especially for someone new to the subject. While it does not focus specifically on Prince William, it gives a general timeline of periods of study and an overview of important historical events and material culture that distinguish each period. The language used is easy to understand and when the authors do use subject specific references, they explain them further in diagrams/tables or in the glossary. After reading this book, the reader should have a solid grasp of the geographic distribution of Native groups in Virginia, aspects of the culture prevalent in those geographic areas, and an understanding of the general history of Native groups that brought them to their configurations today. In addition, the authors include information about the methods of investigation for reconstructing Native American history and other suggested readings.

First, Egloff and Woodward discuss pre-contact Native American history in Virginia as divided by subsistence patterns: early hunters (9500-6000 BCE), dispersed foragers (6000-2500 BCE), sedentary foragers (2500 BCE-900 AD), and farmers (900-1600 AD). The first period is characterized by Natives hunting, gathering, and living in bands and temporary encampments. The second period included more intense and diverse hunting and gathering groups, and Natives began to cluster their camps. In the third period, new types of cultigens were introduced and there was a transition to Natives living in groups and small hamlets. Finally, in the fourth period, there was an increased dependency on cultivated plants like corns, squash, and beans, and Natives began to form chiefdoms and larger villages. A table on page 8 summarizes these significant changes in settlement and subsistence patterns in each period along with developments in material culture. Additionally, a timeline on page 18-19 shows the development of projectile points over time—a crucial part of grouping cultural changes in Native American

societies throughout history and of dating archeological sites. At the end of each section, there is a “What were they like?” page that presents scenarios through the eyes of Native people to give a better understanding of what life was like in each period.

Next, Egloff and Woodward discuss post-contact history in three periods: 1607-1800, 1800s to the present, and present day. In the first section, they discuss the arrival of Christopher Columbus, the observations of Native peoples recorded by Captain John Smith, Powhatan culture, John Rolfe and Pocahontas’ marriage, the displacement of coastal tribes into the 18th century, and what (little) is known about Natives in the Piedmont and western Virginia. In the second section, the authors talk about the Gingaskin, Pamunkey, and Mattaponi Reservation Natives, the passage of the 1924 Racial Integrity Act and Walter Plecker’s role in it, the effect of the Civil Rights Movement on Native communities, and the formation of the United Indians of Virginia and the Virginia Council on Indians. Finally, in the last section, Egloff and Woodward give brief overviews of the eight state-recognized tribes in Virginia: the Chickahominy, the Eastern Chickahominy, the Mattaponi, the Monacan, the Nansemond, the Pamunkey, the United Rappahannock, and the Upper Mattaponi.

Feest, Christian F.

1978 *Handbook of North American Indians. Edited by William C. Sturtevant. Smithsonian Institution.*

Feest’s chapters in this book offer a balanced overview of the culture, history, and intraregional interaction of Native groups in Virginia and Maryland. Additionally, they provide tribal synonymy (i.e. different spellings, name changes over time, etc.), recommended sources, and in-text citations that are useful to further study. Because the Algonquian-speaking Tauxenent (Doeg) occupying modern-day Prince William probably had greater association with the Maryland Algonquians than those of Virginia, understanding both regions gives us a clearer picture of the cultural and political forces impacting the Natives living in Prince William. While the handbook is now over 50 years old, it still provides one of the most consolidated sources of information on Native American history in Virginia and Maryland to date.

1978a **“Nanticoke and Neighboring Tribes,” 15: 240-252.**

In this chapter, Feest outlines the different Native American Algonquian groups in Maryland, describing their culture, political relationships, and migrations over time. As he notes, the Doeg lived on both the Virginia and Maryland sides of the Potomac River and were part of the Conoy chiefdom, an Algonquian confederation led by the Piscataway. Feest details many cultural aspects of these Maryland Algonquian groups such as food, clothing, accessories, transportation, village size and composition, ceremonies (including marriage and burials), political organization, and cosmology. In terms of Native-English relations, he explains that throughout the 17th century, Conoy groups tried to seek English colonial protection through treaties (1666, 1692, 1700) but lack of enforcement and the added threat of northern Iroquoian raids prevented any real protection. By 1758, the Conoy had left their territory in southern

Maryland and merged with the Nanticoke, both of whom fought on the side of the English in the Revolutionary War. While some Conoy then traveled west with the Nanticoke and Delaware, others became indentured servants for white plantation owners in Maryland. For most of the late 18th and early to mid-19th centuries, there is not much widely accessible recorded history on these groups, but in around the 1880s, Natives started identifying themselves as “Wesorts” on official records to separate themselves from the classification “Negro.” In 1974, a revived Piscataway group became incorporated under Maryland law. Today, Feest mentions that many Native descendants work their land while also having commuter jobs in Washington, D.C., Baltimore, and other cities around the area.

1978b “Virginia Algonquians,” 15: 253-270.

Here Feest describes the Virginia Native groups living east of the Fall Line, giving a rough timeline of the post-contact period. European contact in this area started in the mid-to-late 16th century with Spanish explorers and Roanoke colonists. Before the settlement of Jamestown in 1607, some scholars have posited that the soon-to-be influential chief Powhatan (Wahunsenacawh) inherited much land of the lower York River and below the Fall Line of the James River from Don Luis, a Spanish captive turned Native leader. The permanent arrival of the English in 1607 led to many conflicts with Natives, as both groups tried to impose control over one another. As Feest mentions, Natives led by Opechancanough (Powhatan’s brother) executed two coordinated attacks on English settlers in 1622 and 1644, sparking the First and Second Anglo-Powhatan Wars. The second attack was met with substantial defense from 15,000 English colonists and their Native allies, and by 1677, the English forced all Native groups with whom they had a relationship to become tributaries to the Virginia colony. These tributary Natives lived on land specifically allocated to them and sometimes worked as scouts, servants, and hunters for English settlers.

Of these 17th-century Virginia Algonquian groups, Feest describes their subsistence, material culture, social organization, and religion (including important ceremonies and stages of life). After 1700, Native populations shrank significantly, but some groups held onto land, such as the Rappahannock (who lived on the same land until the 20th century) and the Pamunkey and Mattaponi (who have reservations in Virginia to this day). Virginia Algonquian groups in the 18th and 19th centuries were subject to forced assimilation and English language-learning tactics and placed into the official “non-white” category in 1705. Feest asserts the 1722 Treaty of Albany marks the end of Virginia Algonquian participation in colonial politics and government. By 1800, many Natives had converted to Christianity and churches became a center of maintaining tribal identity. Conflicts have arisen in the 20th and 21st centuries over legal favoring of the rights of reservation Indian groups over non-reservation Indian groups. Nevertheless, Feest ensures that both types of groups exist today and some still engage in farming, hunting, and crafting for the purpose of trade with non-Native individuals and groups.

Hantman, Jeffrey.

1990 **“Between Powhatan and Quirank: Reconstructing Monacan Culture and History in the Context of Jamestown,”** *American Anthropologist* 92(3):676-690.

In this article, Hantman theorizes around the question of why Powhatan allowed the Jamestown colonists to settle on his land and argues that a closer analysis of the Powhatan’s regional sociopolitical relationship with the Siouan-speaking Monacan group in the Piedmont helps answer that question. While the language and theoretical lens in this piece can be challenging, Hantman poses an important theory on interregional Native interaction before and after English contact. Given that modern-day Prince William County straddles the boundary between the Siouan-speaking (Monacan; Piedmont) and Algonquian-speaking (Powhatan; Tidewater) groups, this source is crucial to understanding how Native groups between these distinct environmental regions and language families interacted. In addition, because Hantman summarizes and analyzes several important primary accounts of the Monacan from Smith’s writings, this source serves as a guided interpretation of those difficult texts. This piece will be best understood after gaining a foundation of knowledge about Natives in both these regions.

First, Hantman briefly relays the three most informative of Smith’s accounts about the Monacan: Pawatah’s (a Powhatan werowance’s) description of the Monacan land and reluctance to enter it in 1607, Amoroleck’s (a Manahoac captive’s) account of Monacan territory and organization in 1608, and Smith’s description of Christopher Newport’s discovery of the Monacan towns Masinacak and Monhemenchouch and capture of a Monacan chief. Next, he breaks down common assumptions about Powhatan superiority over Monacans attached to Smith’s language and suggests his words tell little about the size and strength of the Monacan chiefdom in comparison to the Powhatan chiefdom. Finally, he analyzes Monacan archaeological evidence, which suggests that the Tidewater (Powhatan) and Piedmont (Monacan) regions had similar population densities and that the Monacan groups had a general cultural unity and common ideology. Given this evidence, Hantman argues that the Monacan chiefdom posed a real threat to Powhatan’s power. He posits that one reason Powhatan may have allowed the English to stay is because of the English’s trade in copper, considered one of the greatest signs of wealth in Native society. Before English arrival, it seems Powhatan’s source of copper was within Monacan territory, so when the English arrived with imported copper, Powhatan may have seen it as an opportunity to not only obtain a larger quantity of copper than the Monacans but to end his reliance on their supply of it. Thus, Hantman pushes back against the common assumption that the Powhatan were the strongest Native chiefdom upon English arrival, as deeper analysis of the archaeological evidence and Powhatan’s relationship with the English suggests otherwise.

Harrison, Fairfax.

1987 (1924) *Landmarks of Old Prince William: A Study of Origins in Northern Virginia.* The Old Dominion Press.

“Part One: The Indian Frontier”

While this book is dense with facts, it is an incredible utilization of primary source documents relating to Native Americans. Because it is a history of Old Prince William and not of Native Americans, the narrative is primarily centered around Native relationships with English settlers. However, the diversity and specificity of sources Harrison cites makes it the most detailed history of these interactions in and around Prince William to date. By following the footnotes and sources cited, one can find out much more specific information than anywhere else about Native Americans in this area.

In the first part of this history, Harrison details Native-English interactions within and surrounding the boundaries of Old Prince William during the 17th and early 18th centuries. First, he notes the Native groups that are known to have occupied Prince William directly before and at contact—the Moyaones (Piscataway), Nacotchtank (Anacostan), and Taux (Doeg)—and lists the Piscataway and Doeg villages found on John Smith’s Map of Virginia. Like other scholars, he utilizes Smith’s accounts of interaction with the Manahoac near the Fall Line and asserts that Smith traveled up Aquia Creek (then called Quiyogh), now the southern border of Prince William, in 1608. The closest Manahoac town to Prince William that Smith identified was Tanxnitania, which Harrison mentions was in Prince William’s neighboring Fauquier County at White Sulphur Springs. Next, Harrison explains that in 1669, the Manahoac merged with the Monacan for protection against the Iroquoian Massawomecks attacking from the north. He notes some important primary accounts from later in the 17th century include John Lederer’s 1670 expedition into the Virginia Piedmont and Cadwalader Jones’ 1682 notes from his trips as a Rappahannock Ranger, though he suggests that the level of English exploration and occupation in northern Virginia varied and was (particularly in the late-17th century) restricted by the threat of Iroquoian attack. However, Harrison asserts that no Native groups lived within the boundaries of Old Prince William by the beginning of the 18th century, as many were pushed out by invading Iroquoian groups or left in anticipation of English settlement.

Until 1648, when the Northern Neck became part of Northumberland County, the York River served as a boundary between English (south) and Native (north) territory, primarily that of the Patawomeke (Potomac). The Doeg also lived in northern Virginia, and Harrison identifies their territory as running from Chipawansic Creek to the Fairfax stream and their principal settlement as “Myampses” or “Dogg’s Island” on Mason Neck in Fairfax County. The Virginia colony began taking over Doeg land in 1651, and by 1657, all the land along the Potomac shore was patented by English. Westmoreland County was created in 1653 and included all the Doeg land and more northern territory comprised of Anacostan land. Harrison states that by 1665, the Patawomeke had sold all their land rights, and after the 1677 Treaty of Middle Plantation, many Virginia Indian groups completely disappeared from official records.

Giles Brent migrated from the Maryland to the Virginia side of the Potomac in 1637, married a Piscataway Native, and placed a 1653 patent on 1800 acres across from an Anacostan town, marking the beginning of expansion into northern Virginian Anacostan land. Harrison

explains, however, that tensions between Natives and English around northern expansion and misunderstandings about land boundaries led to the Susquehannock War in 1675. After several Doeg stole Samuel Mathews' hogs and killed several of his family members, a chain reaction of the English siege of Susquehannock forts and Susquehannock raids on Virginia colonists in retaliation ensued, ultimately adding to the tensions that sparked Bacon's Rebellion in 1676. He goes on to unravel the history of displacement of the Piscataway and English prevention of Iroquoian expansion. The Piscataway moved to Zachiah Swamp in 1680 and became subsidiaries of the Iroquois after raids in 1681. In 1699, they moved to Conoy Island, but by 1700, the Piscataway were broken up between Maryland and Virginia. Those in Virginia moved north to Ohio with the Iroquois after the 1722 Treaty of Albany, which functionally ended Iroquoian (and Native) presence in the Virginia colony.

Hening, William W. (editor)

1969 ***The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619.* New York, Printed for the editor, 1819-23. Published for the Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia by the University Press of Virginia, 1969.**

Hening's Statutes provide an extensive collection of Virginia treaties and laws, including those related to Native Americans. Most of the information on Native Americans shows up in the first two volumes since the volumes are organized chronologically. Much like Smith's writings, the best way to use this source is to use the in-text citations of secondary sources to determine which statutes need consulting firsthand. In terms of Natives in Prince William, the Doeg are mentioned several times, such as in a Virginia General Assembly Act ordering the "Potomack" to track down several "Doagg" charged with committing murder (II) and in a 1792 land grant that uses "Dogue Town" as a reference (XIII). However, this source is mainly useful in that it documents the broader Virginia policy toward Native Americans, including important acts such as the 1646 treaty ending the Second Anglo-Powhatan War (I), a law forbidding English from settling on occupied Native land (II), the Treaty of Middle Plantation (II), and the establishment of Indian trading markets (II). Other acts give indications of the movement, consolidation, and disappearance of Native groups, such as an act mentioning the "Richahecrians" (a group comprised of Siouan-speaking Manahoacs and Nahyssans) and the 1669 Native American census (II).

Kingsbury, Susan Myra. (editor)

1906-35 ***The Records of the Virginia Company of London.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.**

The records of the Virginia Company of London reflect crucial details about colonial Virginia and settlers' relationships with the Native Americans. Volumes 3 and 4 contain the most information about these interactions, including Powhatan's visit to the Doeg in northern Virginia in 1617 (III), the unstable peace between the English and the Natives (III; IV), and many

accounts of trade between the English and the Natives. While these records do not contain an abundance of information about Native Americans in Prince William specifically, the documents' descriptions of Native-English interactions in broader colonial Virginia give important context for understanding these interactions in a specific place. Like Hening's Statutes, the best way to use this source is to use the in-text citations of secondary sources to determine which statutes need consulting firsthand.

McCary, Ben C.

1966 *Indians in Seventeenth Century Virginia. Edited by Earl Greg Swem. The Jamestown 350th Anniversary Booklet.*

In this booklet, McCary gives an overview of Native American culture, group size, and location in seventeenth-century Virginia. Many other sources on Native American culture focus on a specific cultural aspect as revealed through archaeology or historical documents or give a general overview. While this piece is an overview, the range of topics makes it a detailed description of the cultural aspects of Native groups in Virginia, including Algonquian, Siouan, and Iroquoian speakers. Because Prince William was home to both Algonquian and Siouan speakers, this booklet gives us a good idea of how these groups generally used and gave meaning to the world around them. It is important to note that each distinct group within the language groups probably had their own variation of practicing the general regional culture, but because of forced assimilation and lack of historical documents and artifacts, it is impossible to know these nuanced differences fully. Most other sources in this bibliography talk about political and migration history of the groups in and around Prince William, so this source is a good focus for research on Native groups' historical cultures.

McCary first lists all the known tribes and their best-estimated population figures in each of the three language groups: the Algonquian, the Siouan, and the Iroquoian. He explains that most of the information in the historical record pertains to the coastal Algonquian speakers because they interacted with the English the most and "[t]he few records we have for the Piedmont, for the mountains and valleys beyond, are, often too vague to be reliable" (p. i). He records the Tauxenent, the Patowomeke, the Rappahannock, the Manahoac, and the Monacan with a population of 150, 750, 380, 1500, and 1500, respectively. McCary then goes into detail about cultural aspects of each language group in Virginia, including categories such as social organization, subsistence methods, marriage and burial customs, and many more.

McIlwaine, Henry R., and John P. Kennedy. (editors)

1905-1915 *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1619-1776. The Colonial Press, Everett Wadley Co.*

These records of the Virginia House of Burgesses document tensions between Natives and English settlers in colonial Virginia. Pertaining to northern Virginia, there are many mentions of relations with Native groups, such as English colonists' march on the Rappahannock, deeds and patents granted for Indian preserves, laws ordering Indian purchase of land and building of

fences, and colonists' claims to Machodoc and Dogue lands. Like the Records of the VA Company of London, the best way to use this source is to use the in-text citations of secondary sources to determine what statutes need consulting firsthand.

McIlwaine, Henry R. (editor)

- 1918** *Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia. The Colonial Press, Everett Waddey Co.*
- 1924** *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia. The Colonial Press, Everett Waddey Co.*
- 1925-1945** *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia. Published by D. Bottom, Superintendent of Public Printing.*

Because these sources are from the same Legislative Council and of the same nature, they will be grouped together in this description. Like the records of the Virginia House of Burgesses, there are many references in these documents to Native-English relations in northern Virginia. There are references to the Virginia government's escort of Rappahannocks to Nanzatico land (1925-1945:I), Dogue living near Nanzatico land in the 1670s (1925-1945:I), Nanzatico complaints of infringement on their land (1918:I; 1925-1945:II), and the sale of part of the Nanzatico land (1924). There are also references to broader Native-English relations, such as the English response to Openchancanough's 1644 attack on English settlements (1924) and multiple Native groups being sent to negotiate peace with the Iroquois at Albany (1925-1945:I). It is best to use this source as a supplement to deepen the understanding of secondary sources that contextualize these primary documents.

Moore, Larry E.

- 1991** "A Little History of the Doeg." *Archeological Society of Virginia, Quarterly Bulletin* 46(2):77-85.

In this short article, Moore gives an overview of the known geography and history of the Doeg people, providing one of the most detailed histories of the Doeg found in scholarly sources. Moore draws from many primary documents to construct this history, including Smith's writings, the Records of the Virginia Company of London, and notes from the Virginia House of Burgesses and Legislative Council. The history does not have much narrative flow but provides many important facts about the group and where they are mentioned in the historical record. Like other sources, there is a lack of information after the early 18th-century, but this particular source gives a good overview of Doeg-English interactions in the 17th century and in the context of their relationships with nearby Native groups, such as the Patowomeke (Potomac). It is an important summary of the history of displacement of the Doeg people from what is now eastern Prince William County. The name "Doeg" and "Dogue" are used interchangeably as both forms show up in the historical record in reference to the same Native group.

To start, Moore notes the Dogue settlement Tauxenent on Smith's 1624 Map of Virginia and the evolution of their group name throughout the 17th century from Taux to Dogue. He also

identifies the Dogue settlement of Moyumpse on Mason Neck in Fairfax County as the same site as Tauxenent and mentions the Manahoac lived west at the headwaters of the Occoquan River. Throughout the 1600s, seventeen land grants in this area mention Dogue Island or Dogue Neck (i.e. Moyumpse on Mason Neck). Moore suggests the Dogue were most likely on the fringe of Powhatan's control, as evidenced by Powhatan's visit to the "K. of Mayumps" shortly before his death. While the English established a relationship with the nearby Potomac (Patawomeke) group, engaging in trade and some military alliances, the Doeg do not seem to have been a part of this dynamic. By 1651, Lord Baltimore encouraged English to settle in what was then Doeg territory. From then on, the Doeg are often talked about in colonial records for the murder of hogs and English settlers on their land, such as in Gerard Fowke's 1658 report of Doeg killing cattle and in the General Court at Jamestown's declaration of war on 'the whole nation of the Doegs and Potomacks' for their murder of colonists. Moore explains that after their involvement in the Susquehannock War and Bacon's Rebellion, the Doeg were not explicitly included in any more peace treaties with the English. The last mention of the Doeg was around 1714-1724, when they were recorded as living on the Mattaponi River in Caroline County, Virginia.

Potter, Stephen.

1993 *Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs: The Development of Algonquian Culture in the Potomac Valley.* University Press of Virginia.

Potter's book provides the most detailed and consolidated account of Native Americans in the Potomac Valley to date. Most of his archaeological evidence and analysis focuses on the Chicacoan people, who were much closer to the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay than Natives in modern-day Prince William. Yet, the three chapters noted here give information about the difficulty of studying Native American history, summarize the social organization of the Virginia-Maryland Tidewater region in 1608, provide a general overview of village settlements and subsistence, and recount a history of Natives in the region starting before English settlement at Jamestown and going through the mid-to-late 17th century. Potter uses both historical documents and archaeological evidence to provide a rounded look at the geopolitical relationships between different Native groups and the English settlers.

"Introduction"

The introduction frames the central arguments of the book and limitations of the study. The most important takeaway for the purposes of this bibliography can be summed up in this quote:

"[W]e seek knowledge and generalizations based on the careful examination of all relevant evidence, realizing that 'truth' is simply the best current hypothesis—a point that indeed characterizes all fields of science" (p. 6).

“The Algonquian Country, 1608”

Potter, like many scholars of Native American history in Virginia, starts with the account of Smith’s voyages. He notes that Smith was met with hostility by the Chicacoans, Matchotics, and Patawomeke, but received a welcome from the Tauxenent, Moyaone [Piscataway] and Nacotchtank [Anacostan]. This could indicate the former three groups were part of the Powhatan chiefdom of Virginia and the latter were part of another chiefdom, such as the Conoy in southern Maryland. Potter lists the Native groups (north to south) on the Virginia side of the Potomac River—Tauxenents, Patawomekes, Matchotics, Chicacoans, and Wicocomocos—and those on the Maryland side—Nacotchtanks, Piscataways, Pamunkeys, Nanjemoys, Potapacos, and Yaocomacos. He clarifies that while these groups were all distinct, they spoke mutually intelligible dialects of Eastern Algonquian, of which the Englishmen Henry Spelman and Henry Fleet were skilled translators.

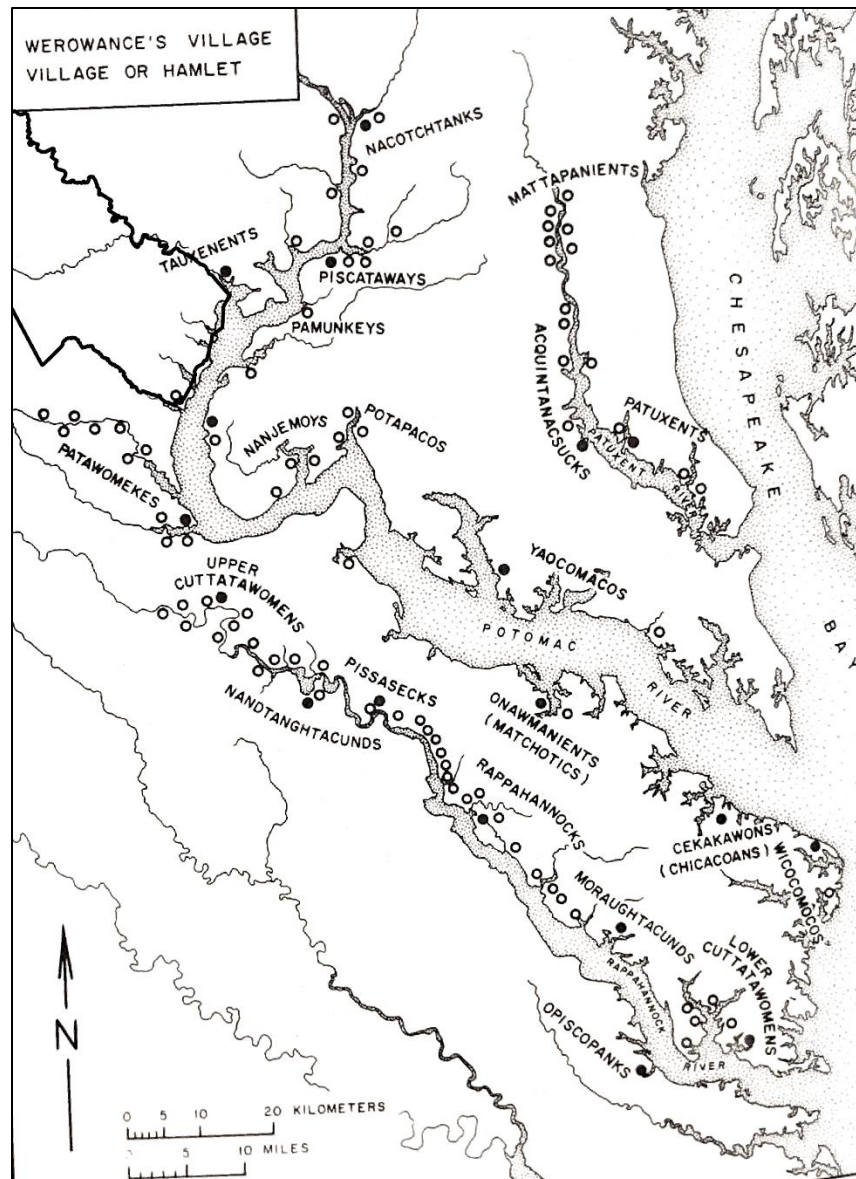
Potter puts forth that the Powhatan chiefdom was the largest centralized chiefdom in Virginia in the beginning of the 17th century, and, as he writes, it had “a ranked, kin-oriented society in which the number of status positions was limited and the status and administrative structure was arranged in a hierarchy of major and minor leaders governing major and minor subdivisions of the group” (p. 18). Powhatan received a prophecy before the arrival of the English that a nation would come from the Chesapeake to destroy his empire, so he continued to strengthen and expand. According to Potter, who cites Rountree, on the “ethnic fringe” of the Powhatan empire were the Wicocomocos, Chicacoans, Matchotics [3 Potomac River], Accomacs, and Occohannocks [2 Eastern Shore]. He asserts that the Patawomeke, though sometimes allied with Powhatan in trade and warfare, maintained their autonomy, and the Tauxenents (Doeg) of northern Virginia were more influenced by the Conoy of southern Maryland. In the Conoy chiefdom, werowances ruled over each group and appointed wisoes (advisers), often from their own family. Potter characterizes the Conoy society as highly hierarchical with great separation between the elite class and the commoners.

In addition, Potter thoroughly discusses different population estimates for Native groups, asserting that the Conoy chiefdom probably contained 3000-6000 people in 1608. He distinguishes two different types of villages: 1) a werowance’s village with the chief’s longhouse, mortuary temple and “treasury,” and houses of kin and elite supporters; and 2) a non-werowance village with commoners’ houses, storage units, sweathouses, and menstrual houses. Potter explains that settlements usually occurred near streams rather than the mouths of major rivers to protect the groups from rain, wind, and colder temperatures. Near the end of the chapter, he launches into a very detailed discussion of what soil types reveal about Native subsistence. Two important things he notes are that 50% of the Virginia Algonquian diet was maize and frequent droughts before and after English contact meant the Algonquians were used to adapting to cultivating with less water. At the end of the chapter, Potter describes the yearly cycle of foods during each season and takes a deeper dive into the Chicacoan group, his principal subject of study.

“The Clash of Cultures”

In this chapter, Potter describes the Potomac River as the boundary of conflict between the Powhatan chiefdom in Tidewater Virginia and the Conoy chiefdom in southern Maryland. First, he discusses the history of these groups before English contact, noting the protohistoric Patawomeke village at the Potomac Creek site (44ST2), the threats of attack from the Iroquoian-speaking Massawomecks & Susquehannocks and the Siouan-speaking Manahoacs, and evidence of embankments, ditches, and palisaded walls that confirm periods of intergroup conflict before English contact. Potter then succinctly summarizes the relationship between Native groups and chiefdoms in the Tidewater area, including the Piscataway in southern Maryland, the Susquehannocks in the lower Susquehanna Valley, the Massawomecks northwest of that, the Tauxenent (Doeg) in the northernmost part of Tidewater Virginia, the Patawomeke in between the Piscataway and the Powhatan, the Manahoacs in the upper Piedmont, the Monacans in the middle to lower Piedmont, and the Powhatan chiefdom on the James and York River tidal areas.

Potter gives a chronological overview of conflict and negotiation between Native groups and the English, particularly highlighting the importance of the Patawomeke as an independent group. His discussion follows the causes and outcomes of the three Anglo-Powhatan Wars (1609-1614; 1622-1632; 1644-1646), the fur trade disputes between Calvert and Claiborne in the Chesapeake Bay, and the displacement of various coastal groups in the 1650s and 1660s. Potter ends the chapter with an overview of the archaeological evidence in the region, bringing attention to five important archaeological sites: the Little Marsh Creek site (44FX1471), the Potomac Creek site (44ST2) and the Indian Point (44ST1) site in Virginia, and the Accokeek Creek site (18PR8) and Posey site (18CH281) in Maryland. He asserts that the decreasing prevalence of valuable material goods found in werowance’s burial sites post-contact reflects that Anglo-Algonquian interaction “diminished the werowance’s authority through a variety of factors: depopulation through disease and warfare (both intertribal and intercultural), defeats in war, displacement of loss of land, discrediting of the priesthood because of their ineffectiveness against European weapons and diseases, and, perhaps disruption of clear succession to the chieftainship” (p. 220). Lastly, Potter explains that many English plantations appear on the sites of Native settlements because the English took the most fertile land from the Natives and used the fallow fields for housing.



“1. Native groups and villages on the low Patuxent, Potomac, and Rappahannock rivers, ca. 1608. (Map by G. Robert Lewis)” (p. 10). Outline of Prince William County (top left) added by Justin Patton, County Archaeologist.

Rountree, Helen C.

1993 *Powhatan Foreign Relations 1500-1722*. University Press of Virginia.

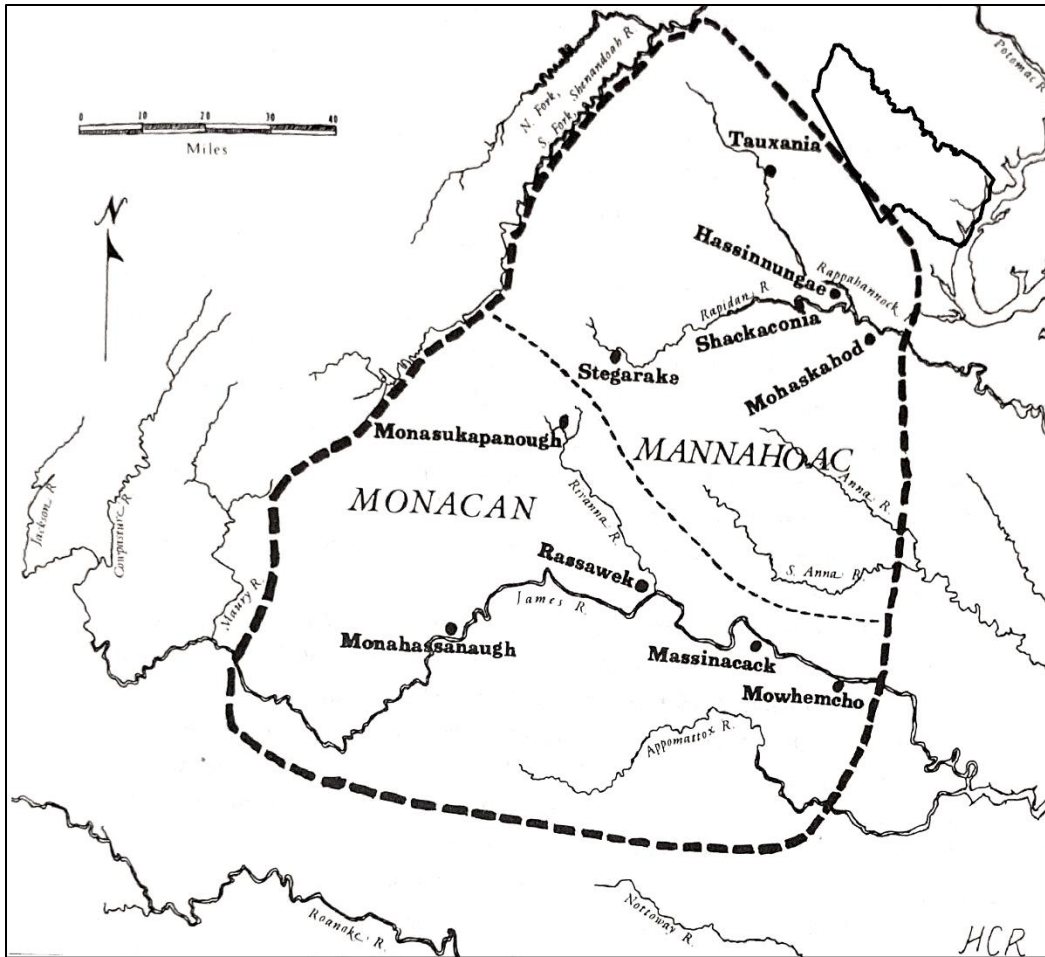
This book is a compilation of chapters written by various Native American history scholars on Powhatan relations with English settlers and other Native groups in Virginia. The two chapters below are most relevant to Prince William County because they pertain to Powhatan relations with Piedmont Natives, some of whom occupied western Prince William, and with Native groups in southern Maryland, which were most closely related to the Doeg who lived in eastern Prince William. Both chapters take a holistic view of these relationships, so they

do not discuss the region of Prince William in detail. However, understanding the broader history of these Native groups' relations are crucial to understanding the types of interactions that may have occurred within the modern-day county borders. With some background knowledge on northeastern Native groups' locations and history, these chapters are easy to follow and provide much-needed context about the sociopolitical relationships in the region.

Chapter Four: Jeffrey L. Hantman, "Powhatan's Relations with the Piedmont Monacans"

In this chapter, Hantman investigates the relationship between the Powhatan and Monacan confederacies, particularly to break down the historical assumption that the Powhatan were more powerful than the Monacan. He asserts that the Manahoac in the upper Piedmont (western Prince William County) and the Monacans in the middle to lower Piedmont had linguistic differences but were both groups under the "Monacan confederacy" (p. 95). Hantman cites Captain John Smith, who identifies five Monacan villages on the James River: Mowhemcho (Monacan, Manakintown), Massinacack, Rassawek (chief village), Monahassanaugh, Monasukapanough. Hantman identifies the Manahoac land as the Rappahannock River drainage, citing also the Manahoac towns recorded by Smith from the captive Amoroleck: Tauxatania, Shackaconia, Ontponea, Tegninateos, Whonkenteeae, Stegarake, and Hassinnungae (Amoroleck's home). Next, he discusses the assumptions of previous population estimates for the Monacan and indicates McCary's estimate of the Monacan population (including the Monacan, Manahoac, Saponi, and Tutelo) of 5200 as one of the most reliable. Overall, he suggests that the Monacan and Powhatan confederacies most likely had similar population figures and the Monacan may have even controlled more land than the Powhatan.

Hantman then discusses the rivalry between the Monacan and the Powhatan groups using Smith and Strachey's writings and archaeological evidence. He notes three sources of information about the Monacan-Powhatan rivalry in the historical record: Englishmen's account of the rivalry, individual Powhatans' accounts of the rivalry as recorded by the English, and descriptions of Powhatan's actions that reflect that rivalry. Upon deeper analysis of these accounts, Hantman shows that the Monacans must have been enemies of the Powhatan but not large enough enemies to accept English offers for a military alliance to defeat them. Looking at the archaeological record, he emphasizes the formation of a cultural boundary between Tidewater and Piedmont Virginia around AD 200-900, which corresponds with the beginning of the rivalry between the Monacan and Powhatan. However, Hantman also emphasizes the existence of a buffer zone between present-day Richmond and 20 miles from the falls of the James River, where multiple types of ceramics indicate both groups used the land. He suggests that these pieces of evidence mean the border between Monacan and Powhatan lands was malleable and ever-changing, contrary to English descriptions of an "ancient" rivalry. In conclusion, Hantman argues the Powhatan and Monacan had a shifting balance of power at the time of English arrival based on unclear territorial boundaries and unequal access to valued minerals.



“Fig. 4.1. Monacan and Mannahoac towns, with the reconstructed boundaries of the territory they claimed” (p. 97) Outline of Prince William County (top right) added by Justin Patton, County Archaeologist.

Chapter Five: Wayne E. Clark and Helen C. Rountree, “The Powhatans and the Maryland Mainland”

Here, Clark and Rountree argue that while the Powhatans of lower Tidewater Virginia, the Patowomeck of the upper Tidewater, and the Patuxent of southern Maryland were separated politically and geographically, they had a shared culture. First, the authors note six villages with chief’s house on the southwestern shore of Maryland in Smith’s 1624 Map of Virginia: Patuxent (Pawtuxunt), Aquitanack (Acquintanacsuck), Cecomocomoco (Choptico), Mattawoman (Mussamek), Moyaones (Piscataway), Nacotchtank (Anacostan). However, the authors specify that the main chiefdom in southwest Maryland, the Conoy, was made up of the Anacostan, Piscataway, Mattawoman, Nanjemoy, and Portobacco, who were ruled by a *tayac* (paramount chief) from the Piscataway. According to Clark and Rountree, the Dogue and Patowomeck of

northern Virginia interacted more with the Conoy than the Powhatan but were under control of neither the Conoy nor the Powhatan chiefdoms.

Clark and Rountree note that paramount chiefdoms did not start to develop until the early 16th century. While the English assume the Potomac River as a boundary between the Powhatan and Piscataway (Conoy) chiefdoms, many groups of Natives lived on both sides of the river or moved back and forth throughout the 17th century to escape English colonial expansion. Clark and Rountree assert that despite location, the Piscataway, Powhatan, and Patuxent shared very similar environment, subsistence, clothing, housing, gender roles, and political and social structures. For instance, all three groups lived in temperate mixed forests and relied on hunting, fishing, and corn-and-bean agriculture for subsistence. Yet, the authors do note that there were different religious beliefs and practices between the Powhatan and the Piscataway & Patuxent, since the latter did not have the mortuary temples, status burials, and influential priests of the former. Lastly, Clark and Rountree look at the distribution of pottery types, which suggests intermarriage and other sociopolitical interactions among the three groups. Overall, they assert that the groups must have worked together to, for instance, defend themselves against northern Iroquoian raids but that the Powhatan chiefdom may have formed in response to the increasing power of the Piscataway chiefdom in the 16th century.

Rountree, Helen C., Wayne E. Clark, and Kent Mountford.

2008 *John Smith's Chesapeake Voyages, 1607-1609.* University Press of Virginia.

This book gives the most detailed chronological account of English Captain John Smith's voyages up Virginia waterways from 1607-1609. The most useful part of this book is the maps, which show the most accurate locations to date of the places Smith visited on his voyages and later described in his writings. Though Smith does not give extensive accounts of the area overlapping modern-day Prince William, this analysis of his voyages helps the reader determine what villages overlap with Prince William today (most likely only Pamacocack). The best way to use this source is alongside a copy of Smith's writings (See: Barbour 1986), so that the primary source and secondary analysis can be compared and understood more fully.

In Chapter 4, the authors detail the route and daily descriptions of Smith's first voyage up the Potomac River. There, he was met with hospitality by the upper Potomac groups between June 29th-30th, 1608, and he visited the towns of Tauxenent, Pamacocack, Moyaon (Piscataway), and Nacotchtank (Anacostan). In Chapter 5, the authors detail the route and daily description of Smith's second voyage up the Rappahannock River. Between August 22nd-24th, 1608, Smith's party was attacked by the Manahoac of the Virginia Piedmont and captured a Manahoac named Amoroleck, who gave them information about the Piedmont groups. Lastly, in Chapter 13, the authors detail all the times Smith mentions the Manahoac and Monacan of the Rappahannock River basin in his account and list the sites of Monacan towns that Smith visits. These three chapters seem to be the most relevant to areas near Prince William where Smith and his party ventured.

Strickland, Scott M., Julia A. King, G. Anne Richardson, Martha McCartney, Virginia Busby.

2016 “Defining the Rappahannock Indigenous Cultural Landscape.” Prepared for the National Park Service Chesapeake Bay, The Chesapeake Conservancy, and The Rappahannock Tribe of Virginia.

The National Park Service’s Indigenous Cultural Landscape (ICL) project is one of the most cutting-edge efforts to define indigenous areas of importance as to determine the focus of conservation and historic preservation of indigenous land and culture. The National Park Service defines ICLs as containing “both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife therein associated with the historic lifestyle and settlement patterns and exhibiting the cultural and aesthetic values of American Indian peoples in their totality” (p. 11). In this specific report, the contributors aim to define the ICL of the Rappahannock people. While this area is south of Prince William County, the thorough review of historical documents gives important insight into the Native groups immediately surrounding the county. Furthermore, the breadth of data used and partnership between indigenous and non-indigenous stakeholders demonstrates a hopeful future for indigenous historic preservation. The information below does not comprise every topic this report covers but constitutes a summary of important facts presented; some topics left out of this summary include a 1686 account of French Huguenot Durand de Dauphine and a section on Indian paths and trails.

Before defining the boundaries of the Rappahannock ICL, the contributors give a comprehensive history of the relevant Native groups as compiled through review of historical documents and discussions with the contemporary Rappahannock people. Little is known about pre-contact history in the area, but the contributors do assert that a sizable migration of Algonquian-speakers into the Middle Atlantic occurred around 2000 BCE and do highlight Potter and Gallivan’s arguments that permanent, sedentary settlements occurred after 1200 CE with the emergence of chiefdoms. It is possible the Rappahannock were under the control of the Powhatan chiefdom, though the contributors highlight that the Rappahannock River groups’ alliances with the English (Powhatan’s enemy) may suggest otherwise. In 1642, the Virginia Grand Assembly gave permission to English settlers to patent (not survey or seat) land between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers, inspiring more English settlers to encroach onto Rappahannock lands. The 1646 Peace Treaty between the Natives and English forced many Natives out of the vicinity of the York and James Rivers and into that of the Rappahannock, but by 1647, the English were also taking control of that area as Captain Edward Hill was granted permission to seat land at Nanzatico on the upper reaches of the Rappahannock River.

As settlers continued to displace Natives from their land, the colonial government attempted to create legal protection for these groups. The Virginia Grand Assembly resolved in 1652 to establish protected plots of land for Natives that the English could not intrude upon (which by 1658 they decided should amount to 50 acres per bowman). For this reason, the Rappahannock were reassigned their land between the Rappahannock and Totuskey Creek.

However, the contributors note that giving Natives legally protection did not stop English settlers from trying to swindle them out of it. The first English settler to purchase land from the Rappahannock people was Moore Fauntleroy, who was then issued a patent up the Rappahannock to the west side of Farnham Creek on May 22, 1651. However, Fauntleroy had convinced the Rappahannock to sell the land under false pretenses, and the court forced him to pay the Rappahannock in matchcoats for his damages. Many English settlers resented protections like these and took matters of removing Natives from their land into their own hands. For instance, in 1654, the settlers of Lancaster, Northumberland, and Westmoreland counties led a march against the Rappahannocks in retaliation to crimes they had supposedly committed. This vigilantism proved much more effective than Virginia colonial law. The 1669 census demonstrates by that time that many Natives had either moved to New Kent (south) or merged with other groups, which at various times included the Moraughtacund (Morattico), Portobago, Nanzatico, Nansemond, Dogue, Machodoc, Chotank, and Cuttatawomen.

As the contributors emphasize, the late 17th-century brought rapid English expansion into the Rappahannock River watershed. Throughout the 1660s, the Moraughtacund sold off their officially allocated land to settlers, various government officials patented land from the Nansemond, Nanzatico, Portobago, and Mattaponi, the Dogue were pushed southward by English settlement along the Potomac River, and the Patawomeck sold their land to Gerard Fowke, who gave them a share of the crop to work the land. However, the contributors note that the Natives did not fully leave their land, which often led to violent conflict with enterprising English settlers. In 1676, Bacon's Rebellion and the Susquehannock War broke out as Natives and English settlers engaged in a series of retaliatory attacks against each other. The resulting 1677 Treaty of Middle Plantation made all signatory Native groups tributary to the English crown but created intergroup conflict between Natives, as Cockacoeske (Queen of the Pamunkeys) was given power over several smaller groups, including the Rappahannock. In 1679, Indian trading posts and forts were established along each major Virginia River, and in 1682, the Rappahannock were allocated 4000 acres near the head of Piscataway Creek. Yet, by 1683, the Virginia government offered to escort the Rappahannock to Nanzatico land to be better protected against attacks by Iroquoian groups to the north—an offer which they accepted. As the century continued, however, mentions of the Rappahannocks in official records became few and far between. Governor Jennings's 1702 census of Virginia Indians indicates only 30 warriors from the Portobago and Nanzattico groups, and by 1705, people considered nonwhite could not file complaints in court or hold government office. Especially after a Richmond County court case in 1704 resulted in 40 Nanzatico being either enslaved by government officials or sent to be enslaved at sugar plantations, the Rappahannock and Portobago retreated inland to create less contact with the English.

The contributors demonstrate a gap in the historical record from the early 18th century to the early 20th century, even as they emphasize that did not mean that Native groups disappeared completely. They reveal that the next time the Rappahannock are significantly mentioned in the historical record is when James Mooney, an anthropologist, took an interest in the group in 1907.

In 1921, the Rappahannock were incorporated under Virginia law, largely due to the efforts of Chief George Nelson. Frank Speck's ethnographic fieldwork in 1924 claimed a population of 500 individuals in the Rappahannock group and found that the group still hunted, fished, farmed, and carried on an oral history tradition that helped them maintain a strong sense of identity. In 1983, the Rappahannock were recognized as one of Virginia's historic tribes, and in 1997, the Rappahannock built their first cultural and tribal center. Under the leadership of G. Anne Richardson, the first female chief since the 18th century, the Rappahannock established a land trust on 119 acres and sold their first house in 2001.

Conclusions and Future Research

As mentioned in the introduction, this bibliography is only a start to exploring Native American history in Prince William County. Not only will archaeological evidence surface as more areas are targeted for excavation, but also more historical evidence may become publicly available as academics and government historians continue to build relationships with Native groups and individuals with private collections. However, after the completion of this project, there are tangible steps to take toward expanding upon this bibliography.

First and foremost, future research on Native American history in Prince William must include a deeper analysis of the archaeological evidence within the county and how the historical record complements or contradicts that evidence. There are several sites with proven Native American activity in Prince William—Prince William Forest Park, the William Bennet Site, Nebasco and Powell Creeks—for which there is little to no publicly available historical analysis or summary. While that is partially due to the sparseness of evidence in the area, it is also because few efforts have been made so far to deepen that history.

Going forward with this research will also require a more thorough review of the primary and secondary historical sources available. One area beyond the scope of this bibliography was official government documents, such as censuses, marriage licenses, birth certificates, and so on. For instance, according to [this map](#) of Native Americans reported in the 1900 Federal Census, one person living in Dumfries identified as Native American. Using genealogical research strategies and databases such as Ancestry and Family Search may allow future researchers to utilize these government documents to pinpoint and expand upon the stories of individual Native Americans living in Prince William in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. There are also countless useful articles in the following journals: *William & Mary Quarterly*, *Archeological Society of Virginia Quarterly Bulletin*, and the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biology*.

In the next section there are a few pieces of scholarship that were unable to be reviewed and included in this document within the time frame of the project. These sources provide further context on the Native groups in the areas surrounding Prince William, which may deepen the study of Native groups within the county. Particularly crucial to further studies is Rountree's *Pocahontas' People*, which gives the most detailed summary of Native American history in Virginia into the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. Though the book focuses on the Powhatan confederacy, Rountree gives a holistic representation of their history that includes interaction with Native groups to the north, west, and south. Another important source will be Strickland et. al's 2015 report on the Nanjemoy and Mattawomen Creek watersheds in southern Maryland, as it gives an in-depth history of Native groups directly north of Prince William using both the historical record and GIS mapping technology.

Because Native American history has historically been destroyed or pushed to the margins, the evidence of this history that is left is sparse and disorganized. It will require constant collaboration between academics, governmental institutions, Native groups, and other

community members to piece together these disparate sources. Even still, many traces of Native American history are lost to the past—a fact we must reckon with as we try to prevent this erasure in the future.

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