Land Acknowledgement Project Overview and Resource Guide

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Maryland State Arts Council

Overview
The Maryland State Arts Council (MSAC) advances the arts in our state by providing leadership that champions creative expression, diverse programming, equitable access, lifelong learning, and the arts as a celebrated contributor to the quality of life for all the people of Maryland.

The Council comprises an appointed body of 17 citizens from across the state, 13 of whom are named by the Governor to three-year terms that may be renewed once. Two private citizens and two legislators are appointed by the President of the Senate and by the Speaker of the House. All councilors serve without salary.

To carry out its mission, MSAC awards grants to not-for-profit, tax-exempt organizations for ongoing arts programming and projects. MSAC also awards grants to individual artists and provides technical and advisory assistance to individuals and groups. MSAC reserves the right to prioritize grant awards.

MSAC receives its funds from an annual appropriation from the State of Maryland, grants from the National Endowment for the Arts, a federal agency, and, on occasion, contributions from private, non-governmental sources.

Authority
MSAC is an agency of the State of Maryland under the authority of the Department of Commerce, Division of Tourism, Film and the Arts.

Wes Moore, Governor
Aruna Miller, Lieutenant Governor
Kevin Anderson, Secretary
Signe Pringle, Deputy Secretary
Steven Skerritt-Davis, Executive Director, MSAC

Mission and Goals
MSAC’s mission is to advance the arts in our state by providing leadership that champions creative expression, diverse programming, equitable access, lifelong learning, and the arts as a celebrated contributor to the quality of life for all the people of Maryland.

MSAC’s most recent strategic plan outlines five goals:

1. Increase Participation: Broaden MSAC’s constituency, providing avenues designed to increase pathways to engagement.
2. Provide Intentional Support: Embrace thoughtful and targeted approaches to serving known and yet to be known MSAC constituents.
3. Build Capacity: Work strategically to further build organizational and governance capacity to ensure that MSAC is capable of vigorously delivering on its mission.
4. Leverage Connections: Further enhance current relationships and involve additional collaborators, and constituents who will benefit from and advance the work of MSAC.
5. Bolster Maryland Arts: Showcase the high caliber, diverse and relevant work of Maryland’s artists and arts organizations; their contributions to community vitality and MSAC’s role as a catalyst.
Visit the About Us page at msac.org to read the full strategic plan and learn more about implementation actions.

Equity and Justice Statement

The arts celebrate our state’s diversity, connect our shared humanity, and transform individuals and communities. The Maryland State Arts Council (MSAC) and its supporting collaborators are committed to advancing and modeling equity, diversity, accessibility, and inclusion in all aspects of our organizations and across communities of our state.

MSAC and its grantees are committed to embracing equity and non-discrimination regardless of race, religious creed, color, age, gender expression, sexual orientation, class, language, and/or ability.

The driving goals of MSAC’s granting processes are:

● To yield a greater variety of funded projects
● To eliminate biases that may be found in any part of the granting process (e.g., applications, panelist procedures, adjudication systems)
● To acknowledge positions of privilege while questioning practices, shifting paradigms of status quo arts activities, and taking more risks
● To expand deliberations to include criteria beyond current conventions or Western traditions

Accessibility Policy

The Maryland State Arts Council (MSAC) is committed to making sure all Marylanders can access our programs and services. Everyone is welcome, and all events and activities sponsored by or operated within MSAC are fully accessible both physically and programmatically. MSAC complies with all applicable disability-related statutes and regulations and seeks to ensure meaningful participation by all Marylanders regardless of need or ability.

Feedback Procedures

If guests would like to provide general feedback to MSAC about accessibility for MSAC’s programs or programs funded by MSAC, contact MSAC at msac.commerce@maryland.gov.

Grievance Procedures

For programs or services provided by MSAC
If a program or service operated by MSAC, facilities operated by MSAC, or public meetings conducted by MSAC are inaccessible to persons with a disability or is illegally discriminatory and you want to file a grievance:

● If you have any questions or would like to discuss the situation before filing a grievance, contact the Accessibility Coordinator.

● To file a formal grievance, contact Dan Leonard, Director of EEO & Fair Practices and ADA Coordinator: daniel.leonard@maryland.gov.

For programs or services that are not provided by, but are funded by MSAC

● Communicate the grievance to the sponsoring organization.

● If you think your grievance was not handled appropriately by the sponsoring organization, or if you have not received a response from the organization within thirty (30) days, contact MSAC to file a formal grievance at 410-767-6555 or msac.commerce@maryland.gov.
MSAC will work with you to provide assistance as appropriate.

**Accessibility Web Page**

MSAC has a dedicated accessibility page on msac.org that includes contact information for the accessibility coordinator, federal and state regulations, the organization's Equity and Justice statement, grievance procedures, an emergency preparedness plan, accommodation policies, and other accessibility resources for artists and arts organizations, and PECS images.

**Language Access**

MSAC makes language accessibility services available. Services include making translations of grant materials, remote American Sign Language (ASL) interpretation, subtitles, braille translation, translation into languages other than English, and more. Please contact msac.commerce@maryland.gov for more information.

En Español/Spanish: MSAC pone a disposición servicios de traducción y accesibilidad de idiomas. Contacte msac.commerce@maryland.gov para más información.

中文普通话/Mandarin Chinese: 马里兰州艺术委员会(MSAC)提供翻译和语言无障碍服务。请联系msac.commerce@maryland.gov了解更多信息。

한국어/Korean: MSAC는 한국어 지원을 돕고 있습니다. 자세한 문의사항은 msac.commerce@maryland.gov로 연락 주시기 바랍니다.

**Staff**

MSAC maintains a professional staff to administer its grants programs and Council-initiated programs. Staff members are available to provide technical assistance to the arts community.
Land Acknowledgement Project Overview and Resource Guide

Purpose
This resource guide is a public document that derives from MSAC’s Land Acknowledgement Project, which was administered by Maryland Traditions, MSAC’s traditional arts program. This guide explains land acknowledgment statements, how to create them, why they’re meaningful, and how to move beyond them to facilitate Indigenous-led positive change. The guide features tribal histories and a series of land acknowledgment statements for tribes whose lands are claimed by Maryland. Information in this document was shared with MSAC staff by tribal consultants during consultation sessions. Tribal consultants have reviewed tribal information in this document for accuracy.

Contact
For content assistance:
Ryan Koons, Folklife Specialist
Maryland State Arts Council
401 E. Pratt St., Ste 1400
Baltimore, MD 21202
ryan.koons@maryland.gov
410.767.6568

Introduction to Land Acknowledgements
Land acknowledgments are statements that recognize Indigenous peoples dispossessed of their lands and their relationships with land by settler colonists. These statements bring attention to the Indigenous peoples who are (and/or were once) local to the lands that settler colonists and settler colonial institutions currently occupy. Indigenous erasure, the set of processes that remove Indigenous people from places and narratives, has been exceedingly prevalent in the mid-Atlantic region for much of the past 500 years. Despite still living in the region, most tribal peoples are “disappeared” into the history books and are associated only with their colonial histories. Land acknowledgment statements are a minor way to acknowledge Indigenous sovereignty and correct the inaccurate impression that Native peoples no longer exist in Maryland.

There are many ways to create and deliver land acknowledgments, including speaking the acknowledgment at the beginning of an event, placing it in program notes, publishing it in public spaces, or posting it online. In 2020, Maryland Traditions staff hosted the “Land Acknowledgement in Context” webinar [Youtube.com/watch?v=hb2A0DlDd_4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hb2A0DlDd_4), which provides an introduction to land acknowledgments and a guide on how to create them.

Land acknowledgments can too easily become performative acts that merely pay lip service and have no substance. As such, land acknowledgment statements can better function as a starting place rather than an endpoint. In 2021, Maryland Traditions staff hosted a webinar entitled “Land Acknowledgement 2.0” [Youtube.com/watch?v=5WNkjiUFlnE](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5WNkjiUFlnE) featuring tribal leaders and elders from lands claimed by Maryland. This
webinar includes their recommendations on how to make the acts of creating and delivering a land acknowledgment statement the beginning of positive change. Webinar participants recommended:

- Learning about local tribal histories
- Donating to tribes on whose land you live or work
- Returning land to tribes
- Establishing Memorandums of Understanding (MOUs) or contracts with tribes so they can access land or resources owned by institutions free of charge
- Stewarding the lands you own or control -- for example, by learning about invasive and native plant and animal species and increasing biodiversity

Mervin Savoy (Piscataway Conoy Tribe) appears in support of Piscataway lands, the recipient of the 2013 Heritage Award in the category of place. Photo by Edwin Remsberg Photographs.

Project Overview

In response to requests from Maryland residents, Maryland Traditions staff initiated MSAC’s Land Acknowledgement Project in April 2020. Staff designed a project to facilitate formal, compensated consultations with tribal peoples whose lands are claimed by the State of Maryland. Staff consulted on project design with the Administrator of the Maryland Commission on Indian Affairs and Maryland Traditions’ Indigenous former grantees. Tribal consultations took place between January and December 2021. Recordings
and notes from these consultations are accessible in the Maryland Traditions records in the Maryland Traditions Archives at UMBC (see the Additional Resources section). Maryland Traditions staff hosted a Convening in November 2021 to answer questions posed by tribal consultants during consultations, and to connect consultants with resources, grants, and staff from MSAC and other State of Maryland agencies. In response to requests from Maryland residents, in 2023 staff conducted historical research and consulted with an archaeologist to publish an update on historically erased tribes in 2024.

The Land Acknowledgment Project’s goals are to:

- work to undo “Indigenous erasure,” the phenomena through which Indigenous peoples are “disappeared” from landscapes and narratives
- deepen relationships between tribal peoples living in Maryland and MSAC to increase funding going to tribal peoples
- create a publicly accessible series of land acknowledgment statements and resources

Tribal consultants for the project included seven current or former chiefs, tribal chairs, or tribal speakers; six tribal historians or preservation officers; numerous tradition bearers; current and former commissioners from the Maryland Commission on Indian Affairs; a retired employee of the Smithsonian’s National Museum of the American Indian; and a former federal Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Tribes were not required to participate and two declined to take part in the project. Consultants received fiscal compensation for their labor.

From left: E. Keith Colston (Tuscarora/Lumbee), Celest Swann (Powhatan), and Louis Campbell (Lumbee) appear in support of the Baltimore American Indian Center, the recipient of the 2017 Heritage Award in the category of place. Photo by Edwin Remsberg Photographs.
Key Concepts
Crafting a historically accurate and respectful land acknowledgement statement requires some culturally-specific information. Arranged alphabetically, this Key Concepts section provides a series of conceptual tools to help craft and deliver land acknowledgement statements, and to understand better the Indigenous histories in the next section. Indigenous worldviews are often quite different from settler worldviews. Understanding Indigenous relations with land, treaties, missing tribes, reservations, tribal organization, and cultural groups can clarify worldview differences.

This section also provides answers to questions frequently received by MSAC staff, including the definitions of #LandBack, Indigenous erasure, and “homelands” versus “geographic spheres of influence;” and the inclusion of Black histories in land acknowledgements.

Black Histories in Land Acknowledgement Statements
Some people prefer to write land acknowledgement statements featuring both Indigenous peoples and the descendants of enslaved peoples. This practice can be controversial. Some Native peoples express concern that also featuring enslaved peoples in land acknowledgement statements can too easily reinforce Indigenous erasure. Others take a different view, noting that a land acknowledgement statement that features enslaved peoples and their histories more accurately accounts for on-going colonial structures and realities. Enslaved peoples and their descendants have a distinct series of relations to land in contrast to Indigenous peoples and in contrast to settlers, and some argue that these differences must be acknowledged as part of pushback against inherited colonial structures. Some institutions have taken a different route, in which they acknowledge enslaved peoples by researching, publicizing, and apologizing for their institutional history of owning enslaved people, and offering reparations to the heirs of those enslaved people. The scope of MSAC’s Land Acknowledgement Project facilitated consultation only with tribal peoples.

“Geographic Spheres of Influence” versus “Homelands”
Some land acknowledgement statements refer to tribal “traditional territories” or “homelands.” These and similar phrases can be misleading because they suggest that “land” is the same thing as “property” - something to be “owned.” Many tribal peoples continue to conceptualize land as a relative rather than a resource to own. Land has history and meaning, functions as the basis of cultural practices, and invokes responsibility, rights, sovereignty, and belonging for many tribal peoples. In many instances, these relationships mean that Indigenous peoples are synonymous with the land.

Prior to the start of European colonization, many tribes in the Chesapeake watershed moved seasonally between summer cropland and winter hunting grounds. Others, such as the Shawnee, maintained semi-nomadic traditions and maintained relationships with a variety of lands. After Europeans arrived, the rate of movement steadily increased for most tribes as treaties, settler land theft, military actions, and new alliances forced them to relocate. Given these historical facts, it is sometimes difficult to define the precise borders of “traditional territories” or “homelands.” Several MSAC Land Acknowledgement Project tribal consultants critiqued the terms, noting that they inappropriately center Euro-American concepts of land property ownership. The phrase “geographic spheres of influence” perhaps more effectively centers Indigenous worldviews, communicates
multi-generational relationships between tribal peoples and landscapes, and accounts for tribal moves and migrations.

**Historic Indigenous Relationships with Land**
While many tribes legally own land as defined within the U.S. legal system, many tribal peoples continue to conceptualize land as a relative, not a “resource” to “own.” Land acknowledgement statements often inappropriately feature a settler “ownership” narrative. Instead, referring to tribal peoples’ “relationship” or “kinship” with lands tends to be more culturally accurate. Over time, settlers and colonial structures changed or broke many of the relationships Native peoples long maintained with lands. Youghiogheny River Band of Shawnee elders noted that their ancestors migrated around the South and the Mid-Atlantic regions. Settler land theft meant that the Shawnee and other tribes had less and less land through which to move and with which to relate.

Similarly, many Algonquin tribes or bands migrated seasonally between food sources within the Chesapeake Bay watershed. They typically spent the planting season on the coastal plain, where the soils are more fertile; most men and some women and children spent the winters in the forests upriver hunting game animals like wood bison, deer, elk, bear, and turkey. On the Eastern Shore, they hunted closer to the middle of the peninsula; on the Western Shore, they camped at or upstream of the fall line, the geologic boundary between coastal plain downriver and piedmont upriver.

Tribal peoples also hunted in a series of prairie ecologies located in places today known as Cecil, Harford, Baltimore, Carroll, Howard, and Montgomery counties and Baltimore City. These prairies centered around a unique environment known as the “serpentine barrens,” a meadow ecology derived from a nutrient-poor mineral called serpentinite. Tribal peoples maintained these ecologies collaboratively via a regular series of controlled burns to maintain the grasslands that attracted bison and other game animals. Early colonists wrote about the “Maryland barrens,” “Virginia barrens,” “Baltimore barrens,” and others. Today, the largest remaining barrens in Maryland can be found at Soldier’s Delight Natural Environment Area in Baltimore County.

**Indigenous Culture Groups and Language Families**
The lands now claimed by Maryland exist within a transitional zone between two Indigenous language families or culture groups: Algonquian tribes in the south and Iroquoian tribes in the north. Algonquian tribes are the most numerous, including Assateague, Choptico, Lenape, Nanticoke, Pocomoke, Piscataway, and Shawnee, the Accohannock of the Powhatan Confederacy, and numerous erased tribes. Of the Iroquoian tribes, the Susquehannock and Massawomeck have or had relationships with lands now claimed by Maryland.

**Indigenous Erasure**
Indigenous erasure is a series of processes whereby Indigenous peoples are “disappeared” from landscapes and narratives. Indigenous erasure tactics include forced assimilation, such as Indian Boarding School education programs; forced removals of tribal peoples from their lands and other forms of land theft; murder or massacre; the unintentional or deliberate introduction of disease; penalizing the practice of traditional ceremonies or speaking Indigenous languages; destruction of sacred lands; “detribalization” by reclassifying tribal persons in
official documents as “black” or “mixed race;” and creating or maintaining national narratives and myths that ignore the presence and contributions of Native peoples. These tactics have combined over the past 500 years to the point that now many people are unaware that Indigenous people are still alive and living in the place commonly called Maryland.

Land Back
The term “Land Back,” typically expressed on social media as #landback, often comes up in conversations about land acknowledgements. The phrase references one form of restitution to Indigenous peoples, in which ownership of a particular land is returned to tribal control. This ownership transfer facilitates tribal political and economic control of their lands. Broadly, land restoration restores Indigenous relationships with their lands, positively affecting tribal culture, language, medicines, ceremonies, sacred items, family, community, kinship, and knowledge. Land return therefore positively affects all aspects of tribal lives. Globally, Indigenous-controlled lands have the highest rates of biodiversity -- higher even than parks and wildlife preserves. Land return therefore also positively affects global ecosystem health.

Reservations/Reserves
Indian reservations or reserves -- areas of land reserved for a tribe(s) via a treaty or agreement -- constitute a vital part of the lives of many tribal peoples living in North America today. They are often regarded as one of the few tangible examples of Indigenous sovereignty. There are over 320 Indian reservations in the United States, and around 2300 reserves in Canada. In the United States, reservations are held in trust by the federal government, administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and governed by federally recognized tribes. Some tribes govern multiple reservations; some reservations are shared by multiple tribes. Roughly 3% of land in the contiguous United States comprises tribal reservations. There are no reservations for federally recognized tribes in Maryland; the closest reservation is the Pamunkey reservation in contemporary King William County, Va.

However, the first Indian reservation in North America was created in the English Colony of Maryland. The Colony did not acknowledge Indigenous claims to land based on prior, millennia-long occupation. Instead, they only recognized land titles issued by colonial authorities, the ultimate of which were the Lord Proprietor of Maryland and the English monarchy. Located along the Wicomico River in present-day St. Mary’s County, the English Colony of Maryland established the Choptico Manor in 1651. The Colony adapted the English feudal system to set aside certain tribal lands as feudal “manors.” However, the manors rarely featured Indian names, nor were they identified with the name of the tribe(s) living there. Historic records indicate that the colonists often created these reservations so that tribal peoples could live there while maintaining their traditional lifeways. In practice, tribes or families moved or were removed to reservations -- sometimes by treaty -- because other portions of their lands were being stolen by settlers. In addition to Choptico Manor, the western shore reservations included the Calverton Manor on the upper Patuxent River in present-day Prince George’s County. On the Eastern Shore, the reservations included: the Choptank reservation (1669-1799) in present-day Cambridge; the Chicone reservation (1698-1768) in present-day Dorchester County; and Askiminikansen reservation (1678-post 1746) near contemporary Snow Hill. Of the Maryland-located reservations, only the Choptank received their reservation as a secure land grant. All other reservations were created by the personal proclamation of the Lord Proprietor of Maryland, meaning that those other reservations were not owned by
Tribes. Often, settlers stole tribal land by patenting it out from under tribes. The rate of settler land theft increased as tribal populations decreased. None of these historic reservations exist today. After they were abolished, the identity “Indian” ceased to be a valid legal identity, and many tribal individuals were reclassified in official documents as either white or free Black.

**Treaties**

Treaties are contracts made between sovereign nations, and they became a key way in which colonists officially relate to tribes, increasingly control them, and assume possession of tribal lands. Prior to the creation of the United States, the English Colony of Maryland entered into a number of treaties with tribal peoples. These treaties could be wide-ranging and established rules regarding land use or access, trade, and military alliance. Several treaties resulted in the creation of short-term reservations, such as the Choptank Indian Reservation in present-day Cambridge. Even when they were in positions of comparative power, the treaty-making process put tribes at a disadvantage: the processes occurred in European languages, terms were typically poorly explained, colonists rarely understood Native cultures, and negotiations often centered on concepts that did not exist in many tribal worldviews, such as land "ownership." Additionally, as one tribal leader noted during the MSAC Land Acknowledgement Project consultations, no treaty with any Indigenous tribe has ever been completely honored by any settler government.

After the formation of the United States, treaties between the new federal government and tribal nations established the foundation of present-day federal Indian law. However, no treaties between the U.S. federal government and tribes pertain to Maryland. The present-day legal status of treaties made between tribes and the Colony of Maryland -- an English political entity that predated the State of Maryland -- is unclear. A 2021 advice memo from a Maryland Assistant Attorney General suggests that the statuses of colonial-era treaties are most likely a matter for the courts to decide.

**Tribal Political Organization**

Tribal political organizations have shifted over time; typically, organization exists at three different levels: nations or confederacies, tribes, and bands. Tribes with related cultures and interests sometimes created confederacies or nations for mutual protection. The Powhatan Confederacy, which at the time of European colonization stretched from present-day South Carolina to Maryland, was the largest Confederacy in the region. “Bands” tended to refer to a single village or a cluster of closely grouped villages, such as the Nause-Waiwash Band of Indians who continue to live in present-day Dorchester County.
Tribal Histories, Maps, and Land Acknowledgement Statements

Each of the following tribal histories, maps, and land acknowledgment statements derive from formal, compensated consultations with tribal leaders and elders from tribes whose lands are claimed by the State of Maryland and most of whom have or had a relationship with the Maryland Commission on Indian Affairs. Each statement is accompanied by a brief tribal background or history, a description of tribal geographic spheres of influence, and a phonetic pronunciation guide. Statements are primarily written by MSAC staff based on information shared during consultations. In some instances, tribes preferred to create their own statement for use in this project. The origin of each statement is respectively defined below.

MSAC has been unable to consult with several tribes whose lands are claimed by Maryland. Since MSAC does not want to make any statements without tribal knowledge, review, or approval, these tribes are not represented in this section. We look forward to being able to consult with them in the future. One tribe, the Cedarville Band Wild Turkey Clan of the Piscataway Conoy Tribe, declined to consult with MSAC, and requests that this "Resource Guide" include the following information: that the Band declined to engage in, and does not endorse, this MSAC Land Acknowledgement Project. Tribal leadership requests that folks learn about paying "Land Tax," giving "Land Back," and what land acknowledgement on Piscataway Conoy lands looks like to them, in their own sovereign words, by visiting their website www.PiscatawayIndians.com.

In some instances, two or more tribes have a history or relationship with a particular land. These histories, claims, and counterclaims are not unusual across North America and typically result from the ways colonists and colonial governments pitted tribal peoples against one another for settler gain. When creating a land acknowledgment for contested land, it is recommended to acknowledge all Indigenous communities with connections to that land and to acknowledge the role of settlers and colonial governments in causing breakdowns between Indigenous communities, and between communities and their lands.

The accompanying maps provide a general idea of the locations of tribal people’s "geographic spheres of influence" (see Key Concepts). Of course, no single map can accurately portray thousands of years of history. These maps are therefore generalized. To craft these maps, Maryland Traditions staff triangulated between information tribal leaders and elders shared during the MSAC Land Acknowledgement Project consultations, historical research, and archaeological records. MSAC then facilitated the creation of these final copies. Tribal consultants have reviewed and approved them for accuracy.
Accohannock Indian Tribe

Tribal Council Chairman Mike Hinman (Accohannock) paddles through Bending Water Park and Indian Water Trails on Accohannock lands, the recipient of the 2014 Heritage Award in the category of place. Photo by Edwin Remsberg Photographs.

Tribal Background
The Accohannock Indian Tribe is part of the Algonquian culture and language family and was part of the Powhatan Empire for a period. At the start of European colonization in the 1500s and 1600s, the Powhatan Empire was the largest in the region, and stretched from present-day South Carolina to Maryland. Accohannock people continue to maintain relationships with lands that were formerly covered by forests; elders note that a squirrel could climb a tree at present-day Kiptopeke, Virginia, and not have to descend to the ground prior to reaching the Mississippi River. It is possible that in 1524 the Accohannock encountered Giovanni Verrazzano, an Italian explorer working for the king of France, as he sailed north along the Eastern seaboard. However, there appears to be insufficient historical evidence for historians to say categorically if the land Verrazzano dubbed “Arcadia” referred to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, or to Kitty Hawk in present-day North Carolina.
Tribal Geographic Sphere of Influence
Tribal elders draw on oral history to define lands with which they maintain relationships. These lands include places today known as Somerset and Worcester counties, Maryland; and Accomac and Northampton counties, Virginia.

Pronunciation Guide
“Accohannock:” æ-kə-hæ-nək (æ as in “bad;” α as in “pod”)
“Powhatan:” pəʊ-hæ-tæn (ə as in “how;” æ as in “bad”)

Land Acknowledgment Statement
Created by MSAC staff based on information shared by Accohannock Indian Tribe tribal consultants.

I/we acknowledge that the Accohannock Indian Tribe continues to maintain relationships with the lands where we gather today. The Accohannock have stewarded this land for generations. I/we acknowledge their kinship to these lands and waters. I/we acknowledge that we are uninvited visitors on Indigenous lands. To make this statement more meaningful, I/we invite you to learn more about the Accohannock and about land acknowledgement statements via resources available at MSAC.org and elsewhere, to consider donating or making institutional resources available to tribal peoples, and to reconsider in what ways you can improve your relationship with the lands you steward.
Assateague People’s Tribe

Tribal Background

The Assateague People’s Tribe is part of the Algonquian culture group and language family. In the 1600s, the infamous politician Edmund Scarborough, who lived on what is now the Virginia side of the Eastern Shore, was obsessed with murdering as many Indigenous peoples as possible, notably the Assateague. In what became known as the “Seaside War” of 1659, Scarborough unsuccessfully requested help from the Maryland Colony to commit genocide on the Assateague. He later wrote that the Assateague “were harder to find than to conquer.” In 1662, the Assateague and their neighbors the Nanticoke signed a treaty with the Maryland Colony. This treaty included provisions for the ways settlers could exchange “matchcoats,” a traditional indigenous garment, for land within Assateague territory. A later treaty forced the Assateague onto five reservations along the Pocomoke River. In 1671, many Assateague tribal peoples moved with their Pocomoke neighbors to Askiminokson or Indian Town on the north side of the Pocomoke River near present-day Snow Hill. When the provincial Maryland government learned in 1742 that Assateague leaders were participating in a general Native uprising, Maryland leaders “dissolved” the Assateague tribal empire. Afterwards, many Assateague tribal members moved north to Iroquoian lands; some chose to remain. Present-day leadership for local tribal members is based in Delaware.

Tribal Geographic Sphere of Influence

Tribal leaders use a combination of written sources and oral histories to define lands with which they maintain relationships. These lands are on the Eastern Shore. Elders note the presence of a series of historic towns and villages stretching between present-day Lewes, Delaware, and Cape Charles, Virginia. Today, these lands include places commonly known as Worcester County, Maryland; Sussex County, Delaware; and Accomack and Northampton counties, Virginia.
Pronunciation Guide
“Assateague:” æs-tig (æ as in “bad;” ʌ as in “bud;” i as in “bead”)

Land Acknowledgment Statement
Created by MSAC staff based on information shared by Assateague People’s Tribe tribal consultants.

I/we acknowledge that the Assateague continue to maintain relationships with the lands where we gather today. The Assateague have stewarded these lands and waters for generations. Assateague peoples successfully avoided the genocide attempt upon them by Edward Scarborough in the 1650s, and later signed several treaties with the Maryland Colony. Although many tribal members moved north into Iroquoian lands in the late 1700s, some remained and continue to steward this land. I/e acknowledge them and their ancestors and acknowledge that we are uninvited visitors on Indigenous lands. To make this statement more meaningful, I/we invite you to learn more about the Assateague and about land acknowledgement statements via resources available at MSAC.org and elsewhere, to consider donating or making institutional resources available to tribal peoples, and to reconsider in what ways you can improve your relationship with the lands you steward.
Choptico Band of Piscataway Indians

Rico Newman (Choptico Band of Indians, Piscataway Conoy Tribe) appears at Zekiah Swamp in support of Piscataway lands, the recipient of the 2013 Heritage Award in the category of place. Photo by Edwin Remsberg Photographs.

Tribal Background
Along with other Piscataway tribal peoples, the Choptico Band is part of the Algonquian culture group and language family. Prior to the start of European colonization, the Choptico maintained relationships with many of their neighbors through trade and marriage, and with their lands through hunting and foraging. Following European settlement, Piscataway and other tribal peoples attempted to use the English as a buffer between themselves and the Susquehannocks and other Iroquoian tribes further north. With other tribes, they signed a 1666 Treaty of Peace and Amity with the Maryland Colony, which initiated a colonial reservation system in which Natives were increasingly confined to strictly-defined land bases. In 1680, Charles Calvert, the third Lord Baltimore and Governor of the Maryland Colony, built Zekiah Fort in Zekiah Swamp in present-day Charles County to protect Piscataway and other Native peoples from Iroquoian raids. Archaeologists consulting with Piscataway peoples revealed the Fort during a 2011 archaeological dig. Soon after constructing the Fort, the Colony adapted the English feudal system to establish tribal lands as feudal “manors” partially to protect their Indigenous allies from raids. Of these, “Choptico Manor” was surveyed in 1651, patented in 1671, and confirmed
in 1688 on the Wicomico River (the Potomac River tributary on the Western Shore, not the Chesapeake Bay tributary on the Eastern Shore).

Today, Piscataway peoples organize themselves into four different and related groups: the Piscataway Indian Nation; and the Piscataway Conoy Tribe, which includes a tribal council, the Cedarville Band of Piscataway Indians, and the Choptico Band of Indians. Along with the Piscataway Indian Nation, the Piscataway Conoy Tribe received state recognition from the State of Maryland in 2012.

**Tribal Geographic Sphere of Influence**

Piscataway peoples have some of the more complex histories in the region, perhaps deriving from their position as leaders of a regional alliance of tribes – sometimes also depicted as a paramount chiefdom in the mid-Atlantic. Today, tribal elders describe the primary lands with which Piscataway peoples maintain relationships today as centered between the Patuxent River in the north, Chesapeake Bay in the east, Potomac River in the south, and the fall line in the west. In the present day, these lands include places commonly known as Prince George’s, Charles, and St. Mary’s counties, Maryland, and part of Washington, D.C.

During and prior to the 1600s, Piscataway peoples annually established impermanent multi-tribal hunting camps at or upriver of the fall line each winter like most tribal communities in and around the Chesapeake. They also regularly traveled into the mountains to gather or mine the rock rhyolite to make tools. Today, these lands include places known as Harford, Baltimore, Carroll, Howard, Frederick, Montgomery, and Washington counties, Maryland. Additionally, Piscataway led a regional alliance of tribes (see “Historical erased Tribes” below) living in places now known as Baltimore, Anne Arundel, Howard, and Calvert counties and Baltimore City, Maryland.

As colonists continued to increase their population and geopolitical power in the 1600s and 1700s, Piscataway peoples were increasingly fractured and displaced. In 1697, some Piscataway people crossed the Potomac and moved to the head of the Occoquan River in the Bull Run Mountains in present-day Loudoun County, Virginia; at the same time, others moved to Mason Neck in present-day Prince William County, Virginia. The bands remained in both locations for two years. Other Piscataway people lived on Heaters Island for five years at the turn of the eighteenth century in present-day Frederick County. Still others moved north to in present-day Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Beginning in 1718, they lived for a quarter-century in a place that became known as “Conoy Indian Town.”

Although typically associated with the Western Shore of Maryland, Piscataway people maintain linguistic and kinship relationships with the Nanticoke of the central Eastern Shore and Lenape of the northern Eastern Shore and areas north. Originally part of the Lenape tribe, Piscataway ancestors traveled south to the Eastern Shore as part of a nascent Nanticoke Tribe; scholars hypothesize this movement took place sometime between 200 and 1300 CE. In 1660, Piscataway representatives to the colonial government stated that Piscataway people had come to the Western Shore from the Eastern Shore thirteen generations earlier. These pre-colonial migrations south and west are both confirmed by archaeological and linguistic evidence. Today, Piscataway people continue to acknowledge their kinship with Nanticoke and Lenape tribes. They sometimes refer to the Nanticoke as their brothers or cousins, and to the Lenape as their cousins or grandfathers.
Updated in 2024 in response to recommendations from tribal elders, this map better represents the complexity and nuance of Piscataway history.

Pronunciation Guide
“Choptico:” tʃɔp-ti-co (tʃ as in “chin;” α as in “pod;” i as in “bead;” o as in “boat”)  
“Conoy:” kə-nɔi (ʌ as in “bud;” ə as in “boy”)  
“Piscataway:” pɪs-ˌkæ-ə-tə-we (ɪ as in “bid;” æ as in “bad;” ʌ as in “bud;” e as in “bay”)

Land Acknowledgment Statement
This statement was authored by Choptico elders for MSAC’s Land Acknowledgement Project.

We acknowledge the Indigenous peoples formerly occupying lands known as Choptico, land upon and beyond both banks of water now known as Wicomico, where they lived for untold centuries prior to first European colonization; and,

We acknowledge Native peoples living upon said land, who became known as Choptico Indians by the colonial government, though many natives arrived from other towns and villages to Choptico following displacement by colonists; and,
We acknowledge that those lands and waters relied upon for sustenance, housing, and other considerations, were with intent, methodically decreased to an area that became known as the Choptico Reserve, upon which they were forced to subsist and live upon; and,
We acknowledge Choptico lands were neither ceded nor sold to colonists, the colonial government of Maryland, or the United States, and not ceded by any “Just War” or Treaty; and,
We acknowledge that Choptico lands were overrun by colonists who used their laws, subtle means of indebtedness, and other acts of duress to displace the Choptico from their lands; and,
We acknowledge the graves of Choptico ancestors that were plundered for grave goods and their earthly remains removed and never repatriated for reburial; and,
We acknowledge the descendants of those displaced from the Choptico Homeland who have for more than three centuries endured forced assimilation, misidentification, intentional omission of existence, and loss of traditions, language, worldview, and lifeways, and been forced into a diasporic existence; and,
We acknowledge the Choptico Indians’ resilience in holding steadfast to their culture and identity and maintaining efforts to recover a portion of their former homeland while recovering from invasion, displacement, and oppression.
Nause-Waiwash Band of Indians

A view of the Chicamacomico River in the region now known as Dorchester County, the ancestral home of the Nause-Waiwash Band of Indians, the recipient of the 2020 Heritage Award in the category of place. Photo by Edwin Remsberg Photographs.

Tribal Background
The Nause-Waiwash Band of Indians take their name from two Nanticoke villages that encountered English explorer John Smith in 1608: Nause and Waiwash. The Band self-defines as the descendants of Nanticoke and other Algonquian Indigenous peoples local to present-day Dorchester County. Prior to the start of European settlement, tribal peoples lived close to the Chesapeake Bay and spent winters further inland hunting. Muskrat trapping continues to be an important winter tradition maintained by many tribal members. Colonial land theft pushed many Native families into the marshes where they hid.

In the 1980s, Sewell Fitzhugh organized the Band with the support of local Native families and was elected as the first chief by the women of the Band. In the late 1990s, the Band was gifted the Hughes African Methodist Episcopal Chapel, which they now use as a ceremonial and cultural center. Since then, leadership promotes an active schedule of educational and cultural events across Dorchester County. Learn more about them on the Nause-Waiwash website, TurtleTracks.org.
Tribal Geographic Sphere of Influence
Tribal leaders define lands with which they maintain a relationship as present-day Dorchester County, including where the Choptank Reservation was set aside in present-day Cambridge in 1669.

Pronunciation Guide
“Nause:” næ-su (æ as in “bad;” u as in “booed”)
“Waiwash:” we-waʃ (e as in “bay;” ə as in “pod;” ʃ as in “shy”)

Land Acknowledgment Statement
Created by MSAC staff based on information shared by Nause-Waiwash Band of Indians tribal consultants.

I/we acknowledge that the Nause-Waiwash Band of Indians continues to maintain relationships with the lands where we gather today. Descendants of two Nanticoke villages who encountered English explorer John Smith in the 1600s, today the Band actively works to educate the public about their history. Following the seven directions observed by the Band -- North, South, East, West, Up, Down, and Within -- we acknowledge them and their kinship with these lands and waters. I/we acknowledge that we are uninvited visitors on Indigenous lands. To make this statement more meaningful, I/we invite you to learn more about the Nause-Waiwash and about land acknowledgement statements via resources available at MSAC.org and elsewhere, to consider
donating or making institutional resources available to tribal peoples, and to reconsider in what ways you can improve your relationship with the lands you steward.
Tribal Background
Along with other Piscataway groups, the Piscataway Indian Nation is part of the Algonquian culture group and language family. Prior to European colonization, Piscataway peoples spread their villages and towns across their lands in order not to deplete food sources. Each village was overseen by a single leader who followed the instructions of the people and answered to the clan mothers. During settlement, English settlers compelled Piscataway peoples to convert to Catholicism. While some Piscataway people practice Catholicism today, many tribal members maintain traditional religious beliefs and ceremonies. A 1666 Treaty between the Colony of Maryland and twelve tribes from the Western Shore transformed their respective lands in contemporary southern Maryland into reservations. The treaty negatively affected the Piscataway in many ways. It also established tribal peoples’ right to fish, hunt, and crab in the legal code of the Colony. In 2020, the Washington D.C. Council approved a measure honoring those fishing rights by making free fishing licenses available to members of the Piscataway Indian Nation and Piscataway Conoy Tribe.
Colonial machinations to take their lands and destroy their ways of life resulted in Piscataway peoples becoming “beaten down,” in the words of the late Piscataway Indian Nation Chief Billy Tayac (1936-2021), and many families hid or emigrated to nearby tribes. Elders note that settlers used these “disappearances” of tribal peoples as a justification to steal more tribal lands, even going so far as to redefine tribal people as “white” or “black.” The colonial “logic” behind this settler “move to innocence” was that if a distinct Indigenous “race” or ethnic group no longer existed, then settlers could assume ownership of tribal lands.

Reacting to the ways that his people were “beaten down,” the late Piscataway Indian Nation Chief Turkey Tayac (1895–1978) sparked a cultural revitalization movement that connected with and paralleled the national American Indian Movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Part of his work resulted in the Piscataway Indian Nation’s long-time capitol town, Moyaone, being turned into a federal U.S. park, Piscataway Park in Prince George’s County, also known as the Accokeek Creek archaeological site. Archaeologists note that Moyaone has been intermittently inhabited for at least 4000 years, and English explorer John Smith visited the town during his first voyage of exploration around the Chesapeake Bay in 1608. Chief Turkey Tayac was the 27th generation of hereditary chiefs in the Tayac bloodline to govern Moyaone. U.S. congressional legislation permitted Turkey Tayac to be buried with his ancestors at Piscataway Park, becoming the first American Indian person to be buried in a traditional burial site after it had been designated a federal park. Following Turkey Tayac’s death, his son, the late Piscataway Indian Nation Chief Billy Tayac, and grandson, the current Piscataway Indian Nation Chief Mark Tayac, continued Turkey Tayac’s activist legacy by working within the American Indian Movement.

Today, Piscataway peoples organize themselves into four different and related groups: the Piscataway Indian Nation; and the Piscataway Conoy Tribe, which includes a tribal council, the Cedarville Band of Piscataway Indians, and the Choptico Band of Indians. Along with the Piscataway Conoy Tribe, the Piscataway Indian Nation received state recognition from the State of Maryland in 2012.

**Tribal Geographic Sphere of Influence**
Piscataway peoples have some of the more complex histories in the region, perhaps deriving from their position as leaders of a regional alliance of tribes – sometimes also depicted as a paramount chiefdom in the mid-Atlantic. Today, tribal elders describe the primary lands with which Piscataway peoples maintain relationships today as centered between the Patuxent River in the north, Chesapeake Bay in the east, Potomac River in the south, and the fall line in the west. In the present day, these lands include places commonly known as Prince George’s, Charles, and St. Mary’s counties, Maryland, and part of Washington, D.C.

During and prior to the 1600s, Piscataway peoples annually established impermanent multi-tribal hunting camps at or upriver of the fall line each winter like most tribal communities in and around the Chesapeake. They also regularly traveled into the mountains to gather or mine the rock rhyolite to make tools. Today, these lands include places known as Harford, Baltimore, Carroll, Howard, Frederick, Montgomery, and Washington counties, Maryland. Additionally, Piscataway led a regional alliance of tribes (see “Historical erased Tribes” below) living in places now known as Baltimore, Anne Arundel, Howard, and Calvert counties and Baltimore City, Maryland.
As colonists continued to increase their population and geopolitical power in the 1600s and 1700s, Piscataway peoples were increasingly fractured and displaced. In 1697, some Piscataway people crossed the Potomac and moved to the head of the Occoquan River in the Bull Run Mountains in present-day Loudoun County, Virginia; at the same time, others moved to Mason Neck in present-day Prince William County, Virginia. The bands remained in both locations for two years. Other Piscataway people lived on Heaters Island for five years at the turn of the eighteenth century in present-day Frederick County. Still others moved north to in present-day Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Beginning in 1718, they lived for a quarter-century in a place that became known as “Conoy Indian Town.”

Although typically associated with the Western Shore of Maryland, Piscataway people maintain linguistic and kinship relationships with the Nanticoke of the central Eastern Shore and Lenape of the northern Eastern Shore and areas north. Originally part of the Lenape tribe, Piscataway ancestors traveled south to the Eastern Shore as part of a nascent Nanticoke Tribe; scholars hypothesize this movement took place sometime between 200 and 1300 CE. In 1660, Piscataway representatives to the colonial government stated that Piscataway people had come to the Western Shore from the Eastern Shore thirteen generations earlier. These pre-colonial migrations south and west are both confirmed by archaeological and linguistic evidence. Today, Piscataway people continue to acknowledge their kinship with Nanticoke and Lenape tribes. They sometimes refer to the Nanticoke as their brothers or cousins, and to the Lenape as their cousins or grandfathers.

Updated in 2024 in response to recommendations from tribal elders, this map better represents the complexity and nuance of Piscataway history.
Pronunciation Guide

“Moyaone:” maɪ-ən (ə as in “like;” o as in “boat”)

“Piscataway:” pɪs-caɪ-tʌ-wə (ɪ as in “bid;” æ as in “bad;” ʌ as in “bud;” e as in “bay”)

Land Acknowledgment Statement
Created by MSAC staff based on information shared by Piscataway Indian Nation tribal consultants.

I/we acknowledge that the Piscataway Indian Nation continues to maintain a relationship with the lands where we gather today. Along with the Piscataway Conoy Tribe, the Piscataway Indian Nation received recognition by the State of Maryland in 2012. I/we acknowledge their long-standing kinship with these lands and waters and acknowledge that we are uninvited visitors on Indigenous lands. To make this statement more meaningful, I/we invite you to learn more about the Piscataway Indian Nation and about land acknowledgement statements via resources available at MSAC.org and elsewhere, to consider donating or making institutional resources available to tribal peoples, and to reconsider in what ways you can improve your relationship with the lands you steward.
Tribal elder and tradition bearer Bud Howard (Pocomoke Indian Nation; left) demonstrates the range of historic tools that can be made with animal bones in 2018. Photo by Ken Koons and used with permission.

Tribal Background
Part of the Algonquian culture group and language family, Pocomoke peoples lived along the Eastern Shore rivers and streams that feed into the Chesapeake Bay, often spending the winters hunting further inland before the start of European colonization. It’s possible that in 1524 the Pocomoke encountered Giovanni Verrazzano, an Italian explorer working for the king of France as he sailed north along the eastern seaboard. However, there appears to be insufficient historical evidence for historians to say categorically if the land Verrazzano dubbed “Arcadia” referred to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, or to Kitty Hawk in present-day North Carolina. In 1590 the Pocomoke appear on John White’s map as “Comokee;” in 1612, the leader’s house appears on English explorer John Smith’s Map of Virginia mislabeled as “Wighcocomoco.” Settlers increasingly stole their lands. In 1678, Lord Baltimore set aside a series of reserve lands allegedly for the exclusive use of tribal peoples, including Askiminokonson or Indian Town near present-day Snow Hill, where the Pocomoke lived for a time with other tribal peoples.

Pocomoke leaders signed four different treaties with the Maryland colony between 1678 and 1742, sometimes in concert with other tribal peoples. These treaties became increasingly restrictive, and variously included
provisions for peace, described Pocomoke hunting and fishing rights, and required tribal people to tell colonial authorities when other Indigenous people were in the area.

The Pocomoke become difficult to trace in historic documents after 1742. Today, Pocomoke members work to educate the public in order to preserve their history and heritage. They maintain an active schedule that includes presentations, demonstrations of pre-colonial skills, and partnerships with museums, cultural centers, and schools on and near their traditional lands. Learn more about them on the Pocomoke Indian Nation website, PocomokeIndianNation.org.

Tribal Geographic Sphere of Influence
Pocomoke tribal leaders use oral history and historical documents to define lands and waters with which they maintain a relationship on the Eastern Shore. In the present day, these lands include places commonly known as Somerset County, most of Worcester County, and eastern Wicomico County, Maryland; northern Accomack County, Virginia; and southern Sussex County, Delaware. These places include lands of tribal bands within the Pocomoke Paramountcy or confederacy: the principal band Pocomoke, and the bands Acquintica, Annemessex, Gingoteague, Manoakin, Morumsco, Nuswattux, and Quindocqua.
Pronunciation Guide

“Pocomoke:” po-ko-mok (o as in “boat”)

“Acquintica:” α-kwɔnt-ka (α as in “pod; τ as in “bid”)

“Annemessex:” æn-ʌm-seks (æ as in “bad;” ʌ as in “bud;” ε as in “bed;”)

“Gingoteague:” dʒɪnt-kʊ-tɪ (dʒ as in “gin;” ɪ as in “bid;” ʌ as in “boat;” ɪ as in “bed;”)

“Manoakin:” mæ-no-kɪn (æ as in “bad;” ʌ as in “boat;” ɪ as in “bid;”)

“Morumsco:” mor-ʌm-skɔ (o as in “boat;” ʌ as in “bud;”)

“Nuswattux:” nʊs-wæ-tʊks (ʌ as in “bud;” æ as in “bad;”)

“Quindocqua:” kwɪnt-də-kʊw (ɪ as in “bid;” α as in “pod;”)

Land Acknowledgment Statement

Created by MSAC staff based on information shared by Pocomoke Indian Nation tribal consultants.

I/we acknowledge that the Pocomoke Indian Nation continues to maintain a relationship with the lands where we gather today. These lands include a series of tribal bands within the Pocomoke Paramountcy: the principal band Pocomoke, and the bands Acquintica, Annemessex, Gingoteague, Manoakin, Morumsco, Nuswattux, and Quindocqua. Beginning in the 1600s, settlers increasingly encroached on these lands and restricted the movements of Pocomoke peoples through land theft and treaty. I/We acknowledge that we are uninvited visitors on Indigenous lands. To make this statement more meaningful, I/we invite you to learn more about the Pocomoke and about land acknowledgement statements via resources available at MSAC.org and elsewhere, to consider donating or making institutional resources available to tribal peoples, and to reconsider in what ways you can improve your relationship with the lands you steward.
Susquehannock Indians

One of the largest remaining serpentine barrens, an example of prairie ecologies maintained through controlled burns by Susquehannock tribal peoples and others, located at Soldier’s Delight Natural Environment Area in Baltimore County on Susquehannock lands. Photo by Ryan Koons and used with permission.

Tribal Background
The Indigenous confederacy today often known as the “Susquehannock” was part of the Iroquoian language and culture family. The name “Susquehannock” is an English-language transliteration by settlers in the Maryland and Virginia colonies of the Powhatan exonym (a word that derives from outside of a particular place or community) sometimes spelled Susquesahanough. English settlers in Pennsylvania called peoples of this Confederacy the “Conestoga” after one of the last remaining Susquehannock villages in present-day Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Dutch and Swedish settlers called peoples of this Confederacy White Minquas (as opposed to the Massawomeck, who they called Black Minquas), which derives from an exonym used by the Lenape, a traditional enemy of the Susquehannock.

Many colonial sources on the Susquehannocks describe their raids of Algonquian tribes in contemporary central and southern Maryland. Indeed, Piscataway peoples hoped that the English would function as a buffer between their peoples and the Susquehannock and other Iroquoian peoples further north.

There is currently no Susquehannock polity or governing body; the last Susquehannock government died with tribal members during the Paxton Massacre of the Conestoga in 1763. Today Susquehannock descendants maintain their bloodlines, histories, and relationships with the Susquehanna River from within neighboring tribes, including Cayuga, Lenape, Mohawk, Onondaga, Oneida, Seneca, and Shawnee. The Circle Legacy Center (CircleLegacyCenter.com) in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is the primary Susquehannock-supporting cultural
institution. Some descendants prefer to identify as Susquehanna Indians rather than Susquehannock Indians, citing a deep relationship with the River itself and a preference to avoid using a Powhatan-derived term.

**Tribal Geographic Sphere of Influence**

Susquehannock peoples primarily lived along the Susquehanna River in present-day Pennsylvania and New York states. Along with neighboring tribes, they likely maintained a series of prairie ecologies using regular controlled burns. Colonists referred to these prairies as “barrens.” They were located in a swath along the piedmont upland in lands today known as Baltimore, Carroll, Cecil, Harford, Howard, and Montgomery counties and Baltimore City.

Tribal leaders signed a treaty with the Maryland Colony in 1652, ceding Indigenous land. This treaty defines the ceded territory as much of the northern rim of the Chesapeake Bay: on the Western Shore, from the Patuxent River north to present-day Garrett Island; and on the Eastern Shore, from the Choptank River north to the North East Branch near present-day Elkton. The treaty does not define the inland boundaries of the ceded territory. The Susquehannock claimed this land by right of conquest and five Susquehannock leaders made their mark on the treaty. However, other tribal peoples also lived and continue to live in relation with these lands at the time the treaty was made. In the present day, these lands include places commonly known as Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Calvert, Cecil, Harford, Kent, Queen Anne’s, and Talbot counties and Baltimore City, and possibly Caroline County.
Pronunciation Guide

“Susquehannock:” sʌs-kwʌ-hæ-nak (ʌ as in “bud;” æ as in “bad;” ɑ as in “pod”)
“Conestoga:” kʌn-sto-ga (ɑ as in “pod;” ʌ as in “bud;” o as in “boat”)

Land Acknowledgment Statement

Based on a land acknowledgment statement drafted by a Susquehanna and Shawnee elder for the MSAC Land Acknowledgment Project.

I/we acknowledge that the places today known as Baltimore County, Harford County, and Cecil County exist as the result of duress. In 1652, Susquehannock leaders unwillingly transferred these lands to the English in an unsuccessful effort to stop English settlers encroaching up the Susquehanna River. I/we acknowledge that these places and their Indigenous inhabitants exist without rigid political borders and boundaries maintained by settlers and settler governments.

I/we acknowledge the social, physical, spiritual, and kinship relationships this land continues to share with Indigenous nations of the Susquehanna River and Chesapeake Bay; I/we acknowledge that these relationships have been displaced, damaged, and dispelled by colonists’ insatiable thirst for acquisition and domination. I/we acknowledge a place out of balance with its true purpose in being. I/we acknowledge our occupation of Susquehannock lands. I/we acknowledge the continuing presence of Indigenous nations, and the shelter and nourishment that this place continues to provide all Native peoples who live here today. I/we acknowledge my/our responsibility to Indigenous nations to repair unhealthy relationships and to steward all life.
Youghiogheny River Band of Shawnee

A stretch of the Youghiogheny River near Friendsville. Photo by an elder of the Youghiogheny River Band of Shawnee and used with permission.

Tribal Background
Shawnee peoples are part of the Algonquian culture group and language family. The Youghiogheny River Band of Shawnee includes members of three distinct clans (Eagle, Hawk, and Sycamore) of Shawnee. Historically the tribe has twelve total clans and five separate septs that carry out key areas of governance. Perhaps best known for relating with lands in the Ohio River Valley, Shawnee peoples maintained a semi-migratory nomadic tradition prior to the start of European settlement. Sometimes known as the people of the south wind, they traveled across the eastern seaboard, maintaining kinship ties with Muskogee and Lenape peoples. Settlers stealing Shawnee lands caused additional migrations and later forced those migrations to cease. In present-day Maryland, Youghiogheny River Band members forged kinship ties especially with settlers in Friendsville, which they still maintain to this day. The Youghiogheny River Band’s current ceremonial grounds lie on lands returned to the Band by a former Friendsville mayor.
Tribal Geographic Sphere of Influence
Shawnee people make a home along the Youghiogheny River in lands that include present-day Garrett County. Archaeological sites such as the Shawnee Old Fields Village point to Shawnee peoples also maintaining relationships with lands in present-day Allegany County and possibly Washington County. More broadly, Shawnee peoples are best known for maintaining relationships with lands within the Ohio River Valley.

Pronunciation Guide
“Youghiogheny:” ʃɔ-ˈkʌ-ɡe-ni (ʃ as in “shy;” ʌ as in “pod;” ɑ as in “bud;” e as in “bay;” i as in “bead;”)
“Shawnee:” ʃα-ˈni (ʃ as in “shy;” ɑ as in “pod;” i as in “bead”)

Land Acknowledgment Statement
Created by MSAC staff based on information shared by Youghiogheny River Band of Shawnee tribal consultants.

I/we acknowledge that the Youghiogheny River Band of Shawnee continues to maintain relationships with the lands where we gather today. The Youghiogheny River Band of Shawnee has stewarded these lands and waters for generations. Shawnee peoples maintained a nomadic tradition prior to the start of European settlement, regularly renewing relationships with lands across the Eastern Seaboard. The Youghiogheny River Band of Shawnee are still here and share this land with all visitors to it. With them, we uninvited visitors honor these
lands, which carry the memory of joys and tears and loss. To make this statement more meaningful, I/we invite you to learn more about the Shawnee and about land acknowledgement statements via resources available at MSAC.org and elsewhere, to consider donating and making institutional resources available to tribal peoples, and to reconsider in what ways you can improve your relationship with the lands you steward.
State-wide Land Acknowledgement Statement
Employees of the State of Maryland serve residents of Maryland who live across many different tribal lands. This statement acknowledges all tribes who maintain relationships with lands claimed by the State of Maryland.

This statement is based on one drafted by an elder of the Choptico Band of Indians, Piscataway Conoy Tribe for the MSAC Land Acknowledgement Project.

We acknowledge the lands and waters now known as Maryland are the home of its first peoples: the Accohannock Indian Tribe, Assateague People’s Tribe, Cedarville Band of Piscataway Indians, Choptico Band of Indians, Lenape Tribe, Nanticoke Tribe, Nause-Waiwash Band of Indians, Piscataway Conoy Tribe, Piscataw Indian Nation, Pocomoke Indian Nation, Susquehannock Indians, Youghiogheny River Band of Shawnee, and tribes in the Chesapeake watershed who have seemingly vanished since the coming of colonialism. We acknowledge that this land is now home to other tribal peoples living here in diaspora. We acknowledge the forced removal of many from the lands and waterways that nurtured them as kin. We acknowledge the degradation that continues to be wrought on the land and waters in pursuit of resources. We acknowledge the right of the land and waterways to heal so that they can continue to provide food and medicine for all. We acknowledge that it is our collective obligation to pursue policies and practices that respect the land and waters so that our reciprocal relationship with them can be fully restored.

Historically Erased Tribes

This section provides a general overview of tribes that were erased in the 1600s, 1700s, and 1800s from the place now known as Maryland. Unfortunately, in many cases very little information about them now exists or is accessible. Written records by John Smith, other European travelers and explorers, and the English Colony of Maryland were typically incomplete and more often demonstrated the authors’ lack of knowledge of tribal peoples, histories, and customs. These and related historic records continue to become available as the Maryland State Archives digitizes and publishes colonial records related to Indigenous peoples in Maryland in their Mayis Database (Mayis.MSA.Maryland.gov). Prior to European Contact, some data is accessible via the archaeological record. However, even the archaeological record is spotty: in some instances, humidity rotted materials before they could form part of the archaeological record; in other instances, erosion destroyed it.

MSAC acknowledges that this section excludes several tribes with towns located along the western shore of the Potomac River in what is now Virginia. These missing tribes are: the Onawmanient, also known as the Nomini, of modern-day Westmoreland County, Virginia; the Patawomeck, also known as the Potomac, of contemporary Stafford and King George counties, Virginia; and the Tauxenent, also known as the Doeg or Dogue, who were allied with Powhatan, of present-day Fairfax County, Virginia. Although these towns were located in Virginia, tribes of the Potomac River and across the Chesapeake watershed traveled extensively. It is highly likely that these tribes maintained relationships with lands on the “Maryland side” of the river.

The accompanying map provides a general idea of the locations of historically erased tribal peoples. To craft these maps, Maryland Traditions staff triangulated between primary sources, historical maps, and archaeological records. Unlike the other maps in the MSAC Land Acknowledgment Project, this map features only the known or approximate locations of the towns of historically erased tribes. It was not feasible to depict tribal geographic spheres of influence (see Key Concepts). Missing historical and archaeological data combined with the complexity of historical events, the volume of time represented on the map, and tribal practices of regional travel rendered this goal impractical. Instead, some map locations align with archaeological excavations, such as the Patuxent town Opanient. Some tribal locations, such as the Choptank, are approximate based on limited available data. Other tribal locations, such as the Massawomeck, are hypotheses based on the incomplete information available.
Acquintanacsuck
This Algonquian tribe lived in five towns on the western side of the Patuxent River where it emptied into the Chesapeake Bay in contemporary St. Mary’s and Charles counties. Beginning near the mouth of the river and heading upstream, the towns were Acquintanacsuck, Wasinacus, Acquaskack, Wasapokent, and Macocanaco. A 1621 travelog by John Pory, the first elected speaker of the Virginia General Assembly, suggests that Wasapokent and Macocanaco -- the two Charles County-located towns -- constituted a distinct, mid-Patuxent River chiefdom called Assamocomoco. Tribal alignments shifted frequently in the 1600s, so it is entirely feasible that both histories are accurate. In the late 1500s, the Acquintanacsuck tribe formed an independent defensive alliance with the nearby Patuxent and Matapanient tribes, thereby avoiding being absorbed into the Piscataway chiefdom. During his second voyage exploring the Chesapeake Bay in 1608, John Smith visited Acquintanacsuck on August 12 while exploring the Patuxent River.

By 1650, so many English settlers had moved into the Patuxent River basin that the Colony created Calvert and Anne Arundel counties. In 1651, the Colony established the first Indian reservation or reserve in North America. Located along the Wicomico River in present-day St. Mary’s County, this reservation was known as Choptico Manor and, later, Choptico Indian Town. Other reservations soon followed, including Calverton Manor on the upper Patuxent River in present-day Prince George’s County. Some of the Acquintanacsuck, Mattapanient, and Patuxent – by then sometimes grouped together as the “Mattaponi” (no relation to the Virginia-located tribe by
the same name) -- removed to Calverton Manor in an effort to get away from English land theft. By 1659, Calverton Manor became known as Mattaponi Fort. In 1652, the Susquehannocks entered into a peace treaty with the Colony, ceding lands that included the Patuxent River north to the head of the Chesapeake Bay, which the Susquehannocks claimed by right of conquest. This treaty dealt a further blow to Acquintanacsuck sovereignty. By 1692 English settlement pushed the remaining Acquintanacsuck, Mattapanient, and Patuxent peoples to remove to Choptico Manor; it is likely that they were adopted by and assimilated into the Choptico Indian Tribe, which was also living there. Other tribal members removed to the Choptank reservation of Locust Neck in present-day Dorchester County on the Eastern shore. These land thefts and removals resulted in cultural attrition, malnourishment, and a heightened tribal mortality rate. By the early 1700s, any Acquintanacsuck remaining in southern Maryland had been subsumed under the “Choptico” umbrella and thereafter generalized as “Indians,” erasing them from the historic record.

Choptank
There appear to have been three towns or bands of this Algonquian tribe: the Transquaking, Ababco, and Hatsawap. Scholars assume they lived along the part of the Choptank River that forms the boundary between contemporary Talbot and Dorchester counties. However, we do not know precisely where they lived nor how large these towns were at the time of European Contact because John Smith did not explore the Choptank River Valley during his 1608 Chesapeake voyages. Based on the similarity of names, scholars hypothesize that some Choptank people lived along the nearby Transquaking River. Because of their comparative geographic isolation in the Choptank River estuary, this tribe was one of the last Eastern Shore tribes to establish regular trade relationships with settlers. Despite this, the first area of the lower Eastern Shore to be made available for English colonization was the Choptank River valley, where colonists began claiming English land grants in 1659. The same year, Choptank and Monoponson leaders signed a treaty of friendship with the Maryland Colony, firmly allying them with the English.

In 1669, the Choptank received a reservation in modern-day Cambridge via the English land-grant formula called “common socage.” Through common socage, the grantee received full rights to the land as long as the Lord Proprietor of Maryland or his heirs received an annual fee. The Choptanks’ fee was six beaver skins a year. In 1683, many Choptanks left their reservation, seeking refuge at the Askiniminikansen reservation further south in response to the threat of raids by the Iroquois to the north. Their fears were justified: in 1685, fifty Choptanks were taken prisoner by the Oneidas. By 1686, the Transquaking Choptanks and Hatsawap Choptanks were living at the Askiniminikansen reservation, returning to their own reservation of the early 1690s. During the 1700s, which some historians refer to as Maryland’s “reservation period,” the Choptanks maintained themselves on their reservation, interacting with English settlers almost exclusively through trade. A conservative estimate of around 130 people lived there in 1722. Beginning in the late 1600s, settlers increasingly pressured Choptank leaders to sell parts of the reservation, and chiefs complained to the Colony numerous times in the early 1700s. In response, the colonial government surveyed the Choptank reservation in 1721, and forbade the Choptanks to sell any more land in their newly defined reservation boundaries in 1723.

In 1742, Eastern Shore tribes engaged in their most important attempted collective act of resistance against the English. After a May meeting at Chicone reservation between the Nanticokes and 23 visiting Shawnee, all
Eastern shore tribes -- the Assateagues, Choptanks, Nanticokes, and Pocomokes -- moved to the Indian town of Winnasoccum, located at the head of the Pocomoke River. Along with an expanded group of Shawnee that included a war captain, the tribes built a fort and consumed a “potion” prepared by an “Indian River Doctor.” They then returned to their homes. Later, while being interrogated by colonial authorities, accounts by Choptank witnesses differed from those of Pocomoke, Assateague, and Nanticoke witnesses. The Pocomoke, Assateague, and Nanticoke witnesses stated they had met at Winnasoccum to hunt and “make a new Emperor;” the Nanticoke identified the potion as a cough medicine. However, the Choptank witnesses testified that the meeting was to organize an uprising to destroy the English of Somerset and Dorchester counties in coordination with a broader Indian attack on English settlers in Maryland and Pennsylvania supported by the French further north. Hearing these different accounts, the Colony authorities chose to believe the Choptank version. In response, Maryland governor Samuel Ogle required each tribe to sign a new treaty that both confirmed tribal hunting and foraging rights and removed the right for tribal members to carry a gun. This marked the beginning of the end for Eastern Shore tribal political independence from the English and essentially nullified the influence of tribal chiefs.

After these treaties, the Choptank and other Eastern Shore tribes no longer controlled their own affairs to any meaningful degree, and many tribal members chose to leave the Maryland Colony entirely. The Choptanks who remained underwent a slow genocide over the next century. After 1750, only the Choptank and Chicone reservations supported viable tribal communities. In 1761, the Maryland governor estimated that only 120 tribal individuals lived on all Maryland reservations. Since the western shore reservations had effectively been abolished previously, scholars assume he referred exclusively to Choptanks and Nanticokes. By this time, decreased tribal populations and increased movement between the two reservations collapsed most distinctions between the two tribes. In 1767, three Nanticoke men who had formerly lived in Maryland and had since been adopted into the Iroquoian Six Nations invited residents of the Choptank and Chicone reservations to move north with them. Records indicate that the Chicone reservation was abandoned that same year. Beginning in 1770, the Choptank reservation, now known as Locust Neck, was the only remaining Indian town on the Eastern Shore. In 1765, the tribal population numbered less than 20 people. In 1792, while compiling a vocabulary of the Indigenous language spoken there, William Vans Murray noted that only nine people remained. After the American Revolution, in 1798 the General Assembly of the State of Maryland in the newly created United States voted to purchase the remaining reservation lands from the five Indians still living there and thereby abolish the reservation. The sale was completed on April 10, 1799. These five tribal peoples -- listed as Mary Mulberry, Henry Mulberry, Henry Sixpence, Thomas Joshua, and Esther Henry -- received annuities of $30-$160 (roughly $1,000-$5,500 in 2024 US dollars) a year and retained possession of 20 acres of land each for life. By the late 1830s, each of those 20-acre parcels of land reverted to the State of Maryland.

Massawomeck

Scholars continue to argue about who the Massawomecks were and the location of their homelands. Known as Massawomeck to the English colonists, the Dutch and Swedish colonists in contemporary New Jersey and New York called them Black Minquas (as opposed to the Susquehannocks, whom they called White Minquas), and Powhatan peoples called them Pocoughtraonacks or Bocootawwonaukes. The Massawomeck might have been an Iroquoian tribe living between Lakes Ontario and Erie; they might have been living in what is now south-central Pennsylvania or southwestern Pennsylvania, north and northeast of contemporary Washington and
Allegheny counties, Maryland; or they might have been a loose confederation of tribes based in present-day Maryland, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. In alignment with this last interpretation, some archaeologists hypothesize that the Massawomeck might be the same pre-Contact tribal people(s) archaeologists call the “Monongahela Culture.” Other archaeological evidence suggests that at least some Massawomeck might have been a Susquehannock group that splintered from the tribe.

Even now there is insufficient evidence to determine their homeland location. Data suggests that some Massawomeck towns were located along the upper reaches of the Potomac River along the present-day border of Maryland and West Virginia, possibly in present-day Garrett County. However, the Fleet brothers indicate that the Massawomeck homeland was located ten days of travel up the mountains. Henry Fleet, an English trader, wrote in 1631-32 that the group consisted of at least four major towns or tribes: Tohoga, Mosticum, Shannetowa, and Usserahak. His brother Edward, who actually visited their homelands, stated the Massawomeck consisted of thirty towns of 30,000 total people. His evidence likely located them on the far side of the continental divide in or upriver of present-day Garrett County, or possibly further north in present-day southwestern or south-central Pennsylvania.

The Massawomecks had a reputation for being the enemy of every other tribe in the region. Unlike other tribes in the Chesapeake watershed who traveled in heavier dugout canoes, the Massawomeck paddled lighter birch bark canoes. These birch bark canoes enabled the lightning raids that contributed to their frightening reputation. Unlike the dugouts typical of the Chesapeake watershed tribes, canoes made of bark are a tradition typical of tribes from contemporary New England and the upper Midwest, an additional indicator that the Massawomeck lived further north than contemporary Maryland. In 1608 immediately after having attacked the Tockwoghs, they met John Smith near the mouth of the Sassafras River and traded food and weapons with him. Evidence from Dutch colony records and archaeological data indicate an alliance of Susquehannocks and Senecas likely defeated the Massawomecks, and they disappeared from the historical record after 1638.

Matapeake
This Algonquin tribe lived on the southeastern portion of Kent Island in modern-day Queen Anne’s County. During his Chesapeake Bay voyages, John Smith did not meet this tribe, but they appear in fur traders’ records in the 1630s. In 1639, Jesuits established a mission for English settlers and Indians on Kent Island. It is possible that the Monoponsons, also of Kent Island, may have merged with the Matapeakes by 1659 and/or were already part of one single tribe. It is also possible that the Matapeakes had a relationship with the Ozinies/Wicomiss. By the late 1600s and early 1700s, the English population had greatly increased and pushed the Matapeakes off their lands. They were likely adopted as refugees by neighboring tribes, such as the Choptanks or Nanticokes.

Mattapanient
The seven towns of the Algonquian language-speaking Mattapanient chiefdom were located on the Patuxent River twelve miles upriver from the Acquantanacsuck chiefdom’s town of Macocanaco. The Mattopanient chiefdom straddled the Patuxent River, with four towns on the western Patuxent River shore in contemporary Prince George’s County and three towns on the eastern Patuxent River shore in modern-day Calvert County. Beginning at the southernmost western shore town and moving upriver, the towns were: Pocatamough, Quotough, Wosameus, and Mattapanient. Moving upriver, the eastern shore towns were: Tauskas, Wepanawomen, and Quactataugh. In the late 1500s, the Mattapanient formed a defensive alliance with the nearby Patuxent and Acquantanacsuck, thereby avoiding being absorbed into the Piscataway chiefdom. During
his second voyage exploring the Chesapeake Bay, John Smith spent the night at Mattapanient on August 11, 1608. Archaeological and historical evidence, however, indicates that there were likely several additional towns further upriver that John Smith did not visit. Among others, a large Late Woodland archaeological site -- now known as the American Indian Village at Patuxent River Park -- is immediately north of the town Mattapanient.

By 1650, so many English settlers had moved into the Patuxent River basin that the Colony created Calvert and Anne Arundel counties. The following year, the Colony established the first Indian reservation or reserve in North America. Located along the Wicomico River in present-day St. Mary’s County, this reservation was known as Choptico Manor and, later, Choptico Indian Town. Other reservations soon followed, including Calverton Manor on the upper Patuxent River in present-day Prince George’s County. Some of the Mattapanient, Acquintanacsuck, and Patuxent – by then sometimes grouped together as the “Mattaponi” (no relation to the Virginia-located tribe by the same name) -- removed to Calverton Manor in an effort to get away from English land theft. By 1659, Calverton Manor became known as Mattaponi Fort. In 1652, the Susquehannocks entered into a peace treaty with the Colony, ceding lands that included the Patuxent River north to the head of the Chesapeake Bay, which the Susquehannocks claimed by right of conquest. This treaty dealt a further blow to Mattapanient sovereignty. By 1692 English settlement pushed the remaining Mattapanient, Acquintanacsuck, and Patuxent peoples to remove to Choptico Manor; it is likely that they were adopted by and assimilated into the Choptico Indian Tribe, which was also living there. Other tribal members removed to the Choptank reservation in present-day Dorchester County. These land thefts and removals resulted in cultural attrition, malnourishment, and an increased tribal mortality rate. By the early 1700s, any Mattapanient remaining in southern Maryland had been subsumed under the “Choptico” umbrella and thereafter generalized as “Indians,” erasing them from the historic record.

**Monoponson**

This Algonquin tribe was located on the west side of Kent Island and on the south bank of the mouth of the Chester River in contemporary Queen Anne’s and Kent counties. Although John Smith did not interact with them during his Chesapeake Bay voyages in 1608, they appear in English colonial records in the 1630s. In 1631, the English Colony founded Kent Fort nearby, eventually turning it into a trading post, and Jesuits established a mission for English settlers and Indians there in 1639. In 1659, Monoponson chief Zakowan co-signed a treaty of friendship between the Maryland Colony and the Choptanks. It’s possible that the Matapeakes, also on Kent Island, may have merged with the Monoponsons by 1659 and/or constituted one single tribe. It is also possible that the Monoponsons had a relationship with the nearby Ozinies/Wicomiss. By the late 1600s and early 1700s, the English population had greatly increased and pushed the Monoponsons off their lands. They were likely adopted as refugees by neighboring tribes, such as the Choptanks or Nanticoke.

**Nacotchtank/Anacostans**

This Algonquian language-speaking tribe was located primarily within present-day Washington, DC, northern Virginia, and likely northwestern Prince George’s County. This tribe is also known as the Anacostans or Anacostia. It featured five towns that, in 1608, John Smith estimated included 340 people, 80 of which were warriors. Smith labeled three of the towns on his 1612 map: Nacotchtank (near contemporary Bolling Air Force Base), Assaomeck (in contemporary Fairfax County, Virginia), and Namoraughquend (in contemporary
Alexandria, Virginia, near Ronald Reagan/Washington National Airport. The rapid urbanization of the area has meant that archaeologists have been unable to find the precise locations of this tribe. In 1666, in an attempt to counteract raids by the Iroquois, the English colony bound together all of the surviving tribes of what is now southern Maryland, including the Nacotchtank, with a treaty that effectively rendered all southern Maryland tribes into reservation Indians. In addition to Choptico Manor and Calverton Manor, in the late 1600s the Colony established a series of Indian reservations called “manors” using the same feudally-based system the English were practicing among themselves. However, the English rarely gave the manors Indian names or identified the names of the tribes living there. This tactic further “disappeared” tribes in the written records. Additionally, since they were on the “frontier” of the English Colony, the Nacotchtank do not often appear in the Colony’s records in the late 1600s and early 1700s.

**Name Unknown**
The pre-colonial Indigenous history of the places now known as Baltimore City and Anne Arundel, Baltimore, and Howard counties is not very clear. The written record begins in 1608 with the Chesapeake voyages of English explorer John Smith, who stated that the Patapsco River was uninhabited. Archaeological work in and around present-day Baltimore City demonstrates Indigenous living sites dating between 10,000 BCE and 1600 CE, with artifacts that can likely be identified as deriving from the ancestors of peoples now known as the Piscataway or, more likely, from subject tribe(s) of the Piscataway. The name(s) of this tribe(s) are lost. Sites at and upstream of the fall line – the geological dividing line between the piedmont and the coastal plain – suggest that, like their kin further south, the people of the Patapsco migrated seasonally, planting downstream in the spring and summer at permanent town sites and hunting upstream in the winter at temporary sites. Some scholars hypothesize that the tribe(s) in this area left in the late 1500s and early 1600s in response to raids by the Massawomeck, Susquehannock, and other Iroquois further north; these threats were a constant across the Chesapeake watershed throughout the 1600s and the early 1700s. We do not know where the tribe(s) went, though it is feasible they moved in with a neighboring tribe(s) within the Piscataway chiefdom further south.

Likely in collaboration with neighboring tribes, tribal people(s) of the Patapsco maintained a prairie landscape in lands currently known as Cecil, Harford, Baltimore, Carroll, Howard, and Montgomery counties and Baltimore City. Tribal peoples engaged in regular controlled burns to suppress tree species and maintain a prairie ecology that attracted game animals such as deer and bison for hunting.

Today, American Indians from across North America live in the greater Baltimore region. The Baltimore American Indian Center, the 2017 recipient of the Heritage Award in the category of place, provides these Baltimore-based tribal individuals and communities with weekly culture classes, pow wows, meeting space, and more. Of note, Baltimore City and County are home to the largest diasporic community of Lumbee people outside their traditional lands in present-day North Carolina. To learn more about the Lumbee and other Baltimore-based urban Indian communities, visit the Ashley Minner Collection in the Maryland Traditions Archives at UMBC (see the Additional Resources section).
Nanjemoy
This Algonquian tribe lived in three towns in contemporary Charles County that John Smith visited in 1608 during his first Chesapeake Bay voyage. Although we do not know the southernmost town’s name, the town Mataughtquamend was located on the western shore of Nanjemoy Creek, and the town Noushemouck was located on the eastern shore of Nanjemoy Creek. The presence of a type of pre-Contact pottery archaeologists call “Potomac Creek” indicates that the Nanjemoy were likely a subject tribe of the nearby Piscataway paramount chiefdom. Colonial records of court cases tend to be the primary documentation of the Nanjemoy during the late 1600s -- for example the 1663 prosecution and fining of the Nanjemoy chief for letting his dog kill a settler’s hogs. In 1666, attempting to counteract raids by the Iroquois, the English Colony bound together the surviving tribes of what is now southern Maryland with a treaty. Among other provisions, the Nanjemoy received compensation for destruction of their fences by an English settler and were removed from the Piscataway paramount chiefdom as a subject tribe; now the Nanjemoy were subject only to the Colony. This treaty also effectively rendered all southern Maryland tribes into reservation Indians. In addition to Choptico Manor and Calverton Manor, in the late 1660s the Colony began establishing a series of Indian reservations called “manors” using the same feudally based system the English were practicing among themselves. However, the manors rarely featured Indian names or identified the tribe(s) living there. This tactic further “disappeared” tribes in the written records. In the late 1690s, the English established a series of commissioners for tribal communities. Thereafter, the practice of handing over disputes to the commissioners for mediation removed local tribal affairs from the records of the Maryland Colony, further removing them from the historical record. By the early 1700s, the Nanjemoy had been subsumed under the Pomonkey umbrella and thereafter generalized as “Indians,” erasing them from the historical record.

Ozinies/Wicomiss
Appearing in the historical record in 1608 as the Ozinies and after 1630 as Wicomiss, this Algonquian tribe encountered John Smith during his second voyage of the Chesapeake Bay. Located at the mouth of the Chester River in present-day Rock Hall, Kent County, Smith estimated the town to be home to a total population of 255 people, featuring 60 fighting men. Looking at archaeological evidence, some scholars hypothesize that the town Smith visited might have been a fishing camp. The map in the anonymous 1635 *A Relation of Maryland* features “Wicomese” in the same location Smith’s 1612 map features the Ozinies. It is possible that the Wicomiss had a relationship with the Monoponsons and/or Matapakeas of Kent Island. In the 1630s and 1640s, Susquehannock military activity and territorial expansion from the north displaced the Wicomiss and pushed them further south. In 1642, the colonial government declared war on the Wicomiss, Susquehannocks, and Nanticokes in retaliation for an attack on some Englishman living on Kent Island. It is unclear why the Colony blamed these three tribes, who did not live on Kent Island; some scholars hypothesize that, because they were the three largest and most powerful tribes on the Eastern Shore, the Colony wanted them to be castigated as examples. Eventually this and other geopolitical machinations forced the Wicomiss in 1648 to become allies of the Susquehannock. After 1650, evidence suggests that the Wicomiss had removed either south of the Choptank River to live with the Nanticokes, or east to modern-day southern Delaware with the Chicconeses, a Lenape/Delaware tribe. The presence of an important Indian trail called the Wicomiss or Whorekill path between these two points suggests that the Wicomiss moved freely throughout this region. There, they maintained an antagonistic relationship with the English Colony. In 1667, colonial records indicate that a Wicomiss man killed a Maryland official, Capt. John
Odber. In response, the colonial government declared war on the Wicomiss and enlisted the nearby Choptank and Nanticoke in their cause. This tribal genocide was almost total by 1669. At least some members of the defeated tribe were sold as slaves in Barbados; it’s unclear what happened to any survivors. Given that this genocidal war resulted in the Nanticoke becoming allies of the Colony and signing a 1668 treaty, it is likely that the Chicconeses or another Lenape tribe(s) adopted any Wicomiss survivors.

**Pamacocack/Pomonkey/Mattawoman**

This Algonquian tribe lived in three towns. Two of the towns were located on the eastern side of the Potomac River in contemporary Charles County. The southern one was named Nussamek, the northern one Pamacocack. The third town, also called Pamacocack, was located across the Potomac River in contemporary Prince William County, Virginia. The presence of a type of pre-Contact pottery archaeologists call “Potomac Creek” indicates that the Pamacocacks were a subject tribe of the nearby Piscataway. Beginning in the 1660s, Maryland colonial records split the Pamacocack tribe in two: the Pomonkey (no relation to the Virginia-located tribe Pamunkey) and the Mattawomans. Colonial records suggest that these two groups later functioned as distinct tribes. In 1666, attempting to better counteract raids by the Iroquois to the north, the English colony bound together the surviving tribes of what is now southern Maryland, including the Mattawomans, with a treaty that effectively rendered all southern Maryland tribes into reservation Indians. In addition to Choptico Manor and Calverton Manor, in the late 1600s the Colony established a series of Indian reservations called “manors” using the same feudally based system the English were practicing among themselves. However, the manors rarely featured Indian names or identified the name of the tribe(s) living there. This tactic further “disappeared” tribes from the written records. A 1681 raid by the Susquehannocks resulted in the deaths of many Mattawomans. In 1697, the few remaining Mattawomans and Pomonkeys temporarily fled the Maryland Colony for Virginia with a Piscataway band. Upon their return, they signed a treaty with the Colony. As part of a successful plan to bring the fugitives back to Maryland, the English also established a series of commissioners for tribal communities. Thereafter, the practice of handing over disputes to the commissioners for mediation removed local tribal affairs from the records of the Maryland Colony, further removing them from the historical record. In the 1700s, the Mattawomans and Pomonkeys become difficult to trace. A 1713 deed of land indicates that some Pomonkey Indians transferred land to Englishmen in contemporary Charles County. Documents from the 1730s and 1740s suggest that Mattawoman and Pomonkey families or individuals were likely cultivating plots on their homelands, though these references tend to focus on Indian “lands” rather than individual tribal members. Scholars hypothesize that the remaining Mattawoman and Pomonkey were likely adopted into the Choptico by the mid-1700s. Later documents tended to refer primarily to “Indians” and ignore tribal affiliation, erasing the tribe from the historical record.

**Patuxent**

First written about by John Smith in 1608, this Algonquian tribe lived in five towns on the eastern shore of the Patuxent River in contemporary southern Calvert County. The southernmost Patuxent town, Opanient, is known by archaeologists as the Cumberland Palisaded Village, the only palisaded town along the Patuxent River. Archaeological excavations in 1983 suggest that the town dates from the late 1500s to the early 1600s. Continuing north, the remaining Patuxent towns are Quomocac, located within Jefferson Patterson State Park and Museum; Pawtuxunt; Onuatuck; and Wascocup. In the late 1500s, the Patuxent formed an independent
defensive alliance with the other two tribes along the lower Patuxent River -- the Acquintanacsuck and Matapanient -- thereby avoiding absorption into the Piscataway chiefdom. In August 1608 during his second voyage around the Chesapeake, John Smith visited both Pawtuxunt and Opanient.

In the 1640s, some English settlers captured Patuxent and other tribal people and sold them as servants. Despite the Maryland Colony outlawing it in 1648 and 1649, the practice continued: the English found that selling tribal people into servitude was an effective way to steal tribal land. Although the Colony also made it illegal for anyone except the governor to buy land from Indians, much land had already been stolen. By 1650, so many English settlers had moved into the Patuxent River basin that the Colony created Calvert and Anne Arundel counties. In 1651, the Colony also established the first Indian reservation or reserve in North America. Located along the Wicomico River in present-day St. Mary's County, this reservation was known as Choptico Manor and, later, Choptico Indian Town. Other reservations soon followed, including Calverton Manor on the upper Patuxent River in present-day Prince George's County. Some of the Patuxent, Acquintanacsuck, and Mattapanient – by then sometimes grouped together as the "Mattaponi" (no relation to the Virginia-located tribe by the same name) -- removed to Calverton Manor in an effort to get away from English land left. By 1659, Calverton Manor became known as Mattaponi Fort. In 1652, the Susquehannocks entered into a peace treaty with the Colony, ceding lands that included the Patuxent River north to the head of the Chesapeake Bay, which the Susquehannocks claimed by right of conquest. This treaty dealt a further blow to Patuxent sovereignty. By 1692 English settlement pushed the remaining Patuxent, Acquintanacsuck, and Mattapanient peoples to remove to Choptico Manor; it is likely that they were adopted by and assimilated into the Choptico Indian Tribe, which was also living there. Other tribal members removed to the Choptank reservation in present-day Dorchester County on the Eastern Shore. These land thefts and removals resulted in cultural attrition, malnourishment, and an increased tribal mortality rate. By the early 1700s, any Patuxent remaining in southern Maryland had been subsumed under the “Choptico” umbrella and thereafter generalized as “Indians,” erasing them from the historic record. The last reference to specifically Patuxent peoples is dated 1786, by Maryland Indian agent Major Daniel Jenifer, who noted how few tribal peoples remained at the Choptank reservation.

Potopaco
Eventually Anglicized to “Port Tobacco,” this Algonquian tribe consisted of three towns located in and near present-day Port Tobacco in Charles County. Of the three towns, we only know the name of Potopaco. Archaeological analysis demonstrates that this tribe traded with Eastern Shore tribes, Europeans, and possibly Massawomecks. The presence of a type of pre-Contact pottery archaeologists call “Potomac Creek” indicates that the Potopacos were likely a subject tribe of the nearby Piscataway. In 1642, Jesuit missionaries visited the Potopaco, noting that the tribe was ruled by a “queen.” Although Algonquian succession in the Chesapeake watershed tended to favor male inheritance, it was not unheard of for women to inherit the position of chief. While there, the Jesuits converted and baptized the chief and most of her people to Catholicism. Eight years later, this same chief was implicated in the illegal purchase of an Indian servant. In 1663, the tribe left their three riverside towns, moving inland, presumably in response to increased English land theft. That same year, a “Portoback” chief attended the ratification ceremony of a Piscataway chief with the English Colony. In 1666, in an attempt to counteract raids by the Iroquois, the Colony bound together all of the surviving tribes of what is now southern Maryland, including the Potopaco, with a treaty that effectively rendered all southern Maryland
tribes into reservation Indians. By the 1670s and later, the Potopacos as subject tribe became overshadowed in the English colonial records by the Piscataways, who were by then the largest, most powerful tribal polity in the region. As such, they became lost to sight.

**Tockwogh**
The Tockwoghs, a Nanticoke Algonquian tribe, encountered John Smith in August 1608. Smith visited their fortified town located on the south side of the Sassafras River in present-day Kent County, likely on Shrewsbury Neck. The only existing information about this tribe comes from the several days that Smith spent with them that August. He estimated that the town was home to 425 people, including 100 warriors. He described how they had recently been raided by the Massawomecks; these raids had convinced the Tockwogh to make an alliance with the Susquehannocks. Some scholars hypothesize that their town was a farming town, occupied mainly during the summer and autumn. There are no further records of the tribe after 1608; they may have moved to live with the nearby Nanticoke.

**Yoacomoco**
In the early 1600s, this Algonquian tribe lived in one town located on both sides of the St. Mary’s River near its mouth into the southern Potomac River in present-day St. Mary’s County. In 1634, Leonard Calvert, the first English governor of Maryland, bought the eastern bank from the Yoacomoco and renamed it St. Mary’s City; it would soon be home to the Colony’s first General Assembly. Archaeological excavations of the tribal town indicate a dispersed-settlement pattern featuring houses interspersed with gardens. Archaeologists encountered pottery that indicates contact with, but not dominance by, the nearby Piscataways. This relationship is also visible in the Yoacomoco’s recommendation to Leonard Calvert that he communicate with the Piscataway leader before settling at Yoacomoco. After selling the town, the Yoacomoco moved to the western side of the St. Mary’s River.

In 1642, an English settler named Elkin murdered the Yoacomoco chief. Although he had confessed to the murder, he pled not guilty in English court because his victim had been a non-Christian. The jury acquitted him. Envisioning an endless series of “legal” killings of tribal people by settlers, the governor convinced the jury that tribal peoples were included under the “Kings Peace,” after which the jury found Elkin guilty. Although inconsistently applied to settlers, this event established the precedent that settlers could not murder tribal peoples. Following the murder of their chief, Yoacomoco tribal members began moving across the Potomac River to the present-day Northern Neck of Virginia, giving their name to the Yeocomico River there. Although they retained a distinct tribal identity as late as 1676, the tribe ultimately merged with the nearby Machodoc tribe.

**Land Acknowledgment Statement**
This statement should only be used in connection with lands home to historically erased tribes. It is inappropriate to use this statement to acknowledge tribes that still live in Maryland. See examples of other land acknowledgment statements elsewhere in this document for ways to acknowledge living tribes.
I/we acknowledge that the lands where we gather today were the home of the [tribe name], who were historically erased from this landscape. I/we acknowledge histories of cultural assimilation, land theft, and genocide that caused their decease and erasure. I/we acknowledge their long-standing kinship with these lands and waters and acknowledge that we are uninvited visitors on Indigenous lands. I/we acknowledge the degradation that continues to be wrought on the land and waters in pursuit of resources. I/we acknowledge the right of the land and waterways to heal so that they can continue to provide food and medicine for all. I/we acknowledge that it is our collective obligation to pursue policies and practices that respect the land and waters so that our reciprocal relationship with them can be fully restored. I/we invite you to learn more about historically erased tribes and about land acknowledgment statements via resources available at MSAC.org and elsewhere, to consider donating or making institutional resources available to the tribal peoples who still live in relationship with their traditional lands in the place now known as Maryland, and to reconsider in what ways you can improve your relationship with the lands you steward.
Additional Resources

A brief annotated list of books, articles, and archival collections featuring information about land acknowledgements, tribal peoples whose lands are claimed by Maryland, and Indigenous Studies. Materials are listed in alphabetical order. Many of these resources are available at the Maryland Traditions Archives housed in collaboration with Special Collections at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County.

Ashley Minner collection, Collection 314, Special Collections, University of Maryland, Baltimore County (Baltimore, MD).

Community-based visual artist Ashley Minner is an enrolled member of the Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina. This collection centralizes research Ashley has conducted on the history and present of the American Indian community of East Baltimore since 2003, along with other materials from tribal peoples living in Baltimore. The collection includes maps, census information, oral history recordings, and community-derived materials.


Written by an archaeologist for a general audience, this short piece summarizes historical and archaeological research on pre-colonial Indigenous settlement patterns in the place now known as Baltimore. The author demonstrates that tribal peoples lived in and around Baltimore for centuries prior to European settlement.


Authored by a political theorist for an academic audience, this book reveals some of the ways settler colonial memory has historically disavowed Indigeneity. The author examines a series of major episodes, texts, writer, and memories of the political past: Bacon’s Rebellion (1670s), Reconstruction (1860s-70s), and present-day case studies. This book challenges readers to refuse settler memory and instead consider alternative routes to memorialize the past.

Edwin Remsberg Photographs, Maryland Traditions Archives, Collection 309, Special Collections, University of Maryland, Baltimore County (Baltimore, MD).

Edwin Remsberg Photographs was the contract media producer between 2007 and 2021 for Maryland Traditions, the traditional arts program of the Maryland State Arts Council. This archival collection contains photos and audio recordings documenting tribal lands and entities that received the Maryland Heritage Award: Piscataway lands (2013), Accohannock lands (2014), the Baltimore American Indian Center (2017), and Nause-Waiwash lands (2020). The collection also contains media related to Folklife Apprenticeships received by Indigenous grantees: Lumbee regalia making (2010-2011), Piscataway finger weaving (2013-2014), Piscataway Conoy beadwork (2014-2015), Lumbee chicken and pastry (2019-2020), and powwow singing (2020-2021).

A free, open-access research report from the nonprofit First Nations Development Institute on Indigenous erasure and ways to combat erasure. The report compiles research findings from several different studies to examine the ways that mainstream narratives about tribal peoples too often focus on a romanticized past and an invisible present. It features a series of techniques for dispelling these stereotypes in school curricula, policy, racist Indigenous-themed sports mascots, and other areas.


An educational graphic novel with story by Lee Francis 4 (Laguna Pueblo), art by Weshoyot Alvitre (Tongva), and edited by Will Fenton to accompany an exhibit at the Library Company of Philadelphia. This teaching tool tells the story of the 1763 Paxton massacre in which a mob of white settlers -- the so-called “Paxton Boys” -- murdered 20 unarmed Conestoga People in a genocidal campaign that reshaped Pennsylvania settlement politics. The Conestoga were the final remaining Susquehannock tribal town. This graphic novel introduces new interpreters and new bodies of evidence to highlight the Indigenous victims and their kin. The book and accompanying website make available a series of annotated historical primary sources and teaching materials for teachers and students.

Gram-Hanssen, Irmelin, Nicole Schafenacker, and Julia Bentz, "Decolonizing transformations through 'right relations.'" *Sustainability Science* (2021).

A free, open-access, and highly technical article authored by a trio of Danish, Canadian, and German social scientists for an academic audience. The authors propose a template for ways non-Indigenous people can facilitate positive change led by Indigenous people. Their template -- through which non-Indigenous people might begin to embody "right relations" -- involves practicing deep listening, self-reflexivity, creating space, and being in action. The article compellingly combines research in the fields of ecology, climate studies, and Indigenous studies to work towards a "decolonized humanity." They suggest that willingness to be affected and altered by "right relations" is key to imagining and working towards decolonization, and that working towards decolonization functions as a way to develop equitable and sustainable responses -- what they call "transformations" -- to climate change.


Authored by an archaeologist for an academic audience, this chapter discusses the prehistoric (pre-written record) tribe(s) archaeologists call the “Monongahela culture.” Active from 1050 A.D. to 1635, the author hypothesizes that the Monongahela culture is likely synonymous with the tribe(s) English colonists called the Massawomeck. Based on archaeological sites in southwestern Pennsylvania, this chapter outlines Monongahela cultural periods and evidence of intertribal trade, and attempts to provide a linguistic and ethnic identification for this archaeological culture.
Kent, Barry C. *Susquehanna’s Indians*. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 2001. Authored by an archaeologist for an academic audience, this book is considered the standard reference on Susquehannock Indians. It centralizes information from historical documents, native and colonial objects, and site excavations, broadly tracing the cultural history of this tribe from about 1500 until the Paxton massacre in 1763 that resulted in the genocide of the Conestoga village.

**Maryland Traditions records, Maryland Traditions Archives, Collection 120, Special Collections, University of Maryland, Baltimore County (Baltimore, MD).**

This archival collection contains a variety of materials from the MSAC Land Acknowledgement Project, including recordings of consultations with tribal leaders and elders conducted by Maryland Traditions staff. Elsewhere in the collection are a series of oral history recordings with the late Chief Billy Tayac (1936-2021), former leader of the Piscataway Indian Nation. This collection also contains materials related to tribal lands and entities that received the Maryland Heritage Award: Piscataway lands (2013), Accohannock lands (2014), the Baltimore American Indian Center (2017), and Nause-Waiwash lands (2020). Additional materials relate to Folklife Apprenticeships received by Indigenous grantees: Lumbee regalia making (2010-2011), Piscataway finger weaving (2013-2014), Piscataway Conoy beadwork (2014-2015), Lumbee chicken and pastry (2019-2020), and powwow singing (2020-2021).

**Mayis Indigenous Records Database, Maryland State Archives (Annapolis, MD).**

A free online searchable database hosted by the Maryland State Archives. Created in consultation with tribal peoples whose lands are claimed by Maryland, this database contains records related to the Chesapeake region’s Indigenous Peoples, including searchable digital copies of treaties, government documents, art, oral histories, and school curricula. Maryland State Archives staff are constantly adding materials to the database. The title “Mayis” (pronounced “mah yees”) means “a path; to go on” in Renape, an Algonquian dialect historically spoken on Delmarva Peninsula.


Pendergast, James F. *The Massawomeck: Raiders and Traders into the Chesapeake Bay in the Seventeenth Century*. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1991. The Massawomeck tribe appears in the historical record very briefly in the early 1600s and then vanishes. Written by a historian, this work is one of very few that attempts to piece together their history. The author reviews the little existing historical evidence on the Massawomeck, hypothesizing that they might be a loose confederation of tribes, or that they might be an Iroquoian tribe who lived between Lakes Ontario and Erie east of the Niagara River.
Written by an archaeologist for an academic audience, this book narrates the rise and fall of Indigenous polities in the Potomac Valley. The author takes a case study of the Chicacoan tribe who lived on the south shore of the Potomac River from 200 C.E. to the early 1600s. While focusing primarily on one tribe, he demonstrates the development of Chesapeake-based Algonquian cultures more broadly and tribal responses to the invading Europeans.

Written for an academic audience, the essays in this edited volume examine different aspects of Susquehannock archaeology. The authors draw on new information derived from new archaeological technologies to paint a clearer picture of Susquehannock origins and material culture. This volume provides something of an update to Barry Kent’s *Susquehanna’s Indians*, which is considered the standard reference guide to the Susquehannock Indians.

A book by a historian designed for an academic audience that focuses on the cultural and environmental history of the Potomac River basin from its earliest known habitation until the 1700s. The book examines the ways that Potomac River ecologies affected how tribal peoples, enslaved people, and settlers lived. The emphasis on the relationships between humans and ecologies brings the reader closer to understandings maintained by many tribal peoples: that the land is not a resource to own, but rather a relative with whom to relate. The author tacks back and forth between different worldviews and their relationships with their ecologies locally within the Potomac River watershed.

A book for an academic audience by an anthropologist who specializes in the Indigenous cultures of the greater Chesapeake region. Drawing on a variety of historical documents, this monograph provides a description of Powhatan culture dating to 1607-1610. Although focusing on lands today known as Virginia, some of the information pertains to Powhatan tribes elsewhere in the Chesapeake watershed, including the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake Bay.

A book for an academic audience edited by an anthropologist who specializes in the Indigenous cultures of the greater Chesapeake region. The essays in this volume examine the Powhatan paramount chiefdom and its relationships with both Europeans and with other tribal peoples. One chapter (“The Powhatans and the Maryland Mainland” by Wayne Clark and Helen Rountree) provides insight into the region now known as southern Maryland during the early 1600s. Another chapter (“Relations Between the Powhatans and the Eastern Shore” by Thomas Davidson) attempts to flesh out the connections.
between Powhatan peoples and other tribal peoples on the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake. Broadly, the book provides a useful perspective on 222 years of history in the Chesapeake.

Co-authored by a trio of anthropologists and historians, this book provides an overview of John Smith's two 1608 voyages around the Chesapeake Bay. The book does an excellent job of discussing the historical world of tribal peoples in the various river watersheds that Smith explored. It combines archaeological evidence, historic records, and ecological and geological data. In particular, it provides information on the ecologies and agriculture of tribes of the Chesapeake watershed in contemporary Maryland and Virginia. However, while it is clear the authors consulted with a number of living tribal peoples in Virginia -- notably from the Rappahannock Tribe -- consultation with Maryland-located tribal peoples is limited to one Piscataway individual.

Authoring by two archaeologists for both a general and a scholarly audience, this book is considered the standard reference for the histories of tribal peoples on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay. Drawing on historical documents and archaeological evidence, the authors trace tribal histories, cultures, and ecologies from 800 C.E. to the early 1800s.

A book by two anthropologists designed for a general audience detailing the histories of Indigenous peoples in what is now called Southern Maryland from the last ice age until the early 2000s. Chapter one treats the archaeological record, chapter two Indigenous cultures at the time of Contact, chapter three the early 1600s, chapter four the remainder of the 1600s, chapter five the 1700s and 1800s, and chapter six the 1900s and early 2000s.

Edited and authored by some of the leading scholars in Indigenous studies, this book is designed for educators and students alike. It follows the chronological arc of the standard American history survey and considers fundamental questions of what it means to be an American. The essays reassess major events, themes, groups of historical actors, and approaches, consistently demonstrating how Native peoples and questions of Indigenous sovereignty have animated the many ways we typically think about the past of the United States.

An article by two scholars in the field of Indigenous Studies for an academic audience. This piece is one of the very few peer-reviewed publications on land acknowledgements. It explains distinctions between Indigenous versus settler acknowledgements and the importance of land as pedagogy, by which the authors mean learning from tribal tradition keepers. The authors conclude that settler institutions need to move beyond performing land acknowledgements and into accountability to the land. They also call for acknowledgement of Black-Indigenous relationships because blackness brings the coloniality of relationships into sharp focus. The authors propose that the practice of creating and delivering land acknowledgement statements function as a beginning to greater institutional responsibility.


A doctoral dissertation authored by sociologist Gabrielle Tayac (Piscataway Indian Nation). Her dissertation examines “collective identity incorporation,” a social psychological process through which individuals adhere to social movements. She uses this analytical lens to survey ethnic renewal and identity among Piscataway peoples over five centuries, 1608-present. As such, her dissertation features important Piscataway historical information.


A free, open-access article -- now considered a classic in Indigenous Studies -- authored by Eve Tuck (Unangax - Aleut) and K. Wayne Yang for an academic audience. The authors remind readers that “decolonization” refers directly to the repatriation of Indigenous life and land to tribal peoples. They warn against allowing the term “decolonization” to become a metaphor, which all too often leads to evasion and “settler moves to innocence.” The article provides a useful perspective on ways non-Indigenous people can begin working towards positive change led by Indigenous people.


A free, open-access blog post by legal and cultural scholar Cheslea Vowel (Métis). The author provides an overview of the increasingly popular practice of land acknowledgements in Canada, their purpose, and ways to move beyond the performativity inherent in the practice.

A free, open-access article authored by an Australian anthropologist for an academic audience. The author reviews genocide and the goals of settler colonialism in a variety of global contexts, analyzing settler colonialism as an on-going structure rather than a one-time event.