COHONGOROOTO:
THE POTOMAC ABOVE THE FALLS

ARCHEOLOGICAL IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION STUDY OF C&O CANAL NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK ROCK CREEK TO SANDY HOOK (MILE MARKERS 0 TO 59) Volume I

PREPARED FOR:

NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
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December 2005 Final Report

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Final Report

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National Park Service
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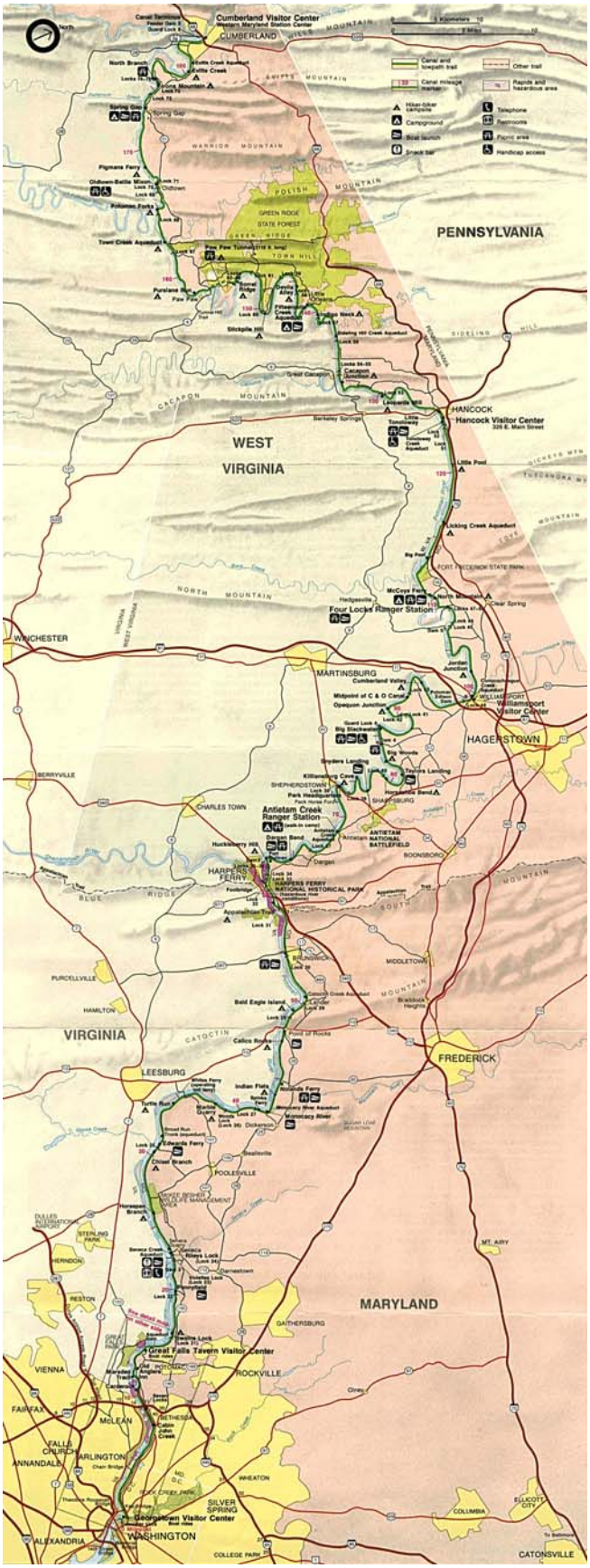
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FOREWORD

This is the first of three volumes reporting the results of a three-year archeological survey of the easternmost 59 miles of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park (C&O Canal Park) for the National Park Service (NPS), National Capital Region, from 2003 through 2005.

In recognition of the paucity of basic archeological data for the C&O Canal Park, and for other NPS properties in the National Capital Region, funds were devoted to implement the Systemwide Archeological Inventory Program (SAIP) in this area. The SAIP was developed to address the requirements of the National Historic Preservation Act (specifically Sections 106 and 110), Executive Order 11593, and the Archeological Resources Protection Act. The rationale for the archeological survey was based primarily on the NPS's resource management needs under Section 110 rather than being driven by development or capital improvement projects within the park. The park's total length of 184.5 miles was divided into three segments for the SAIP project. The research reported here focused on the southeastern segment comprising 59 miles between Georgetown and Sandy Hook (Figure 1). The NPS plans to fund future studies that will examine the archeology of the remainder of the C&O Canal NHP.

In order to address multiple audiences most effectively—the general public, park, NPS, review agency staff, and the archeological community—this report is organized in a way that differs from the standard cultural resource study. This volume (I) presents a narrative, designed for the general public, of the prehistory and history of the mid-Potomac region, based upon the archival and archeological field investigations; it is intended for the non-technical reader and does not contain specific information about site locations. Volume II provides a more technical description and assessment of the project's research methods and findings. In organization and content, it more closely follows the professional standards of the cultural resource management industry, and it is intended for distribution only within the professional community. Whereas Volume I contains the historical narrative, Volume II concentrates on a presentation of the prehistoric research. Volume III, also intended for limited distribution, contains additional technical materials and appendices, including artifact inventories, a summary list of radiocarbon dates, and transcripts of the archival documents that are most important to the historical narrative contained in Volume I.



SOURCE: *National Park Service*

FIGURE 1: Map of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal

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INTRODUCTION

The Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park (C&O Canal Park) follows the Potomac River for 184.5 miles, from Washington, D.C., westward to Cumberland, Maryland. Beginning just below the Falls of the river, at the edge of the Coastal Plain, the canal runs up across the hilly Piedmont and deep into the heart of the Appalachian Mountains (Figure 2). Long before the canal was built, the river had cut a level path through the steep mountain ridges—a route that was used by hundreds of generations of native people to pass from the eastern Coastal Plain to the Ohio valley. The canal, built between 1828 and 1850, shares the river shore with the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, which won the race between the two enterprises to provide the first easy route between Chesapeake Bay and the Ohio River. Before the canal barges and the steam engines, the keelboats and wagons of traders and pioneer farmers traveled along the river, first carrying goods and then settlers into the hills and valleys.

French Canadians, Swedes from Delaware, Quakers from Philadelphia, and English planters from the Chesapeake all traveled upriver beyond the Falls of the Potomac before 1710, followed later by Germans, Scots, and Irish. In 1755 General Braddock marched his doomed army along the river, dragging their cannons behind them, toward the French fort on the site we know as Pittsburgh, and the survivors of his defeat marched back the same way, having left their cannons and other heavy gear behind them. One of the survivors was Daniel Boone, making his first trip west into the Ohio country, where he would later make his name and fortune. Another was George Washington, who was making this journey for the third time. Neither of the previous two trips was any more successful than his expedition with Braddock, but Washington was



FIGURE 2: A Canal Boat in Operation on the C&O, Early Twentieth Century

SOURCE: National Park Service

captivated by the country and by the river that ran through it, and he returned home to become both a major investor in Ohio valley lands and a great promoter of navigation on the Potomac.

Before the route Braddock used to cross from the Potomac to the Monongahela was known as Braddock's Road, it was called the Nemacolin Trail. Nemacolin, a Delaware Indian, had laid it out for the frontier scout, Christopher Gist. But Nemacolin was only following one version of a route used by thousands of Native Americans before him. In historic times Shawnees, Piscataways, Tuscaroras, Susquehannocks, and Delawares all lived along the river at various times, while Senecas, Miamis, Cherokees, and many others crossed its fords and paddled on its waters. Some of them called the upper river Cohongorooto, distinguishing it from the tidal Potomac below the Falls. Before them, before we have records to tell us what people called themselves, others lived along the river, building villages and planting corn in the rich soils of the floodplain. Before the corn planters came, hunters, fishers, and gatherers of wild plants camped along the river, as they had for thousands of years. Even further back, at the end of the Ice Age, America's first people trekked along the river when it was lined with cold spruce forests, perhaps hunting caribou.

All of these people left traces of themselves along the Potomac River, and therefore in the C&O Canal National Historical Park. Hunters dropped stone knives and spearpoints, gatherers their grinding stones, and everywhere Stone Age people went they left their signature, the piles of waste flakes discarded when they made or sharpened their stone tools. Later peoples made pottery, and sherds of their vessels mark the spots of their homes. At the villages of the corn planters we can find the stains left in the soil by the posts that made up their houses and the stockades that kept out their enemies. European settlers left pottery, glass, and nails; Civil War soldiers left bullets, buttons, and bits and pieces of their gear. The banks of the Potomac are therefore lined with archeological sites that preserve a record of 13,000 years of history. The special nature of a river valley like the Potomac's makes these sites even more important. Whenever the river overflows its banks, it dumps sand and silt on the flooded ground, and as a result the surface of those floodplains slowly rises. Artifacts laid down by the river are slowly buried more and more deeply. The river's silt therefore separates the artifacts from different periods into layers, one above the other, and the deeper we dig along the river bank, the further we reach back into time.

The archeology of the Potomac River valley is extraordinary. Along this natural highway traversed by so many people, the action of the river buries and protects the remains they left behind. The result is a record with few parallels. This report uses that record to tell the story of the people who lived along the river, from caribou hunters to canal boatmen. For the first 12,000 years we have only the testimony of archeology, but for the past few hundred we also have written records. The history of the canal is one part of the long and magnificent story of the Potomac River, a story well worth the great effort it has taken over the years to uncover it and write it out for us to read.

The men who built the C&O Canal were dimly aware of the long history of human occupation of the Potomac River banks. On July 4, 1828, a ceremony was conducted at Lock Cove (formerly Garrison Cove) to mark the beginning of canal construction. As President John Quincy Adams waited to shovel out the symbolic first load of dirt, Charles Denton Mercer, a congressman from northern Virginia, proclaimed, "Here, on a spot where, little more than a century earlier, 'the painted savage held his nightly orgies,' the chief magistrate of the most powerful country on Earth would initiate the most noble project ever conceived by man" (*Daily National Intelligencer* vol. 16, July 7, 1828). But even the identity of visible monuments of the early historic era had receded from collective memory by the mid-1800s. In July 1839 a party of canal company stockholders took a trip up the canal to Cumberland. They observed the ruins of Fort Frederick, dating to the 1750s. Already its history had been lost: "I have not been able to ascertain when, or by whom, it was built….It is on a tract of land belonging to a Mr. Johnson, who resides near it, and who, I understand, is himself ignorant of its origin" (*Daily National Intelligencer*, July 9, 1839).

The historical documentary record of human activity along the Potomac west of present-day Washington begins only in the 1630s, when the fur trader Henry Fleet ventured as far as present-day Georgetown and made contact there with Indian groups who lived far upriver. Explorers, land speculators, and frontier traders visited areas beyond the Falls between 1690 and 1719, and a few of them produced crude maps. Although tobacco farmers had become established on the fertile river flats by the early 1720s, we have very few documents that identify these people or describe their way of life.

We now know that the story of human occupation of the mid-Potomac valley began 13,000 years ago. The long era that preceded the arrival of European colonists is called "prehistory." Prehistoric people in this region never developed a form of writing, so there are no documents available to inform us about their identities, relationships, customs, or beliefs. The only way we can learn anything about their behavior is by means of archeological research.

The Potomac River banks have been a focus of both professional and amateur archeological activity for more than a century. The early professional archeologists who worked at the Smithsonian Institution in the 1890s, such as William Henry Holmes and Gerald Fowke, were drawn to this area because it was close to their home base in Washington, D.C., and it contained remarkable prehistoric sites, such as stone quarries and massive heaps of oyster shells.

In the 1930s amateur collectors such as the Yinger brothers (Nicholas and Roy Lee Yinger) searched the east bank of the Potomac for native graves of the Late Woodland period. These 700-year-old burials yielded not only well-preserved skeletons but also grave goods, such as beads, pipes, and whole pots. In the late 1930s members of the Archeological Society of Maryland (ASM) excavated late prehistoric village sites. ASM members, such as Richard Stearns, Richard Slattery, and Hugh Stabler, often collaborated with the staff of the Smithsonian.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s Charles McNett and William Gardner, and their students from American University and Catholic University, began a projected long-term archeological study of the lower and mid-Potomac valley. Although several sites were excavated and surface surveys were undertaken, this Potomac project was never completed.

From the 1970s onward most of the archeological studies conducted within the mid-Potomac region, including C&O Canal Park lands, have been performed to meet the requirements of the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, and other federal laws that protect "cultural resources." Members of the ASM have continued to work on Late Woodland sites, in collaboration with professionals such as Drs. Richard J. Dent and Christine Jirikowic. Most archeology has been focused on the prehistoric period, but canal-related sites have also been studied. The information reported in this book is derived primarily from a three-year study (2003-2005) conducted by The Louis Berger Group, Inc., for the National Park Service, but other relevant source material is also included.

It is actually not very difficult to find the archeological remains of prehistoric Native Americans in the Middle Atlantic region. At some time or other in the past 13,000 years, a band, a family, or a hunting party probably camped on almost every level hilltop or terrace overlooking a stream or swamp. Traces of their presence in such areas can be found by walking a field after plowing, or by just sticking a shovel in the ground. Most of the "artifacts" (human-made objects) that turn up in these places are the waste flakes and chips from making stone tools; archeologists call this stone debris "debitage." These stone flakes are the basic signature of Stone Age peoples, and they are present by the hundreds or thousands wherever Native Americans camped. Spear- or dart points and other stone tools are also quite common, and many farmers have taken bushel baskets full out of their fields (most people call the stone points "arrowheads," but archeologists are fairly sure that the bow and arrow were not used in North America before about AD 600).

But these hilltop sites cannot tell us much about the past beyond the simple fact that somebody, sometime, camped there. Almost all such sites have been plowed, which mixes up everything that has ever been deposited in a given spot into one layer. Artifacts now lying side by side may have been dropped thousands of years apart. We therefore have no way of knowing if the artifacts we find in the "plowzone" represent a stay of several months by a group of 50 people or many one-day visits by lone hunters; nor can we say whether those visits were spread over a decade or five thousand years. We can sometimes learn a little about what people were doing from stone tools — for example, stones used to grind nuts or seeds are quite distinctive — but for the most part we can only say that they were there and they made, repaired, or lost sharp tools. Also, in the shallow, acidic, and often exposed soils on hilltop sites, organic materials such as bone, burnt nutshells, seeds, and wood are rarely preserved. Without bones we cannot determine which animals people hunted or which fish they netted; without nutshells and seeds we cannot know which plants they collected; and without any preserved charcoal in direct *association* with the stone tools, we cannot use the radiocarbon method to obtain a precise date for the occupation.

Archeologists can extract much better information from sites where the successive occupations of different periods are clearly separated from each other. Flooding rivers, which continually add to the thick layers of silt and sand on their banks, often achieve this separation for us. By

studying these "stratified" sites, built up like layer cakes by repeated flooding, we can learn what particular groups of people did and when they did it (Figure 3). Artifacts found at the same undisturbed level must have been dropped at about the same time, so we know they were used by people of the same culture. Spatial patterns of artifacts and fireplaces ("hearths") at the same level allow us to recognize camps and to infer how they were organized. Floodplain sediments also sometimes preserve bone, charcoal, and other organic materials that are always destroyed on the uplands. The very large floodplains contained in the C&O Canal Park are therefore, potentially, a vital and almost unparalleled source of information about the ancient history of the Middle Atlantic region.

Since people seem to have camped, at some time, on almost every available level surface along the Potomac, we assumed for our survey that wherever we can find thick alluvial "packages" with multiple stratified sediment layers, we could likely find multiple, sequential human occupations. Previous research along rivers that cross the Fall Line (between the hilly Piedmont to the west and the flat Coastal Plain to the east) suggested that floodplains located either adjacent to projecting rocky barriers in narrow sections of the valley, or at the confluences of the Potomac with smaller tributary streams, were the ones most likely to contain thick sediments laid down during the Holocene (the Holocene is the present, relatively warm interglacial period, which began with very rapid global warming in a few decades, 11,500 years ago).

Although we have emphasized the information content of floodplain sites, this is not to say that the much more common surface scatters of prehistoric stone artifacts in plowed fields entirely lack research value. In rare situations such plowzone collections can be unusually informative. These are cases in which either the artifacts themselves or the types of stone used as raw material (such as quartzite, jasper, rhyolite, purple argillite, or steatite) are indicators of a specific period or culture. Over the 13,000 years of human occupation, the shape of chipped stone dart points changed repeatedly; each point style seems to have lasted about 600 to 1,500 years before another replaced it, across the whole region. Obviously, all of these points were used mainly as hunting weapons, so the overriding functional requirement for the point's tip was that it has to be sharp, thin, and narrow enough to penetrate an animal's hide. Function therefore limits the possible range of stylistic variation of the tip. The form of the point's base is also somewhat determined by function. It has to be thin enough to fit into a slot in a wooden haft. If fine sinew or cord is used to tie the point securely to the haft, small notches in the sides or corners may be helpful. However, the shape of the base can vary more than the tip while still meeting the minimal need for hafting. This is where the stylistic changes representing different cultural traditions can be recognized by archeologists. For example, we know that "fluted" points (with long grooves carefully removed lengthwise from the lower third of the point) were made between 13,000 and 12,000 years ago (Clovis points). Points with serrations along the edge, and corner notches (Palmer and Kirk types), were made from about 11,500 to 10,000 years ago. Small points with a forked base and projecting ears (bifurcate-based St. Albans, LeCroy, and Kanawha types) were used from about 9,500 to 8,500 years ago. Large, wide-bodied points with squarish stems, chipped from quartzite cobbles, were made from about 4,500 to 3,500 years ago. These Savannah River "broadspears" are probably the most common point form along the mid-Potomac. Around 1,300 years ago the bow and arrow were adopted across North America. In the Eastern Woodlands arrows were tipped with triangular points (Levanna, Madison, Clarksville, Potomac, and other types).



FIGURE 3: Excavations Along the C&O Canal

The people who lived along the river in historic times also left an archeological record, and this, too, has been studied. For the historic period the artifacts, houses, earthworks, cemeteries, and other human works, including the canal itself, can be used together with written records, maps, engravings, and photographs to tell the story of the people along the river. Fur traders, early settlers, soldiers, farmers, coal miners, canal diggers, boatmen, and many others all have their parts in the extraordinary tale.

Sun, Ocean, Earth, and Ice

The land through which the Potomac flows was never covered by ice during the Ice Age (the Pleistocene), which began about two million years ago. Nevertheless, the river's behavior throughout this era was responsive to the great climate changes that accompanied the interplay of the sun, the earth, and the ocean. Small cyclical shifts in the earth's orbit around the sun, and in the planet's tilt as it revolved on its central axis, caused changes in the seasonal pattern of sunlight reaching the northern and southern hemispheres. Long, cold northern winters allowed the periodic accumulation of snow in the Arctic, which ultimately formed huge, mile-high ice sheets. As water became locked into these ice masses, a corresponding volume of water was lost from the oceans, so that sea level dropped by almost 400 feet. In this way huge areas of dry land emerged, which today are again submerged under post-glacial ocean waters. These areas include the Continental Shelf off the eastern coast of the United States and a 1,000-mile-wide land mass that connected Siberia to Alaska. This vast vanished plain, called Beringia, provided a pathway (the so-called "land bridge") for animals and humans to cross from Asia to America until it disappeared under the rising seas about 12,000 years ago.

In the eastern United States, during the final stage of glacial growth about 20,000 years ago, the southern front of the great Laurentide ice sheet lay across Long Island, northern New Jersey, and central Pennsylvania. The ice never reached Maryland or the Potomac; however, this area did feel secondary effects. The ice mass was so heavy that it squeezed down the earth's crust beneath it and thus caused a see-saw effect: as the crust was compressed under the ice, land to the south bounced upward. As the land surface around it rose higher, the Potomac River settled more deeply into its bed. When the river cut more deeply into its channel, it left its older, broader channel behind as a "terrace." At the same time the sea level was dropping, so the river's waters ran steeper and faster to reach its mouth. This steeper gradient increased the erosive force of the flowing water. Recent dating of the rocks in Mather Gorge, below Great Falls, has shown that the river incised the gorge into bedrock beginning about 33,000 years ago, at a time of cooling climate and glaciation, when sea level dropped more than 150 feet (Figure 4). The rapid downcutting phase ended about 13,000 years ago. A short distance downstream from the gorge, the water stopped cutting into the rock around 8,000 years ago. The timing of these processes is closely matched at the falls of the Susquehanna River, so it seems that all the major river systems of the region were responding to the same major geological and climatic forces (Bierman et al. 2002).

The last glacial maximum ended and ice sheets began to retreat about 19,000 years ago. Global sea level has risen continuously since then, about 330 feet in all. However, this "eustatic" rise has not been steady. Melting and rapid collapse of different continental ice sheets have caused abrupt increases of sea level, caused by huge inflows of fresh water known as meltwater pulses. One pulse is dated at about 14,500 years ago; another occurred about 11,500 years ago, probably in conjunction with the global warming that marked the end of the Ice Age and the start of the modern or Holocene period. Some marine geologists recognize two additional major meltwater



FIGURE 4: Great Falls of the Potomac

pulses in the early Holocene: the first at about 9,300 years ago and the second at about 7,800 years ago. At 7,800 years ago, global sea level seems to have risen by as much as 60 feet, perhaps because portions of the Antarctic ice sheet melted. After about 6,000 years ago, with the continental ice sheets almost completely melted, the rate of sea level rise slowed to about 6 inches per century.

The meltwater pulse at 7,800 years ago may have caused a major transformation of Chesapeake Bay. As the local sea level rose, the bay changed rapidly from a freshwater to a brackish body. The suddenly salty water was quickly colonized, for the first time, by oysters. The same sea level rise that flooded the Chesapeake may have drowned the lower Potomac valley as far as the Falls. Perhaps this is also the reason that the river stopped cutting into the gorge at Great Falls at about the same time.

The behavior of the river through time was influenced not only by changes in sea level but probably even more by long-term changes in rainfall and erosion. Many river systems along the whole Eastern seaboard seem to have undergone similar developmental processes at the same periods, which suggests that broad climate shifts are the underlying cause. Most major rivers in the Southeast seem to have created massive floods at the beginning of the Holocene, about 11,500 years ago. Perhaps these floods were caused in part by a dramatic increase in rainfall, or possibly the preceding 1,300 years of cold and arid climate (the "Younger Dryas" period) had created such sparse vegetation on slopes upstream that runoff spilled unimpeded into the rivers' headwaters. The rainfall and plants may also have been affected by sudden cold spells that

occurred around 11,150 and 10,350 years ago. About 9,500 years ago the climate became warm and dry. In Southeastern valleys fast-flowing braided streams were replaced by slow, meandering rivers. The rivers cut downward and thus became entrenched in their present channels between 8,500 and 7,000 years ago. On the banks of the Delaware River, sediments were deposited more rapidly between about 7,000 and 3,500 years ago than at any time before or after. Generally, the terraces lining the river banks became stable between 4,500 and 3,000 years ago. With a return to a cooler, wetter climate around 2,500 to 1,500 years ago, a new cycle of cutting and channel filling occurred in river valleys in the Southeast and Middle Atlantic regions.

Digging into the Past

Along the Potomac not far west of the Monocacy River, where a little stream cuts a steep ravine through the woods, our team of archeologists excavated a rectangular test unit into the sloping side of the ravine and followed the slope outward by digging a series of steps (Figure 5). The test unit was 5 feet across with its outer edge about 3 feet from the slope's crest. No stone walls or monuments turned up, no royal tombs, just brown silty soil. To anyone but an archeologist it wouldn't look like much, but to the researchers who dug it, this test unit was a time machine, carrying us back across 10,000 years of history to an era very different from our own.

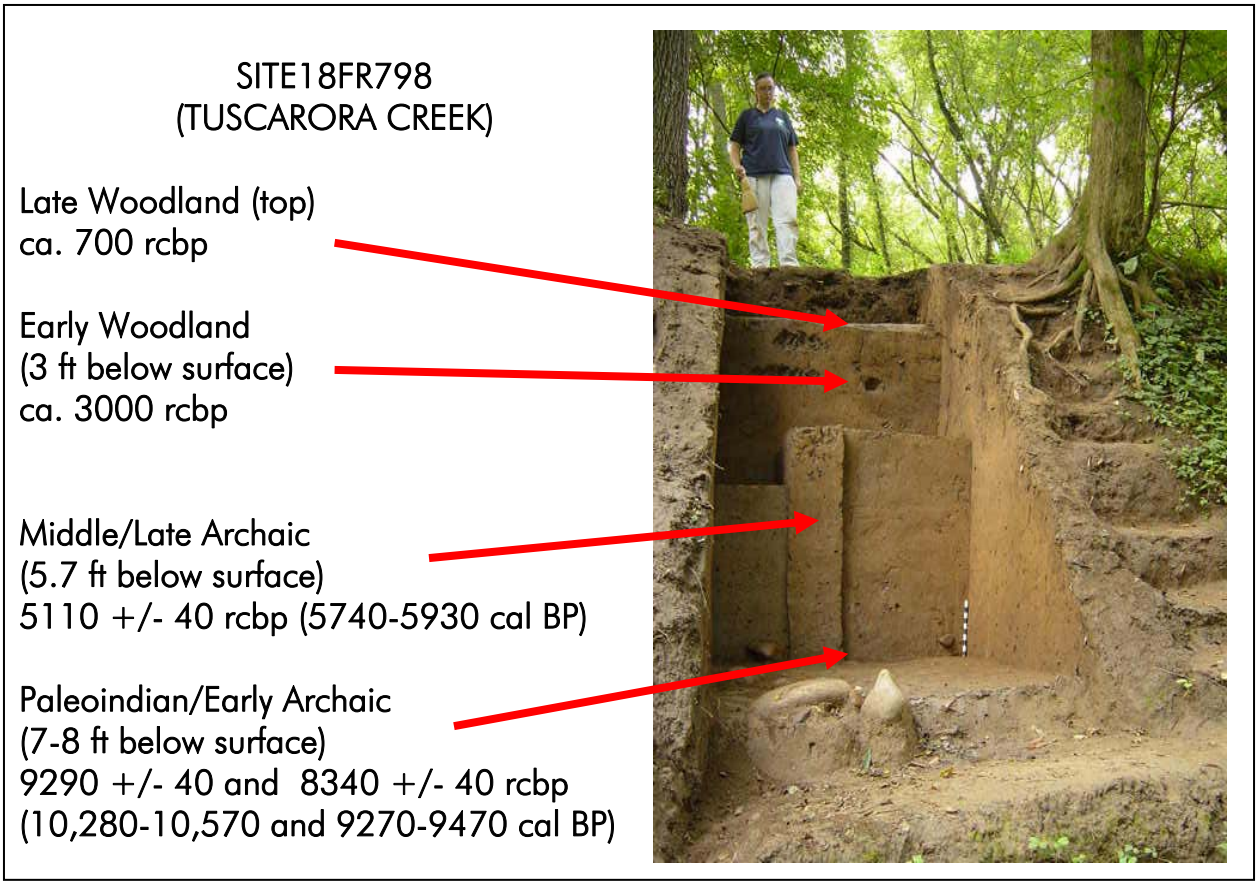


FIGURE 5: Deep Excavation at Site 18FR798

Artifacts started to turn up almost as soon as digging began, mainly waste flakes from making stone tools but also a few small pieces of pottery. As we dug down, more and more were found, reaching a peak about a foot below the surface, where more than 250 bits of stone, three small, triangular arrowheads, and 45 potsherds were found in a thin layer. Most of the pottery had been mixed with small pieces of shell and it appeared to be a type called "Keyser," dating to around AD 1350 to 1500. Native American potters usually mixed some larger particles into their clay to keep it from cracking when it was fired; we call these additions "temper," and this pottery is "shell-tempered." The arrow points could date to the same period. These artifacts were left by Indians not long before Europeans arrived, people who probably lived in much the same way as their descendants did in the 1600s. Scattered among the artifacts were small pieces of burned animal bone; most were probably the remains of deer. This site seems to have been a seasonal camp: the arrowheads and deer bone show that it was used by hunters, and therefore most likely during the fall and winter when deer were most heavily hunted. The pottery, however, would not have been used by all-male hunting parties, and it implies that other people, most likely women, were also at the camp doing other things, such as preparing food and gathering nuts or roots.

The digging continued, deeper into the past. About 3 feet below the surface we found artifacts left around 3,000 years ago by an earlier people with a different culture. Here we found pits that had been dug into the ground, possibly to store food. In and around the pits we found pottery that was different from the sherds found closer to the surface. Most of these were tempered with sand or crushed quartz but some contained steatite (soapstone), the earliest kind of pottery made along the Potomac. Steatite temper is interesting because before they began making pottery, Indians in this area used large steatite pots that they carved out of the soft stone, great, heavy things that could be used to cook in but were very hard to carry. Perhaps the pieces of steatite in the clay were a sort of magical connection between the old technology and the new, a mystical way to reinforce light clay pots with the strength of carved stone. Two worked stone artifacts, both broken, were also found in these layers, apparently small spear- or dart points of the types we call Vernon and Piscataway, both used around the same time as the steatite-tempered pottery. We found two small postmolds (stains left by pointed stakes driven into the ground). Two holes are not enough to make a pattern, but these could have been the remains of a house made of bent saplings covered with bark, much like the wigwams built by Indians in early historic times.

Below the pits and postholes was a zone with very few artifacts. This zone contained no potsherds; we had reached a time before pottery was made in this part of the world. We did find what appeared to be a fire hearth about 6 feet below the surface. A charcoal sample from this hearth gave a radiocarbon age of 5110±40 years ago, which in calendar years is about 3800 BC.[1]

[1] The amount of radioactive carbon in the atmosphere has varied over the past 50,000 years, and thus radiocarbon "years" are not exactly equivalent to calendar years. Because of these shifting ratios of carbon isotopes, and unavoidable uncertainty in counting atomic particles in the laboratory, radiocarbon dates from the early Holocene and Pleistocene have to be corrected into equivalent calendar ages using other, less variable dating techniques (e.g., counting tree rings and layers in the ice sheet of Greenland). An object radiocarbon dated to 11,000 bp ("before present") is actually about 13,000 years old, or 11,000 years BC. In this document we follow the convention of using lower-case letters for radiocarbon dates and upper-case letters for the corresponding calendar dates. By scientific convention "present" is fixed for this purpose at AD 1950, which is about the time that the carbon dating process began to be used. The "±" always associated with a ^{14}C date is its standard error, which indicates its precision. For example, in the date 9290±40 bp, there is a 95 percent chance (the 80-year range centered on the stated age) that that the true age (in radiocarbon years) falls between 9210 and 9370 BP.

Along the Potomac sites and artifacts of this period are very common, but for whatever reason people made only little use of the spot where we dug our deep excavation. These little surprises remind us of how little we really know about the world of 5,800 years ago or even 1,000 years ago. We don't know why people chose to camp on this spot rather than 50 yards away, or 500 yards. It may have been because of the plants that grew there, how easy it was to reach the stream, how much wind or sun the spot received, all things that could vary from year to year and century to century. Whatever the reason, our spot was used in some eras much more than in others.

The number of artifacts picked up again around 7 feet down. They were made of many different kinds of stone: yellow and red jasper, black chert, and gray rhyolite. Most interesting were several flakes of a translucent amber-colored chalcedony, a stone we had encountered only once before: a scraper, a tool used in working animal hides, found on the surface of a field a few miles away. Its shape suggested that it might have been made by Paleoindians as much as 13,000 years ago. The match between the translucent flakes in our deep excavation and this scraper made us hope that we had found a Paleoindian camp site. Thirteen thousand years ago North America was a very different place; the north was still covered by vast (but melting) sheets of ice and now extinct giant animals such as mammoths and mastodons roamed the coniferous forests south of the ice. It would have been very exciting to find evidence of the first people who made their way across that strange landscape. However, near the flakes in the deep trench, we soon found a fragment of a spearpoint that must have been made not 13,000 but only around 10,000 years ago (8000 BC). Its barely visible corner-notching is typical of a point type called Kirk, made only at that time. Other objects found at that depth, including a crude chopper, also seemed to fit with that period, and one of our charcoal samples yielded a date of 9290±40 bp (around 8500 BC). We think therefore that most of the artifacts we found in the deep part of our unit date to that time. But our geologist thought that the soil within which we were finding these objects was much older, at least 13,000 years, so it may have been a stable surface for thousands of years, where both Paleoindians and the people of 10,000 years ago may have walked. Perhaps those few pieces of translucent chalcedony are indeed a remnant of Paleoindian times.

Then the artifacts stopped; we had reached the bottom of our excavation and the beginning of human history on this spot, at least 10,000 years ago. What a journey it had been!

Prehistory

Historians generally divide the past into periods, like the Renaissance or the Middle Ages, which helps us understand how cultures evolved and makes it easier for us to talk about the past. The long time span before written history is similarly divided (Table 1). The earliest prehistoric cultural period in North America we call the *Paleoindian*, before the end of the Pleistocene period (the time of the Ice Age) and the beginning of our modern, Holocene period. Radiocarbon dates for the Paleoindian period run between 11,000 and 10,000 bp. We call the time after the beginning of the Holocene the *Archaic* period, usually divided into the Early, Middle, and Late Archaic. The *Woodland* period, which began around 1000 BC and lasted until the arrival of Europeans, is also divided into Early, Middle, and Late.

TABLE 1: MIDDLE ATLANTIC REGION, CULTURAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHRONOLOGY

DATES AD/BC	CLIMATE/ENVIRONMENT CHANGES	CULTURAL PERIODS	CULTURAL EVENTS AND ARTIFACT TYPES
AD 1500	Little Ice Age onset (AD 1350); dry (AD 1320-1400)	Late Woodland	Palisaded villages (1300 AD)
1000	Medieval Climatic Optimum; dry (AD 800-1200)	900 AD	Maize (900 AD) Bow and arrow (AD 700) Algonquian migrations
500	Ice-rafting event (AD 600) pollen change (AD 300)	Middle Woodland 500 BC	
AD 1	Dry (200 BC-AD 300)		Delmarva Adena (400 BC) Piscataway points (500 BC)
500 BC	Ice-rafting event (800 BC) Pollen change (850 BC)		
1000		Early Woodland 1200 BC	Pottery (1200 BC)
1500			Fishtail points (1500 BC)
2000	Pollen change (2100 BC) Megadrought (2200 BC) Ice-rafting event (2000 BC)	Terminal Archaic 2200 BC	Stone bowls, grooved axes, Broadspear points (2200 BC)
2500			
3000	Mid-Late Holocene transition (3250 BC)		
3500		Late Archaic	Lamoka points (3500 BC)
4000	Drought; Ice-rafting event (3900 BC)		
4500			Halifax points (4500 BC)
5000	Pollen change (4700 BC) More severe El Niño events (5000 BC)	5000 BC	Brewerton points (4500 BC) Otter Creek points (5000-4500 BC)
5500			
6000	Chesapeake becomes salty estuary (5800 BC)	Middle Archaic	Morrow Mountain points (6000 BC)
6500	Ice-rafting event (6200 BC cold event); drought; Hypsithermal (warm, dry) begins		Stanly points (6500 BC)
7000	More rainfall in Southeast (7000 BC)		
7500	Ice-rafting event (7400 BC)	7500 BC	Bifurcate base points (7500 BC)
8000			
8500 BC	Pollen change (8200 BC) Ice-rafting event (8300 BC)	Early Archaic	Kirk, Palmer corner-notched points (9000 BC)
9000	Pre-Boreal Oscillation cold event (9300 BC)		
9500	End of Younger Dryas; Holocene begins (9500 BC)	9500 BC	Side-notched points
10,000			
10,500		Paleoindian	Extinction of megafauna (10,700 BC)
11,000	Younger Dryas onset (cold) (11,000 BC)		
11,500	Intra-Alleröd cold period (11,400-11,200 BC)	11,500 BC	Clovis fluted points
12,000	[warming]		Earliest sites in Alaska (12,000 BC)
12,500	Bölling-Alleröd warming onset (12,700 BC)		

Genetic evidence has recently confirmed the long-held assumption that the ancestors of American Indians originated in central Siberia. They probably crossed Beringia into Alaska during a period of warming climate about 14,500 to 14,000 years ago. The oldest known archeological sites in Alaska have been dated to about 12,000 to 11,500 BC. As the melting of the Canadian ice sheets continued, a passage opened between them—an "ice-free corridor." The Alaskan Paleoindians often trapped and ate swans, geese, and ducks. As they watched these birds fly south through the corridor when the winter cold approached, they must have speculated that there were lakes teeming with waterfowl somewhere to the south. Possibly in response to local climate changes brought on by the gradual submergence of Beringia, a band of these Paleoindian hunters finally decided to explore the corridor, about 13,300 years ago. Some 1,200 miles to the south they found themselves in a new world. This was a land filled with monstrous animals ("megafauna") that had never seen a human being before—elephant-like mammoths and mastodons, giant ground-dwelling sloths, beavers the size of bears, giant long-horned bison, native wild horses, saber-toothed cats, lions, cheetahs, and short-faced bears bigger and faster than modern grizzlies. In all, about 30 kinds of giant mammals, which had thrived in North America for millions of years, became extinct in North America within five centuries after the arrival of humans. Few smaller mammals died out, but some species of birds did become extinct. Was the disappearance of the megafauna caused by the sudden climate changes of this period? The climate had changed many times, with similar severity, over the preceding two million years of the ice age, so there must have been something special about that time. And curiously, the die-off occurred after several thousand years of warming, just as the climate was suddenly becoming colder again. At 10,900 BC, in a matter of decades, the northern hemisphere became very cold, and it stayed cold for the next 1,300 years—a period known as the Younger Dryas. Why would cold weather be fatal for big-bodied mammals whose ancestors had survived many millennia under similar conditions?

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that human hunting played an important part in the die-off. There is unambiguous archeological evidence that Paleoindians in the Great Plains hunted mammoths around 13,000 years ago, using a distinctive form of stone spearpoint—the fluted "lanceolate" Clovis point (Figure 6). Very similar points have been found across the whole of North America, with a noticeable concentration in the mid-South. Along with these points a typical Paleoindian toolkit also included chipped stone scrapers (with rounded edges) and gravers (with small sharp prongs) for working hides, bones, and wood. East of the Mississippi no kill sites have yet been found, but radiocarbon dates show that mastodons and other megafauna coexisted with humans for a few hundred years. Bone is usually very poorly preserved on Eastern Paleoindian sites; the few odd bits of heavily burned bone that have been recovered indicate hunting of caribou by the more northern bands, and deer may have been a staple in the diet of more southern groups. The Paleoindians who camped at the Shawnee-Minisink Site in the upper Delaware valley ate fish as well as berries and fruits (McNett 1985).

Like recent hunting peoples of the northern Canadian forests, the Paleoindians were probably spread very thinly across the landscape—perhaps one person per 80 square miles. At that density there would have been only about 120 people living in the whole of Maryland. Again



FIGURE 6: Paleoindian Spearpoints and Scrapers from a Site Near the Canal

based upon comparison with recent caribou hunters, they may have formed a single mobile social group—a "macroband"—shifting camp every few months as they roamed through their territory. The location of each camp was probably selected on the basis of several considerations, among them the likelihood of intercepting migrating animal herds. One of the Paleoindians' most pressing needs was to obtain glassy, easily fractured stones, such as jasper, chalcedony, and chert, which could be chipped into tools. As the edges of their knives and scrapers dulled, and the tips of their spearpoints snapped off, they headed for places where they could collect chunks or cobbles of these vital raw materials.

One would think that, when the climate changed abruptly 12,900 years ago, the basic lifeways and settlement patterns of the Paleoindians must have changed dramatically to adjust to the new conditions of the Younger Dryas. Strangely, this does not seem to have happened. Fluted points, differing only slightly in form from the Clovis type, continued to be made for several hundred years. Perhaps small populations of megafauna survived in this period; however, there are very few finds in Maryland and Virginia that can be dated between about 12,500 and 11,500 years ago, so the cold climate may have forced abandonment of the region at that time.

If the cold forced people out, the abrupt warming at 9500 BC (the onset of the Holocene) drew them back to this region. Early Archaic sites (dated from 9500 to 7500 BC), which frequently occur on large river terraces or upland surfaces, are much more numerous than Paleoindian sites.

The spear- or dart points that began to appear at 9500 BC, and that continued to be made for the next 1,500 years, are markedly different from the old fluted points; they were notched near the base, either in the sides or the corners, instead of thinned along the bottom edge. Notched points of this period include the Kessell Side-Notched, Palmer, Charleston, Kirk, and Amos types, and possibly also side-notched points known as Taylor, Warren, and Big Sandy. The meaning of this change in hafting technique is uncertain. Presumably, it was a specific adaptation to hunting of the smaller game animals (mainly deer) that survived the great extinction. In any case, archeologists have seen this change as one of the main markers for a new cultural period, the Early Archaic. Although the point shapes changed, most of the other chipped-stone tools used by Early Archaic people resembled those of their Paleoindian predecessors. Like the Paleoindians, Early Archaic tool-makers still preferred to use glassy, high-quality raw materials, and they collected them from the same sources. However, they also began to make use of more grainy, less colorful stones, such as rhyolite, quartz, and quartzite. They also used crudely made cobble tools, perhaps to chop bones to get at the marrow or grease, and they created some heavy-duty woodworking tools, such as axes or adzes, by pecking and grinding instead of chipping the stone. The appearance of these "groundstone" tools is another marker of the Archaic period.

About 120 Paleoindian fluted points have been discovered on the surface of fields throughout Maryland. Most of these came from the Coastal Plain, but the rest were found in the Potomac drainage, several of them within or very close to the C&O Canal Park. Many typical Paleoindian artifacts (a few points and numerous scrapers, made on colorful cherts) were found in a cultivated field near the junction of the Potomac and Seneca Creek. In the 2003-2005 SAIP project a spurred endscraper or "cutter" was found on the surface of a cultivated field (Figure 7). This scraper was made of a semi-translucent, honey-colored chalcedony; similar stone was used by Paleoindians at sites near the Potomac in Virginia, and on the Eastern Shore. This is probably a Paleoindian tool, but quite similar scrapers were also made during the Early Archaic period. No additional Paleoindian artifacts were collected from this site, but the archeologists did find two Early Archaic (Kirk and MacCorkle-type) points and a Middle Archaic (St. Albans bifurcate) point.

Only a few deeply buried Paleoindian and Early Archaic sites have been excavated in the Middle Atlantic region. The best known of these sites are Shawnee-Minisink on the Delaware River, Thunderbird on the Shenandoah, and Cactus Hill near the Nottoway River. As part of the 2003-2005 SAIP survey a major effort was made to find a buried Paleoindian occupation site in a floodplain setting on the Potomac. One site was found, located beside a large tributary stream not far from its juncture with the Potomac. The site was discovered by examining the bank exposed by the stream. Stone-chipping debris was concentrated in a band that lay about 7.5 to 8 feet below the surface. Smaller amounts of this debitage also occurred above and below this zone, probably as a result of movement over the centuries by roots and burrowing animals. The debitage included flakes of rhyolite, quartz, and quartzite—stones that were used by many groups throughout prehistory in this region—but also significant amounts of yellow and red jasper and amber-colored chalcedony, and a glossy black chert. These stones were very rarely used for tools after the Early Archaic period.

A small fragment from the base of a broken dart point or knife was found along with the chipping flakes. It is made of black chert (Figure 8). This piece was originally the corner of a



FIGURE 7: Chalcedony Scraper, Possibly Paleoindian, from a Plowed Field near the Canal

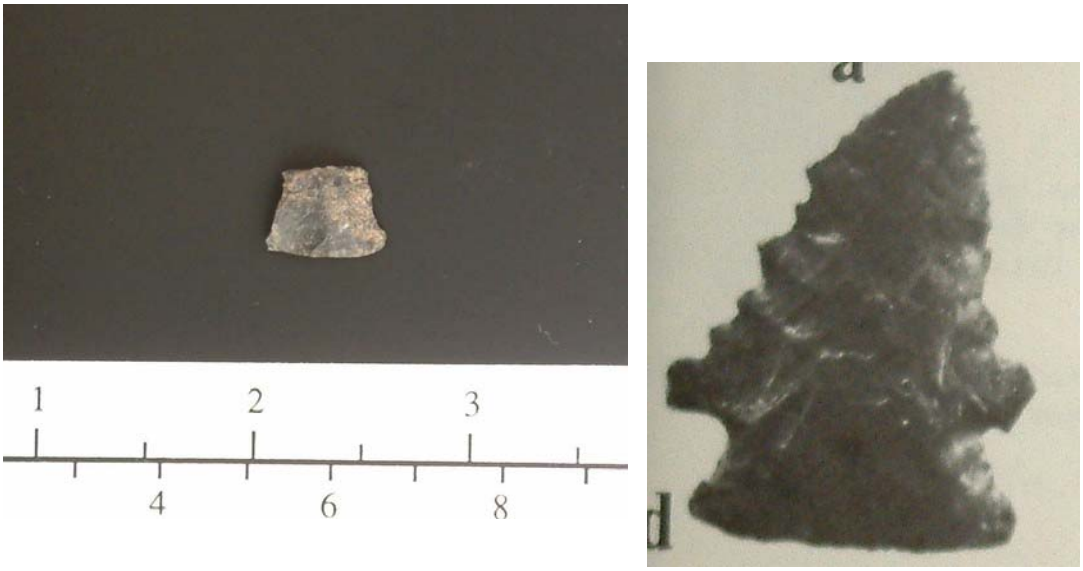


FIGURE 8: Broken Black Chert Dart Point from Site 18FR798, and an Intact Example of a Kirk Point

corner-notched point with a convex base that had been ground smooth along the edge so that it would not cut into the wooden haft of the dart. Although the fragment is too small to be identified with certainty, the original point may have been a Palmer or Kirk point, which resembled examples from sites in West Virginia (St. Albans) and Virginia (Thunderbird and Fifty sites). Points of this type have been dated to about 9400 to 8000 BC (Broyles 1971; Gardner 1974).

A few other artifacts suggested an early date for this site. One was a spokeshave or concave-edged sidescraper, made of red jasper (Figure 9). These tools were used to scrape the wooden shafts of spears or darts. They are found in both Paleoindian and Early Archaic toolkits.



FIGURE 9: Red Jasper Spokeshave from Site 18FR798 (length 1.1 inch)

A large cobble, which had a few chips removed from one edge, was found just beneath the debitage concentration. At several sites in the Northeast and Middle Atlantic regions, such simple chopping tools are often found in the same toolkits along with Kirk and other Early Archaic points. These sites date to about 9000 to 7000 BC.

The antiquity of this site, suggested by the presence of the unusual artifacts, was confirmed by radiocarbon dating of small charcoal particles collected from the 7.5- to 8-foot zone. Two of these pieces were dated at the Beta-Analytic laboratory in Florida, using the AMS (accelerator mass spectrometry) method, which provides very precise dates using small samples. Two AMS radiocarbon dates were obtained: 9290±40 bp (8330 to 8620 BC) and 8340±40 bp (7320 to 7520 BC).

These are the earliest radiocarbon dates associated with a human occupation in the Potomac valley and, indeed, in the whole state of Maryland. They seem to fit a region-wide pattern that has been recognized in river valleys throughout the Southeast. At the beginning of the Holocene (9500 BC), these rivers scoured and cut into their beds, and by doing so, they probably washed away any Paleoindian occupation sites that had been created during the previous thousand years. After this erosion episode the rivers started to build up their banks again by dumping sediment. The earliest identified sites are found in these alluvial sediments. They usually contain Kirk Corner-Notched points and date to about 8700 to 8300 BC. At our site on the river, the Early Archaic occupation lay just above a zone of large water-worn cobbles. Those rocks may be evidence of a period of channel shifting and powerful flooding by the Potomac at the start of the Holocene.

Apart from this deep site from the 2003-2005 SAIP survey, the Early Archaic is represented only by surface finds along the C&O Canal. We assume that the relatively few sites represent a small and scattered human population, moving frequently across the land and rarely camping in any one place for more than a few weeks at a time. At our site the point fragment and the chipping

debris suggest repair or replacement of recently broken spearpoints, and the spokeshave indicates that the men were making new shafts for their spears or darts. The heavy chopper may have been used to smash bones in order to get at the marrow. The charcoal that yielded the radiocarbon ages may be the dispersed remnants of ancient campfires, or perhaps may be only traces of wildfires that burned trees and grass when humans had already abandoned the campsite.

The archeologists noticed something strange as they exposed the Early Archaic level. Mixed in with the chipping flakes were small pebbles of colorful, shiny rock. Why were they concentrated in this area? The best explanation we could come up with is that the children of the band had been sent out to scour the stream banks for rocks that could be used as raw material for stone tools. Some of the red and yellow pebbles they brought back to the hunters' camp were usable; others were too small, and they were tossed aside amid the waste flakes.

NEW LIFEWAYS IN A WARMING WORLD: ARCHAIC FORAGERS

After the abrupt climate shift at 11,500 years ago, the climate of the northern hemisphere rapidly warmed so that by 9,000 years ago it was as warm as today. Warming caused a great change in vegetation across eastern North America, as trees spread northward from the protected pockets in the Southeast where they had survived through the millennia of glacial climate. In the Middle Atlantic region the former spruce and pine-dominated boreal forest was replaced by oaks, chestnuts, hickories, and other deciduous trees. The extinct Pleistocene mammals were replaced by a community of animals adapted to the new environment, mainly white-tailed deer, along with elk, black bear, and smaller mammals such as raccoons and squirrels.

The remnant ice sheet in eastern Canada, and huge, cold meltwater lakes along its southern edge, continued to influence the climate of the region for centuries after the start of the Holocene. However, about 8,200 years ago, the waters of a huge lake, Lake Agassiz, spilled down the St. Lawrence valley and emptied into the North Atlantic. This caused a cold snap for a few hundred years. At least partially because of the effects of shrinkage of the Canadian icecap on rainfall and seasonal movements of air masses, North America experienced a very warm and dry period known as the Altithermal or Hypsithermal.

The beginning of the cultural period known as the Middle Archaic (7500 BC) roughly corresponds to the time when the warmest temperature was reached in the Early Holocene. This cultural period continued into the dry centuries of the Hypsithermal.

The growing human population adapted to the changes in rainfall and seasonal differences by developing new ways to collect and process food and other essentials (what archeologists call "subsistence patterns"). Middle Archaic sites are larger and more numerous, and their more diverse toolkit implies a broader range of subsistence activities than in the Early Archaic. Because of changes in the resources they used, Middle Archaic people camped in areas that had been previously ignored, such as upland swamps and interior ridges and mountaintops, but their base camps were still located mainly in the floodplains of major streams. New tools were specifically designed for wood-working (axes, adzes, and mauls), seed-grinding (groundstone slabs), or nut-cracking (pitted stones).

Middle Archaic tool-makers still used glassy jasper and chert when they could get it, but they seem to have been more flexible in their choice of raw materials, often settling for locally available stone such as quartz and quartzite. Nevertheless, they did travel considerable distances to quarry rhyolite, a stone of volcanic origin, from boulders in the Blue Ridge and Catoctin Mountains. Another noteworthy change in the Middle Archaic toolkit is the replacement of the carefully made Early Archaic endscrapers with roughly shaped stone flakes.

In the Southeastern Piedmont dart point styles of the Middle Archaic period include bifurcate-base types (LeCroy, St. Albans, Kanawha), dated to 10,000 to 9,000 years ago. The function of the split (bifurcated) base on these points has never been explained, but their distinctiveness makes them very useful for dating sites, since nobody before or after this period made anything quite like them. Bifurcate points are fairly common at sites within or adjacent to the C&O Canal

Park, although they are much less numerous in all areas than are Late Archaic types. A collection amassed from a field near Seneca Creek includes 31 bifurcate points, made of quartz, jasper, or rhyolite (Figure 10). Other bifurcate points have been found at several sites in the McKee-Beshers area and near the Monocacy.

Later on, a mix of diverse point types was used, possibly specialized for different functions (Figure 11). We call some of these Stanly (6500 to 5000 BC), Morrow Mountain (6000 to 5500 BC), and Guilford (5500 to 5000 BC) (Egloff and McAvoy 1990). Brewerton and Halifax points were made in the later part of the Middle Archaic period or the start of the Late Archaic (5000 to 3800 BC). In the Potomac region, for some unexplained reason, archeologists have found very few artifacts that date to between 7000 and 5000 BC. Only two possible Morrow Mountain points, and no Stanly points, have been reported from surface collections in the park.

Side-notched points with rectangular bases, the ears of which may protrude beyond the edge of the blade element, have been found in the Potomac drainage. They resemble a type called Otter Creek in the Northeast, dating to about 5000 to 3700 BC (Figure 12).



FIGURE 10: Bifurcate Points (about 6500-6000 BC) from a Site near the C&O Canal



FIGURE 11: Early and Middle Archaic Points from the C&O Canal Park



FIGURE 12: Middle and Late Archaic Points from the C&O Canal Park

THE BEST OF TIMES?

The exact moment of transition from the Middle to Late Archaic periods is basically a matter of arbitrary distinction by archeologists. In areas to the north and south of the Potomac, dart point styles that are radically different from preceding types appear and, in each area, seem to mark the start of a population surge. In the Susquehanna drainage Otter Creek points are interpreted as the marker of the Late Archaic onset, at about 5000 BC. They are soon joined by several varieties of Brewerton notched points. All of these point types seem to be related to those of more northern cultures in New England and Canada. In Virginia and North Carolina narrow-bladed, stemmed Halifax points are used to mark the beginning of the Late Archaic. Halifax, Vernon (a similar stemmed or corner-notched form), and Holmes points (another narrow stemmed form) are probably the most common point types in Virginia and Maryland. Despite the thousands of Halifax points that have been found, only two very imprecise radiocarbon dates have ever been associated with them: 5050±400 bp (4800 to 2800 BC), from the Slade Site in southeastern Virginia, and 5440±350 bp (5300 to 3500 BC), from the Gaston Site in North Carolina (Coe 1964; Egloff and McAvoy 1990).

Although these artifacts are very common, we do not know very much about the lifeways of the people who made them. The Halifax points and other artifacts of this period are mainly surface finds—there is only so much you can learn from points found in a plowed field, even when you have buckets full of them—and even in buried sites, plant and animal remains are poorly preserved. Most Halifax sites are small and are located in uplands away from major rivers. These small sites, found on wooded hilltops or plowed ridges, usually yield nothing but points, debitage, and fire-cracked rock. In those circumstances any charcoal we do find cannot be conclusively associated with the artifacts, which accounts for the lack of good dates for such sites. What we can say is that by about 4000 BC groups that manufactured Halifax points seem to have become very well adapted to life in the eastern forests. The many small upland sites show that they were fully at home in that environment. The trees provided them with fat-rich hickory nuts and acorns, and deer and turkey probably were the main sources of meat. This secure diet was the economic base that supported what must, given the large number of artifacts, have been a large Late Archaic human population (5000 to 1500 BC).

The Middle to Late Archaic break at 5000 BC does not correspond to a major climate transition; it falls within the mid-Holocene Hypsithermal. Nevertheless, there were several noticeable climatic/environmental changes around 5000 BC that could have significantly affected human lifeways. The North Atlantic region seems to have grown cooler, an arid spell caused a drop in lake levels in Pennsylvania, and the El Niño weather system became more active. Pollen records indicate that changes in vegetation occurred across North America at about this time.

Around 3250 BC the warm and dry climate of the mid-Holocene came to an abrupt end. The sudden cooling trend does not seem to have had any immediate negative effect on Late Archaic people. In fact, paradoxically, the number of sites seems to increase at that time across the Middle Atlantic and Northeast. However, continued cooling and changes in rain and snowfall patterns may have caused some long-term instability. While the global climate cooled, the rate of sea level rise slackened, allowing the formation of stable estuaries at the mouths of rivers

along the Atlantic coast. These areas were soon colonized by fish and shellfish, which people were soon collecting for food.

About 4200 BC there is evidence of a centuries-long megadrought across North America, accompanied by another vegetation shift. At the same time there was a cold spell in the North Atlantic. These environmental challenges may explain the marked change that is seen in the settlement patterns of the Middle Atlantic region at about 2500 to 2200 BC. Savannah River points appeared across the region at the same time. These large, broad-bladed stemmed points were typically made of quartzite, and they are very common along the Potomac (Figure 13). Archeologists call these and similar large, broad points "broadspears." Many very large sites containing broadspears have been found along the Potomac and other rivers, and there are fewer sites in the uplands. It seems that people were spending much of the year on the river floodplains and less time wandering in the forests. What they were doing there is not clear, since, because of generally poor preservation of organic materials, Savannah River sites have not been much more informative than Halifax sites.

The only secure radiocarbon dates for the Savannah River complex in the lower Potomac region came from the Plum Nelly Site (44NB128) on the Virginia bank: 4105±85 bp (2880 to 2470 BC) and 3905±95 bp (2700 to 2000 BC) (Potter 1993). The dated wood charcoal samples at that site were closely associated with small Savannah River Stemmed and Holmes points, which are



FIGURE 13: A Large Collection of Savannah River Points from a Site near the Canal

probably later than the classic, larger Savannah River broadspears. Quartzite Holmes points and steatite fragments were associated with a shell-based radiocarbon date of 3500±75 bp (2030 to 1620 BC) at the White Oak Point Site (44WM119). At the Slade Site in eastern Virginia, narrow variants of the Savannah River Stemmed type were dated to 4070±80 bp (Egloff and McAvoy 1990; Waselkov 1982).

We do not even know how the large Savannah River points were used. They may have been used mainly as speartips, or as specialized knives for fish-processing or some other task. Although broadspear points are sometimes found accompanying burials, they were apparently utilitarian objects because many were discarded with broken blades or damaged edges. Some archeologists believe that the broadspear was an innovative weapon or tool, perhaps specifically useful for spearing or processing fish, which was rapidly adopted by people who continued living in their traditional territories as before. Others, however, see the changes in settlement and subsistence patterns around 2200 BC as so abrupt and pervasive that they must mark the arrival of a new human population, migrants from elsewhere. In fact, points of the Savannah River type appear to have been made several centuries earlier (about 3000 BC) in the Piedmont and Coastal Plain of Georgia and the Carolinas, so this is the area where the intruders are thought to have originated. Once they had developed a way of life that took full advantage of the newly available resources of the estuaries, they may have moved northward to exploit similar environments along the coast, in the process displacing the original inhabitants. Many archeologists have viewed the spread of broadspears and seemingly linked innovations—particularly the use of containers made of carved soapstone—as marking a distinct cultural phase, called either the Transitional or the Terminal Archaic period.

Soapstone (also called steatite) was quarried during this period in the Piedmont of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, Smithsonian archeologist W.H. Holmes recorded soapstone quarries—soon to be destroyed by urban development—within present-day Washington, D.C., at Rose Hill on Connecticut Avenue, and in Fairfax County at the Clifton, Holmes Run, and Falls Church sites. Vessels were carved at the quarries and transported to campsites in finished form, probably by canoe. The soapstone pots were clearly used for cooking; but it is not yet known what foods (fish, meat, seeds, tubers, or nuts) were cooked in them, or why such containers suddenly became necessary or desirable. Another new item in the Transitional toolkit was the grooved groundstone axe, which replaced earlier chipped stone axes (Figure 14). Holmes actually found grooved axes at soapstone quarry sites, where they must have been used in carving out the bowls. These axes surely had other uses, such as felling trees or hollowing out the trunks to make dugout canoes.

In the earlier part of the Late Archaic period, tool-makers had typically used quartz to make their small stemmed Halifax points. In sharp contrast, Savannah River broadspears found along the Potomac are most often made of quartzite. Curiously, in the Piedmont of Georgia and South Carolina where the ancestral Savannah River culture has been identified, broadspears were generally made of rocks of volcanic origin. This preference reappears in the Susquehanna complex, north of Virginia, around 1900 cal BC; the distinctive points of this culture were typically made of a stone known as metavolcanic rhyolite (Figure 15). While the earlier Halifax culture sites are spread across the landscape in a way that implies wide-ranging use of many resources of the upland forests, Broadspear complex sites seem to be more concentrated along



FIGURE 14: Two Groundstone Axes from the C&O Canal Park



FIGURE 15: A Cache of Susquehannah Broadspears from near the C&O Canal Park
(scale in centimeters)

the rivers. These large riverside camps are often taken as evidence of intensive fishing, although no actual fish remains have yet been identified at any of these sites.

After they had occupied Virginia and Maryland, the broadspear-makers or their descendants seem to have kept moving northward, as shown by the appearance of Lehigh/Koens-Crispin points in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and similar Snook Kill points in New York. Around 1900 BC the Perkiomen and Susquehanna point types were probably developed in Pennsylvania from northern variants of the Savannah River type, and were spread back, by diffusion or migration, into parts of northern Virginia such as the Potomac valley. Points of both these types have been found in a stratified context on the south bank of the Potomac at Shepherdstown, West Virginia, where they were dated to 1600 to 2000 BC. All of the points and the chipping debris at this site were made of rhyolite carried from boulder quarries in Maryland. Isolated clusters of Perkiomen points in Virginia, on the margins of the Dismal Swamp and in the northern Shenandoah valley, appear to represent intrusive groups from Pennsylvania or New Jersey.

Do the obvious differences between the Savannah River and Susquehanna Broadspear cultures simply reflect the passage of time (2350 BC for the former vs. 1950 BC for the latter)? Or, was the Susquehanna culture a Pennsylvania-based intrusion into Savannah River territories? If this was the case, where was the boundary, somewhere upstream of Washington, D.C., along the river, between the already established Savannah River complex and the contemporary, intrusive Susquehanna culture?

The 2003-2005 SAIP archeological fieldwork in the park produced Late and Terminal Archaic points from both surface and stratified contexts. The Savannah River type seems much more common than earlier stemmed points or the later Susquehanna Broadspear form. The most important site of this period is Site 18MO572, where remnants of a Terminal Archaic camp were uncovered at about 7 feet below the surface (Figure 16). Most of the cultural material from this occupation was debitage: 258 pieces of quartzite, 50 pieces of rhyolite, and only 10 quartz flakes. The former presence of hearths or roasting platforms was shown by over 250 pieces of fire-cracked rock, a large amount of charcoal, tiny white flecks of calcined (heavily burned) bone, and patches of fire-reddened soil. Many of the quartzite flakes were quite large, a typical marker of the Savannah River complex. In fact, a Savannah River stemmed broadspear point, made of rhyolite, was discovered in Level F-25 (Figure 17). Another, narrower-bladed Savannah River point, made of quartzite, was found in the same level, as well as a fragment of the base of a stemmed Savannah River point, also quartzite. Two more quartzite point base fragments were found in the underlying 3-inch level, F-26. Charcoal from that level yielded an AMS radiocarbon date of 3800±40 bp, or 2130 to 2340 BC. This date is broadly consistent with other dates for the Savannah River complex in Virginia and Maryland and in this culture's presumed homeland in Georgia and the Carolinas.

Another buried Terminal Archaic occupation zone was excavated at Site 18MO584. Although it only 2 miles downriver from Site 18MO572, this site contained Susquehanna-related rather than Savannah River complex material. The artifacts found here include part of a Perkiomen point, small Fishtail and Dry Brook-like points, several pieces of steatite pots, and a steatite-tempered, cordmarked potsherd. The points were all made of rhyolite; their styles, along with the potsherd, suggest a date range of about 1500 to 700 BC for this zone.



FIGURE 16: Excavation at Site 18MO572 in the C&O Canal Park



FIGURE 17: Savannah River Points and Bases from Site 18MO572

At Site 18FR100, near the Monocacy, a deeply buried Terminal Archaic zone was excavated in the 1970s. It was dominated by Susquehanna-related artifacts. Similarly, on the opposite side of the Monocacy, the 2003-2005 SAIP survey found Susquehanna Broadspear and Dry Brook points, along with mainly rhyolite chipping debris, at Site 18MO577. We have yet to discover a site where there is a neat separation of superimposed Savannah River and Susquehanna Broadspear artifacts, so the relationship of these cultures remains rather mysterious.

THE CONTAINER REVOLUTION

The Early Woodland period in the Middle Atlantic region began when women started to make ceramic (baked clay) containers, which they used for cooking and serving food. Pottery had already been made for a thousand years in the Southeast, but, unlike stone vessels, had not been adopted by more northern groups. The earliest modeled clay vessels of the Marcey Creek type (1450 to 1000 BC) imitated the shapes of tub-like, flat-bottomed soapstone pots, including lug handles, and were even tempered with bits of crushed soapstone. Afterward, potters tried out several different kinds of pottery, varying in shape, surface treatment, and temper. Flat-bottomed vessels resembling Marcey Creek ware, but tempered with grit or sand instead of soapstone pieces, were made in Delaware (Dames Quarter type) and on the lower Potomac (Bushnell Plain type) by 1000 BC or earlier. Selden Island pots (1000 to 750 BC), although steatite-tempered like Marcey Creek ware, were cone-shaped and were constructed by coiling (Figure 18). These pots were probably imitations of long-established basket types (like the early pots, baskets had been made by women). Accokeek pottery is a thin-walled, cordmarked, sand- or grit-tempered, conical or round-bottomed ware that was made in the Potomac basin from about 1000 to 400 BC.

Sites containing Marcey Creek potsherds appear to have been short-term riverside camps of small bands in the Piedmont and Fall Line zones. Selden Island, where pottery of that type was first discovered, was a large site on the Potomac, with probable storage pits that indicate an occupation of some duration.



FIGURE 18: Potsherds from the C&O Canal and an Intact Pot from the Shepard Site, Showing the Characteristic Shape of Native American Pots in the Region

The 522 Bridge Site, an Early Woodland site in Front Royal, Virginia, was radiocarbon-dated to about 1000 BC. It contained Accokeek pottery, storage pits, pieces of burnt daub (from house walls made of branches coated with clay), and the floors of nine oval houses. The storage pits contained carbonized seeds of several species of wild plants that had been collected by the villagers. Such Accokeek sites seem to represent semi-permanent villages in the floodplain; smaller foray camps, used while harvesting nuts and hunting deer and turkey, were located in the uplands (McLearen 1991).

Small Savannah River points, Calvert points, and points similar to the Orient Fishtail type of New York and the Delaware valley are found in association with Marcey Creek pottery. This continuity of types from the preceding period shows that the shift from Transitional into Early Woodland cultures was a gradual, local process in the mid-Potomac region. Point types that seem to be associated with other Early Woodland ceramics include Piscataway/Rossville, Teardrop or ovoid, Calvert, and possibly Clagett and Vernon; however, these types have rarely been found in reliable stratified and dated contexts. At White Oak Point a local ceramic ware (Bushnell Plain), with vessel shapes like Marcey Creek but different temper materials, was associated with short, stemmed points of the Calvert type and three radiocarbon dates averaging about 3100 bp (1370 BC).

Archeological investigation in the park has identified an important Early Woodland component at Site 18FR798. Stratified below a Late Woodland component, and above the Early Archaic zone described above, it yielded many sherds of both Accokeek and Selden Island pottery, indicating a probable age of about 1000 to 500 BC. Marcey Creek ware (differing from Selden Island mainly in its lack of cordmarking) may also be present. Few diagnostic stone tools were found in the Early Woodland zone; one is a quartz point with a broken stem that may be a Vernon point; another is a heavily reworked remnant of a rhyolite point, perhaps originally of the Piscataway type. Although only a small area could be excavated, the crew recognized two postmolds, probably part of the foundation of an Early Woodland house, and two large storage pits.

The use of storage pits to cache surplus food (such as nuts, acorns, and tubers) during seasons of plenty for use in leaner times probably began in the Middle Archaic period. Food storage may have helped spur the population growth of the Late Archaic period by making food supplies less unpredictable, and it may also have made it possible for people to spend more of the year at their main base camps and to travel less widely. However, because of changes in organic material and soil color through time, the earliest pits often have become invisible to archeologists. Their apparently greater frequency in Early Woodland sites may in part simply reflect the greater visibility of less ancient pits; or perhaps it signals the growing importance of underground storage in a period of variable climate and unstable social relations (food and personal items stashed in a pit need not be revealed to demanding neighbors or suspicious visitors).

Apart from Site 18FR798, Early Woodland materials—primarily sand-tempered, reddish, easily broken sherds of Accokeek pottery—were also found at three other deeply stratified sites in the park.

THE ALGONQUIAN SPEAKERS ARRIVE

Middle Atlantic archeologists recognize a distinction between the Early and Middle Woodland periods. This is really just an awkward borrowing of terms originally used in the Midwest to divide the periods of the Adena (Early Woodland) and Hopewell (Middle Woodland) mound-building cultures. In the Middle Atlantic region, where very few mounds were ever constructed, the Early/Middle division is primarily based upon recognition of new pottery styles. A further minor division of the Middle Woodland into earlier and later phases is similarly based upon changes in pottery.

The earlier Middle Woodland phase (400 BC to AD 300) is marked by Popes Creek pottery (net-impressed pottery with sand temper). In the later phase (AD 300 to 1000) the typical pottery in the Coastal Plain is Mockley (also net-impressed, but shell-tempered). However, in the Potomac Piedmont, the dominant pottery type of this phase is called Albemarle ware, which was cordmarked and tempered with pieces of crushed rock, mainly quartz. After about AD 500 potters rarely used nets to impress the vessel surfaces; instead, marking with cord- or fabric-wrapped paddles came into vogue. These techniques are seen in Clemson Island, Albemarle, and Shepard wares toward the end of the Middle Woodland.

Piscataway/Rossville points frequently occur on early Middle Woodland sites in the mid-Potomac. In the later phase after AD 300, Fox Creek or Selby Bay points are often found with Mockley pottery. Jack's Reef corner-notched and pentagonal-shaped points occur in small numbers from about AD 600 to 900.

Apart from the rather minor changes in pottery styles, there is not much difference between the Early and early Middle Woodland periods. Sites tended to be located in the same places, an indication that local people were practicing the same mix of hunting, fishing, and gathering from seasonally shifting camps. Overall, the regional population probably grew somewhat, but it seems that some areas were practically abandoned. In the Maryland Piedmont the number of sites increased between AD 300 and 900, but they became more dispersed. The eastern Piedmont may have been occupied only seasonally as part of the annual settlement round of Middle Woodland groups that spent most of the year in the Coastal Plain. In fact, the people who made Selby Bay points may have made only brief forays through the region, on their way to the Catoctin Mountain where they quarried rhyolite from exposed boulders. This could account for the very infrequent occurrence of Mockley pottery beyond the Coastal Plain.

In the Ohio valley the Adena complex flourished between about 600 BC and AD 100 (Early Woodland in that area). The Adena custom of building burial mounds for the dead did not spread to the peoples of the Atlantic coast. Nevertheless, sustained cultural contact with the Adena people is demonstrated by massive caches of typical Adena artifacts (lobate-stemmed points, tubular pipes made of Ohio fireclay, shale and slate gorgets [perforated ornaments], etc.), which were placed in cremation burials on the Delmarva peninsula. The closest of these finds to the Piedmont is the West River Site (18AN18) in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. This burial cache dates to about AD 1.



FIGURE 19: Artifacts from the Whitehurst Freeway Site (clockwise from left): Antler Comb; Wooden Bead; Slate Pendant; Schist Pendant; Chert Point; Antler Disks; Shark Teeth; Hammerstone; Phallus Effigy

Image courtesy of Versar, Inc., and used with permission of the National Park Service, National Capital Region

After the demise of the Adena mortuary cult, Middle Atlantic cultures seem to have had very little contact with the Hopewell ritual centers of the Midwest. However, a more localized exchange network continued to operate in the Middle Atlantic after AD 200, circulating items such as purplish argillite from New Jersey and rhyolite from central Maryland. In the Patuxent drainage about 90 percent of Selby Bay points were made from rhyolite.

About AD 700 long-distance trade routes were re-established, again in a context of mortuary ritual. This time, the network linked Middle Atlantic societies to groups in New York, New England, Ontario, Michigan, and Ohio. Distinctive items exchanged among these peoples included combs made of moose or elk antler, fossil sharks' teeth, polished stone gorgets, and stone platform pipes with tulip-shaped bowls (for smoking tobacco). A cremation burial containing such artifacts (except pipes), and dated to about AD 750, was discovered a few years ago beside the Whitehurst Freeway, near the mouth of Rock Creek (Figure 19). This extraordinary site also produced evidence of a later occupation by maize-growing, Late Woodland villagers (Crowell 1999; Crowell and Potter 2000).

The far-flung late Middle Woodland trade network may be evidence of a recent intrusive migration by Algonquian-speakers from the Great Lakes region to the East Coast. Comparison of the Algonquian languages spoken at the time of European contact suggests that the original Algonquian homeland was located near Lake Ontario. The ancestors of the Eastern Algonquians (including the Nacotchtank, Piscataways, and most other contact-period inhabitants of eastern Virginia and eastern Maryland) must have emigrated from that northern homeland at some time after about 900 BC.

Despite the presence of the spectacular burial beside the Whitehurst Freeway, and the recovery of many Middle Woodland artifacts from large storage pits near Fletcher's Boathouse, there is very sparse Middle Woodland evidence from sites further upriver. If the Potomac's activity was similar to that of other Southeastern rivers, it is possible that renewed cutting and filling processes between 500 BC and AD 500 may either have precluded long-term occupation of the bank or removed the traces of such settlements.

MAIZE, ARROWS, AND PALISADES

Around AD 1000 many Middle Atlantic groups began to grow maize. Maize (corn) was a plant of subtropical origin, first domesticated and cultivated in Mexico about 7,000 years ago. It must have taken many generations of selective planting by native farmers in the Southwest and Midwest before a maize variety suitable for the shorter growing seasons of the north could become a reliable substitute for the native, wild seed-bearing plants and tubers. Although actual plant remains are very rare, the beginning of maize cultivation in the Piedmont Potomac is inferred from skeletal evidence (such as increasing numbers of sugar-decayed teeth) and settlement patterns, which show that Late Woodland sites (from AD 1000 to 1600) were located in the floodplains of streams near the best agricultural soils. Even after maize farming was adopted, hunting, gathering, and fishing continued to provide important dietary supplements. Storage of surplus crops, often in large pits, permitted the establishment of small permanent hamlets and larger villages. Prior to AD 1300 or 1400 settlements were not stockaded, which suggests that tribal warfare was not yet common. But around that time, throughout the Middle Atlantic region, population density increased, nucleated settlements and stockaded villages were established (Figure 20), and there is evidence of population movement and displacement. Palisaded villages have been excavated both on the lower Potomac (such as the Piscataway Creek and Patawomeke sites) and on the mid-Potomac (such as the Winslow, Hughes, Gore, and Shepard Barracks sites) (Slattery and Woodward 1992).

These region-wide changes in cultural patterns may have occurred in response to climatic changes. The Medieval Climatic Optimum in the Northern Hemisphere began around AD 800 and lasted until AD 1300. During this period of warm and dry climate, grapes grew in England and the Vikings found Greenland comfortable. But the climate shifted abruptly to cold and wet around AD 1300, the onset of the Little Ice Age that lasted until 1850. Maize crops may have been threatened by cold weather, while deer and other game animals may also have suffered. Scarcity of game and fertile soil may have heightened tensions between Late Woodland groups.

Population growth and warfare contributed to the emergence, or in some cases the reappearance, of ranked societies, which developed into the complex tribes and chiefdoms encountered by the Europeans in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

An important archeological marker of the Late Woodland period is the first appearance of definite arrowheads (Figure 21). All across North America the bow and arrow (probably borrowed originally from East Asians by ancestral Eskimos) were adopted after AD 500, largely replacing the atlatl and dart. In the Northeast and Middle Atlantic regions triangular stone arrow points start to show up around AD 700. They are ascribed to several types: Levanna, Madison, Clarksville, and others. There is a general tendency for these points to grow smaller through the period.

After AD 1100 three cultural complexes, each producing its own characteristic pottery, appeared in the mid-Potomac simultaneously or in rapid succession: the Montgomery complex (makers of collared, cordmarked, quartz-tempered Shepard ware—Figure 22); the Mason Island complex (makers of limestone-tempered Page ware); and the Luray complex (makers of shell-tempered

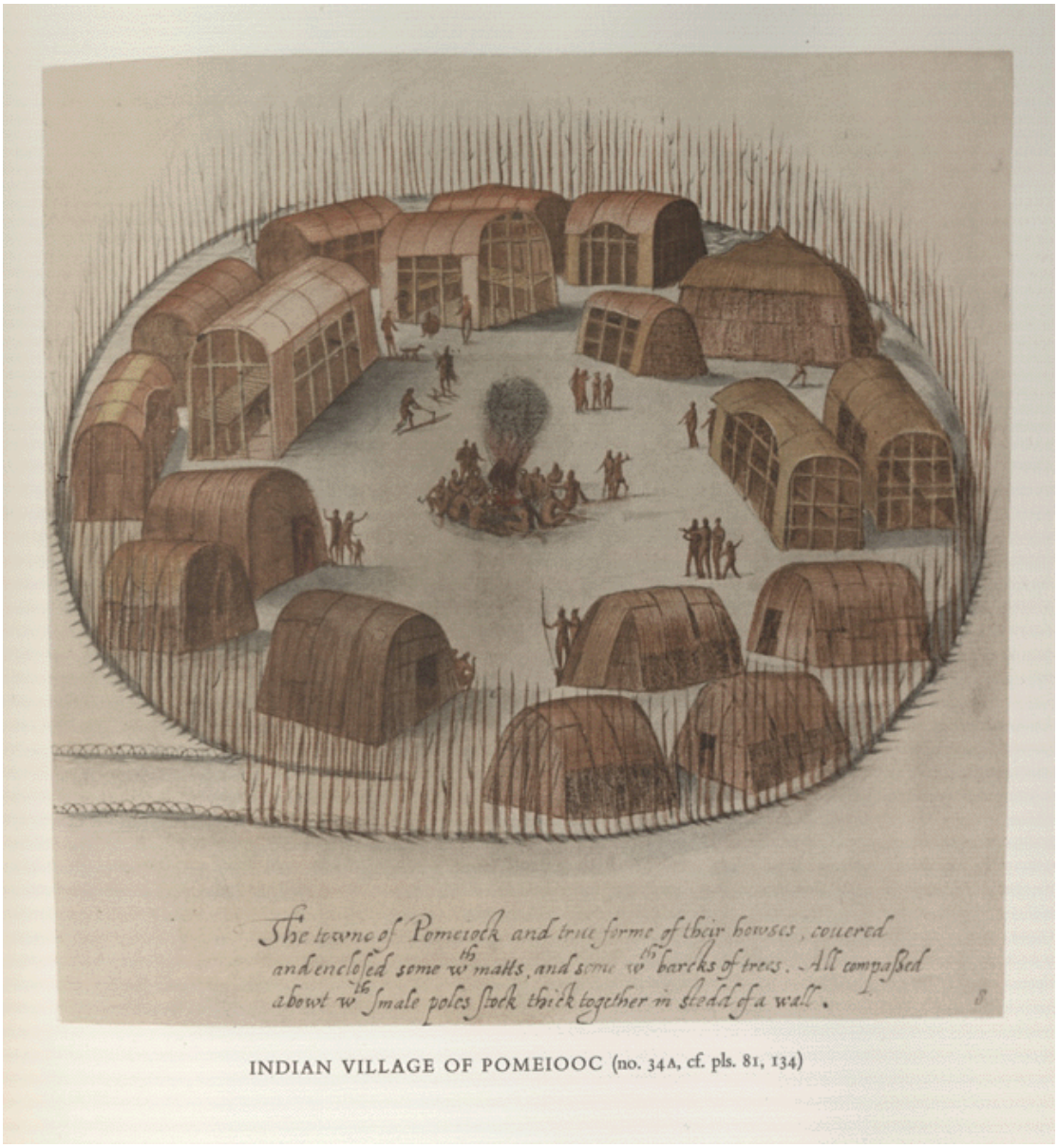


FIGURE 20: John White's Watercolor of the Village of Pomeiooc in North Carolina (1585)



FIGURE 21: Arrowheads from the C&O Canal Park



FIGURE 22: A Late Woodland Potsherd from the C&O Canal Park, and John White's Watercolor of an Indian Pot in Use, 1585

Keyser ware). Although available radiocarbon dates for these cultures are often statistically indistinguishable (all date to about AD 1200 to 1400), at a few sites stratigraphic relationships have been reported that indicate a sequence through time: Shepard ware, followed by Page ware, followed by Keyser ware. These Late Woodland people were all village dwellers who depended at least partially upon cultivated and stored maize for their subsistence. Some of their villages were surrounded by palisades. (Palisades are upright posts arranged in a fence to form a defensive barrier, as shown in Figure 20). Despite the broad similarities of their basic lifeways and the close proximity of their settlements, each of these distinct complexes seems to have been related to, and presumably derived from, the Late Woodland cultures of other regions. The pottery of the Montgomery complex indicates a relationship to the Owasco complex of New York and the Shenks Ferry culture of Pennsylvania. The pottery of the Mason Island complex, which moved downstream from the upper Potomac, resembles earlier and contemporaneous limestone-tempered pottery from the upper Ohio valley and from the Monongahela complex of western Pennsylvania. The material culture of the Luray complex was also similar in many ways to that of the Monongahela people of western Pennsylvania. However, from the impressions of cord-wrapped sticks visible on their pots, it can be seen that Luray women made string by twisting fibers in the opposite direction from that normally done by Monongahela women. This very basic difference implies that the Luray people were ethnically distinct from the Monongahela.

Typical artifacts of the Montgomery complex include Shepard ceramics, Levanna triangular projectile points made of quartz, rhyolite, or chert, and obtuse-angle clay smoking pipes with dentate or incised designs. The Montgomery people lived in small hamlets or villages situated on floodplains and terraces of large streams. Several of the major Late Woodland village sites that provided data for the initial definition of the Montgomery focus are strung along the C&O Canal on the southern edge of the McKee-Beshers Wildlife Management Area.

The Winslow Site was a Montgomery complex stockaded village; although the southern half was destroyed by construction of the C&O Canal, archeologists have excavated the surviving northern half. The palisade was about 275 feet in diameter. Within it were round to oblong houses, about 13 to 17 feet in diameter, arranged in a ring and facing a central open plaza of the type used for meetings and rituals in historic times (Figure 23). A ring of storage pits lay just outside the entrance of these wigwam-like dwellings. Burials of 16 individuals have been found in excavations; the skeletons were laid in flexed positions, usually facing east, with no accompanying grave goods. Four dog burials were also found (burials dated earlier than the Late Woodland are extremely rare in this region; the soil is generally so acid that bones are not preserved for more than 1,000 years). Radiocarbon dates put the occupation of the Winslow Site at about AD 1250 to 1350 (Dent et al. 2002). The Shepard Site, from which the name of the characteristic pottery type was derived, is located about 2 miles west of the Winslow Site and dates to about AD 1220 to 1300.

Sites of the Mason Island complex are concentrated on both sides of the Potomac, west of the Monocacy confluence. These include the Mason Island, Noland's Ferry, Jeffrey Village, Point of Rocks, and Catoctin Creek sites. Along the Monocacy, Clagett Retreat and Bigg's Ford are also Mason Island village sites. The Page pottery of the Mason Island people was tempered with crushed limestone; in other respects, such as collars and decoration, it was not very different



FIGURE 23: John White's Watercolor of Indians Dancing, 1585

from Shepard ware. Mason Island villages do not seem to have been fortified with palisades. The dead were usually buried in an extended position, on their backs, which contrasts with the flexed burials of the Montgomery people. Some of the dead were buried with ornaments made of *Marginella* shells and bone beads. Dates for the Mason Island complex are about AD 1150 to 1400.

The Hughes Site, located only a mile west of the Winslow Site, was a palisaded village of the Luray people. The circular palisade was about 400 feet in diameter. Although no distinct house foundation could be recognized here, evidence from other sites suggests that dwellings were oval-shaped, about 30 feet long. Apart from the mussel shell-tempered Keyser pottery, another distinguishing trait of Hughes and other Luray sites (such as Shepard Barracks and Moore Village) is the prevalence of very small quartz triangular points, similar to the Clarksville type of Virginia and the Carolinas. These small points are not found at Montgomery sites such as Winslow. About 80 burials were excavated at the Hughes Site. Treatment of the dead was diverse, including burial of one or several flexed skeletons, bundled "secondary" remains of several people, and a single cremation. These variations presumably reflect the different social statuses or perhaps group affiliations of the deceased. Four radiocarbon dates for the Hughes Site are in the range of AD 1300 to 1450. The nearby Shepard Barracks Site was dated, with a single radiocarbon test, to about AD 1400 to 1640. Other Luray sites have yielded roughly similar ages, with a few dates (with large uncertainty factors, unfortunately) suggesting persistence of this culture into the late sixteenth century. None of the burials at the Hughes Site, or elsewhere, contained European trade items, which probably indicates abandonment of these sites before AD 1600.

During the 2003-2005 SAIP survey archeologists discovered Late Woodland deposits characterized by small triangular points (mainly quartz, but with a few rhyolite examples), and Shepard, Page, and Keyser sherds, in the upper layers of five stratified sites. However, in no case was there a clear separation of the pottery types that would clarify the still-confusing sequence of Late Woodland cultures. In addition to these stratified sites, Late Woodland sherds and small quartz triangles were also found on the surface of several plowed fields.

Native Populations Collapse, AD 1500 to 1650

In 1608 John Smith visited the village of the Nacotchtanks beside the mouth of the Anacostia River (whence its name). We know that they were Algonquian speakers. So were the Patawomekes (for whom Smith named the Potomac River; the meaning of this name is unknown). A direct line of descent can be drawn from the early historic Patawomekes back to a palisaded village that was built about AD 1300 by intruders who made Potomac Creek pottery, probably derived from Montgomery complex ceramics. Smith did not travel upriver beyond the Falls of the Potomac, so he could give no eyewitness description of anyone who may have been living there. It seems, however, that the Nacotchtanks did not tell him of either their enemies or trading partners to the west (Potter 19993: 12-14, 133, 143-147, 160). Thus, we have no documentary record of any native people living west of the District of Columbia in the early seventeenth century. No European trade items were found in the native graves that were dug up at sites such as the Hughes Site (18MO1) in the 1930s. Their absence suggests that the Luray villages had been abandoned before AD 1600.

We know from the very sparse seventeenth- and eighteenth-century documentation of Indian languages that the native peoples of the Middle Atlantic region spoke languages belonging to three very different language families: Algonquian, Siouan, and Iroquoian. In Virginia and North Carolina the Fall Line marked the boundary between Siouans in the Piedmont and Algonquians in the Coastal Plain. In northern Pennsylvania and New York Iroquoian speakers occupied the interior; there were also pockets of Iroquoians near the Fall Line in Virginia and North Carolina. The latter people, the Tuscaroras, fled northward after their defeat by the South Carolina militia and their Cherokee allies in 1713. They lived for nine years on the Potomac (hence the name of Tuscarora Creek) before relocating to New York and allying with the Five Nations Confederacy. That the Tuscaroras could settle on the mid-Potomac floodplain in 1713 without displacing any resident population demonstrates that the region was uninhabited at that time. Similarly, in 1699 the Algonquian-speaking Conoys (Piscataways) settled at Kanawha Springs and nearby Heaters Island after they were pushed out of their ancestral territory east of the Fall Line.

We have no idea what languages were spoken in the Maryland Piedmont in the sixteenth century. Thus, the ethnic identities of the Montgomery, Mason Island, and Luray villagers are unknown.

There are three alternative explanations for the apparent depopulation of the Potomac Piedmont.

Climate Change. The Little Ice Age began about AD 1350, and its cold weather must have stressed both maize crops and deer, necessary for both their meat and hides. But Luray sites survived at least until ca. 1500. Major decades-long droughts struck the Chesapeake region around AD 1320 to 1400 and later from AD 1525 to 1650. The first arid interval may account for the proposed migration of Montgomery people to Coastal Plain areas where they made Shepard-like Potomac Creek pottery; the later drought could have starved out the Luray villagers.

Warfare. The southward migration of the aggressive Susquehannocks from south-central New York to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is securely dated (on the basis of European trade items) to AD 1560 to 1575. The Susquehannocks were terrifying the inhabitants of the upper Chesapeake in 1608, when John Smith encountered them there. Smith was surprised to learn that the Susquehannocks, whom he encountered at the head of the Chesapeake, were brokering French trade goods to the local Tockwogh. Other raiders known as Massawomeckes, possibly Iroquoians or the Monongahela people, were also invading the Middle Atlantic region at that time, and Smith encountered them briefly, too, at the head of the bay.

Disease. The third and most controversial explanation is epidemic disease transmitted by Europeans. Historian Henry Dobyns (1983) contended that waves of deadly disease must have swept through native populations of the continental interior during the sixteenth century, long before they came face-to-face with Europeans. In view of the 80 to 90 percent mortality rate of "virgin-soil" epidemics, he suggested that the groups actually encountered by colonists in the seventeenth century generally numbered only about 10 percent of their pre-contact population. Dobyns has recently estimated the pre-contact native population of North America at about 18 million, in sharp contrast to anthropologist Douglas Ubelaker's (1992) figure of only 1.8 million.

There has been a backlash against Dobyns's disease model among archeologists, particularly those working in the Iroquois heartland areas in New York and Ontario (such as Dean Snow and Gary Warrick), who see no evidence of a fall-off in native populations until the late 1630s. They suggest that the Iroquois were untouched by disease until 1634, when smallpox spread as a result of contact with European children newly arrived at both Quebec and New Amsterdam. However, it should be recalled that the failed Spanish colony on the North Carolina coast, in 1526, included both children and African slaves who could have been the source of viral diseases or malaria. It is also hard to ignore the account of Thomas Hariot (1590) concerning the devastating effects on the natives of the 1585 English colonial venture at Roanoke:

> There was no towne where we had any subtile deuise practised against vs, we leauing it vnpunished or not reuenged (because wee sought by all meanes possible to win them by gentlenesse) but that within a few dayes after our departure from euerie such towne, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space; in some townes about twentie, in some fourtie, in some sixtie, & in one sixe score, which in trueth was very manie in respect of their numbers. This happened in no place that wee coulde learne but where wee had bene, where they vsed some practise against vs, and after such time; The disease also so strange, that they neither knew what it was, nor how to cure it; the like by report of the oldest men in the countrey neuer happened before, time out of minde. A thing specially obserued by vs as also by the naturall inhabitants themselues.
>
> Insomuch that when some of the inhabitants which were our friends & especially the Wiroans Wingina had obserued such effects in foure or fiue towns to follow their wicked practises, they were perswaded that it was the worke of our God through our meanes, and that wee by him might kil and slai whom wee would without weapons and not come neere them.
>
> And thereupon when it had happened that they had vnderstanding that any of their enemies had abused vs in our iourneyes, hearing that wee had wrought no reuenge with our weapons, & fearing vpon some cause the matter should so rest: did come and intreate

vs that we would bee a meanes to our God that they as others that had dealt ill with vs might in like sort die; alleaging howe much it would be for our credite and profite, as also theirs; and hoping furthermore that we would do so much at their requests in respect of the friendship we professe them.

Whose entreaties although wee shewed that they were vngodlie, affirming that our God would not subiect himselfe to anie such praiers and requestes of mẽ: that in deede all thinges haue beene and were to be done according to his good pleasure as he had ordained: ãd that we to shew ourselues his true seruãts ought rather to make petition for the contrarie, that they with them might liue together with vs, bee made partakers of his truth & serue him in righteousnes; but notwithstanding in such sort, that wee referre that as all other thinges, to bee done according to his diuine will & pleasure, ãd as by his wisedome he had ordained to be best.

Yet because the effect fell out so sodainly and shortly after according to their desires, they thought neuerthelesse it came to passe by our meanes, and that we in vsing such speeches vnto them did but dissemble the matter, and therefore came vnto vs to giue vs thankes in their manner that although wee satisfied them not in promise, yet in deedes and effect we had fulfilled their desires.

This maruelous accident in all the countrie wrought so strange opinions of vs, that some people could not tel whether to think vs gods or men, and the rather because that all the space of their sicknesse, there was no man of ours knowne to die, or that was specially sicke: they noted also that we had no women amongst vs, neither that we did care for any of theirs.

Some therefore were of opinion that wee were not borne of women, and therefore not mortall, but that wee were men of an old generation many yeeres past then risen againe to immortalitie.

Some woulde likewise seeme to prophesie that there were more of our generation yet to come, to kill theirs and take their places, as some thought the purpose was by that which was already done.

Those that were immediatly to come after vs they imagined to be in the aire, yet inuisible & without bodies, & that they by our intreaty & for the loue of vs did make the people to die in that sort as they did by shooting inuisible bullets into them.

To confirme this opinion their phisitions to excuse their ignorance in curing the disease, would not be ashemed to say, but earnestly make the simple people beleue, that the strings of blood that they sucked out of the sicke bodies, were the strings wherewithal the inuisible bullets were tied and cast.

Some also thought that we shot them our selues out of our pieces from the place where we dwelt, and killed the people in any such towne that had offended vs as we listed, how farre distant from vs soeuer it were.

And other some saide that it was the speciall woorke of God for our sakes, as wee our selues haue cause in some sorte to thinke no lesse, whatsoeuer some doe or maie imagine to the contrarie, specially some Astrologers knowing of the Eclipse of the Sunne which wee saw the same yeere before in our voyage thytherward, which vnto them appeared

> very terrible. And also of a Comet which beganne to appeare but a few daies before the beginning of the said sicknesse. But to exclude them from being the speciall an accident, there are farther reasons then I thinke fit at this present to bee alleadged [Hariot 1590].

This 1585 expedition did not include women and children, but some of the men commanded by Captain Ralph Lane were sick when they arrived at Roanoke; as Lane wrote in a letter to Francis Walsingham on August 12, "sundry that came sick, are recovered of long diseases, especially of rheums." The epidemic seems to have struck the natives in late September. First contact with the natives had been made in the first days of July. The party's last amicable interaction with Spaniards off Hispaniola had occurred at the beginning of June. Some time between September and February 1586 a scouting party journeyed about 150 miles up the Roanoke River into the Piedmont. They visited two towns where the inhabitants showed them copper plates made by the Mangoak or Mandoag, described as a numerous and warlike people living somewhere further west (this name is probably a variant of Proto-Algonquian *menkwe*, often used to denote enemies who spoke Siouan or Iroquoian languages, e.g., "Mingos" or "Minquas"; it may denote the Nottoways). This expedition would have brought possibly infected Englishmen or their native guides within about 150 miles of the inhabitants of the Potomac Piedmont in late 1585. However, based upon a calculation of the numbers of late prehistoric and protohistoric sites and frequency of burials, Ward and Davis (1991) conclude that there was no significant impact of disease in the North Carolina Piedmont before about 1650, when English traders began to venture into the interior.

Henry Fleet's Potomac Expedition, 1632

Although John Smith explored and mapped the lower Potomac in 1608, the lands beyond the Falls remained a mystery to Europeans throughout the seventeenth century. The map made by Augustine Herrman around 1670 shows the lower river in detail, but at the Falls it dissolves into abstraction (Figure 24). Our first account of the Potomac above the Falls was given by the fur trader Henry Fleet, who arrived at the town of the Piscataway "emperor" (paramount chief or *tayac*) on June 3, 1632. He spoke with Indians who had recently visited the Massomack (Massawomeck); they reported a dense population ("very strange in regard of the abundance of people there, compared to all the other poor number of natives which are in Patomack and places adjacent, where are not above five thousand persons") and an "infinite store of beaver they use in coats" (Scharf 1879:25-30). "I find the Indians of that populous place are governed by four kings, whose towns are of several names—Tonhoga, Mosticum, Shaunetowa, and Usserahak, reported above thirty thousand persons, and that they have palisades about the towns, made with great trees, and scaffolds upon the walls." Fleet sent his brother and two trusted Indians with presents to the four kings: beads, bells, hatchets, knives, and coats. This party set out on June 14; Fleet instructed them to bring the upriver Indians to the Falls, where he would be waiting in his ship.

Fleet set sail for Tonhoga on June 25. The next day, he anchored two leagues short of the Falls; he mistakenly reckoned his position as 41 degrees latitude. Fleet described this as "the most pleasant and healthful place in all this country." Fish were abundant, the Indians often catching in one night "thirty sturgeon in a place where the river is not above twelve fathom broad. And as

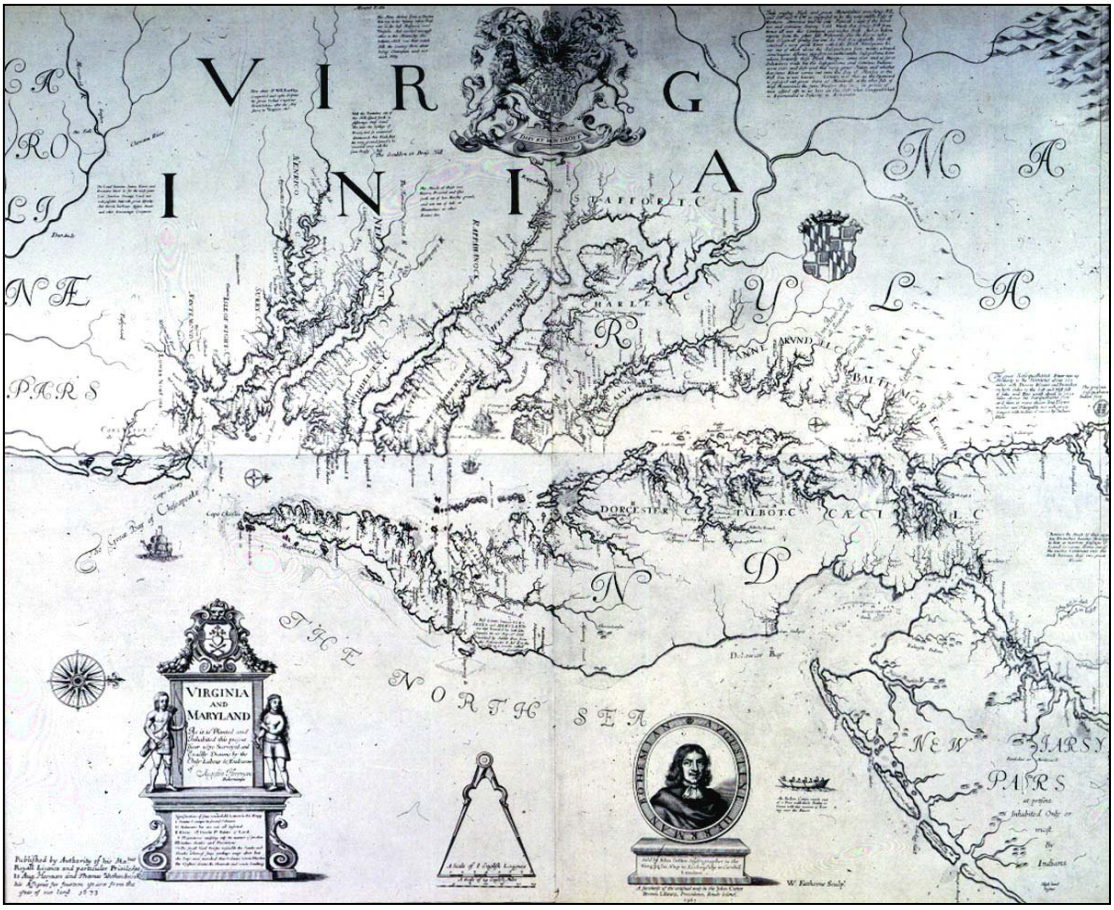


FIGURE 24: Augustine Herrman's Map of Virginia and Maryland, 1678

for deer, buffaloes, bears, turkeys, the woods do swarm with them, and the soil is exceedingly fertile, but above this place the country is rocky and mountainous like Cannida."

On June 27 Fleet and his crew set off in a shallop with the rising tide, and rowed another three miles, but they stopped about 6 miles short of the Falls. He learned that there was "a fair river" beyond the rocky falls, because his brother and the two Indians "came thither" on July 3, after a trip of seven days out and five days back. "They all did affirm that in one palisado, and that being the last of thirty, there were three hundred houses, and in every house forty skins at least, in bundles and piles." Fleet's descriptions must be taken with a grain of salt. Prior to his venture on the Potomac, his efforts to attract financial backers in Great Britain had included some obvious stretching of the truth. He claimed that he had seen the South Seas from Virginia, that the natives made paintings sprinkled with gold powder, and that rare precious stones and costly pelts of black fox abounded in the territory.

Fleet's brother had deposited his presents with the king of the fortified town, and a selected party of 110 Indians accompanied him half the way back, in order to assess the advantages of trading with the British. The Nacostines (Nacotchtanks) had intercepted them, however, and warned them (falsely) that Fleet had been paid off by the Piscataways to exact revenge on the upriver people for a previous deadly attack. When Fleet complained to the Nacostines, they offered to act as intermediaries, in exchange for gifts and a firm agreement. He refused, a decision he would later regret.

On July 10 Fleet was approached at the river by a small trading party from Usserahak, which included a woman and an interpreter. After an initial ritual of submission, they came aboard to trade their beaver pelts. They said that they had come down with 60 canoes, but the Nacostines had stopped them. If Fleet showed them sufficient "truck" to make trade worthwhile, they promised to bring 1,000 people back to do business. He worried that his poor supply of goods would not excite their interest; they wanted "hatchets, and knives of large size, broad-cloth, and coats, shirts, and Scottish stockings. The women desire bells, and some kind of beads."

The next day Fleet was visited by "seven lusty men, with strange attire"; they wore red fringe, and two had beaver coats, which they gave to him. They seemed to come from a different place than the previous party; they called themselves Mostikums. Initially sneering at his "truck," they became friendlier aboard his ship, and drew a map of their homeland. Fleet remarked that it "was nothing different from the former plot drawn by the other Indians" the day before. Fleet later learned that these men were not really Mostikums but instead lived three days' journey from that group. His visitors were properly called "Herecheenes" (Hereckeenes?); they traded beaver with the French at Quebec, "which is fifteen days journey from this place." It seems most likely that these men were Eries. Sanson's 1656 map refers to the latter as "Eriechrounons ou Nation du Chat;" the 1635 Jesuit Relations spelled this name as Rhiierrhonons. Estimates of Erie population range from about 10,000 to 30,000. After their defeat by the Five Nations Iroquois in 1657, the dispersed Eries began to drift southeast toward the Chesapeake region. They are believed to be the people referred to in colonial documents as Richahecrian or Rickohocans. "Herecheen" appears similar to these varied labels for the Eries.

Fleet's interpreter, named William Elderton, was eager to accompany the Herecheenes despite Fleet's warning that they were reputed cannibals. Elderton went off with them on July 14. The following day the Usserahak traders returned; learning that Elderton had departed, they worried that his Herecheene guides would kill and eat him. Fleet asked them to find Elderton. On the July 18 he hired 16 Piscataways to carry his trade goods upriver, and asked one of them, his "factor," to bring Elderton back on their return.

The Piscataways returned on August 7, with 80 skins sent by the "Tohogaes." Nine hundred of the latter, reassured by the Usserahaks of Fleet's good intentions, planned to bring down "great packs of beaver" to trade with him before winter. It had taken the Piscataway traders 20 days to reach Tohoga, do business there, and return—exactly the same time as it had taken Fleet's brother. Still, the Tohogas and their allies held back, cautiously awaiting word that Fleet did not hold the rumored death of Elderton and the Herecheenes' "Mostikum" ruse against them. Fleet's store of food and goods was running low, however, so he sailed back to the Piscataway territory, where he stayed at the town of Moyumpse (also known as Moyaone, and identified as the Accokeek Creek Site). Envoys from Usserahak, Tohoga, and Mostikum entreated him to wait there for another 15 days, so their people could come down to trade. In the meantime, however, Fleet heard that a party, including his trading rival, Charles Harman, was searching for him. On August 28 Captain John Utie arrested Fleet for unauthorized trading. By the time Fleet had eluded his legal difficulties, his trading opportunity with the Massawomecks was gone.

Do the upriver towns specifically named by Fleet—Tonhoga, Mosticum, Shaunetowa, and Usserahak—have any basis in fact? Three of these names bear a passing resemblance to the names of tribal groups listed by the Swedish colonists in New Jersey in the 1650s, as "nations" allied with the "true" Minquas (i.e., the Susquehannocks, probably). These were the Tehaque (compare to Tonhoga), Skonedidehaga (called Sconondihago in a 1661 Maryland treaty; compare to Shaunetowa), and Serosquacke (compare to Usserahak). "Mosticum" does not closely resemble the name of any Eastern group. It cannot be the self-designation of any Iroquoian-speaking group because Iroquoian languages lack the "m" sound. Perhaps it refers to the Mascouten (also called Masquitamis and Musquitans), a Central Algonquian-speaking group that lived around the western shore of Lake Erie in the mid-seventeenth century. This location may seem too far off for the Mascouten to have come to Fleet's attention, but if the Eries were known in the Chesapeake region, why not the Mascouten, too? Arguing against this identification are the facts that all known references to the Mascouten during the seventeenth century are in French sources, and prior to 1658 the French referred to this tribe using their Iroquoian, not Algonquian, name (the first recorded use of "Maskoutensak" is in the Jesuit Relation of 1658). Fleet's "Shaunetowa" actually appears very similar to a name used for a village or district of the Senecas in the mid-seventeenth century: Sonontouehronon (Jesuit Relation 1640), Sonnontouan (Jesuit Relation 1668), and Sinnedowane. Of course, it also bears an obvious resemblance to "Shenandoah," which is most plausibly derived from Iroquoian *skahentowane*, "big flat place." The seventeenth-century Senecas referred to an otherwise unknown non-Iroquoian people in the Ohio region as Touguenhas; might this be the basis of Fleet's "Tonhoga"?

The account of Fleet's brother's trading expedition provides the strongest evidence of the locations of the four upriver nations. He is said to have taken seven days for the upriver voyage

and five days to come back (presumably by canoe). The Piscataway traders also took 20 days for the same trip (with an interval of trading between the travel episodes). Experienced paddlers can do about 20 miles per day, maximum. So, the four Massawomeck nations could not have been more than about 100 to 140 miles northwest or west of Little Falls. Plotting this distance on a map puts them somewhere in west-central Pennsylvania, western Maryland, or West Virginia. A location in the former area would also be about a three-day trip from the southern shores of Lake Erie, home of the Herecheenes—presumed Eries. This location gives some reason to equate the Massawomecks with the archeologically attested Monongahela culture. This culture evidently persisted into the protohistoric period—trade goods such as glass beads have been recovered—but Monongahela villages seem to have been abandoned about 1635. The coincidence of Fleet's expedition (1632) and Monongahela collapse raises the question of epidemic disease again; might Fleet's company have transmitted a disease to the upriver Indians?

If Fleet's four nations were not the Monongahela people, an alternative possibility is that they were culturally and linguistically (but not politically) affiliated with the Susquehannocks. Clearly, the Massawomecks were not political allies of the Susquehannocks; the early historical accounts always describe them as mortal enemies of each other. Judging from pottery and European trade bead styles, the earliest Susquehannock villages along the north and south branches of the upper Potomac seem to have been established around 1590. Intriguingly, some of the ceramics display attributes suggesting incorporation of design traditions of the preceding Keyser complex inhabitants of this area, which may indicate absorption of the local population by the Susquehannock colonizers. However, the Susquehannock sites were abandoned about 1620, and the people living on the upper Potomac between 1620 and 1640 seem to have been Monongahela refugees. Again, this would imply that the Massawomecks visited by Fleet's brother were actually Monongahela people.

How Did the Rivers Get Their Names?

When people move into a new region, they often keep some of the place names used by the earlier inhabitants. This is especially true of rivers, as a glance at almost any map of North America will show you. As we have already noted, the Potomac was named by John Smith for the Patawomeck people, who were one of the most influential groups living beside the river, below the Fall Line. Europeans who ventured into the mid-Potomac region in the early eighteenth century collected names for the major streams that they observed from local Indian informants. Augustine Herrman's map, dating to 1673, shows Anacostien Ile and Turkey Buzzard Point on the Potomac (see Figure 24). The latter name, which has survived to the present as a Washington, D.C., place name, is applied to the entire river in Herman Moll's 1708 map, which was derived from Herrman's earlier work. The sinuous course of the Potomac as depicted, above the Falls, suggests that Herrman possessed a vague knowledge of the river's actual appearance. A tributary called North East Branch corresponds, very roughly, to Seneca Creek. This major branch continued to be shown, erroneously, on derivative maps into the 1730s. It seems that Herrman had also been informed of another split of the main course, somewhere to the west. He labeled the two branches beyond the confluence as Monanlock and Accomachena. "Monanlock" might be a distorted reference to the Monocacy. If so, this would preclude a derivation from the Shawnee language because the Shawnees would not arrive in this

area until more than 30 years after the map was drawn. Beside the Monanlock Herrman placed a paragraph discussing the mountains to the west. Here, he mentions the River of the Black Mincquas who formerly came down as far as Delaware to trade "but the Sassquahana and Sinnicus Indians went over and destroyed that very great Nation." He shows no British settlements any farther north than the future location of Mount Vernon.

In 1707 the Swiss entrepreneur Franz Louis Michel drew a sketch map on which he called the Monocacy River "Quattaro" (Figure 25). His partner, Baron Christoph von Graffenried, visited the area in 1712. On his map he calls the river "Cotarki" (Figure 26). These seem to be transcriptions of the same native name. Quattaro-Cotarki looks Iroquoian and resembles the names of other streams in Iroquois-dominated areas. In western New York there is a Cattaraugus Creek. Near Kingston, Ontario, La Salle built Fort Frontenac in 1673 at a place called Cataracoui. The same name was applied to a section of the St. Lawrence River, near Montreal, and to another river. Its meaning is given in some sources as "muddy river."

Three Iroquoian-speaking groups traversed the mid-Potomac in the seventeenth century or early eighteenth century: the Eries, Susquehannocks, and "Senecas" (an Algonquian term of uncertain etymology, often used in the seventeenth century to refer generically to the four Iroquois nations other than the Mohawks). In 1707 the Senecas were the Iroquoian speakers that Michel was most likely to have encountered, so they are the most likely source of this river name. However, in 1721 two Senecas ("Sinequas") informed Philemon Lloyd that they called the Monocacy, "Cheneoow-quoquey." Lloyd, the personal secretary to the governor of Maryland, had drawn a map (Figure 27) of the mid- and upper Potomac region, based upon information provided by "an Indian trader." On this map a house located on the southeast side of the confluence of the Potomac and Conococheague Creek is labeled as "An Indian Traders Habitacon @ 40 Miles from Monokkasey." The unnamed trader was probably Andrew (or Anders) Friend, who may have set up a trading post there around 1720, when he was acting as an intermediary in negotiations between the Maryland government and the Shawnees at Opessa's town. Friend, a Delaware Finn/Swede, had first traded with the Shawnees about 10 years earlier, when they were living near Conestoga. His long association with this tribe would explain why the place names he reported were understood by Lloyd to be of Shawnee derivation.

Lloyd's encounter with two Iroquois diplomats in Annapolis was a fascinating moment of cultural contact. As he wrote,

> I had ye Curiosity of Shewing them the draft wch I found at once surprised and pleased them for as soon as they perceived to be a draft of ye Potowmack River of themselves they Pointed to ye Severall Creeks, falling into it and told me the Names thereof . . . Ye fellows were pleased to see their Warr Road or Great Tract to ye Southward, laid down by ye double Prickt Lines wch of themselves they took Notice of & as well as they could make me to Understand that it was their Tract when they went to Warr with the Southward Indians & Wondered how I came to know anything of it [Mayre 1935:117].

The surprise and pleasure of the ambassadors at seeing for the first time a map of a place they knew in a completely different way reminds us that a clash of cultures can produce many opportunities for learning on both sides.

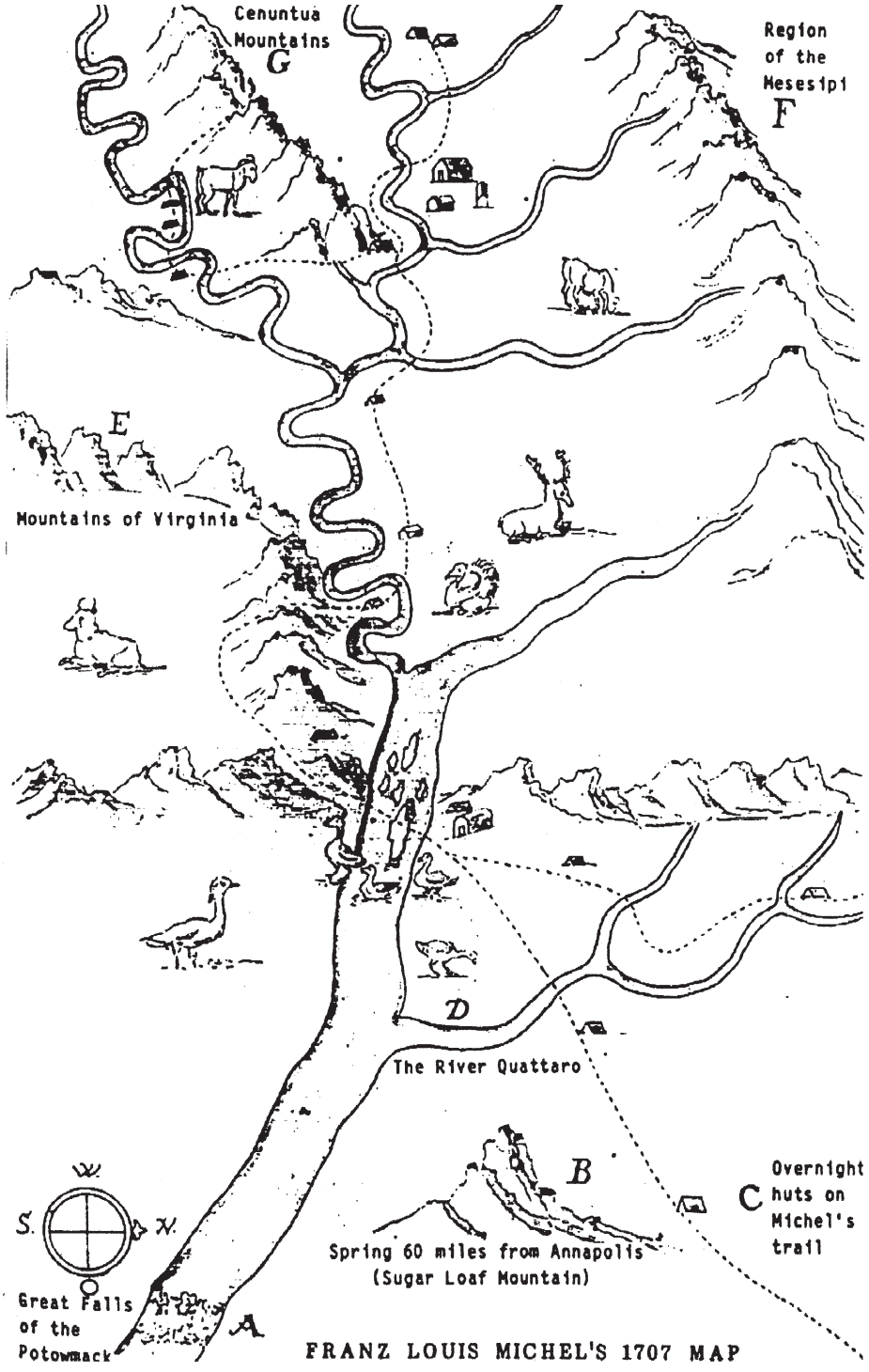
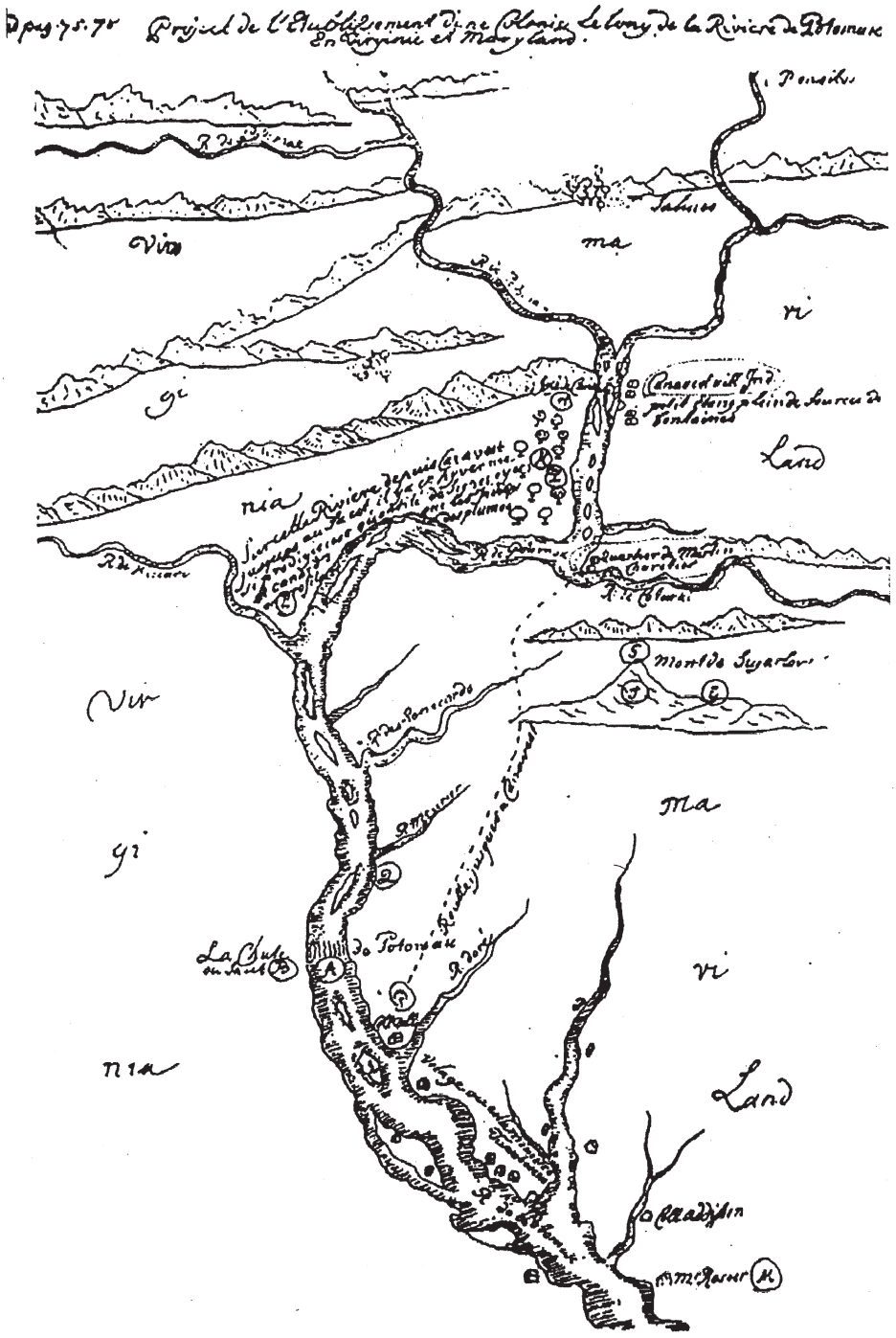
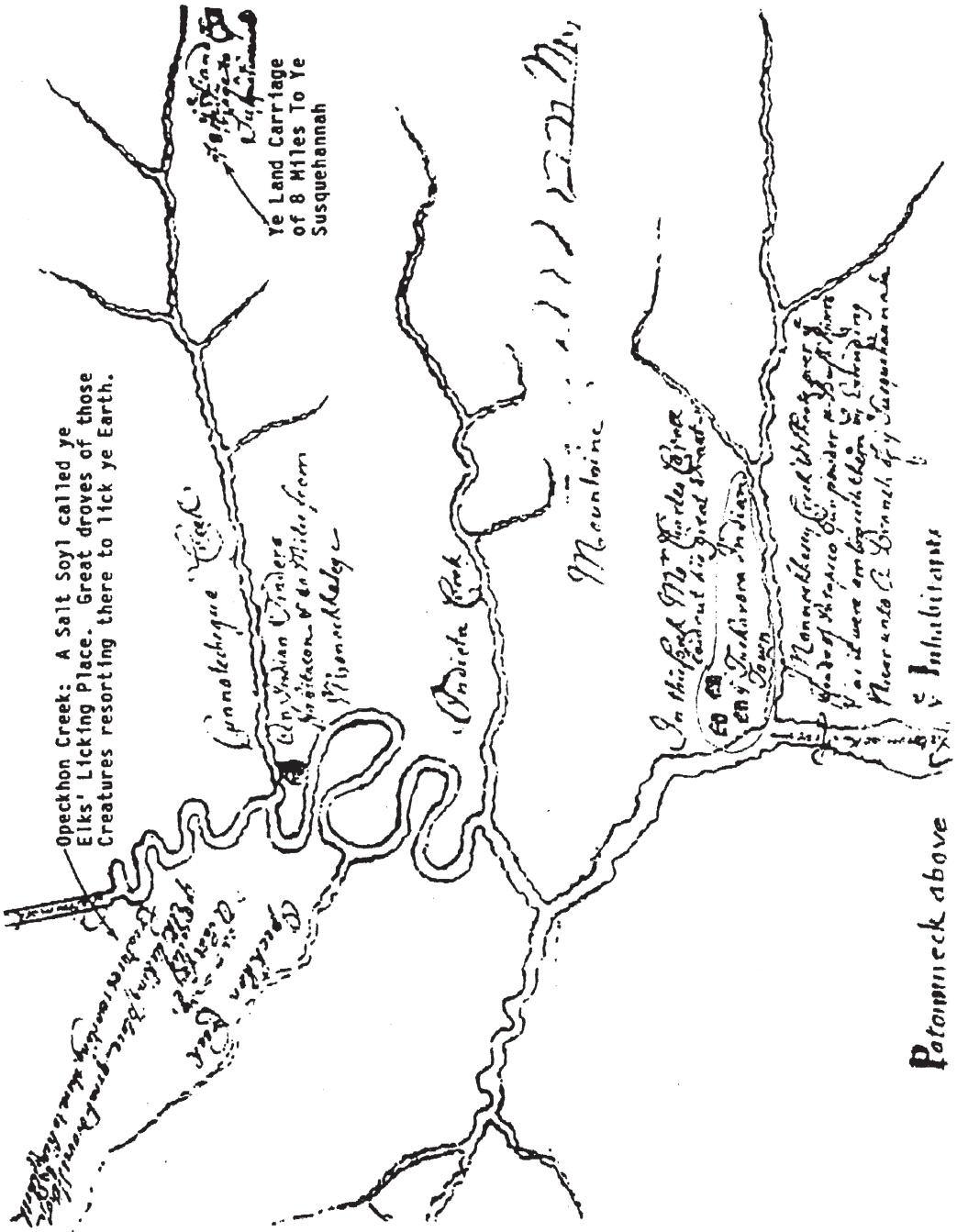


FIGURE 25: Michel's Map of the Mid-Potomac, 1707



CHRISTOPH VON GRAFFENRIED'S 1712 MAP

FIGURE 26: Graffenried's (1714) Map of the Mid-Potomac, Drawn in 1712



A Portion of Philemon Lloyd's Map of 1721
"Powtowmeck above ye Inhabitants"

FIGURE 27: Lloyd's Map of the Mid-Potomac, 1721

Lloyd noticed that the Seneca ("Senequas") and Shawnee ("Shawennows") names were somewhat different:

Senequas	**Shawennows**
Cheneoow-quoquey	Monnockkesey
Cunnaquachegue	Cunnatachegue
Cayeunto	Ondieta
Chennandoowa	Cinnandoa
Cunnatiqua-Necota	Cunnatique-me
Kahungaluta	Hungaluta
Kahundoa	Maholicty
Cunnawaas	Potowmeck

Lloyd's map is the first to use the name "Monnockkesey" (Monocacy). This word definitely is not Iroquoian, as the "m" sound is not used by Iroquoian languages; it is probably Algonquian. There is another Monocacy Creek in Pennsylvania, a tributary of the Lehigh. That name is generally attributed to the Eastern Algonquian Delaware language; a folk etymology gives the meaning as "stream with large bends." But there was never a significant Delaware population on the mid-Potomac. The Shawnees spoke a Central, not Eastern, Algonquian language. However, they had become closely allied with native Delaware groups in the Delaware valley between 1700 and 1710, so it would not be surprising if some members of any given "Shawnee" band were actually Delawares. When Baron von Graffenried arrived at the mouth of the Monocacy in 1712, he rendezvoused there with the French Canadian trader, Martin Chartier, and his party of Shawnees. But these people were not native to the area; they had come from Pequea, near Conestoga on the Susquehanna. They must have called the river "Cotarki," which is the name Graffenried recorded. What happened between 1712 and 1721 that would account for the change from Quattaro-Cotarki to Monocacy?

In 1713 or soon thereafter, Tuscarora refugees from North Carolina settled just west of the Monocacy, next to Tuscarora Creek (obviously named for them). Lloyd's map includes a sketch of their village. The Tuscaroras were Iroquoian speakers, so they are clearly not the source of the name "Monocacy." The Moravian missionary, David Zeisberger, who translated the Delaware language, recorded the word *menachkhasu*, meaning "a fortified place." After the French built a fort at the site of modern Pittsburgh, the Delawares called the place Menachksink, "where there is a fence." A plausible interpretation of "Monnockkesey" is that the Shawnee and Delawares came to call the Potomac/Monocacy confluence "the fortified place" after 1713, when the Tuscaroras built a stockaded village there. The weak point of this theory is that Lloyd's sketch does not depict a palisade around the Tuscarora community in 1721.

Michel, Graffenried, and Lloyd all refer to the upper river as the Potomac, but this does not seem to have been its most common name in the early 1700s. Several other sources indicate that above the Falls the river was known as Cohongorooto, Cokongoloto or Cohongoronton. A 1738 map by John Warner, based upon 1730 and 1737 surveys, calls the river "Cokongoloto *anglice* Goose Creek." Waterfowl seem to have been prominent in the Indians' understanding of the river. Michel's map (see Figure 25) contained a whimsical picture of ducks crossing the river south of Conoy (now Heaters) Island. Graffenried observed the abundant waterfowl between

Canavest and the Falls. His map (see Figure 26) bears this notation, in French: "There is in Winter such a prodigious number of swans, geese and ducks on this river from Canavest to the Falls that the Indians make a trade of their feathers." This note is placed at the juncture of the Potomac and Goose Creek, which Graffenried labeled as the "R. de Hiccari" [i.e., Hickory].

The onomatopoeic *cohonk* as the word for "goose" occurs in Algonquian languages, including Powhatan, which might suggest an Algonquian origin for Cohongorooto (also recorded as Cohongaluto and Cohongoronton). However, the Shawnee language uses *lika* or *nika* for goose, and river is *thiipi.* So, Shawnee does not appear to be the source of the river's name. The Iroquoian Seneca language has *hokank* for goose, and *kehote* for river. *Hokankkehote* is the plausible derivation of Cohongorooto. Harrison correctly attributed this name to "the northern Indians."

The precise denomination of the forks of the upper Potomac became an important issue in mid-eighteenth-century land disputes because Lord Baltimore's grant included the Potomac River to its source. It is not surprising, then, that Virginians preferred to use the alternative name for the upper river. In 1737 William Byrd designated the confluence of the Shenandoah and the Cohongarooton as the "head" of the Potomac (Harrison 1924:151); but he was contradicted by the commissioners representing Lord Fairfax, who said that the Cohongarooton began at the Falls.

1692

After the accounts of Henry Fleet, little news came from the upper Potomac into our records until the 1690s, when European settlement got under way. The upper Potomac seems to have been a kind of no-man's land, with many different groups passing through the area but none staying for long. Several Indian nations claimed rights over the land, including the Five Nations Iroquois, the Susquehannocks, and the Shawnee. Groups of Indians seeking refuge from warfare came to the upper Potomac, as did European traders, land speculators, and runaway slaves. At first the traders were mainly Frenchmen from Canada or Swedes from Delaware. On the frontier people of all these cultures met, traded, fought, intermarried, and built a new kind of society that drew from many older ways. The first Maryland settlement west of the Falls was established in 1692, and this makes a convenient point to take up the story.

British settlement had reached the Falls of the Potomac by the 1680s, and in 1688 the first land patents were claimed along Rock Creek. Those early claimants got little use out of their lands for some years because the 1690s were a time of great conflict all along the frontiers. Fighting in Europe between Britain's new Protestant rulers, William and Mary, and His Catholic Majesty the King of France spilled over into North America, and both kingdoms urged their Indian allies to take up the hatchet. The year 1692 was a particularly bad one in the colonies. There had been attacks by Indians on settlements in Massachusetts and New York, with many captives taken. Hundreds of refugees had fled outlying towns to take refuge in older settlements like Salem, Massachusetts, where a group of refugee girls made the accusations that launched America's worst witch hunt. In Pennsylvania rumors spread that an army of French soldiers and their Indian allies was marching to Maryland, where they would join with English Catholics and overthrow the Protestant governments, handing the colonies over to France.

At the height of the Pennsylvania panic, an Englishman named Polycarpus Rose was traveling north of Philadelphia with a Swedish friend named Peter Yokum when they met a certain "madam Letort," the wife of French trader Jacques LeTort. Madam LeTort chased Rose and Yokum away from her house with a horsewhip, saying "ther was no path for Sweads or English rogues there, for no English Rogue nor Swead should come on her ground." Rose tried to interest the government of Pennsylvania in the matter, claiming that LeTort and another French trader named Peter Bisaillon had told him the Indians were talking openly about a French invasion. Rose also claimed that Madam LeTort had dealings with "strange Indians" and that she showed him a packet of letters that were circulating among the Indians, no doubt (Rose implied) instructions from the French. Madam LeTort was called to Philadelphia, where she, through an interpreter, said that what Rose took for letters was only her account books, and that their argument was not over politics but over whether she or Peter Yokum would get to sell rum to a party of visiting Indians, "whereupon shee in her anger, might call him and the sd polycarpus Rose names" (Pennsylvania Archives I:435).

In 1692, amidst "dread of Indians" that triggered witch scares and magnified a tavern keepers' brawl into an international incident, the government of Maryland reformed its frontier defense

force, the Maryland Rangers. The numbers of these irregular soldiers were increased, their pay was fixed, arrangements were made with friendly tribes to supply them with Indian auxiliaries, and three forts were built at key places along the frontier. One of the ranger forts was on the Potomac, probably on the bluffs overlooking the foot of Little Falls. The inlet at the base of those bluffs, where Fletcher's Boat House now stands, was known for decades as Garrison Cove. (A century later, this cove, also called Lock Harbor, was to be the starting place of the Patowmack Company's first canal.) The Potomac rangers were commanded by Captain Richard Brightwell, who would be remembered 150 years later as a rough frontiersman in the style of Davy Crockett: "Brightwell seldom visited the lower settlements, being content with his dogs, pet bears, and deer for companions . . ." (Scharf 1882:65). As for his men, their character can perhaps be judged by the order given to Brightwell "to keep his men out ranging and not let them come to the settlements." Brightwell and his men regularly patrolled the whole area from the Potomac River to the Patuxent, venturing perhaps 20 miles west of their fort. They were mainly looking for "strange Indians," that is, Indians other then the Piscataways and Nanticokes who lived in Maryland and had always been friendly with the British.

Brightwell also traded with the Indians from the garrison house on the Potomac, using bolts of red and blue cloth obtained on the governor's personal account. A document dated March 3, 1697, tells us that Brightwell received saddles, bridles, weapons (carbines, pistols, bayonets) and 41 yards of blue duffels and 21 yards of red duffels "to be disposed off by Capt Brightwell for Skins and ffurs for the Governors use . . ."(Archives of Maryland 23:75). In 1697 he reported that the Rangers had been patrolling up and down the Eastern Branch and as far as the headwaters of the Patuxent and a place Brightwell called the Sugarlands. The Sugarlands were floodplains where sugar maple trees grew, especially the broad floodplain where the McKee-Beshers wildlife refuge is located today. Virginia historian Robert Beverley (1705:ii, 21) noted the discovery of sugar maples growing along the Potomac, something not known elsewhere in eastern Virginia. A party of Virginia rangers

> observed an inspissate Juice, like Molasses, distilling from the Tree. The Heat of the Sun had candied some of this juice, which gave the Men a Curiosity to taste it. They found it Sweet and by this Process of Nature learn'd to improve it into Sugar. But these Trees growing so far above the Christian Inhabitants, it hath not been tried whether for Quantity or Quality it may be worth while to cultivate this Discovery…yet it has been known among the Indians longer than any now living can remember (Beverley 1705:ii, 21).

Captain Brightwell was not so busy with ranging and trading that he forgot to look after his own financial interests. In his report of October 12, 1697, Brightwell wrote, ". . . We kept constantly Ranging from our Garrison to the Sugar Lands wch we compute to be about forty miles, being generally Stony Rocky land, near the River, all the way thither, and barrens backwards; but the Sugar Lands extraordinary rich . . ." (Archives of Maryland 23:261). By then Brightwell had already claimed 1,086 acres of the Sugarlands for himself; in a patent dated to 1695, he called the land Brightwell's Hunting Quarter. The plantation established on Brightwell's claim was one of the most important outposts of British settlement west of the Falls for the next 30 years, and it appears again in our story later on.

These events of 1692 bring together some of the main themes of life along the upper Potomac in the whole colonial period. It was a zone of conflict, regularly crossed by war parties and

constantly troubled by rumors of war. It was a place where different cultures met, sometimes to do business and sometimes in bitterness. It was a place that drew outcasts, from Indians driven out of their homes to Swedes whose country had brought them to America but then abandoned them to life under foreign rulers. It was a place of imagined riches that drew men with greedy dreams—dreams of trading wealth, of vast plantations, of silver mines, of canals that would link the continent together. The frontier bred a group of men who were at home moving between cultures but who paid the price of no longer being fully accepted by any of them. Characters like Bisaillon and the LeTorts were essential to both Indian and European leaders, but they were always a focus of suspicion. Bisaillon and Jacques LeTort were both employed by the governor of Pennsylvania to interpret at Indian treaty negotiations, but both were jailed at various times on suspicion of supporting the governor's French and Native American enemies, and both were also accused by their Indian friends of cheating them at trade.

The Piscataways at Heaters Island

One of the Indian groups that lived for a time along the upper Potomac was the Piscataways. The Piscataways, also known as the Conoys, suddenly left their traditional homeland on Piscataway Creek in 1697. They had been falsely accused of making attacks on white and black Marylanders, and they feared revenge attacks by the colonists. The events that led to this move are related in a report by George Brent, a prominent Marylander with Piscataway cousins, in a report of June 29, 1697. Brent's information came from questioning another Indian, called Choptico Robin.

> Early in the Spring to witt about 5 months last past Esq Tom [a Maryland Pamunkey] was at or about the falls of Potomock and there were some Piscattoway Indians & some of those Seniquos that live in the mountains, amongst which last was a Susquehanah a great man whose name is Monges [Archives of Maryland 23:187].

Monges offered a large belt of "peak" (wampum) to Squire Tom, confiding in him a plan to wreak revenge on the British and also their Piscataway collaborators. The plan was to foment an incident and blame it upon the Piscataway *tayac*. Tom and seven Pamunkey accomplices killed a white woman (Mrs. William Wigenton) and her three children at their frontier home at the head of Aquia Creek. Captured by George Mason and hauled before the Stafford County Court, they implicated the *tayac*. He appeared before the court to deny their accusation. One of the accomplices broke down and admitted the ruse. The accomplices were hanged, but Tom escaped and presumably found sanctuary with the Iroquois.

At about the same time (April 3, 1697), Indians murdered a Negro slave boy who belonged to James Stoddart, a planter on the Eastern Branch (Archives of Maryland 19:557, 568). The motivation seems to have been a grudge about trade. Brent did not know if the same gang was responsible for the murder of Stoddart's boy and the Virginia killings. In any case the Piscataways were blamed for the murder, especially by Colonel Addison of the Maryland Rangers. The *tayac* and his advisers expressed particular annoyance about Addison's threats and insults (Archives of Maryland 19:566). The nervous *tayac*, fearing retaliation, led his people along with the Mattawomans and Chopticos across the Potomac, first into present-pday Fauquier County in 1697 ("betwixt the two first mountains above the head of Occoquan River"), then

north to Conoy Island in 1699. He refused the inducements of Major William Barton, sent by the Maryland government to ask the Piscataways to return (Archives of Maryland 19:566).

Two Virginians, Burr Harrison and Giles Vandercastel, visited the Conoy fort on Heaters Island in 1699. They were ordered by Virginia Governor Francis Nicholson to gather intelligence about the Conoy and to invite their leader to come to Williamsburg. At the west tip of the island, a few hundred yards east of the present Point of Rocks bridge, Harrison and Vandercastel described the Piscataway fort: 50 or 60 yards square with 18 cabins within the fort and nine outside the enclosure. About 40 years ago the State of Maryland, which owns Conoy Island, took infrared aerial photographs of the island, which is now a nature preserve. The rotted logs of the fort and cabins remained visible as a dark red outline. Harrison and Vandercastel noted that the fort and cabins housed about 215 Indians, 80 or 90 "bowmen," an equal number of women and about 46 children.

> 'They have Corne, they have Enuf and to spare,' the report said. Although no "straing" (strange) Indians were present, "the Emperor sayes that the Genekers [Senecas] Lives with them when they are att home [Scheel n.d.].

The Conoys were visited during the following year (1700) by the Virginia rangers, Giles Tillet and David Straughan (or Strahane), who reported that Miami raiders were harassing the Conoys.

The Swiss promoter Graffenried (see below) referred to a nearby settlement, on the eastern bank of the Potomac, as the "Canavest" village (the name was derived from a variant form of Conoy, "Canawese" or "Ganawense"). Graffenried's reference to the location of Canavest as "petit etang plein de sources de fontaines" (small pond, full of springs) strongly suggests that it can be identified with the modern Kanawha Springs, southeast of Point of Rocks. "Kanawha" is clearly derivative from Canavest or Conoy. Archeological Site 18FR8, which has been excavated by members of the Archeological Society of Maryland, is likely to be the location of Canavest. In 1704 the Conoys were hit by an epidemic. They were still living on Heaters (Conoy) Island in 1712, but soon after that they moved on to the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania. A limited archeological investigation of Heaters Island suggested that occupation of the Conoy Fort ceased around 1710. The documentary evidence is unclear, but it seems that at least some Piscataways lived along this stretch of the Potomac until 1722, when they were admitted by treaty to the lands of the Six Nations in New York (Harrison 1924:100).

The Tuscarora and other Iroquois

The Tuscarora were a tribe from North Carolina who spoke an Iroquoian language and had ties of some kind with the Five Nations of the north. In 1713, after their defeat in a war against the South Carolina colonists and their Cherokee allies, Tuscarora Indian refugees fled northward. Some of them were reportedly living among the New York Iroquois in September 1714 (Figure 28). Their formal adoption by the Iroquois occurred in 1722 or 1723. At some time between 1713 and 1721, a group of Tuscarora settled on the Potomac near the mouth of the Monocacy. Their town is shown here on Philemon Lloyd's map (see Figure 27). Obviously, the name of Tuscarora Creek is a memory of their presence on the spot. The 1728 patent for what we know



FIGURE 28: An Episode from the Tuscarora War, 1711-1714. Christoph von Graffenried, Who Drew the Sketch, Is Held Captive by Tuscaroras While His Companion, John Lawson, Is Killed *SOURCE: North Carolina State Archives*

as Noland's Island, then called Broken Island, begins at a point "just above the Indian town landing," which would put the landing at Noland's Ferry. As late as 1744 a survey of Carrollton mentioned "an old Indian Field" about 1,000 feet north of Noland's Ferry and 500 feet from the Potomac. Archeological survey of the park lands around the ferry failed to locate the town site. Either it was located further from the river or erosion has removed all traces of it.

In 1719 the Potomac Tuscarora sold the rights to 10,000 acres of land near their village to Charles Carroll the Settler, who called the tract Carrollton. The deed, preserved in the Carroll family papers, includes the names of three Tuscarora leaders: "Old George, great King of the Tuscaroras, Captain Edmund one of the great men of the said Nation and Captain Thomas one of the prime nobility of the Seneca nation who intermaryed with the Daughter and heir of King George." A glance at the historical narratives of the period shows that important Tuscaroras generally adopted English names in their dealings with whites. The marriage between the Tuscarora princess and Captain Thomas of the Seneca shows the strength of the ties between the Tuscarora and the northern Iroquois, which would in a few years lead to the Tuscaroras' moving to New York and becoming the sixth nation of the Iroquois League.

Conestoga and Opessa's Town

One of the many groups that claimed ownership over the upper Potomac River in the 1600s was the Susquehannock Indians. In the early 1600s they had been a very powerful tribe, controlling the whole valley of the Susquehanna River and exercising authority over some of the Delawares and possibly other tribes. However, they were weakened by years of fighting with the Iroquois League and slowly pushed southward into Maryland and Virginia. In 1675 they were crushed in a battle at Ocaneechi Island by Nathaniel Bacon's Virginia militiamen. The survivors fled north

to their old territory on the Susquehanna River and Delaware Bay and staged vengeance raids on the Iroquois. Many surrendered to the Iroquois and were taken as captives to New York. In the 1690s the Senecas and the government of Pennsylvania arranged the settlement of Susquehannock captives at Conestoga, in the Susquehannock homeland (Figure 29). The Iroquois League claimed authority over the settlement, and they had to be consulted about all important decisions. In 1698 the tribe counted only 50 men, or perhaps 250 people in all (as reported to the Maryland authorities by the trader, Steelman). The Susquehannocks were joined at Conestoga by varied Indian refugee groups: Iroquois, Conoys, Nanticokes, Delawares, Tuscaroras, and Tutelos (Figure 30). A band of Shawnees arrived in the early 1690s, and in 1701 they received official permission from the Iroquois and the Pennsylvania government to settle on the lower Susquehanna (Archives of Maryland 8:458-470, 517; Pennsylvania Colonial Records 3:471-2).

The most important leader of the Shawnees in this period was Opessa. He signed the treaty of 1701, and in 1707 he received the governor of Pennsylvania at Pequea, the Shawnee settlement near Conestoga. After challenges to his authority, Opessa seems to have been replaced as elected "king" of the Shawnees by Cakundawana (or Carondawana), an ethnic Oneida, in 1714 (Pennsylvania Colonial Records 2:600). In the period ca. 1711 to 1714 Opessa led his loyal faction up the Potomac and founded a Shawnee settlement called at first Opessa's Town, later Oldtown. In July 1720 the acting chief of the Shawnee complained that he had no power to control his young men: "That when their King who was then living, Opessah, took the Government upon him, but the people differed with him; he left them, they had then no Chief . . ." (Pennsylvania Archives III:97). It seems that Opessa was no longer alive in 1720 and that at least some of his people much missed him. We don't know the precise nature of the dispute that led Opessa's Shawnee faction to emigrate, but surely the increasing white settlement around Conestoga, and the desire for more space to live as their ancestors did, must have been motivating factors. Other Indians, including most of the Delawares, also moved west in the early 1700s, establishing towns in the upper Ohio valley.

Martin Chartier and the Shawnees

In the later 1600s trade with Indians on the upper Potomac was largely in the hands, not of British Marylanders, but of French Canadians and Swedes from Delaware. Trade in the unsettled political and military conditions of the time required personal relationships, and it was largely these non-British groups who had such connections with Indians in the region.

The activities of French traders come to light in an investigation carried out by Maryland authorities into the identity and activities of one "Martin Shortive," who had been arrested in 1692 with a group of "strange Indians" at the head of the Chesapeake Bay (Archives of Maryland 8:345,517). Shortive, whom we can identify as Martin Chartier, had been confused with another Frenchman named Casteene. "Casteene's" reported ties to the Penobscots allow him to be identified as Jean-Vincent d'Abbadie de St. Castin, a young French aristocrat who had settled with the Penobscots and married several daughters of the Penobscot chief, Madocawondo. The strange Indians who arrived with the Frenchman were initially suspected by the Maryland



FIGURE 29: An Early Nineteenth-Century Engraving of William Penn Making a Treaty with Indians *Source: Library of Congress*



FIGURE 30: Tishcohan, a Delaware Indian, Painted by Gustavus Hellelisus for John Penn, 1735

Source: Pennsylvania Historical Society

authorities of being Penobscots who had been recently involved in a raid on Schenectady in New York (Archives of Maryland 8:459). However, the testimony of some Susquehannocks clarified the matter. The Indian newcomers were identified as Stabbernowles, who had come from the south, not from the northeast. This name appears to be a clerk's strange corruption of Shawnees. Shortive-Chartier is reported to have lived previously in "Asopris" (Esopus, near the Hudson River)—but this more likely applies to Casteene, with whom Chartier had been confused. This confusion of Shawnees with Penosbscots, and the trader Chartier with the soldier-aristocrat Casteene, is another sign of the tensions of the year 1692, when any stranger might be taken as an enemy and any unusual event be interpreted as a sign of war.

Chartier was said to have left an Indian group called the Twittawees or Twitteway and taken up with the Stabbernowles as they moved south five years before (i.e., in 1688). The Indian woman mentioned in the archives was presumably Chartier's Shawnee wife; their son, Peter, later became a leader of the Shawnees. "Twittawees" refers to the Miamis, whose name was transcribed in many different ways. More details emerged from an interrogation of Chartier in July 1692 (Archives of Maryland 8:345). Chartier admitted that he had deserted from the command of La Salle, the French explorer and settler. La Salle had constructed a fort/trading post, Fort St. Louis, at Starved Rock on the Illinois River in 1682. This post was located in Miami territory. As well as the Miamis, the fort attracted some 200 Shawnees, who lived in the vicinity from 1683 to 1688. Francis Parkman (1983 [1865]) reported that traces of the Shawnee fort, depicted on Franquelin's 1684 map, were still visible as earthworks in the 1860s.

According to Chartier's account, offered under interrogation, he had worked for three years as a house carpenter's assistant in Canada. He had been jailed in Canada for pursuing the beaver trade without the governor's permission, but had escaped into the woods. Since 1684 he had been living as an Indian trader, mainly at Fort St. Louis. When a band of 172 Shawnees emigrated from Fort St. Louis in 1688, Chartier decided to follow them. He took a canoe and traveled 300 leagues, a 40-day trip. He was welcomed by the Shawnee when he caught up with them. The band ultimately relocated to Maryland in 1692. These were the "Stabbernowles" mentioned in the archives, who were encamped on Caspar Herman's manor at the mouth of the Susquehanna in February 1692.

Although Chartier's Shawnees were given official permission to settle in Pennsylvania only in 1701, it is clear that most of them had already been living near Conestoga for several years. In 1697 John Hansson Steelman ("Capt. John Hans Tilman") reported to the Council of Maryland that the Shawnees, numbering about 40 men, were living in a town about 50 miles from his house. The Shawnee settlement, called Pequea, was 2 miles away from the Susquehannock town at Caristaugua (Conestoga). According to the Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, Chartier had been living with the Shawnees at Pequea, but was in Philadelphia in July 1707. In February of that year, he was described to the Pennsylvania Council as "the French Glover of Philadelphia" (Pennsylvania Archives 2:403). Graffenried (1714), in his account of his trip to the Potomac (see below), noted that Chartier had been living in Pennsylvania before coming south. Chartier was residing again at Conestoga at the time of his death in April 1718.

The close connections Chartier and other Frenchmen had made with the Shawnees, including marriages, made possible their work as traders (Figure 31). These trading connections spanned the continent from New York and Montreal to the Illinois country. At Pequea, Chartier became connected with the Indian trade network operated by Jacques LeTort and Pierre Bisaillon. In 1685 William Penn had granted 30,000 acres to Dr. Daniel Coxe, Matthias Vincent, and Major Robert Thompson to set up a trading post on the Schuylkill River, near present-day Phoenixville (Jennings 1984:231). The partners hired Captain Jacques LeTort and his family, Huguenot refugees, to operate the post. Around 1687 to 1678 LeTort undertook a canoe voyage westward; the details were concealed as a trade secret, but Jennings (1984:231) believes that the expedition traveled some distance up the Missouri—more than a century before Lewis and Clark.

It is clear that LeTort developed a relationship with the extensive trans-Appalachian trade network operated by the Bisaillon brothers out of Canada. One of the brothers, Pierre, moved to Pennsylvania to join the LeTort organization. Pierre Bisaillon is referred to in various sources as Bazaillon, Bezaillion, Brazallion, and still other spellings. His tombstone in Chester County, Pennsylvania (dated July 18, 1742), names him as Peter Bezellon. He had arrived in Canada around 1680. Bisaillon joined LeTort around 1690, after a failed trading expedition down the Mississippi. He became closely associated with the Conoy; his Indian wife, Marie Therese Osunesa, may have been Conoy. He also spoke Delaware and was occasionally employed as an interpreter by the Pennsylvania government in negotiations with the Delawares. In June 1708 James Logan, William Penn's secretary, wrote to Penn in defense of Bisaillon, whose goods had been confiscated by the Admiralty Court in Philadelphia. Logan had conducted much business with Bisaillon and his partners, and he regarded him as "very faithful . . . useful and accounted very honest." Logan stated that "For these nine months past, he has been out with Michel in quest of the mines" while his trade goods were being seized (Bisaillon 2004).

Martin Chartier made another brief appearance in the history of the Potomac when Baron Christoph von Graffenried surveyed the river looking for a site to plant a colony of Swiss Anabaptists (Figure 32). Graffenried encountered Chartier at Tuscarora Creek in 1712. Graffenried had been lured northward by Franz Louis Michel, his partner in the Anabaptist settlement scheme. Michel had explored the mid-Potomac in 1707, and he reported (falsely) that he had found a rich mine of silver. Chartier, too, had been taken in by Michel, according to Graffenried: "He also, leaving Pennsylvania on the representations of Mr. Michel, had settled himself there. Before this he had also gone with Mr. Michel to look for the mines and had been to much labor and expense" (Todd 1920:89). Evidently, both Chartier and Bisaillon had devoted much of 1707 to scouting for Michel, but they found no silver.

We get another view of Michel's venture from the Pennsylvania Colonial Records. On February 24, 1707, a messenger from the Conestoga Indians complained that "divers Europeans . . . had seated themselves and built Houses upon the branches of the Patowmeck, within this Govmt., and pretended that they were in search of some Mineral or Ore" (II:403-404). These "Europeans" included Michel, Chartier, LeTort, and Peter Bisaillon, so for a brief time several of the most important operators in the Pennsylvania Indian trade were together on the Potomac, looking for silver. It seems that Europeans in North America never quite gave up the hope that they would find vast hoards of gold and silver as the Spaniards had in Mexico and Peru, so that a charlatan like Michel could always find men willing to be taken in by tales of another El Dorado.

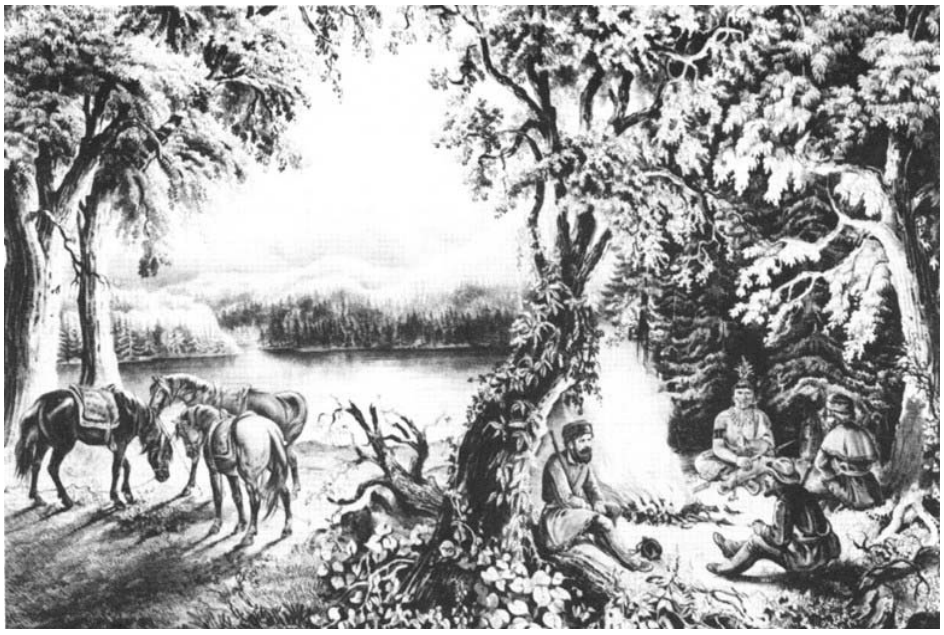


FIGURE 31: A Currier and Ives Lithograph of Traders on the Frontier

Source: Library of Congress



FIGURE 32: "Baron" Christoph von Graffenried

SOURCE: North Carolina State Archives

Swedish Frontiersmen on the Potomac

Those early Potomac traders who were not French were often "Swedes." Most of the "Swedes" were actually from what we now call Finland, then part of the Swedish kingdom, but though the distinction may have been important to the Swedes and Finns it meant little to the British, who called them all Swedes. The close connection between the Swedes of Delaware and the Potomac Indians went back to the 1640s, when the Swedes aided the Susquehannocks in a war against the British in Maryland. The Susquehannocks had connections to the upper Potomac country (and may have come from there in the 1500s) and the Swedes used these ties to enter into the fur trade. In the 1650s the Swedish colony on the Delaware was conquered and taken over by the Dutch, and in 1664 the Dutch colonies were in turn taken over by the British, but the Swedish settlers maintained their distinct identity into the 1700s.

In the late 1680s, as Penn's Quaker colonists became dominant in the Philadelphia region and appropriated the lands of the previous settlers, second- or third-generation Swedes from the Delaware colony drifted into other areas. One cluster of Swedes moved into Cecil County, Maryland. A Lutheran minister was sent from Sweden to be a minister for the congregation there in 1697. Around 1690 to 1693 John Hansson Steelman (born 1655), a son of Hans Mansson, set up a trading post at Elk Landing (known to the Indians as Chakakitque or Sahakitko) at the head of the Chesapeake. Steelman and his son, also named John, were naturalized as residents of Cecil County by an act of the Maryland Assembly in October 1695 (Archives of Maryland 19:281). The LeTort trading post, established in 1685, had become a new magnet for the fur trade, and Steelman must have been hoping to attract some of this business. In fact, he may have reached some sort of cooperative agreement with the French traders. It is probable that LeTort, Bisaillon, and Chartier were the three suspicious French Indian traders reported to the Maryland Council in November 1697 as having frequent dealings with "John Hanstillman" (John Hansson Steelman) of Cecil County (Archives of Maryland 23:304). On June 3, 1697, Steelman ("Capt Hans Tillman") had been ordered to bring the Indians at the head of the Chesapeake to meet with the Governor and Council of Maryland. He was sworn to act as their interpreter (Archives of Maryland 19:530). Steelman may have known the Indians' languages and cultures, but he was not above cheating them when he could. In 1701 the Pennsylvania authorities seized his goods before he could begin trading at Lechay, at the forks of the Delaware. The Indians had complained that he cheated them. Steelman had to obtain a warrant and post a £1,000 bond to resume trading (Pennsylvania Colonial Records II:16-17).

Some idea of the content and volume of the early eighteenth-century fur trade can be gleaned from James LeTort's account book. In October 1704, 57 Indians (mainly Munsee and Shawnees, probably) brought to Pachoqualmah (on the upper Delaware) and Conestoga 454 foxes, 34 raccoons, nine fishers, eight buckskins, six doeskins, and three bear skins (Grumet 1991:229). The absence of beaver from this list is notable; intensive trapping had already wiped out the eastern populations.

By 1712 Andrew Friend (alias Anders Nilson or Neal) had become involved in trade with the Indians at Elk Landing, along with his partner, Charles Anderson (alias Mansson or Mounts) (born ca. 1664), another Swede from Delaware (Craig 1993). Andrew Friend's association with John Steelman is demonstrated by a report that Steelman stayed in his home in 1710. In 1712

Friend and Anderson filed a lawsuit in Cecil County, Maryland, against Anne LeTort, the hot-tempered widow of Jacques LeTort. This suit presumably involved a trade dispute. It is likely that some years earlier Friend and Anderson had become acquainted with the Shawnee chief, Opessa, who lived in Cecil County around 1697 to 1700 before he moved to Pequea. Friend and Anderson must have established a high level of trust with Opessa, since for years they served as intermediaries between the Shawnees and the Maryland government. Charles Anderson's older brother, Christopher Mansson (Mounts, Anderson), born around 1652, evidently had acquired a working knowledge of Indian languages. On August 29, 1700, Christopher Mounts and John Hans (Steelman) served as translators at a meeting of Maryland colony delegates with the "kings" and "great men" of the Susquehannocks, Shawnees, and Delawares. The Shawnees were represented by their king, Ophesaw (Opessa), and his interpreter, Boshaccus (Archives of Maryland 25:104).

One of the issues that the governor of Maryland wanted to discuss with Opessa was the return of runaway African slaves. Opessa was reluctant to do this, and this policy continued after his death. In October 1720 Andrew Friend/Neal, along with other traders, informed the Shawnees that they would be rewarded if they handed over three slaves, but they refused to do so. In October 1722 the Shawanna (Shawnee) King at Conestoga acknowledged that the Shawnees at "Oppertus" (Opessa's town on the Potomac) were harboring no more than 10 "Negroes Slaves belonging to Virginia" (Pennsylvania Colonial Records III:215). He assured the Governor of Pennsylvania that in the spring the runaways would be captured, but they would have to be taken "by Guile" because "they are well armed."

The Swedes used their close connections to the Shawnees and other Indian groups, solidified along the lower Susquehanna in Pennsylvania and Cecil County, to enter into trade and then settlement along the upper Potomac. Around 1720 Anderson/Mansson moved to the western frontier, and he operated a trading post either on Monocacy Creek or at the mouth of Bennett Creek (Tracey and Dern 1987:14). In 1722 the governor of Maryland asked him to negotiate an agreement with the Shawnee chiefs, Pockaseta and Oneakoopa, concerning runaways (Archives of Maryland 25:394). Again, in May 1725, Anderson and John Powell were delegated by the assembly to go to Opessa's Town to resolve this issue. They invited the Shawnee chiefs to a meeting at Anderson's house "on Mononknisea" (Archives of Maryland 25:442-4). The Indians did not come, so Andrew Friend's son, Israel, was delegated in August 1725 to invite the Shawnees to attend the next assembly meeting in Annapolis on October 5 (Archives of Maryland 25:450-1). However, the Shawnees did not appear, and the runaway dispute continued for years.

Anderson's associates, the Steelmans, were also trading on the Monocacy by 1722. John Steelman, Jr., was peripherally involved in the Cartledge case (see below) in 1722, and a document dated October 3, 1724, refers to John Hance Steelman "of Menawkos in Prince George's County" (Tracey and Dern 1987:14). Tracey and Dern state that Steelman's residence was probably in modern Carroll County, midway between present-day New Windsor and Union Bridge on Route 75. They report that Steelman died in 1749 in Lancaster, Pennsylvania; this individual seems more likely to have been John Steelman, Jr., as the elder Steelman would have been well into his nineties at that date.

When Steelman moved his trading operation westward to the Monocacy region, some of his English Quaker associates from Conestoga apparently followed him. John and Edmond Cartledge were trading on the Monocacy in the early 1720s. In February 1722 the Cartledge brothers were charged with the murder of a "great" Seneca warrior named Sawantaeny (or Saroney or Sawney) in an argument over rum and furs. John Cartledge had smashed the Seneca's skull with the butt of his own gun. The killers fled back to their home in Conestoga. Cartledge was tried by the Pennsylvania authorities in the presence of many Indian leaders, and several witnesses gave detailed accounts of the fight and the drinking that preceded it (Pennsylvania Archives 3:147-157). Sawantaeny's body was buried by a Shawnee woman and a character referred to as "the Hermaphrodite of Conestoga." This "hermaphrodite" was probably a man who dressed and acted as a woman, a role recognized by many Indian groups and usually known as *berdache* (a French-Canadian word, ultimately of Persian or Arabic origin). Although we have many accounts of such people among Midwestern tribes, we have only a few bits of evidence that *berdaches* were known in the East. The way the Conestoga hermaphrodite is presented, as if his status needed no explanation, certainly suggests that his way of living was familiar to both the Indians involved in the case (Iroqouis, Susquehannock, Conoy) and to the Pennsylvania and Maryland authorities.

The murder was reported to the Maryland authorities in a letter addressed to Colonel Thomas Addison from John Bradford (February 17). Since the crime was handled by Pennsylvania, the Maryland correspondence mainly concerns the threat to the frontier settlements if Indian raiders should come looking for revenge. Bradford had received an account from John Steelman, Jr.: "The informers are John Hans Steelman Junior and some Indians who came soon after down to the Sugar Lands. . . . I am since informed that Captain John Hans Steelman is Come to Monocasey and hath sent for his Son (who is gone back) to him from the Sugar lands whither he is fled for fear of the Indians(.) The frontier Inhabitants are altogether uncapable of making any defence having neither Powder nor Ball(.) I have sent what little I had by me to the Sugar Lands (.)" In a separate letter, Bradford requested ammunition from the Governor: " . . . as all the Frontiers are in the greatest want of Powder and Ball to defend themselves we humbly pray your Honour to Consider how uncapable we on the back plantations are of defending ourselves unless we can be furnished out of the publick Magazine . . ." (Archives of Maryland 25:380). Governor Calvert's Council sent musket balls and a note from Addison for a quarter barrel of powder, along with instructions to Addison to do what he could to keep the Indians calm. The Cartledges ultimately were released when a deal was struck with the Five Nations.

Andrew Friend may have set up a trading post at the confluence of the Potomac and Conococheague Creek around 1720, when he was acting as intermediary between the Maryland government and the Shawnees at Opessa's town. Philemon Lloyd's map of 1721 (see Figure 27) depicts a house labeled as "An Indian Traders Habitacon @ 40 Miles from Monokkasey" on the southeast side of the confluence. This is presumably the individual credited by Lloyd as the source for many of the stream and place names on the map (cited by Marye 1935:4). Unfortunately, Lloyd does not provide the trader's name. Charles Friend's residence was shown on the opposite side of the creek on the 1736 Winslow map (Figure 33), and this may be the location of the "Swede's (or Sweed's) Delight" tract where his father, Andrew Friend, is reported to have resided at the end of his life. The patent for this 260-acre tract, taken by Charles Friend, gent., is dated December 17, 1739.

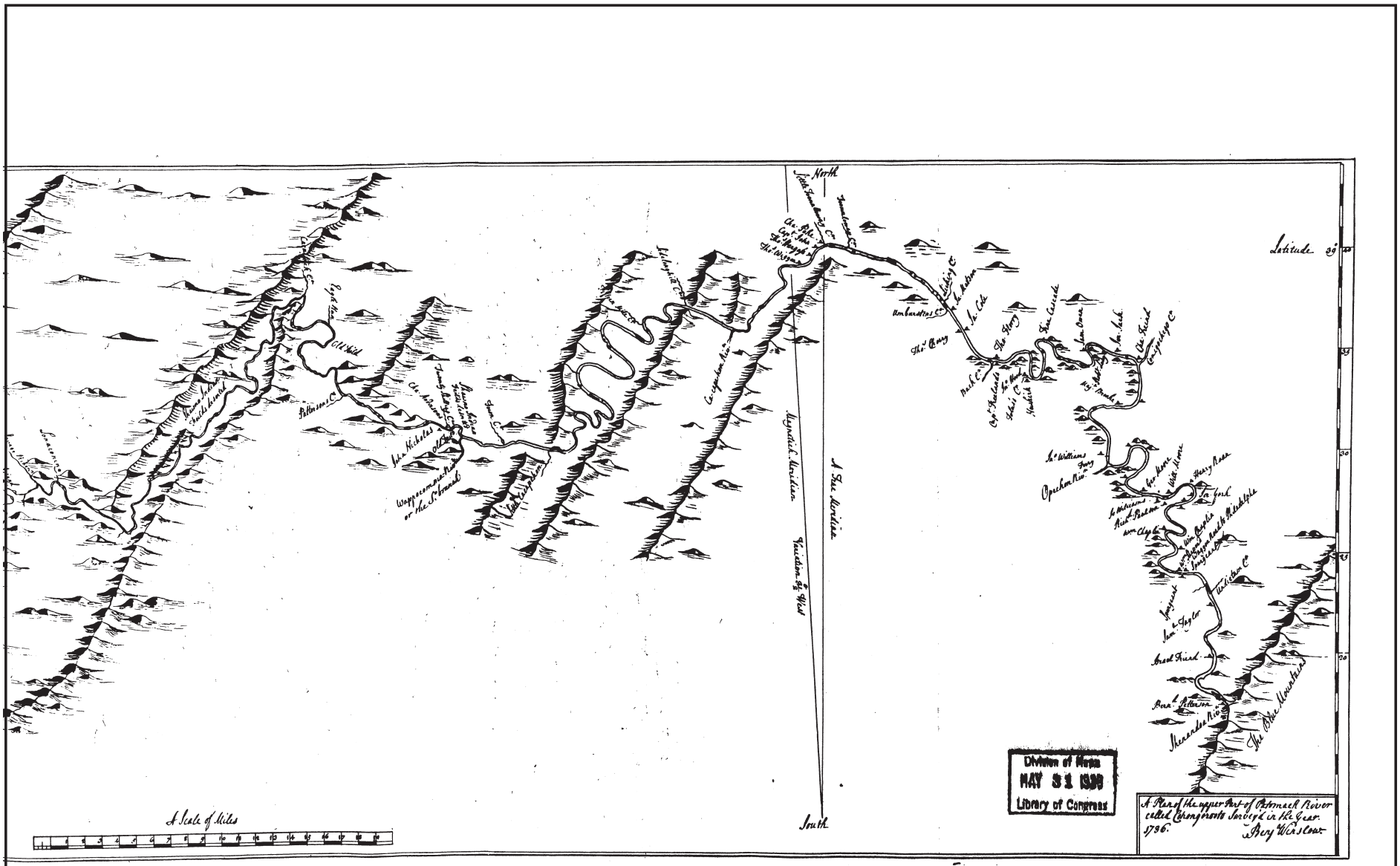


FIGURE 33: Winslow's Map of the Mid-Potomac, 1736

Israel Friend had been born ca. 1693 to Andrew Friend and his wife, identified variously as a Miss Rambo or as Isabela Helm, in Delaware County (then Chester County), Pennsylvania. On January 10, 1727, Israel Friend purchased a tract at the mouth of Antietam (Andahetem) Creek from six chiefs from Conestoga. This seems to be one of only two Indian land purchases ever recorded for the mid-Potomac. The original deed of purchase was reputedly written on birch bark; copies are said to be held by a few historical societies in the area. A booklet that accompanied a museum exhibit, *From northern shore, the Swedish and Finnish presence in colonial Maryland* (1984?), contains a facsimile of the marks of the Susquehannock chiefs on Friend's deed:

Cunnawchala: a fox
Taw,wena: x
Capt. Sivilite: turtle?
Toile Hangee: TH
Shoe Hays: N
Callakahahatt: animal? Canoe?

Several details of the deed (particularly, the determination of parcel boundaries as so many arrow "shoots," and the mixture of naïve prose and archaic legal phrases) appear to be so fanciful as to arouse the suspicion that this document (see text box, following page) is a forgery. However, a letter written to the Maryland government on January 12, 1731/1732 by Captain Civility (Archives of Maryland 20:10) states ". . . We have give no body Land yet but Israel Friend at the mouth of Andahetem. . . ." The letter was co-signed by another Indian chief, Toyl Hangue, whose name, along with Captain Civility's, also appears on the deed. In the letter the chiefs say they represent "all the five Nations"; in the deed they are similarly styled as "Kings and Rulers of the five Nations." If the deed is not genuine, it seems that a very similar document must have recorded the deal between Friend and the Susquehannocks. The legal formulas included in the document show that either a lawyer or professional land agent must have been present, presumably with sufficient paper for the transaction. So, the birch bark tradition is probably a later embellishment.

The first witness is readily identifiable as Humberston Lyon (1690-1743), who is reported to have been living in Monocacy Hundred in 1733. The second witness is not so easily identified. "Margalith" resembles a Central European Jewish surname, which is very improbable and inexplicable in this context (there were a few Jewish traders on the Pennsylvania frontier in this era, but they had names such as Miranda, Solomons, Simon, Levy, and Gratz). Perhaps "Margalith" is a mangled version of Meredith (or Maradith) (recall the 1783 census spelling of "Maradiths [Meredith's] Hunting Quarter" located at the mouth of the Monocacy). However, there is no easy way to turn Meredith Davis, a recorded resident in this area after 1726, into Giles Margalith.

After a fruitless search through genealogical sources for someone named Cox or Elder recorded as living near Antietam Creek in the 1720s, it became evident that the usual transcription of the deed is probably garbled here, as in the case of "Margalith." The reference to notches, right after "Cox Elders," suggests that the elders were actually trees. The deed probably referred to "box elders," a species of maple (*Acer negundo*).

ISRAEL FRIEND'S DEED (enrolled November 27, 1730)

Whereas be it known to all manner of persons whom it may concern, that we Cunnawchala [Cunnawchahala], Taw Wenaw [Taw Senaw, Taw Tenaw], Captain Sivilite, Taile Hangee [Toile Hangee], Shoe Hays, and Callakahahatt [Calakahatt], being Kings and Rulers of the five Nations, for natural love and affection we bear to our brother Israel Friend.

We give unto him and heirs, executors, administrators and assigns a certain piece of land lying between the [lying and being upon] Potomack River, beginning at the mouth of Audietum Creek at Cox Elders, marked with three notches on [one] every side and [to] run up [the] said river two hundred shoots as far as an arrow can be flung out of a bow and to be one hundred shoots right back from the river so containing its square until [til] it intersects with the said creek again with aforesaid land against the mouth of the creek which said land we said Indians and our heirs do warrant and forever defend unto the said Israel Friend, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns forever with all the appurtenances thereunto belonging as fishing, fowling, hawking, hunting, and all other privileges thereunto belonging with paying unto some of us two ears of Indian corn for every year if demanded as witness our hands and seals this tenth day of January one thousand seven hundred and twenty seven.

[The six chiefs signed with their marks.]

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of us.
Thumberston [Humbenton] Lyon [*sic*]
G.H. [Gile] Margalith

Except for Toyl Hangue, all of the other chiefs who signed Friend's deed are attested in Pennsylvania colonial documents as Susquehannock chiefs living at Conestoga in the early eighteenth century. Captain Sivilite was Captain Civility, a prominent chief at Conestoga from around 1700 to 1740. Civility was a common Susquehannock name during the seventeenth century (Jennings 1978). His native name is given as Tagodrancy (in 1712), Tagotolessa (1718), Taquatarensaly (1728), or Tioquataraghse (1735). Captain Civility was present, along with four other Conestoga chiefs and the Shawnee chief, Opessa, on June 8, 1710, in Conestoga, when a Tuscarora delegation met with Pennsylvania and Five Nations delegates to explore the possibility of emigrating to avoid a war in the Carolinas. In 1726 James Logan (Penn's agent) wrote a letter to Captain Civility: "I am causing some land to be surveyed near the late Shawana town to John Wright and others for settlement." On May 26, 1728, Governor Gordon and his council met with Indians at the house of Andrew Cornish, about a mile from Conestoga. The chief of the Conestogas at this conference was Captain Civility. In July 1732 Captain Civility traveled to Annapolis with five associates to complain about the unauthorized settlements of Marylanders "upon Lands on the Western side of Susquehannah River near the Conestogo Town, to which those Indians pretend a right"; he is explicitly named as "Chief of the Conestogo" (Archives of Maryland 37:399-400). In 1735 Civility appeared before the Pennsylvania Council and Thomas Penn to arrange renewal of treaty rights.

A detail of Captain Civility's 1732 letter to the Maryland government merits additional comment. He complains, "You have already run Land out at Cohungaruto and put your family

to live there which We are very much disturbed." As already noted, Cohungaruto (or some variant) was the name applied to the north branch of the Potomac. It seems that the Susquehannocks at Conestoga claimed ownership of the Potomac valley at least as far east as the mouth of the Shenandoah. This would explain why Friend saw fit to purchase his tract at Antietam from the several chiefs.

Other Swedish traders claimed Potomac bottomlands in the early 1730s. Land was surveyed for Charles Anderson/Mansson in Berkeley County, West Virginia (then Frederick County, Virginia) in 1734. Turning his land there over to his son, Joseph Mounts, Mansson spent his last years at Oldtown (Winslow's map of 1736 shows "Cha. Andersons" residence about a mile west of the South Branch/North Branch confluence, beside Twenty Shilling Creek) (see Figure 33).

The Shawnees had vacated this area around 1731 to 1732, which explains why Winslow's map shows "Shawno Indian Fields deserted" in 1736. In September 1732 the Governor of Pennsylvania, Thomas Penn, asked the Shawnee chiefs Opakethwa and Opakeita why they had moved away as far as the Allegheny region (he was concerned about their reported negotiations with the French in Montreal). "They answered, that formerly they lived at Patowmack, where their king [Opessa?] died; that having lost him, they Knew not what to do; that they then took their Wives and Children and went over the Mountains, (meaning Allegheney,) to live" (Pennsylvania Archives 1:459-60). Their departure may have been caused by increasing pressure from the Iroquois, who in 1728 had ordered the Shawnees living on the Susquehanna to return to the Ohio region. The Shawnees previously residing on the upper Delaware also moved to Ohio in the summer of 1728.

Israel Friend also obtained land on the Virginia side of the Potomac (now in Jefferson County, West Virginia) in October, 1734—a grant of 300 acres located 2 miles north of Harper's Ferry. Surveyor Benjamin Winslow noted in October 1736 that Friend's house was situated 10 poles (165 feet) from the river. Winslow's map shows "Israel Friend" on the west bank, at the appropriate location (see Figure 33). Some historians assert that Friend lost his land in Maryland in 1736 when the governor declared that contracts made with Indians, including Friend's 1727 deed, were invalid. Whatever the cause, his land at the mouth of Antietam Creek was evidently available in August 1739, when John Moore patented 300 acres there. Friend bought back 50 acres from Moore in April 1741. The deed is noteworthy for its description of the land as near Teagg's or Taylor's Ferry, which shows that there was already enough settlement in the area to keep a ferry busy. Winslow shows the residence of Israel Friend's brother, Charles, at the mouth of the Conococheague ("Conigochego"). This is presumably the tract known as "Swede's Delight" where Andrew Friend is believed to have resided in his last years. Israel Creek, located just downstream from Antietam Creek, was probably named for Israel Friend.

In 1743 two Moravian missionaries, Leonhard Schnell and Robert Hussey, traveled down the Great Warriors' Path on their way to the Carolinas from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. On the stretch from Frederick to the Potomac, they passed only two houses. After crossing the river (presumably at Noland's Ferry), they stayed in a British tavern on the Virginia side. Schnell reported, "At this place I handed to the landlady the Swedish catechism, which Brother Bryzelius of Philadelphia gave me for his countrymen, who live three miles from here" (quoted by Rouse 1973:38). A further search into the identity of Brother Bryzelius shows that he was Paul

Bryzelius, a Moravian minister who arrived in Philadelphia in 1742. Bryzelius translated the Moravian catechism into Swedish and had it printed at Benjamin Franklin's print shop. He was named minister for a whole series of parishes, one of which was "Potomock." Bryzelius' career demonstrates the persistence of a self-consciously Swedish community along the mid-Potomac as late as 1743.

Cultural-Historical Importance of the Delaware Swedes

It is widely accepted that the Swedes and Finns of the Delaware colony introduced log cabin construction in North America (Jordan and Kaups 1989) (Figure 34). This was a longstanding building tradition in their homeland. What is essentially undocumented is exactly how this ethnically specific building style, and related adaptations to the frontier forest, spread out from the lower Delaware valley to the Scots-Irish and German pioneers who peopled the Piedmont and trans-Appalachian regions beginning in the 1730s. The movement of Swedish-American traders up the Potomac beyond the Blue Ridge, documented here, provides a mechanism, at the level of the individual cabin builder. They preceded, by several years, the Germans from Pennsylvania. Also, the prolonged contact between the Swedes and the Shawnees (beginning ca. 1695) would explain how the Indians came to give up their traditional bark-covered longhouses, replacing them with log houses. By about 1743 some of the Shawnees were living on the Ohio, near present Pittsburgh, at a place called "Logstown," apparently because of their log cabins.

In addition to log cabins and certain types of rail fences, other early American folk craft items sometimes attributed to immigrants from Sweden/Finland include specific forms of boats, and patterns, tools, and techniques of weaving. In particular, a technique for binding the weft in three-block geometric weaving, called "summer and winter" in America, is said to have been derived from Finnish women of the Varmland region. A type of boat called *forssbat* in Sweden and later known in the Delaware valley as a "Durham boat" may have been ancestral to the keelboat used on western rivers (Figure 35). Durham boats were used at the Principio Ironworks in the early eighteenth century. The earliest known illustration of a keelboat shows one at Harper's Ferry (at the mouth of the Shenandoah) about 1810 (Gutheim 1949).



FIGURE 34: A Log Cabin In Pennsylvania Said to Have Been Built in the Swedish Period, Before 1664

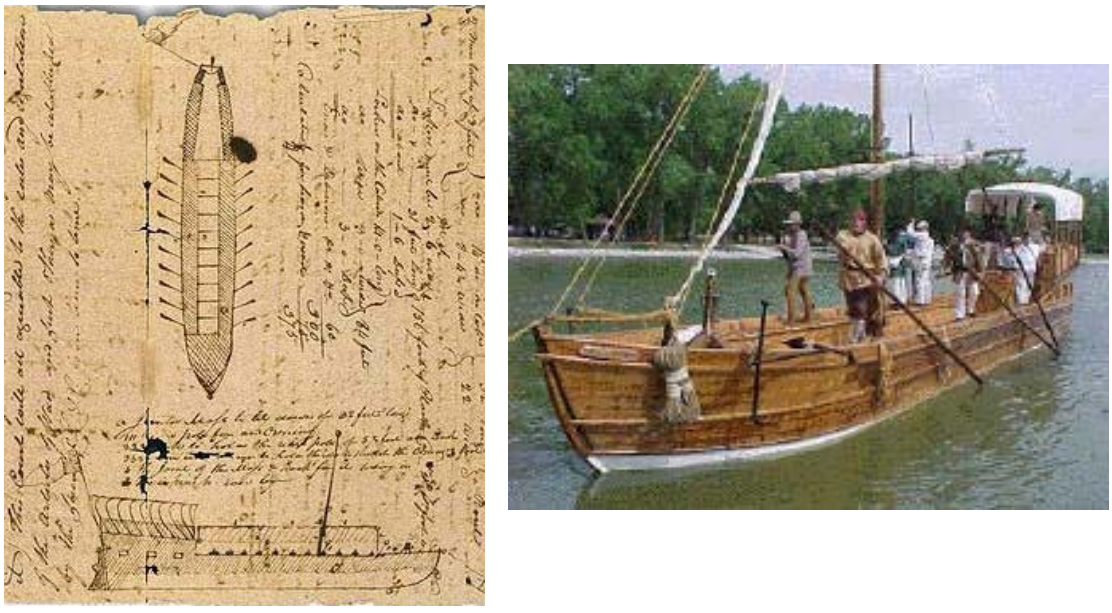


FIGURE 35: A Drawing of a Keelboat from the Journals of Lewis and Clark, and a Modern Reconstruction *SOURCE: University of Nebraska*

Earliest Colonial Patents on the Potomac

We possess much better records about the history of property in colonial America than we do about the history of people. It is often very difficult for us to find out who lived in a particular location, but it is easy to find out who *owned* it. This is especially true for the early years of settlement in any particular place. Most land in both Virginia and Maryland was patented (claimed) in thousand-acre plots by big speculators with connections to the governor or his council. Most of these speculators never lived on their frontier lands. They stayed in the safety of their Tidewater plantations, or in Annapolis or Alexandria, leaving the work of clearing the land and the risk of Indian attack to tenants or slaves. Those tenants and slaves, the real pioneers, appear very seldom in our records, leaving us guessing as to the actual conditions of life on the frontier.

The first Maryland patents above the Falls were taken out in 1688. Henry Darnell's "Girl's Portion," 1,776 acres along Rock Creek in what is now northern Washington and Montgomery County, was one of the first. John Addison and William Hutchinson's Whitehaven, 1,106 acres just above Little Falls patented in 1689, was another. Scharf summarized the general history of the progress of claiming land this way:

> It will be seen that the first settlements, commencing in 1688, in this county were along the banks of Rock Creek, extending up both banks of the stream as far as Rockville. Thence they sought the Patuxent, and continued to spread along the banks of this fertile stream as far as Snell's Bridge. Then the country lying west of Rock Creek, towards the Potomac, and north and east of Rockville, seems to have attracted the attention of the settlers. Next came the flat red-lands along the Potomac, in the vicinity of Darnestown and Poolesville, which were surveyed and granted [Scharf 1882:651].

The pattern for the first upper Potomac grants was set by Richard Brightwell in 1695. His "Brightwell's Hunting Quarter" consisted of 1,086 acres on what was known as the "Sugarlands," an extensive floodplain that now encompasses the McKee-Beshers Wildlife Refuge and the Patton Turf Farm (Maryland Patents BB:243). Richard Brightwell was very familiar with the area, since he was captain of the Maryland Rangers operating from the Falls. Brightwell's Hunting Quarter was 10 miles west of any other patent when it was claimed, so Brightwell must have picked it out as being particularly desirable land while he was supposed to be scouting for marauding Indians. Like Brightwell, other early claimants looked for broad areas of floodplain, in many cases not bothering to claim any higher ground where a house safe from flooding could be built.

In the period from 1688 to 1730, land was claimed from the Falls to the Monocacy, and by 1750 almost all the land along this stretch of the Potomac and north to Pennsylvania had been claimed. However, none of this legal activity implies that anyone actually settled on these lands. For that information we have to turn to other kinds of documents.

The "Rangers"

Even before lands were cleared and planted, there may have been a few Europeans wandering the woods beyond the limits of settlement. These men liked to style themselves "rangers," although they had no official sanction for their activities. They made their livings hunting, collecting the bounties on wolf pelts, and catching wild horses. On October 14, 1692, Edward James was granted his petition to be named the official Ranger of Kent County. James was

> highly sensible of the many gross and notorious abuses put upon the Inhabitants of this Province by severall Persons call'd Rangers, who without Leave or License presume to hunt in the Forrest for wild cattle and Horses and under that Pretence drive away take up and sell in other remote parts severall Horses & ca properly belonging to the Inhabitants having killed two of your Petitioners mares . . . [Archives of Maryland 8:392].

As the official "Ranger," James was licensed to take every third animal recovered, and a third of the sale profits, for himself.

An action of the Maryland Council, taken on October 13, 1697, shows us that there were wild horses on the Potomac frontier, since the official Rangers were allowed to capture them:

> Ordered that the Rangers belonging to the Garrisons of Potomock and Baltimore be permitted to take up one or two wild unmarked horses a piece (being deemed for his Majestyes Service) provided they break & train them up for the use of their Ranging, and not sell them [Archives of Maryland 23:224].

The name of Horsepen Branch in the McKee-Beshers floodplain (the Sugarlands) suggests that somebody was trapping horses there in the eighteenth century. A tributary stream of Broad Run, on the Virginia side of the Potomac in Loudoun County, has the same name—Horsepen Run. It already bore that name in 1725, when a tract was acquired there by Francis Awbrey. As Harrison (1924:115) observed, such horse pens are "commonly recited in the land grants" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Franz Louis Michel described the use of pens to trap feral horses: "The wild horses are also caught in pits. When it is known which way they go to water a deep pit is dug which is covered slightly. When the horse passes over it, he falls down and can't get out again until he is bound with ropes and pulled out" (quoted by Harrison 1924:116). Those who made a living by trapping feral horses were known as "horse coursers." This was also done for sport:

> There is yet another kind of sport which the young people take great delight in and that is the Hunting of wild Horses which they pursue sometimes with Dogs and sometimes without. You must know that they have many Horses foaled in the Woods of the Uplands that never were in hand and are as shy as any Savage Creature. These having no mark upon them belong to him that first takes them. However, the Captor commonly purchases these Horses very dear by spoiling better in the pursuit: in which case he has little to make him amends beside the pleasure of the Chace. And very often this is all he has for it, for the Wild Horses are so swift that tis difficult to catch them: and when they are taken tis odds but their Grease is melted, or else being old, they are so sullen that they can't be tamed [Beverley 1705:iv,75].

Later on, the back country became a haven for cattle rustlers. The old Iroquois "Warriors' Path" that Philemon Lloyd had marked on his map (see Figure 27), surrendered by the Five Nations in 1722, was a particular favorite of smugglers. It became known as the Rogues' Road because it was so frequently used by cattle rustlers to move their stolen property to distant markets where it would not be recognized. In May 1742 the Virginia Assembly passed an act requiring that drovers carry, and display on demand of any justice of the peace, a manifest and bill of sale to prove that their herds had been purchased. This legislation was needed because

> divers vagrant people travel through this colony, from the northern provinces to the southern, peddling and selling horses; and either buy or steal great numbers of neat cattle which, in their return back they drive through the frontier counties; and often take away with them the cattle of the inhabitants of the said counties under pretence that they cannot separate them from their own droves [Harrison 1924:456].

Slaves, Servants, and Indians in the "Back Woods"

The colonial authorities had other problems on the frontier beyond horse rustling. Runaway slaves and indentured servants sometimes made for the lands beyond the limits of European settlement, and, as we have seen, some of them did find refuge with the Shawnees and other Indians. Concerns about escaped slaves making for the land beyond the Falls appear in the Maryland records as early as 1681 (Archives of Maryland 21:400). The repeated offers to the Shawnees to induce them to send back runaways are an indicator of the apparent obsession of the Maryland government about this situation. A 1725 Act of the General Assembly began:

> Whereas sundry of the slaves belonging to several of the Inhabitants of this Province, have of late Years runaway into the Back-Woods, some of which have there perished, and others who held it out (as to their Lives) have been entertained and encouraged to live and inhabit with the Shewan-Indians; And forasmuch as many Negroes (upon hearing the Success some of their Fellow-Slaves have met with) are daily making Attempts to go the same Way, which if not timely and effectually prevented, may be of very ill and fatal Consequences to the Inhabitants of this Province: For Prevention whereof, it is humbly prayed that it may be Enacted [Archives of Maryland 36:583].

This act defined the "back Woods" as "to the Northwestward of Monocacy River, from the Mouth thereof up the said River, to the fording Place where the Conestogo-Path crosses the same, near one Albine's Plantation, and then to the Northwestward of the said Conestogo-Path, until it meet with Susquehannah-River." For each runaway captured in this area, the government offered a bounty of £5. A first-time runaway would have one ear cut off. After a second attempt the other ear would be sliced off and an R would be branded on the slave's chin.

The difficulty of recovering these runaways, as well as the participation of slaves and servants in Bacon's Rebellion of 1675, fed paranoid fantasies about rebellious slaves allying with Indians and white servants and making for the frontier. Many slaves were certainly willing to make the attempt; according to Webb (1984) as many as 10 percent of Virginia's African slaves may have joined Bacon's army. Governor Nicholson of Virginia shared his anxiety on this score with the Maryland Board of Trade in a long letter of August 20, 1698 (Archives of Maryland 23:498). He reported the arrival that summer of 470 Negro slaves and about 600-700 servants, mainly Irish

"Papists." Projecting similar importations in the next few years, with corresponding mortality of the existing population, he worried about "very dangerous consequense" to the province: "And they might make great desturbances, if not a Rebellion: because these are very open Countrys, and they may have easy Communication with one an other near the Falls of Potomock." He complained that the blacks were free to roam about the countryside on Saturday nights, Sundays, and holidays, undertaking visits across distances up to 40 miles.

> And as for the Irish servants, they may have more privileges: and I don't know but that they may confederate with the Negros; and in the summer time they may keep out in the Woods about the Frontiers, which are very thinly inhabited. But a great many of the people's Stocks of Cattel & Hogs run there, which may supply them with Victuals: In which parts there are a great many Swamps that they may fortify; and it will be very dangerous to come at, & force them out.

Nicholson urged enactment of "some Law made for the restraining of servants and Negros going and rambling so abrode." Nicholson's nightmares never materialized, and from the point of view of the colonial elite the runaway problem remained nothing more than a nuisance.

Settlers

We do get hints in the records that some Marylanders had settled above the Falls in the 1690s. The establishment of the Rangers' Garrison in 1692 suggests that there was something in the area to protect. In a dispatch dated July 16, 1692, Governor Nicholson of Virginia reported, "The upper parts of the Potomac were much affrighted by mischief done near the falls on both sides the river. Some of the inhabitants had left their plantations (who are since returned) and others were about to do the like (for the settlements on the Upper Potomac are very stragglingly located) but I prevented them. . . . While in Maryland, I had an account of strange Indians being on the Upper Potomac, so I went near a hundred miles on the Maryland side [presumably as reckoned from St. Mary's—not beyond Great Falls], saw its borders with this Colony and what posture of defence they were in . . ." (quoted by Harrison 1924:84). As we have seen, 1692 was a year of many rumors along the frontier, and Nicholson's report adds to our sense that it was a very troubled time.

Beyond such hints, however, it is difficult to identify any European inhabitants of the region before about 1720, and so far we have no archeological evidence of their presence whatsoever. In 1697 the Maryland government offered to let the Piscataway Indians settle on Rock Creek, which certainly implies that there were few British settlers in the area then (Archives of Maryland XXIII:244). Perhaps the first European settler beyond Rock Creek whose name we know was Ninian Beall, the Scottish immigrant who rose from political prisoner and indentured servant to become one of the leading men in Maryland. Beall's "Rock of Dunbarton" patent, on the site of modern Georgetown, was taken out in 1703, and he was certainly living there by 1712, when his residence was shown on the Graffenried map (see Figure 26). A lease of 1713 places a man named John Garth on the east bank of Rock Creek near present Rockville. Another early lease places a man named Henry Thickpenny at the mouth of Seneca Creek in 1722, and by 1723 the restless John Garth had leased a tract called Long Acre, which was on the floodplain below Blockhouse Point (Prince Georges County Deed Book I:576, 717).

Richard Brightwell's plantation at Sugarlands became the property of John Bradford, who was one of the area's biggest landowners in the 1720s. His will written on May 11, 1726, mentions five tenants on his lands near Rock Creek. Philip and Jacob, a 300-acre tract on the lower falls of Potomac, was in tenure of Henry Chamberlin and William King; Argile Cowell and Lorn, at the confluence of Piney Branch and Rock Creek, was "in tenure of Peter Hyatt"; there were three plantations "now in care of Wm. Deveron, overseer" and two tenants (William Woffort, Jr. and William Mackcoy) on Bradford's Rest, a tract of more than 3,000 acres along Rock Creek between Washington and Rockville. It may be significant that this document mentions no tenants on any of seven tracts of land on the Potomac beyond the falls, totaling 4,500 acres. On the other hand, the presence of some sort of settlement at the Sugarlands, or Brightwell's Hunting Quarter, is implied by accounts of the Cartledge affair in 1722 (above), since people are said to have fled there when trouble broke out.

Although there is little sign of settlement in the records, people must have begun moving west of the falls in large numbers in the later 1720s. A tax list of 1733 lists 131 names in Rock Creek Hundred, which stretched from the Anacostia to Rock Creek, and 156 in Potowmack Hundred, which stretched from Rock Creek to the Monocacy. Only adult white males and a few female heads of household are listed, so these names represent several hundred inhabitants. The list for Monocacie Hundred, which must have included everything further west, has 101 names, including the Indian traders Charles Friend, Edmund Cartledge, and Edward Nicholls.

By the early 1730s notices of occupation along the upper Potomac become common. There was a mill on Seneca Creek by 1732, and one on Watts Branch by 1737. The Seneca Ford Mill seems to have been built by Cornelius Elting. The mill was located where River Road crosses Seneca Creek. The former site is now covered by the road, but the millrace is still extant. The tract called "Seneca Ford" was surveyed for Elting in 1732. An adjacent tract that he also patented in the same year was called Mill Road, which suggests the mill already had been built. The chain of ownership ran from Cornelius Elting to Isaac Eltinge (his son), to Abraham Ferree (Cornelius' son-in-law), to George Graff (Ferree's son-in-law) in 1775, to Bernard O'Neill and William Deakins, Jr. (before 1790). The Tschiffelys (first William B. and then his son, Thomas) operated the (rebuilt) mill from 1900 to its closing in 1931.

Another mill must have been operating before 1737 on the stream known today as Watts Branch; on the map of the Potomac drawn in that year by Robert Brooke (Figure 36), it is called "Saw Mill Creek." This mill evidently stood on Walter Evans's "Dung Hill" tract (patented in 1715), near the Potomac. In 1752 Evans patented the adjacent "Beggars Benison" tract, which began "on the north side of a branch called Watts Branch . . . about forty foot from where an olde Saw Mill stood near a tract of land called the Dung hill" (Patents BY&GS #3, p. 359).

Tenants Along the Potomac

When John Bradford died, his estate proved to be so deeply in debt to British merchants than most of his lands had to be sold to satisfy the creditors. In this way a London merchant named Samuel Hyde ended up as the owner of more than 5,000 acres of Maryland, including Bradford's

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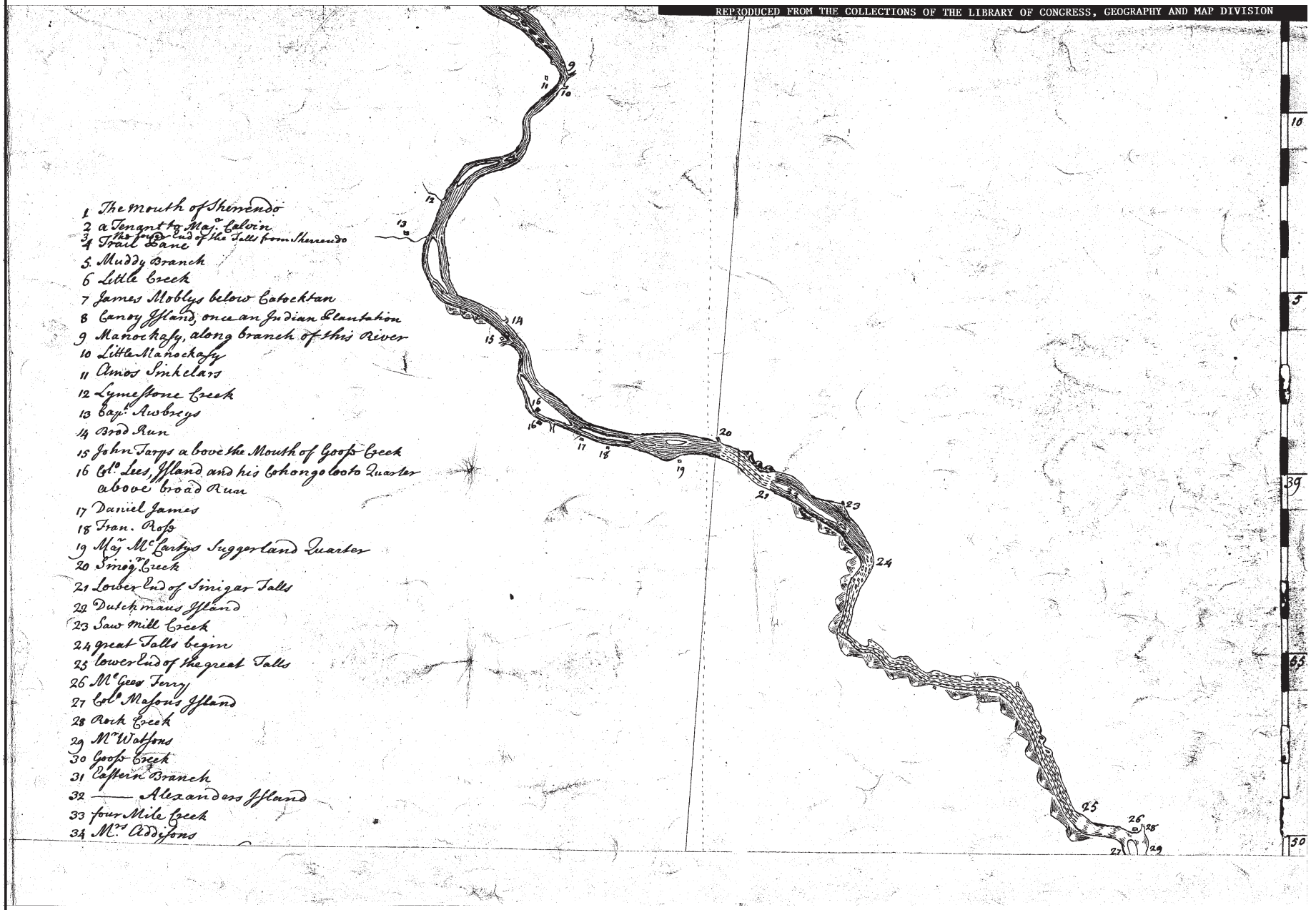


FIGURE 36: Brooke's Map of the Mid-Potomac, 1737

Rest and Brightwell's Hunting Quarter. From 1738 to 1740 Hyde had a series of leases with the tenants on these lands enrolled in the county deed books, where they can still be read. These leases give us an important glimpse into the settlement of the Maryland frontier at that date.

Seven leases were recorded for Brightwell's Hunting Quarter, and the tenements are described in sufficient detail to make possible the tentative reconstruction shown in Figure 37. The tenements all measured about 100 acres. Rents were payable in tobacco, and each tenant was required to plant an orchard of about 100 apple trees. The leases all specify that no timber will be sold or wasted, and that the tenants will cut no more than they need for their own purposes. Interestingly, the names of the tenants are all English or Welsh, so they presumably came from eastern Maryland rather than from Pennsylvania.

Knowing the names of the tenants, a search could be made of the available county records to see what might be learned about them. Estate inventories survive for two of the tenants, Hugh Rice and Benjamin Osborn. There is little doubt that the men in the inventories are the same as those on the tenant list. The names are not common and in both cases another name from the tenant list appears as one of the makers of the inventory (the inventories were supposed to be made by neighbors.)

June the 18th. A True Perfect Inventory of the Goods and Chattels of Hugh Rice of Frederick County Deceased.

	£	s	d
To 20 Barrells of Indian Corn @ 8/4	8	6	8
To 10 Bushells of Wheat @ 3/	1	10	
To 1 Old Horse	2	10	
To 24 pounds Raw Deer Skin @ 1/6		1	16
To 19 ½ pounds of Pott Iron @ 6d		9	9
To 1 Horse Bell		5	
To 1 Frying Pan		2	
To 1 Piggin 1/6 & 1 Old Gun	1	1	6
To 3 Old Books		3	6
To 1 very Old Saddle & Bridle			3
To a Parcel of Old Iron Ware		8	
To 1 Razor			8
To 1 Old Rifle Barrell gun and Lock	2		
	£18	16	4

Duly appraised by us given from under our hands & seals the 8th day of June 1750.

Nicholas Wade
George Jewell

Witness Elizabeth Massey
John Coxon

Source: Frederick County Inventory Book 1:61

Hugh Rice died in 1750. His inventory (shown at right) represents a common type for the newly settled areas, and it shows why the residences of such people are so hard to identify archeologically. According to the inventory, Rice owned almost no household goods beyond some iron pots and a frying pan. Experience with these documents shows that they often omit low-value items like wooden plates, pewter spoons, and coarse earthenware pots, so we need not imagine Rice eating out of his frying pan with his fingers; however, the value of his inventory is so low that more than a few such items would certainly have been noticed.

Rice was a bachelor, which partly explains why he never invested much in furniture or dishes. A different sort of tenant household appears in the inventory of Benjamin Osborn, taken

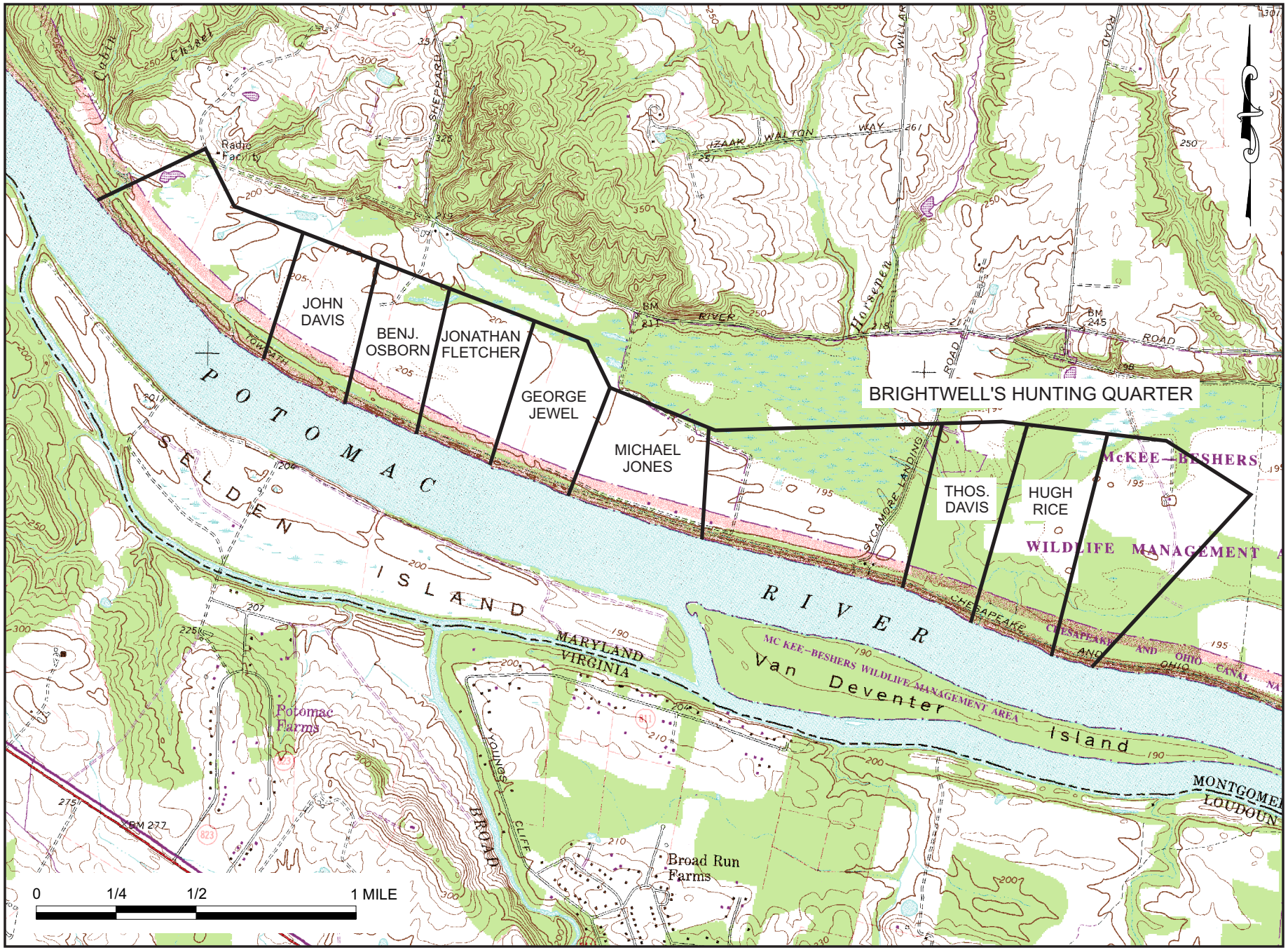


FIGURE 37: Map of Tenancies on Brightwell's Hunting Quarter, 1742

SOURCE: USGS 7.5-Minute Quadrangel, Sterling, VA-MD 1968 (Photorevised 1984)

after his death in 1744 (shown at right). Osborn was married, and he owned three feather beds, a set of pewter dishes, and "a parsel of Earthen ware."

These inventories tell us something about the agriculture being practiced along the upper Potomac. Tobacco was no longer the sole cash crop, since both men grew wheat and Osborn owned two plows. Both men were literate, which seems especially interesting in the case of Rice, the poor bachelor. Guns are ubiquitous in the inventories from these frontier areas, which they are not in the longer settled counties. Rice was an active hunter who traded deer skins.

That only two of the tenants have so far been identified in the will or probate records for Prince Georges, Frederick, or Montgomery County says something in itself about the lives these frontier tenants led. They were very mobile, moving frequently in search of better terms or a better place to live, and when they died they often did not own enough for it to be worth enrolling their wills or taking inventories of their possessions. Some of the first tenants at Carrollton just west of the Monocacy were Quakers who can be traced through the records of the Quaker meetings. James Wright, a tenant at Carrollton in 1734, was living in Frederick County, Virginia by 1740 (Tracy and Dern 1982). William Mathews patented land of his own further west in 1741.

April the 21st. A Inventory of the Goods and Chatles of Benjamin Osborn appraised as followeth.

	£	s	d
To 5 Cows and Calfs	15	0	0
To One Cow and Yearlen	2	0	0
To One Cow Big With Calf	2	0	0
To two young heffers	1	10	0
To three young stears	3	10	0
To seven yearlens	4	10	0
To three horses	15	0	0
To a parsel of young hoggs	10	0	0
To three fether Beds	18	0	0
To one Bed tick	1	5	0
To a Parsel of old Beding	2	0	0
To two dozen of Puter Plates	2	0	0
To nine Dishes	2	0	0
To eight Basons	2	0	0
To three Iron Pots and one Kitle	3	0	0
To fore hundred wait of meal	10	0	0
To two Guns	1	10	0
To one Pair of Stillards	0	12	0
To three frin pans	0	15	0
To a parsel of Corn	4	0	0
To one man's Sadle	2	0	0
To one suit of aold cloas	1	10	0
To one hat	0	5	0
To six pare of Shuse	1	10	0
To Cow hids nine	2	5	0
To a Parsel of Neals	0	15	0
To one Chest	0	15	0
To a Parsel of Earthenware	0	12	6
To one Branding Iron	0	2	6
To six Boocks	0	12	6
To a Parsel of Axes and old hose	2	0	0
To a Parsel of Carpenders tools	1	5	0
To a Parsel of Wheat	1	15	0
To a Parsel of Tobacco	20	0	0
To one Servant Woman	12	0	0
To two Plows and harros	2	0	0
To a Parsel of Lumber	5	0	0
	£150	9	6

We the subscribers was apinted to appraise the goods and chatles of Bengeman Osborn Do Value them as the Do Stand Stated hear Given under our hands and seals this 21 Day of April 1744.

Michael Jones, John Wilcoxen

Source: Prince Georges County Inventory Book DD:1

Archeological Evidence of Sugarlands Settlements

Given the brief interval between Brightwell's patent for the "Hunting Quarter" and his death, it seems unlikely that he had established a substantial estate there before 1699. Bradford's letter of 1722 refers to plantations in the Sugarlands area, although his will mentions no tenants. Samuel Hyde's leases of 1738 to 1740 show that by then the area was well settled.

Local historian Jim Poole has a collection of a few eighteenth-century shoe buckles and English pennies from two spots, one near Chisel Branch, the other near Cabin Branch. The pennies are George II coins (1729 to 1769). These traces of colonial occupation therefore postdate the earliest documented settlements of the Sugarlands. Both of Poole's find spots are located away from the river edge and outside park boundaries. It is also pertinent to note the presence of clay pipestems and stoneware sherds at the Summit Hall Historic Site, near the McKee-Beshers area. Survey of that area found a cluster of Colonial ceramics and bottle glass; these artifacts suggest a pre-Revolutionary occupation in the vicinity. The Summit Hall site would fall within the bounds of Benjamin Osborn's tenant farm in 1730. At another site in this area, near the turf farm, Mac McDaniel reported a site that corresponds to the location of Michael Jones's farm in 1740.

A glance at the 1865 Martenet and Bond map (Figure 38) shows that the pattern of settlement in the area was quite different in the mid-nineteenth century. Increasingly, people preferred to live where their houses would be safe from flooding, and the properties were re-organized so that each included some high ground. Therefore, the majority of the historic artifacts found near the Potomac are of eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century date. At the Hughes Site three burials in coffins were encountered in unmarked graves, evidently post-contact (McNett 1975). At the Winslow Site there was a "substantial historic component" that "probably represents the remains of a small farmstead dating to the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century" (Dent 2002:13). A 16-foot-deep, stone-lined drinking well was associated with this historic component. Artifacts recovered from the wet bottom of the well include a padlock, parts of a chair and a wagon, wooden bucket slats, wine glass and bottle fragments, and a small section of leather harness. All were identified as dating to about 1790 to 1830. Two "well-worn" gunflints were found in excavated units (Slattery and Woodward 1992:15). No names are associated with the Winslow or Hughes sites' areas in the 1730s documents.

The Hickman Cemetery

Just west of Edwards Ferry, along the River Road, a small cemetery is hidden in the brush. This cemetery was mapped by local historian Jim Poole, who also sketched the carved stones. The cemetery seems to include about two dozen graves, based on the number of depressions in the soil. Only a few graves bear legible carvings, but one is clearly marked **WH 1766** (Figure 39). This WH seems to be William Hickman, a resident of these parts who died in that year.

Hickman was living in the area by 1736. In that year he signed a 99-year lease for 87 acres of land, part of a tract called Preston March, that was already "in the tenure of the said William Hickman" (Prince Georges County Deed Book Y:319). To his landlords, Annapolis-based speculators William Cumming and James Edmonston, Hickman paid 600 pounds of tobacco

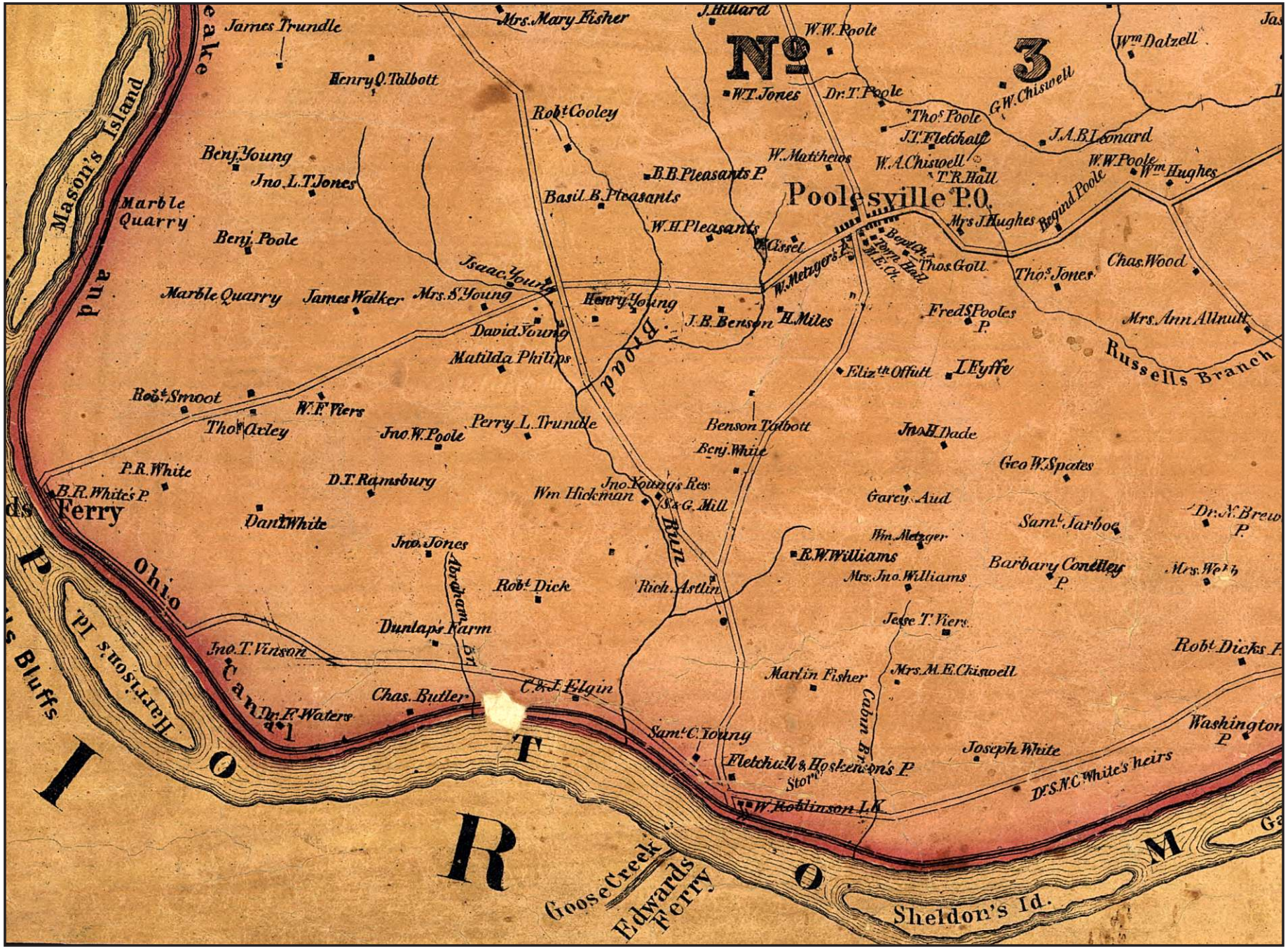


FIGURE 38: Martenet and Bond (1865) Map, Detail



FIGURE 39: Gravestone of William Hickman, "WH 1766"

yearly, delivered at Seneca Landing. In his will Hickman referred to "the leased land whereon I now live," so he seems to have resided on the property for much of his life, and the presence of the rather large family cemetery confirms this. Hickman acquired several other tracts of land in the vicinity and in his will mentions four, totaling about 300 acres, so he was not a poor man. His home ought therefore to have left something for archeologists to find, and based on the metes and bounds given in the lease, the entire property seemed to be within the park. A search was therefore made of the ridge tops north and northwest of the cemetery, but nothing was found. The most likely spot for Hickman's residence therefore seems to be under the nineteenth- and twentieth-century farm north of the cemetery. Since colonial people owned so much less in the way of durable goods (especially glass and ceramics) than we do, the debris of a modern farm usually overwhelms any older material. It can be hard to find evidence of colonial life on a modern farm even when the founding date of the settlement is known.

Ericksons, Nilssons, and other Swedes Among the Early Settlers

Swedes were prominent among the first European farmers along the upper Potomac, just as they had been among the first traders. In March 1726 a 200- or 210-acre tract called "Gunders Delight" was surveyed for Gunder Erickson at the mouth of the Monocacy, straddling the present county line. To judge from his name, Erickson was probably of Scandinavian descent. It is probably significant that he called his 630-acre tract on Rock Creek (patented September 10, 1723) "Norway"; a 450-acre tract, patented on the same day, he called "Denmark." A connection with the Erickson family, present in Kent County since about 1650, seems likely although unproven. Those Ericksons were probably early migrants from the Swedish colony, as there is a

record of the "naturalization" of Matthew Erickson in 1682 (Archives of Maryland 7:330). Gunder Erickson was a slaveholder; one of his slaves, Eleanor Mackett, was involved in a "mulatto bastardy" proceeding in the Prince George's County court on March 26, 1723. He died in 1729, leaving most of his estate to his wife, Mary, and young daughter, Martha. In the summary of the Orchard vs. Smith case of August 1738 (Archives of Maryland 198:2:304), which involved Erickson's creditors, the Gunder's Delight (misconstrued as "Garden's Delight") tract is said to encompass 200 acres.

Given the demands of the deceased Erickson's angry creditors, very little if any of his property can have remained in the family. On March 24, 1742, Garah Davis sold 64.5 acres of "Gunders Delight" to Richard Snowden. In the *Maryland Gazette* of July 16, 1752, Snowden advertised that he had land for sale: "Gander's Delight near the mouth of the Monochasy in Frederick County, adjoining the Manor of Charles Carroll, lying near Captain William Griffith's and Garret Davis.'"

Richard Deakins was named as a beneficiary in Gunder Erickson's will. Perhaps he managed to retain some of the "Gunder's Delight" tract, which might explain why a presumed relative, Francis Deakins (1739-1804), owned land at the mouth of the Monocacy in October 1790, when he met with George Washington about the possibility of locating the national capital there (High 2003). Francis Deakins, who had served as a major in the revolutionary army, undertook a survey of western Maryland in 1787 with his brother, William. Washington must have owned some property in the vicinity because there is correspondence between him and Deakins concerning rent payments by tenants.

Arthur and John Nelson figure prominently in early land purchases on the Potomac bank west of the Monocacy. Tracey and Dern (1987) identify the Nelson family as ethnically English in origin, descended from a 1694 immigrant. In contrast, Western Maryland Genealogy (www.johnsteelegordon.com/genealogy/n_c5.html) flatly states, "The ancestry of Arthur Nelson is unknown, despite any number of speculations." He is thought by some to have been Scottish, because of his partnership with a George Neilson, a transported Scot, in a land purchase. Some suppose that they were kinsmen, but Neilson arrived in Maryland only in 1716, while Arthur Nelson had been in the colony at least since 1706. Nelson was illiterate; this is taken by some as a clue to his ethnicity, but in fact it was a common condition across ethnic lines in the Middle Atlantic region, where about a third of the adult males could not sign their names. His son, John, named one of his tracts of land "Sweeds Folly." On this basis alone it is legitimate to speculate that the Nelsons may originally have been Nilssons (like the Friends/Neals—perhaps their relatives?). The 1693 census of Swedes on the Delaware included an Anders Nilsson and a Jonas Nilsson. A reasonable speculation is that Arthur Nelson (born ca. 1663, died before 1754) may have started life as Anders Nilsson.

Several documents depict him as an unpleasant person. In November 1724 Nelson was charged by an indentured servant, Isaiah Bonnett, with "barbarous treatment;" he was found guilty and fined 500 pounds of tobacco. In his old age he twice attempted and failed to obtain exemption from taxes because of ill health.

Arthur Nelson was a great accumulator of land, owning 5,719 acres by the end of his life. Nelson seems to have been associated with Gunder Erickson in purchase of the "Denmark" tract in September 1723 (Coldham 1996a). He surveyed a tract called "Nelson's Island" (about 140 acres) on February 18, 1724. This consisted mainly of Conoy (now Heaters) Island. A September 13, 1728, patent gives the area of this tract as 306 acres (Coldham 1996a) or 217 ¼ acres (Grove 1928:123). He laid out "Broken Island" (later Nolands Island) in the Potomac, opposite Carrollton, on November 10, 1728. It is important to note that the survey for Broken Island began at a point "a little above the Indian town landing"; this is presumably a reference to the recently abandoned Tuscarora town and would situate the latter near the mouth of Tuscarora Creek. Arthur Nelson also held a large parcel (236 acres) called "Hobson's Choice" (March 2, 1725) running along the north side of the river above Tuscarora Creek. John Nelson, Arthur's son, was living on Hobson's Choice in 1744, when a survey was made of Carrollton, and at the time of his death in 1751 (Frederick Co. Deed Book B:375; Archives of Maryland MSA 3497). In 1733 Nelson purchased, along with George Nelson (Neilson) of Annapolis, a 500-acre tract called "Nelson's Folly," which began on the south side of Antietam Creek (Frederick County Land Records Liber B 336-8).

Arthur's son, John Nelson (born ca. 1694, died before October 1750), had a tract surveyed just north of Hobson's Choice in 1734; this was "Sweeds Folly." John Nelson was appointed overseer of Carrollton Manor in 1734. He had three sons, Arthur, Jr. (born 1721), Basil, and John. John Nelson and his son, Arthur, were among the 42 settlers "above the Monocacy" who requested appointment of a justice of the peace around 1740[2]. In 1744 John Nelson, John Hawkins, and Moses Chaplain laid out the River Road, running west from Tuscarora Creek to Catoctin Creek and on to the Shenandoah (Tracey and Dern 1987).

The 1792 list of Virginia ferries includes one crossing "from Noland's in Loudoun to Arthur Nelson's" in Maryland; this suggests that Arthur Nelson, Jr. (grandson of the 1720's land purchaser) still owned a riverside tract near the mouth of Tuscarora Creek. These inferences are confirmed by material in the 1797 commission record, below. Arthur Nelson, Jr. acquired a patent for 30 acres at "The Point of Rocks" on September 22, 1761 (Grove 1928:123). He owned 794 acres in 1773.

The 1790 census counted in his household Nelson himself, one male under 16, two females, and 14 slaves. A 1751 deed gives the name of his wife as Lucy (Frederick County Land Records Liber B Abstracts 375-8). Nelson's daughters (?) married into the other ferry-tending families of the region in the 1760s. William Luckett married Sarah Nelson, and Philip Noland (born ca. 1743) married Mary Nelson about 1764.

The Varle (1808) map (Figure 40) shows "R. Nelson" located in the vicinity of the "Hobson's Choice" tract, southeast of Point of Rocks. This is presumably a reference to Roger Nelson

[2] Signers were: Samuel Duvall, Henery Emroney (?), John Harper, Ephraim Gold, James Rigges, Henry Truman Hill, Luke Ray, Mikell Hallett, John Sonnis, Thomas Wilson, Hadworth Wilson, Absallom Wilson, Joseph Wilson, Nichols Roads, Joseph Worren, John Whealler, Orlando Griffith, Robert Parl (M.), Joseph Hill, James Parl (M.), Benjamen Kelley (M.), Joseph Bookout, John Cramphin, William Davis, John Harding, Gareth Davis, Joseph Harris, Aquila Compton (M.), James Comton, Arthur Nelson, Jr., Joseph Gold, John Nelso(n), Alexander De-( ), G(or)ge Wea---,_____, _____, _____, _____, John Tur(ner), Daniel Pa---, John Adon---, John John--- (M.), John Comton (M.) James Wood (M.). (from Tracey and Dern 1987)

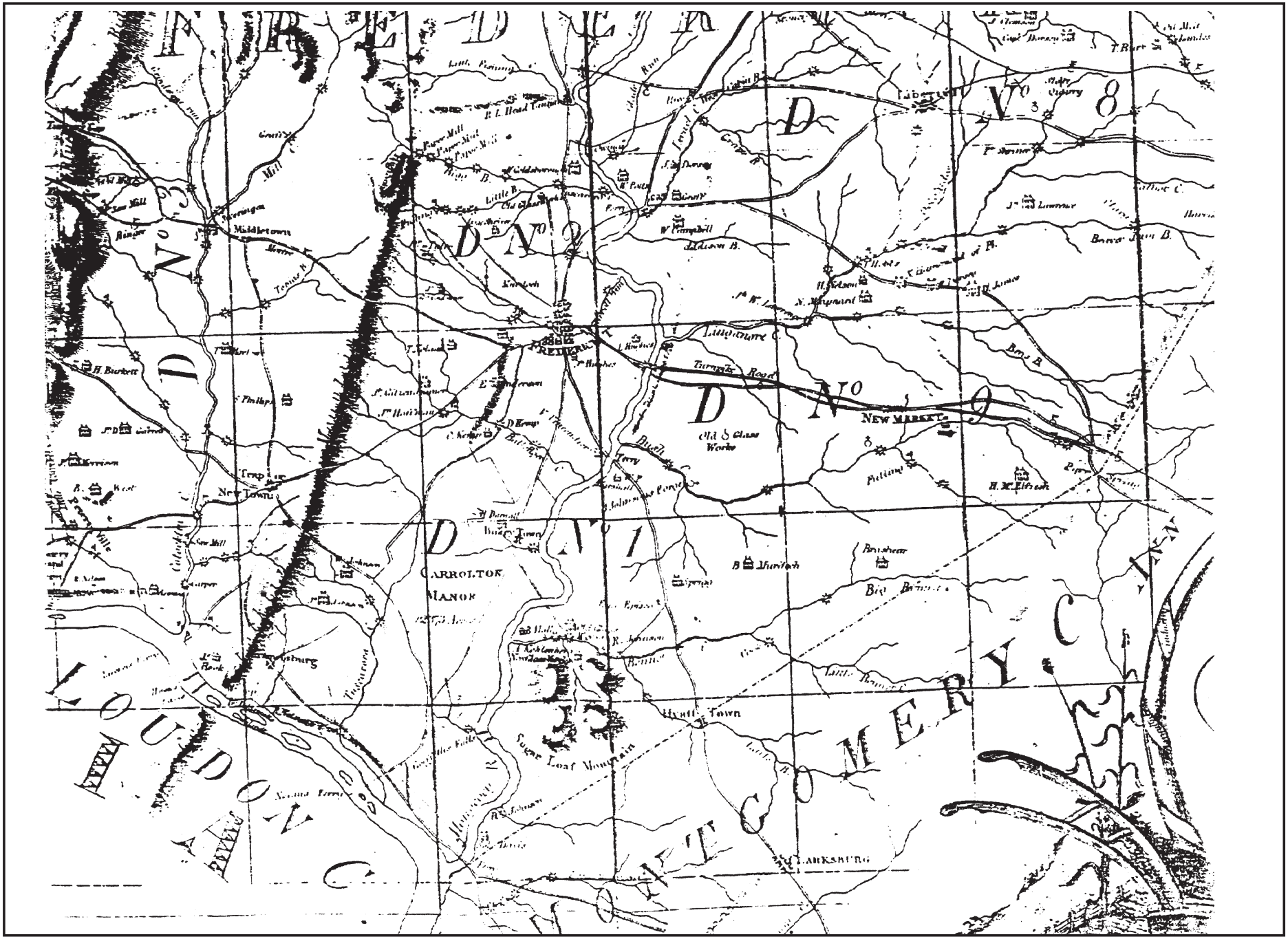


FIGURE 40: Varle (1808), *A Map of Frederick and Washington Counties, State of Maryland*

(ca. 1764-1815) of Frederick County, the father of U.S. Attorney General John Nelson. Roger can be assumed to be the son (or nephew, perhaps?) of Arthur Nelson.

Grove (1928:126-7) provides additional details about the activities of Arthur Nelson, Jr., citing as his source the research of Charles H. Stunkle, a 75-year-old resident of Point of Rocks. Nelson

> …was one of the very earliest settlers and owned all the Island and rich bottom land along the Potomac, had this land cleared of timber and under cultivation long before any of the timber had been cut off the Carrollton Manor track [*sic*]. Mr. Nelson was a slave holder, gave close attention to his farms while he grew tobacco, corn and wheat, he made a specialty of growing hemp which was used for making cloth and ropes for sailing vessels and was in great demand for Foreign shipment. Mr. Nelson had a wharf of his own located about a mile east of Point of Rocks where he loaded on rafts and gondolas, hemp, tobacco, wool and other produce as well as lumber; small boats would ply up and down the river during all seasons of the year, but the larger rafts and gondolas were held back until a rain would raise the water….Boats were floated down the river and tied up to Sycamore trees along the banks and Islands which were protected by stone thrown out in the river changing the current and making eddy water. These were called boat harbours. The boats were released when the water was high enough to carry them to Alexandria…. Arthur Nelson had a road built running up the river through his land where the Canal now stands. This was a much used road, flour was hauled across the river at the Ford on Nelsons Island to Leesburg from Davis Mill at Greenfield and wheat was brought back. Oxen at that time did a large part of the hauling…"

Old locals recalled Nelson as "Judge Nelson," "a man of affairs."

In August 1749 Thomas Lee granted to Edward and Osborn Sprigg a 150-acre tract on the Potomac at Seneca Creek, then in Frederick County. Two slaves resident on the property, named Sambo and Dido, were thrown in as part of the deal. Lee had purchased this land from Thomas Beall. It was called "Swedland" (Frederick County Land Records Liber B p. 59-62). If the hint of a Swedish connection in this name is meaningful (Sweden was regularly called "Sweadland" in colonial Maryland documents), it cannot be associated with Beall, who came from a Scottish background. Perhaps he was not the original owner. Two other Swedeland tracts are recorded among the early eighteenth-century Maryland patents, but they were too small to be the Beall-Lee property. A patent for 35 acres in Prince George's County called "Swedeland" was taken on June 20, 1726, by a clerk named Gustavus Hoskins (also known by his Swedish surname, Hessellius) (Coldham 1996a). This "clerk" was presumably Gustavus Hesselius, a noted portrait painter who worked in Prince Georges County between 1720 and 1728 and resided at "Swedeland" (Figure 41). Another 50-acre tract called "Sweedland" was patented on December 17, 1741, or September 9, 1739, by John Friend (Coldham 1996b). He was presumably the John Friend who was associated with Neils Friend and Charles Friend in 1734, when they informed the Pennsylvania authorities of their intention to obtain grants on Conococheague and Antietam Creeks (Pennsylvania Archives 3rd series, vol. 1:39). They were described then as inhabitants of the Great Marsh, where Edmund Cartledge (the murderous Conestoga Quaker trader) lived.



FIGURE 41: Portraits by Gustavus Hesselius of a Swedish Couple in Pennsylvania, 1735
(Christina and Ericus Stalcop) *SOURCE: Pennsylvania Historical Society*

The Ferries

Ferries ran across the upper Potomac from the 1730s on, and the more successful operations became important local landmarks. One of the first was at present-day Harper's Ferry. It was run by Peter Stephens, a squatter living on the Virginia bank, beginning in 1732 or 1733. Robert Harper, the founder of Harper's Ferry, took over Stephens's facilities in 1747. A ferry across the Monocacy had been established by 1738, when the Frederick County court appointed Meredith Davis to operate it. Ferries had become fairly common by the 1740s, and a 1748 act of the Virginia Assembly (Rouse 1973:68-9) listed these:

- From the land of William Russel on Sherendo, across into the fork, or cross the main river (3d.)
- From the plantation of George Mason, opposite to Rock Creek, over to Maryland (4d.)
- From the land of Ebenezer Floyd, to Powell's (6d.)
- From Evan Watkin's landing, opposite to Canagochego creek, to Edward Wade's land in Maryland.

The act of April 1757 includes:

- From the land of Josias Clapham, in the county of Fairfax, over Potomack river, to the land on either side the Monochisey creek, in the province of Maryland; the price for a man four pence, & for an horse the same.

By 1792, 12 ferries had been listed.

Hahn (1997:72) notes that Whites Ferry was originally known as Conrads Ferry, and repeats the frequently asserted tradition that the name "Whites" originated after the Civil War, when Lt. Col. E.V. White of Virginia took over the operation. In fact, the 1865 Donn map of this area already shows this ferry as White's, and the little hamlet at the ferry landing was then called Whitesville. The original "Conrad" was apparently Conrad Myers. In 1791 the General Assembly authorized two roads to run "from Conrad Myers's ferry, on Patowmack River" one toward the mouth of the Monocacy, the other toward the mouth of the Seneca (Archives of Maryland 204:580).

One of the most interesting stories of the ferries concerns Noland's Ferry and the Noland family. The early history of this ferry is confusing and different sources give different details. According to Mike High, Ebenezer Floyd obtained the original ferry license in 1742. High reports that the ferry was taken over by Philip Noland around 1754. He identifies Noland as the son-in-law of Virginia gentleman Francis Awbrey, and says that already in 1735 Awbrey had licensed a ferry at the base of Conoy Island. High observes that Noland competed successfully against Josiah Clapham's ferry, which also ran to the mouth of the Monocacy.

From genealogical sources it appears that Philip Noland (1718-1794) married Elizabeth Awbrey around 1740. Francis Awbrey, Elizabeth's father, was one of the earliest settlers in Loudoun County and owned more than 6,000 acres of land. His residence is depicted (as "Capt. Awbreys") on Brooke's 1737 survey map (see Figure 33). It was situated back from the Potomac on the Virginia bank, on the unnamed stream that empties into the river at the north end of Harrison Island. Clearly, Awbrey was not well positioned to run a ferry to Conoy Island from his home. In fact, as shown on Brooke's map, someone else was living on the Virginia side, near the north end of Conoy Island, in 1737: James Mobly. Nevertheless, Awbrey did own at least one ferry, and perhaps two at different places, since his 1741 will refers to a ferry and an associated ordinary (inn). Perhaps these facilities were actually located in the vicinity of the later Whites Ferry—the Virginia terminus is located about half a mile north of Awbrey's home.

In November 1748 Philip Noland petitioned the Virginia Assembly to be permitted to operate a "public ferry" between Virginia and Maryland, but this petition was rejected (Harrison 1924:503). In April 1756 Noland's petition was again rejected. He alleged that he was maintaining a ferry already, but that Josias Clapham and one Trammell (presumably John Trammell, Jr. of Virginia, who bought Conoy Island from Arthur Nelson, Jr., in 1751 [Frederick County Land Records Liber B 621-3]) had petitioned against it. In 1757 Clapham, who had been petitioning since 1742, was awarded a license for a ferry some distance downstream from Noland's; Harrison (1924:503) supposes that this was immediately opposite the mouth of Monocacy, where "Hawling Ferry" was authorized in 1816. Clapham's license was suspended, however, and his competition with Noland for the route continued. In July 1757 the Loudoun court appointed Philip Noland as surveyor of the road "from Great Limestone to Noland's Ferry." In 1778 Philip Noland conveyed the ferry to his son, Thomas (born ca. 1748). In the next Virginia Assembly session, Clapham's ferry license was formally repealed, and a new license issued for the ferry "from the land of Thomas Noland in the County of Loudoun across Potowmack river to the land of Arthur Nelson in the State of Maryland." The ferry docked at the mouth of the Tuscarora (Harrison 1924:504).

Thomas Noland married Mary Eleanor Luckett, a daughter of William Luckett (ca. 1711-1783), who ran a ferry to the mouth of the Monocacy in the 1750s. In the Carrollton boundary hearings of 1796, Thomas Crampton testified that in the spring of 1756 he had "come down to the Mouth of Monocacy to attend a muster of Militia under old Captain William Griffith that when this deponant got to Monocacy old Mr Lucketts boat was engaged in carrying some people over Potowmack who had run from the Indians and were going to Carolina. . . ." In the deposition of William Luckett, Jr., aged 55 in 1796, he stated that he "lived with his father near the sd. point of land a considerable time . . ." (Frederick County Land Records WR 16) (this point was the northeast corner of the Monocacy-Potomac confluence). The marriage connections between these ferry-owning families are very interesting, and they suggest that running a ferry was a sort of family business, one that outsiders may have had trouble getting into.

The Varle map of 1808 (see Figure 40) shows several ferry locations: Noland's Ferry; an unnamed ferry across the Monocacy, about where the aqueduct now stands; Luckett's Ferry, at the mouth of Catoctin Creek; and Hook's Ferry, in the vicinity of modern Lander. A "J Hook" residence stood near the Maryland terminus of Hook's Ferry, and a residence of "Sol (?) Davis" stood on the east bank of the Monocacy, not far from the later aqueduct. The resident was likely Solomon Davis (born ca. 1770, died July 10, 1822). He was presumably a descendant or relative of Meredith Davis, who had acquired a tract in this area in the 1730s. Solomon Davis was a son of Richard Davis (died 1795) and grandson of Garah Davis (died 1764). He is listed in the 1796 and 1810 censuses of Frederick County and the 1810 and 1820 censuses of Montgomery County. In 1814, he owned a 6.5-acre property in Montgomery County, called "Solomon's Temple Rebuilt"—probably the house depicted on the 1808 map.

In May 1780 John Frederick Reichel, a German Moravian, left Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, on a trip to the Moravian community of Salem in North Carolina. A member of his party kept a travel diary. On the way south from Frederick, they traveled down the Monocacy ("Manakosy") and "made camp near Mr. Th. Noland's house close to the road which turns to the right from the Foart road towards Noland's Ferry, which crosses the Potomoak two miles from here. So far our journey had been very pleasant. Now, however, the Virginia air brought storms." That night, some of Noland's slaves robbed the Moravians' camp. The diarist wrote: "*Note*. Mr. Th. Noland and his father and father in law have 200 negroes in this neighbourhood on both sides of the Potomoak and this neighbourhood is far-famed for robbery and theft." On the Virginia side they were robbed again by "negroes who had a free evening and were roaming every where." Noland returned most of the stolen goods to Reichel on the return trip (Harrison 1924:461-2).

Mouth of Monocacy

In 1799 John Winter, who printed a newspaper in Frederick called *The Rights of Man*, was nearly put out of business by a fire. He sent out a notice to his "supporters" asking them to pay their debts. This was addressed to supporters "residing in Pittsburgh, Cumberland, Old Town . . . and mouth of Monocacy" (Archives of Maryland 439:168). This is the only documentary record yet found that refers to the river mouth as some sort of populated neighborhood. However, certain other records, such as the summoning of the militia to the spot in 1756, suggest that it was a frequented spot.

If there ever was such a community, it did not long endure. In December 1812 Solomon Davis (of Montgomery County) and Samuel Dawson (of Frederick County) successfully petitioned the Maryland General Assembly to abandon "the public Road which runs through their farms beginning at Otho Trundle's on Carroll's manor, and crossing Monocacy at Davis' ford, and intersecting the great road opposite John Veatche's, living on the farm of Levin Luckett . . . at the mouth of Monocacy." This road was "of no public utility, and a great public expence" (Archives of Maryland 618:23). One may infer from the abandonment of this road that the locality it had served—perhaps a village at the mouth of the Monocacy—had ceased to exist.

West of the Monocacy

The first European settlement in the area of Catoctin Creek may have been a trading post operated by Abraham Pennington between 1728 and 1734. Pennington came from Cecil County, Maryland, and is described as an Indian trader. Given that location and his interest in trade, one would presume that, despite his evident English ethnicity, Pennington must have been associated in some way with the Swedish traders at the head of the Chesapeake. In fact, one of his sons (Abraham II) was married to a Mary Anderson in Old Swedes' Church in Philadelphia, and his will was witnessed by several Andersons. A relationship with the trader Charles Anderson seems likely. The land Pennington occupied was actually surveyed (April 1, 1728) for Thomas Wilcoxon and was known as "Coxson's Rest." It consisted of 300 acres (Coldham [1996a] gives the patent date as November 19, 1730). Pennington's cabin, trading post, and ferry are said to have been located near C&O Canal Lock 30 in Brunswick (local traditions state that Brunswick was originally known and is still referred to by local folk as "Eeltown" because eels were taken there either in eelpots or a weir; another early name for this area was "Buffalo Wallow" [Ogilvie 2000]). Catoctin Creek was known for a time as "Abraham's Creek" and its valley is said to have been Pennington's favored hunting grounds (Tracey and Dern 1987).

Another trader who moved west from the Conestoga area was Charles Polke. Originally from the Eastern Shore, Polke is documented at Conestoga from 1724 to 1726, but he had set up a trading post at the confluence of the Potomac and Little Tonoloway Creek (in modern Hancock) by 1734. His residence is depicted there on the 1736 Winslow map (Kester 1995). Polke married Christian, the daughter of Edmond Cartledge. After Polke's death in 1753, she remarried, to Ralph Matson. His name suggests descent from another Delaware Swedish family founded by Nils Matson. Ralph Matson may have been the son or brother of the Ja.[mes?] Matson who was living near the junction of Licking Creek and the Potomac in 1736 (as mapped by Winslow).

The largest property along the Canal was Charles Carroll's huge (10,000 acres) Carrollton tract, which extended northward from the Potomac on the west side of the Monocacy. The plan for Carrollton is always associated with Charles Carroll "The Settler," but he died in 1720 and the patent was not officially granted until 1723. However, Carroll must have had the plan well under way by the time of his death, since he purchased the rights to the land from the Tuscarora Indians in 1719 (see above). Philemon Lloyd's map, drawn in 1721-1722, bears this notation: "In this forck Mr Charles Caroll laid out his great tract" (see Figure 27). It is important to note that Carroll's land did not extend to the river bank. The Potomac bank was acquired instead by Arthur Nelson in 1724-1725. Apparently, Carroll could not claim the riverside because the

Tuscarora were still in residence. Indians had established a town there, presumably in 1713, after the defeat of the Tuscaroras in their uprising against the Carolina colonists. In Lloyd's letter to his investors, dated July 28, 1722, he reported that Carroll had "purchased from ye Indians a Lycence to take up his tract of land in ye Fork of Patowmeck and Monockkascey" (Tracey and Dern 1987). Sometime between September 1722 and May 1723, the chiefs of the Iroquois League officially accepted the Tuscaroras as their Sixth Nation. Presumably, the inhabitants of the town on Tuscarora Creek responded by moving north to New York or Pennsylvania in 1723. That probably accounts for the Carrolton survey in April of that year, and Nelson's acquisition of the riverbank and islands in 1724 and 1725.

The mouth of the Monocacy represents a crossroads of sorts, where the stream of English and Welsh settlers moving west from Maryland crossed another stream, this one of Germans and Scots Irish coming south from Pennsylvania. Germans in particular came in large numbers in the 1740s and 1750s, and they bought up much of the land in the northern and central parts of Frederick County, patenting those pieces that had not already been claimed by English speculators. These Germans were not, as is sometimes said, the first European settlers in the area, for Swedes and English were already living there. In 1796 a dispute about the boundaries of Carrollton came to trial. The main point at issue was the location of a tree that had grown at the confluence of the Potomac and the Monocacy before it washed away, and 16 men gave depositions. Interestingly, all had British names. It seems that German settlement was concentrated farther north, and the lands along the Potomac were occupied by the descendants of the English and Welsh families who first settled there in the 1730s.

War

The Great War for Empire, 1754-1761

By 1750 the frontier had moved west of the Blue Ridge, and the lands along the Potomac were for the most part thickly settled. Speculators had already turned their attention to the Ohio country, where rival companies from Virginia and Pennsylvania vied to claim the choicest parcels. Marylander Thomas Cresap, the Daniel Boone of his age in terms of both pathfinding and self-promotion, served as agent for the Ohio Company of Virginia and promoted their interests while trading with Indians from a house at Oldtown; but his many exploits were mostly to the west of the mountains. However, the quiet of Maryland's farm country was periodically shattered by war.

The first great conflict to trouble the Potomac was known to earlier generations of Americans as the French and Indian War and to the British as the Seven Years' War. Now this conflict is often called the Great War for Empire because its main result was to strip the French of most of their overseas empire and establish Britain as the preeminent power in both India and North America. This worldwide conflict began in the Ohio valley, with fighting between the Virginia militia under George Washington and some Iroquois allies, and the French and their Indian friends. Washington had been sent west by Virginia's governor to keep the French from fortifying the future site of Pittsburgh, which he believed was part of Virginia. The Ohio valley was one of the main theaters of conflict for the next six years, which made the Potomac valley a key military

route. In 1755 General Braddock's ill-fated expedition marched up the valley on their way to disaster, crossing the river at the mouth of Conococheague and then fleeing back down it. They were followed by Indian war parties who attacked settlements as far east as Catoctin Creek. Thousands of settlers fled the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, leaving whole counties depopulated. In 1757 the governor-general of Canada reported to Paris that raiding parties operating from Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh) had taken only 27 captives and 27 scalps in the past few months, not for want of trying but because there were no settlers left to attack: "all our parties have carried terror among our enemies to a point that the settlements of the English in Pinsilvanie, Mariland, and Virginia are abandoned. All the settlers have retreated to the city or into the forest" (Anderson 2000:204).

Maryland responded to the crisis by building Fort Frederick and several smaller forts, but these installations could not prevent raiding by small, mobile bands of Indians and French irregulars. As Washington repeatedly urged, only an offensive against Fort Duquesne could save the situation. Eventually the government in London, bombarded by pleas from all the governors of the region, decided that an offensive was indeed needed, and they sent John Forbes to command it. It is interesting to note that while General Braddock is memorialized throughout the region with several Braddock Roads and a Braddock Mountain, there seems to be little record of Forbes, who actually took Fort Duquesne and, just as important, restored friendly relations with many of the Delaware and Shawnee Indians who had gone over to the French in 1754 (Anderson 2000:268). (Likewise it is General James Wolfe we remember from the fighting at Quebec, even though he died early in the first of several battles that had to be fought before the British secured the city; Robert Monckton, whose leadership averted certain disaster during the first battle after Wolfe was killed, and James Murray, who directed the capture of the city and its defense against a French counterattack and then led the next year's attack on Montreal, have both been completely forgotten. Fortune is indeed fickle.)

The Revolutionary War

The old Warriors' Path that had been used by Iroquois war parties was again pressed into service by armies during the American Revolution. This road, running along the eastern foot of the Blue Ridge (roughly present-day U.S. 15), became part of the "Great Wagon Road" from Philadelphia to the Carolinas. General Anthony Wayne's Pennsylvania brigade marched south in late May 1781 to support Lafayette in the campaign that culminated at Yorktown. Leaving York on May 26, they reached the Potomac on May 31, when the diary of Captain John Davis reports:

> Took up the line of march at sunrise, passed through Frederick Town, Maryland, and reached Powtomack, which we crossed in Squaws [scows]. One unfortunately sunk loaded with artillery and Q.M. stores and men in which our Serjeant and three men were drowned. Encamped on the S.W. side of the river, night being very wet our baggage not crossed, Officers of the Reg. took Quarters in Col. Clapam's Negro Quarter, where we agreeably passed the night [*Virginia Magazine* 1:2; quoted by Harrison 1924:460].

The Patowmack Company

As settlement moved west over the Appalachians, it became apparent to many thoughtful people that one of the new nation's greatest needs would be for transportation through the mountains. The need was both political and economic; easy communication was essential to keeping the western settlements tied to eastern governments, and the profits to be made in trade meant that whoever could provide that communication would certainly get rich. The nation's first major transportation project was the National Road, authorized in 1806 to connect the Potomac valley at Cumberland, Maryland, to the Ohio River at Wheeling, (West) Virginia.

One of the people who thought long and hard about how to connect the Ohio valley with the east was George Washington. Already in 1754, fresh from his first disastrous military foray over the mountains, he had begun to ponder the question, and he soon met other men who had similar dreams. One of these was a Virginia-based entrepreneur, John Ballendine. Ballendine engaged in iron-mining and milling and is reported to have operated an iron works on the Occoquan River in 1755, and he built an estate called "Rockledge" there in 1758. In 1772 he proposed to the Virginia legislature the idea of a canal on the James River at Richmond, and he also proposed a canal for the Potomac. But apparently Ballendine was peripatetic, perhaps keeping a step ahead of his irate creditors. According to Achenbach (2004:39), Ballendine "lived at Little Falls, where he built a house, grist mill, and bakery, and sometime around 1770 he constructed a dam and the first primitive canal skirting the falls . . . Ballendine had trouble paying his debts and briefly spent time in jail . . . he went to England and studied the canals there, and even brought a few engineers back to America to work on Potomac improvements. But he is now forgotten, by and large, because his project was subsumed into the dream of a much more powerful figure." Actually, it is not certain that Ballendine ever constructed his canal. He advertised in an Alexandria newspaper in 1775 seeking to hire enslaved laborers for the excavations, but then the Revolutionary War broke out, which no doubt put his project on hold for years.

That "much more powerful figure" who also dreamed of a Potomac canal was George Washington. Washington supported Ballendine's 1772 application for a charter to open the Potomac River to navigation. Back from the Revolutionary War, he returned to the problem in 1784 and in 1785 organized the Patowmack Company to begin improvements. The company proposed to build canals around five sets of falls and make some improvements to the stream channel. The improvements were completed in 1802, three years after Washington died. The canals allowed goods to be shipped downstream but only when the water level was neither too high nor too low, and getting the boats upstream was so difficult that some river men built a new boat for every trip, selling the old one for lumber at Georgetown and walking home.

The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal

The problems with shipping on the Patowmack Company's canals, along with the desire to cross the Appalachians and reach the Ohio valley, inspired dreams of a true canal reaching from

Georgetown to Pittsburgh. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company was organized in 1824 to achieve that goal, and the first spadeful of earth was turned by President John Quincy Adams at a ceremonial ground-breaking on July 4, 1828 (*Daily National Intelligencer* July 7, 1828). It was a grand spectacle, with the Marine band, two companies of cavalry and two of infantry, steamboats, thousands of onlookers, and a long list of dignitaries, including the ambassadors of seven nations, the Secretaries of War, the Navy, and the Treasury, several senators, the commanders of the army and navy, and two surviving officers of the Revolutionary army. The ceremony was held at what was once known as Garrison Cove, then the lower end of the skirting canal around Little Falls but long before that the site of the Rangers' Fort, and before that the camping spot of innumerable Native Americans who pulled their canoes out on that shore to portage around the falls. General Mercer, President of the Canal, handed the shovel ("this humble instrument of rural labor") to President Adams. Taking up the shovel he began, not to dig, but to talk—for he was a politician, after all, not a laborer. The President took as his theme "the noblest Empire of time," which was, he said,

> The Empire of Learning and the Arts—the dominion of man over himself, and over physical nature—acquired by the inspirations of genius, and the toils of industry; not watered with the tears of the widow and the orphan; not cemented in the blood of human victims; founded not in discord, but in harmony—of which, the only spoils are the imperfections of nature, and the victory achieved is the improvement of the condition of all.

When Adams was finally ready to put his humble shovel in the ground, he turned to a Biblical text for inspiration, God's command to his children that they should "be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it."

> To subdue the earth was, therefore, one of the first duties assigned to man at his creation; and now, in his fallen condition, it remains among the most excellent of his occupations. To subdue the earth is pre-eminently the purpose of the undertaking to the accomplishment of which the first stroke of the spade is now to be struck.

Unfortunately for the investors in the company, the earth was much harder to subdue than they had anticipated. The project that had started with such magnificent fanfare soon fell behind schedule and ran over budget, as almost everything associated with constructing the canal took longer and cost more than they had anticipated. At first progress was fair. The canal reached Seneca by 1830 and Harper's Ferry by 1833, but then construction bogged down. Money ran out, and a long, costly legal battle with the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad caused further delays. By the time the Canal reached Cumberland, in 1850, the plan to complete it over the mountains to the Monongahela River had long since been abandoned.

The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad began construction on the same day as the Canal, at a much less grand ceremony presided over by Charles Carroll, surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence. The B&O started slowly, taking more than two years to reach Ellicott's Mills, just 13 miles west of Baltimore, but then picked up steam. By 1836 it had passed the canal, and in 1842 the railroad reached Cumberland, eight years ahead of the canal. Much of the freight that the Canal's planners had hoped would ride in their boats instead rode the rails, especially the coal that was already being mined by the hundreds of tons. The race to connect Chesapeake Bay

with the Ohio valley was won by the railroad, and the canal never really recovered. It did have a long history of hauling grain, coal, and other goods down to the docks in Georgetown, and also of providing water power for mills, but it disappointed both the financial aspirations of its inventors and the lofty civic expectations of all those dignitaries who assembled at Garrison Cove to start it on its way.

The Canal Builders

Archeologists have searched the canal for traces of the camps or shanty towns used by the workers who built it. Quite a few books and articles have been written on the subject of canal workers. These accounts tend to emphasize the rowdiness of the mostly Irish workers: their dirtiness, drinking, brawling, and rioting. Canal workers were a notoriously rough lot. They staged regular violent protests against the contractors who hired them, and when relations with their employers were satisfactory, they brawled with each other. Sometimes there were ethnic conflicts between the Irish and blacks or Germans, but when only Irish were present they divided into factions, such as the Corkonians, Knockfordians and the Fardowners, who fought with each other. Besides rioting, the only other way the canal workers made it into the news of their own time was when they died in large numbers. Cholera outbreaks were a major problem for workers on all canals, including the C&O. At one time it was thought that cholera victims might have been buried in cemeteries near their camps, but our research shows that the canal workers were buried in towns such as Frederick, well removed from the canal.



FIGURE 42: Father John McElroy

SOURCE: Boston University

In our search for another angle on the workers' lives than the one provided by newspapers and the police blotter, we decided to look into their religious lives. The Catholic Church in Maryland has very good records, so this seemed a likely prospect. However, the first thing we stumbled on was a quotation from a German priest, who wrote, "though I am loath to say it, I really do believe the Irish are incarnate devils." No help on developing an alternative perspective there. But further reading led us to an Irish priest, the Jesuit Father John McElroy (Figure 42). McElroy had a long, distinguished career, during which he served as parish priest in in Frederick and as an Army chaplain during the Mexican War and also founded two educational institutions, St. John's Literary Institute in Frederick and, in 1863, Boston College. While he was in Frederick he visited the canal workers several times, preaching, marrying, and baptizing.

McElroy kept a detailed diary throughout his life, and volumes of this diary are available at several libraries in Maryland. We examined a microfilm copy of the diary, on file in the Maryland State Archives. Unfortunately, McElroy's entries for his visits to the canal workers, between May 31, 1830, and January 21, 1832, are rather terse. A few samples:

> *June 27, 1830.* Said mass in the woods. A large congregation assembled, chiefly canallers. Heard about 50 confessions. Preached mass. After dinner came up to the White's Quarry 6 miles distant. Lodged in a shantee. Heard confessions until 10.
>
> *June 28, 1830.* Continued to hear confessions and said mass. Preached at 11. About 100 persons present. Some of them Protestants. Returned home the same day.
>
> *July 21, 1830:* Went to White Quarry this evening to say mass.
>
> *July 22, 1830*: Had a good number of confessions and communions. Upwards of 100 at mass. I preached on the conversion of Magdalen. Returned home the same day.

He refers to overnight stays mainly at White Quarry (presumably the marble quarry near White's Ferry) and at Mouth of Monocacy. On April 22, 1831, McElroy purchased a temporary chapel at Mouth of Monocacy, "for the convenience of the canallers." On November 13 he referred to it as "our shanty chapel at the Mouth."

> *November 13, 1831*. Said mass and preached in our shanty chapel at the Mouth. Returned home same day up the railroad where I had a sick call.

Since the park includes a large area around the Monocacy, a search was made of park property in the vicinity using shovel testing and metal detecting. Little evidence of a workers' camp was found during the SAIP 2003-2005 survey, but a review of some older archeological studies turned up intriguing possibilities. In the 1970s students from Catholic University excavated a large prehistoric site on the north side of the Monocacy known as Site 18FR100, only a few hundred feet from where the rivers meet. No report on this dig has ever been written, but the field notes and artifacts are now kept by the NPS and we were able to review them. In the upper layers the student excavators found a number of historic artifacts, including numerous cut nails, several pieces of bottle glass, three fragments of white clay tobacco pipes, and a few sherds of earthenware dishes, material that probably dates to the first half of the 1800s, as well as a couple of Civil War bullets. Not enough material was found for this to be a farmhouse, but it could have been a tenant house with a short occupation, a warehouse of some kind, or an outlying barn. The white clay tobacco pipes probably date to before the Civil War, but some of the other material could have been left by soldiers. This could be the remains of the Canal workers' camp, however, as nails, bottle glass, and tobacco pipes are exactly what one would expect from a workers' "shanty town."

More recently, a team of mostly amateur archeologists made a controlled surface collection at the Chick Farm Site (18FR335), about 1,500 feet north of where the rivers meet, and the artifacts were later analyzed by professionals (Barse et al. 2002). Those professionals argued that they had found the residence of an undocumented tenant farmer, even though no such house is shown on the 1827 canal route map. They dated the site almost exactly to the period when the canal was built: "Ceramic discard at the site peaks at about 1825 with a rapid decrease by the end of the following decade" (Barse et al. 2002:5.45). Several tools for construction or woodworking were found, including two gouges, a chisel, two augers ("appropriate for heavy frame construction") a shovel fragment and two broken picks. As the report on that project notes, "It may be that the occupants supplemented their farming with woodworking, although it is also possible that work crews for the construction of the canal used the recently abandoned tenant

house as a workyard in the 1830s (Barse et al. 2002:5.48)." Since it is unusual to find even one woodworking tool while surface collecting at a farm site, we believe that this site was connected to the building of either the canal or the B&O Railroad.

The Civil War

During the Civil War the Potomac was the boundary between North and South and so it saw a great deal of military activity. Fortifications were built, such as Fort Duncan near Harper's Ferry; armies crossed and camped; skirmishes were fought; farms were burned. Union and Confederate armies crossed the river during the Antietam and Gettysburg campaigns, making use of the main ferries and fords from White's Ferry to Antietam Creek (Figure 43). Confederate troops who had crossed the Potomac at White's Ford tried to knock down the Monocacy Aqueduct on their way to the Battle of Antietam but they were unable to damage the structure; they tried again on the way back but with no greater result (Figure 44). The canal and the Baltimore & Ohio railroad were important supply lines for Washington and therefore tempting targets for Confederate raiders. Union troops were stationed along the Potomac to guard against Confederate attack. The memoirs of Captain Frank Myers of the 35th Virginia Cavalry, which was stationed along the river in 1863, provide a sense of what the fighting along the river was like, the constant patrolling, the small forays by night, the brief battles:

> About the last of August Colonel White learned that a force, entitled "Scott's 900" (the 11th New York Cavalry) was stationed at Edward's Ferry, and crossing the river some distance above the ferry about midnight, which one hundred and fifty men, the Colonel hid his force along the bank to wait until the patrol which passed up and down the towpath of the canal, every half hour, should go down, and at the same time he placed tow men near the two path, with instructions to notice closely the patrol, and if they appeared hurried or excited, to stop them, for that would be evidence enough that they had learned something of his presence on the Maryland side, and they must not be permitted to reach the camp, but if they came long quietly, as usual, to let them pass, for they evidently would know nothing of his movement; but it so happened that old "Uncle" Charley Butler was along, and moreover that he was about half drunk, and when they patrol of two men came riding very leisurely along, "Uncle Charley" sprang up and caught the bridle of the leading Yankee, who raised his gun to fire at Butler, and to save him the other boys had to shoot the Yankee, and of course the firing alarmed the camp.
>
> Colonel White now urged his people across the canal as rapidly as possible, and coming up in rear of the camp, (which he knew to be fortified in front), halted along enough to form his line and ordered a charge, in which they received a volley from the enemy that badly wounded one man, and several slightly; and on reaching he camp found that it had a regular fortification all around it, but the men spurred their horses on, leaping the ditch and riding recklessly over the breastworks. Most of the enemy, thanks to Butler's drunken blunder at the canal, had escaped, and the daring and desperate assault only resulted in the capture of about a dozen, but their whole equipage fell into the hands of White's people [Myers 1871:10-11].

Fortifications have been identified in the vicinity of Edwards Ferry, although there is no special reason to identify them as the camp of Scott's 900. Evidence of a possible camp was found not far from the western end of the Monocacy Aqueduct during the excavation of a Native American

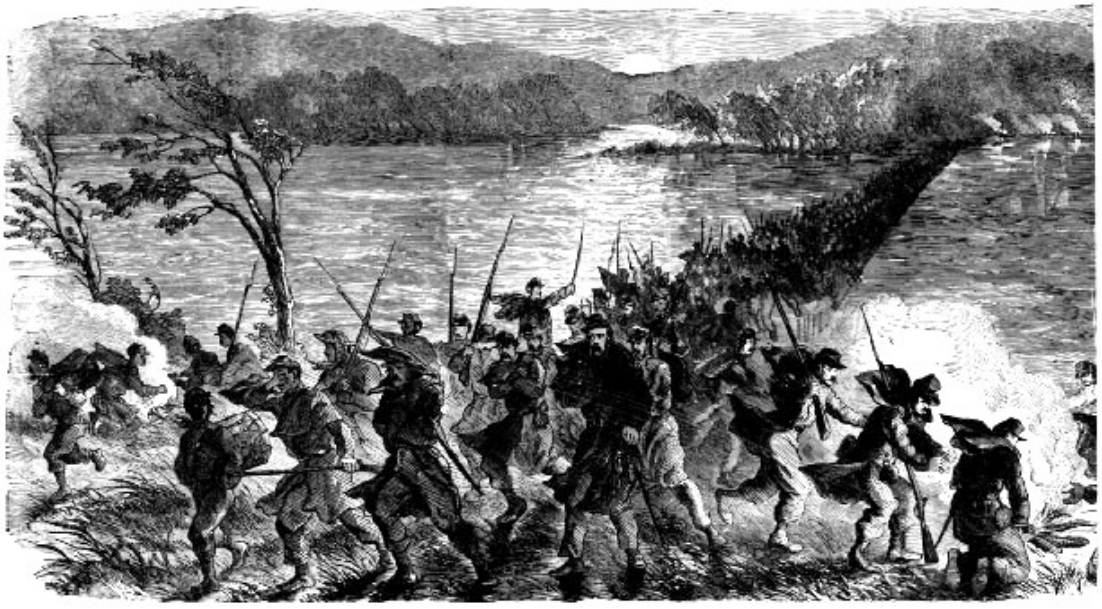


FIGURE 43: Union Troops Cross a Pontoon Bridge at Edwards Ferry, October 23, 1861
Source: Leslie's Illustrated Weekly



FIGURE 44: Union Troops by the Monocacy Aqueduct, 1863 *Source: Harper's Weekly*

site in the 1970s: 10 unfired bullets and a handful of nails. During this project we mapped a small earthwork near Dufief's Basin that has been identified as a Civil War signal station (Hahn 1997:50). Other fortifications have been identified at White's Ford (Figure 45) and Rowser's Ford.

The End of the Canal

The canal struggled financially throughout its history. The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad took over more and more of its business, and with the arrival of the automobile era trucks took the rest (Figure 46). In 1924 another devastating flood struck the canal, and there was just no money for repairs. The canal went out of business, bringing an era to a close.



FIGURE 45: Earthworks at White's Ford

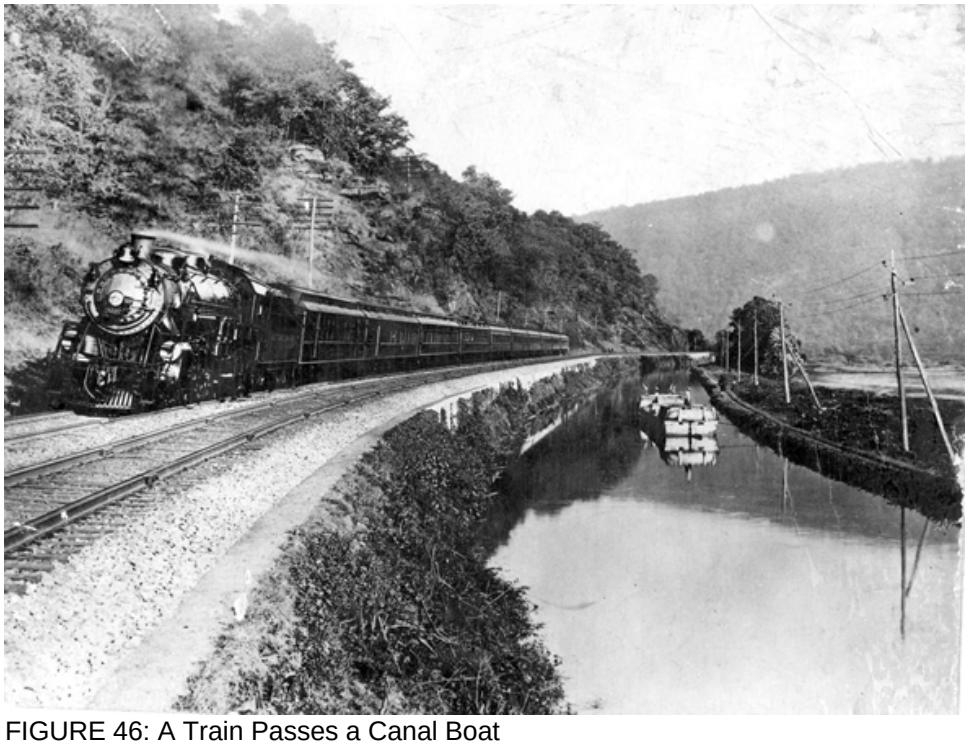


FIGURE 46: A Train Passes a Canal Boat

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