THROUGH THE GREAT VALLEY AND INTO THE MOUNTAINS BEYOND

ARCHEOLOGICAL IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION STUDY OF CHESAPEAKE & OHIO CANAL NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK SANDY HOOK TO HANCOCK (MILE MARKERS 59 TO 123) Volume I

PREPARED FOR:



NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
1100 OHIO DRIVE, S.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20242

PREPARED BY:



THE LOUIS BERGER GROUP, INC.
2445 M Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20037

Final Report
January 2009

THROUGH THE GREAT VALLEY AND INTO THE MOUNTAINS BEYOND

ARCHEOLOGICAL IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION STUDY OF CHESAPEAKE & OHIO CANAL NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK SANDY HOOK TO HANCOCK (MILE MARKERS 59 TO 123)

VOLUME I

Final Report

PREPARED FOR:

National Park Service
National Capital Region
1100 Ohio Drive, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20242

PREPARED BY:

John Bedell, Charles LeeDecker, Stuart Fiedel, Jason Shellenhamer

THE LOUIS BERGER GROUP, INC.
2445 M Street NW, Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20037

January 2009

FOREWORD

This is the first of three volumes reporting the results of a three-year archeological survey of the central 64 miles of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park (C&O Canal Park) carried out for the National Park Service (NPS), National Capital Region, from 2005 through 2007.

Although more than a hundred archeological sites have been recorded in the C&O Canal Park, much of the park remains unexplored, and little is known about most of the recorded sites. Since the park borders the Potomac River, the archeological potential of its 13,000 acres is enormous. To learn more about the archeological resources of the park, and to assist the park in managing those resources, 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 central segment comprising 64 miles between Sandy Hook and Hancock, spanning the Great Valley from the Blue Ridge to the Alleghenies (Figure 1). An earlier study covered the eastern 59 miles, from Georgetown to Sandy Hook (Fiedel et al. 2005). The NPS plans to fund future study to examine the archeology of the upper, western segment of the C&O Canal Park.

In order to address multiple audiences most effectively—the general public, park staff, 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 Potomac in the Great Valley, based on the archival and archeological field investigations; it is intended for the non-technical reader and does not contain specific information about site locations. In order to avoid excessive repetition, this volume treats briefly some topics that were extensively discussed in the reports on the eastern segment of the park. Volume II provides a more technical description and assessment of the project's research goals, methods, and findings, and concentrates on a presentation of the prehistoric research. In organization and content, it more closely follows the professional standards of the cultural resource management industry and is intended for distribution only within the professional community. 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.

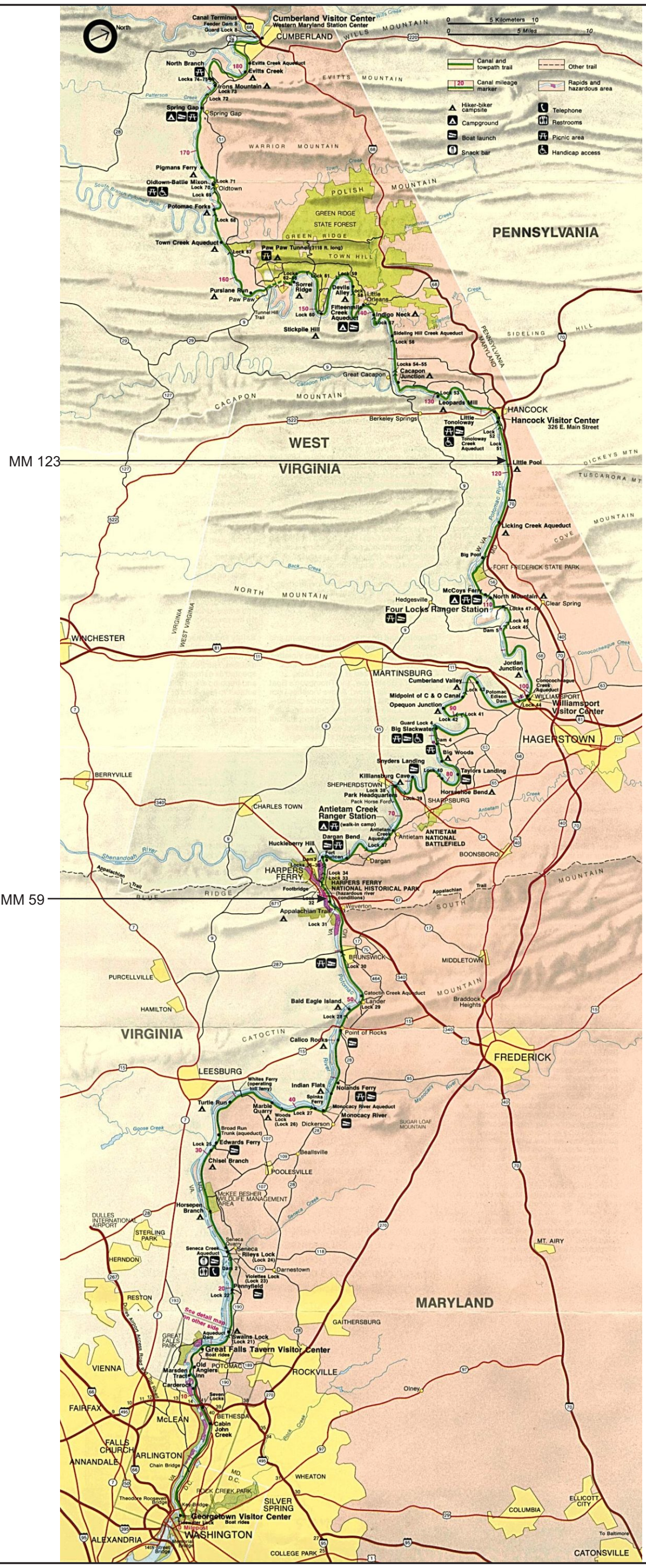


FIGURE 1: Map of the Cheasapeake & Ohio Canal

SOURCE: National Park Service

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME I

Chapter	*Page*
THE CANAL AND THE RIVER	1
ONE RIVER, MANY LANDS	3
The Potomac	3
Prehistory	5
THE FIRST PEOPLE	7
HUNTERS AND GATHERERS: THE EARLY ARCHAIC	11
SLOW, SLOW CHANGE: THE MIDDLE ARCHAIC	15
MIGRATION AND CULTURE CHANGE: THE LATE ARCHAIC	18
POTS AND THEIR PEOPLE: THE EARLY WOODLAND	25
WHERE DID THE PEOPLE GO? THE MIDDLE WOODLAND	31
MAIZE AND VILLAGE LIFE: THE LATE WOODLAND	34
The Indian Way	34
The Late Woodland in the Great Valley	39
The Luray Complex at the Spring Dell Road Site	45
AN EMPTY PLACE: THE GREAT VALLEY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY	48
Warfare and Disease	48
Henry Fleet's Potomac Expedition, 1632	50
Refugees	52
THE COLONIAL FRONTIER	54
Indians and Traders	54
The Land Rush	60
Squatters and Settlers at Antietam Bottom	67
The Germans	69
The Archeology of the Frontier	76
Spring Road Dell Site	80
THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR	83

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

Chapter *Page*

THE EARLY IRON INDUSTRY 101

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 109
- Rural Life in the Valley 109
- Industry 117
- Building the Canal 118
  - Labor Strife and Financial Turmoil 119
  - Searching for Workers' Camps 129

THE CIVIL WAR 132
- Garrisons and Skirmishes 132
- Antietam and Gettysburg Campaigns 133
- The Canal in Wartime 138

CANAL LIFE 139
- Lock Keepers and Other Canal People 139
- The End of the Canal 140

REFERENCES CITED 141

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure		*Page*
1	Map of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal	ii
2	Excavations Along the C&O Canal	2
3	Map of the Hagerstown Valley	3
4	The Potomac River in the Great Valley	4
5	A Clovis Point	7
6	Paleolithic Spearpoints and Scrapers from a Site near the C&O Canal	9
7	Possible Paleolithic Endscraper from the C&O Canal Park	10
8	A Kirk Point	12
9	Excavation of a Deeply Stratified Prehistoric Site Along the C&O Canal	13
10	Spearpoints and Arrowheads from a Site near Ernstville	17
11	Stone Tools from a Site near Big Pool	17
12	A Savannah River Broadspear	19
13	Two Groundstone Axes from Sites near the C&O Canal	21
14	A Large Collection of Savannah River Points from a Site near the C&O Canal	21
15	Savannah River Points and Bases from a Site near the C&O Canal	23
16	A Cache of Susquehannah Broadspears Recovered near the C&O Canal Park	23
17	Marcey Creek Pottery from Anne Arundel County, Maryland	27
18	Selden Island Pottery from the Selden Island Site	28
19	Accokeek Pottery from Prince George's County, Maryland	28
20	Selby Bay Points Recovered near the Falls of the Potomac	32
21	John White's Watercolor of the Village of Pomeioc in North Carolina, 1585	35
22	Late Woodland Arrowheads and a Drill from a Site near McCoy's Ferry	37
23	Clemson Island Pottery from Western Maryland	40
24	Shepard Pottery from the Rosenstock Site (top) and from a Site near McCoy's Ferry (bottom)	41
25	The Two Ways of Twisting Cord	44
26	View of the Spring Dell Road Site	46
27	Keyser Pottery from the Keyser Farm Site (top) and from the Spring Dell Road Site (bottom)	47
28	An Iroquois Warrior, in a Seventeenth-Century French Engraving	49
29	Augustine Herrman's Map of Virginia and Maryland, 1678	55
30	Lloyd's Map of the Mid-Potomac, 1721	56
31	Winslow's Map of the Mid-Potomac, 1736	62
32	Memorial to Charles Friend and Swede's Delight	66
33	Map of the Antietam Bottom Patent, with the Sales Made in 1741	68
34	Detail from Fry and Jefferson's 1755 Map of Virginia, Showing the Two Roads into Maryland's Great Valley	73
35	Home of Samuel Hager in Hagerstown, Built ca. 1740	75
36	Historic Artifacts from a Site near Ernstville	79
37	Historic Pottery from the Spring Dell Road Site	81

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS (continued)

Figure		*Page*
38	Snow's 1754 Map of Western Maryland Showing the Location of Wills Creek (lower right)	85
39	A British Grenadier from the Braddock Campaign	86
40	Map of Colonel Dunbar's Route to Cumberland	87
41	Fort Frederick	94
42	Location of Green Spring Furnace on an 1859 Map	102
43	Antietam Furnace in 2007	103
44	Map of Antietam Furnace in 1869	104
45	Ruins of Buildings Associated with the Furnace in the C&O Canal Park	108
46	The Sharpsburg District in 1859	110
47	The Staub House in 2007	111
48	A Small Section of the 1867 Weyss Map of the Antietam Battlefield, Showing Structures Along the Canal	112
49	The Mercerville District in 1859	113
50	The Williamsport District in 1859	114
51	The Clearspring District in 1859	115
52	A Small Nineteenth-Century House near Two Locks	116
53	A Small Nineteenth-Century House near Prather's Neck	116
54	The Potomac Refining Company Plant near Dargan Bend in the Early Twentieth Century	117
55	Tools Used by Canal Workers	118
56	Historic Artifacts from the Mouth of Antietam Creek	131
57	Contemporary Drawing of Jackson's Attempt to Destroy Dam No. 5 in December 1861	134
58	Civil War Soldier's Sketch of the Antietam Iron Works	136
59	Map of the Union Cavalry Attack on Heth's Division at Falling Waters	137
60	Excavating by a Lock Keeper's House	139

LIST OF TABLES

1	Middle Atlantic Region, Cultural and Environmental Chronology	6
2	Two Lists of the Inhabitants of Western Maryland, 1733 and 1734	63
3	Locations of Early Settlers' Residences on the 1736 Winslow Map	64
4	The Switch from German to English at Hagerstown Lutheran Church, 1820 to 1835	76
5	Probate Inventory of Charles Friend, 1752	78
6	Historic Artifacts from the Spring Dell Road Site	82

THE CANAL AND THE RIVER

"When the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was being constructed," a local historian tells us about a farm west of Sharpsburg, "tomahawks, arrow-heads, and ornaments were found in its bed" (Scharf 1882:987). This simple observation reminds us that the canal's builders were not blazing a new trail. The Potomac River had been a transportation corridor for thousands of years. The passage it provided through the mountains had been used by generations of Indians in canoes and on foot, by frontier traders, by early settlers, and by soldiers on both sides of the French and Indian War. In preserving the canal, the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park (C&O Canal Park) also preserves much evidence of that earlier history. It also preserves later history, such as the remains of businesses and settlements that grew up along the canal, and the traces left by Civil War armies.

The C&O Canal Park follows the Potomac River in Maryland for 184.5 miles, from Washington, D.C., westward to Cumberland, Maryland. Beginning just below the Falls of the Potomac, at the edge of the Coastal Plain, the canal runs up through the hilly Piedmont and deep into the heart of the Appalachian Mountains. The segment covered by this report extends from Sandy Hook, Maryland, near the point where the river enters the mountains, 64 miles west across the Great Valley to Hancock, Maryland. This part of the canal was built in the 1830s, through a rich, well settled farming district. The men who built the canal were mostly Irish, and the farmers across whose land they dug were mostly Germans. These were only two of the many ethnic groups that had made their homes along the river. Before the German settlers came south from Pennsylvania in the 1730s, other Europeans had come west up the river. First came fur traders, many of them Finns or Swedes from the old Swedish colony on the Delaware. English and Welshmen came, too, and African slaves. Before the Europeans came, many different Indian tribes lived or hunted in the valley: Susquehannocks, Shawnees, Piscataways, Senecas, Mohawks, and others. Before them, people whose names we do not know lived here, stretching back 13,000 years to the days when the first Indian hunters stalked mastadons and other extinct beasts in the shadow of the great glaciers.

The Great Valley has been the front line in at least two major wars. From 1754 to 1763, the British and French battled for control of North America, each with powerful Indian allies. The French and their Indian friends had the best of it at first, and they drove almost all of the British and German settlers from the valley. But after a great naval victory that gave them control of the Atlantic, the British launched a series of military expeditions and wrested control of Canada from the French. Eventually the British took Fort Duquesne and renamed it Pittsburgh, the frontier moved west, and the Great Valley knew decades of peace. In the 1860s war returned. The Potomac River marked the frontier between the Union and the Confederacy, and armies marched back and forth. In September 1862 a Confederate invasion of the north was stopped along Antietam Creek north of Sharpsburg, still the bloodiest day in American history. In 1863 the Confederates tried again, and this time they came to grief at Gettysburg. The retreating Confederates found their path blocked by a flooding Potomac, and for a week they camped at Falling Waters, waiting behind their entrenchments while their engineers built a floating bridge. They made their escape into Virginia, although Union cavalry dogged their retreat and a skirmish was fought on the bluffs as the Confederates pulled out.

All the people who lived along the Potomac, from Paleolithic hunters to canal builders, have left traces that can be found: stone spearpoints, potsherds, postholes, brick fragments, earthworks, and the canal itself. The banks of the Potomac are 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 builds up. Artifacts dropped next to the river are slowly buried more and more deeply (Figure 2). The river sediment 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. For all these reasons, archeologists have long been drawn to the Potomac, walking over fields and digging into the deep, river-born soils, in search of the rich past of this endlessly fascinating place.



FIGURE 2: Excavations Along the C&O Canal

ONE RIVER, MANY LANDS

The Potomac

On its journey from the mountains to the Chesapeake Bay, the Potomac River crosses several distinct geological zones. Its source is in the Ridge and Valley province of the Appalachian Mountains. Here steep rocky ridges run southwest to northeast, along an ancient fold in the earth's crust, separated by green valleys. Swift rivers flow through those valleys. The Potomac rises from mountain springs in the heart of West Virginia. From there it flows northeast, following the folds of the land, to Cumberland, Maryland. As more streams join it, it grows to a mighty river. Below Cumberland the river cuts across the grain of the mountains, carving dramatic gorges through one ridge after another as it traces its path eastward down to the sea.

East of Cove Mountain, near Clear Spring, the land opens up into the Hagerstown Valley (Figure 3), where caves dot the rolling limestone hills. The Hagerstown Valley, 25 miles wide, is the Maryland segment of what geographers call the Great Valley, known in Virginia as the Shenandoah Valley and in Pennsylvania as the Cumberland Valley. The Great Valley is hundreds of miles long, forming a wide, gentle route from central Pennsylvania to North Carolina. In colonial times it served as a highway for trade, migration, and warfare, and it may also have done so in ancient times. Two large streams flow down the Hagerstown Valley and into the Potomac, Conococheague Creek on the west and Antietam Creek on the east. Although

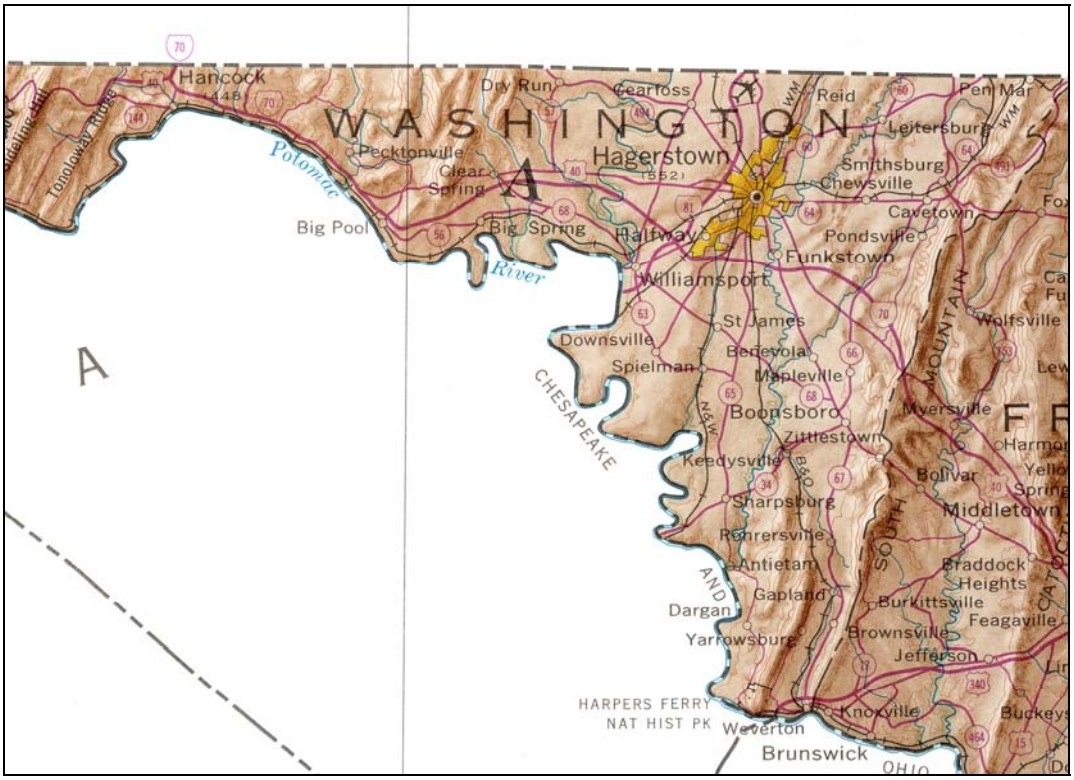


FIGURE 3: Map of the Hagerstown Valley *Source: USGS Reston, VA 1973 (1:500,000)*

the terrain of the valley is gentle, the river actually flows across it through a narrow, steep valley as much as 300 feet below the surrounding bluffs (Figure 4). These bluffs do not look as dramatic as the mountain ridges further west, but they confine the river just as effectively. Because it flows in this narrow valley, the river is not lined with the broad floodplains that attracted ancient settlers. On the Maryland shore such broad, level lands are found at only two spots, at the mouths of Conococheague and Antietam creeks. Otherwise the floodplain is narrow.

Along the eastern edge of the Great Valley are two steep ridges, South Mountain and beyond that Catoctin Mountain, that make up the Blue Ridge Province. The Blue Ridge has a distinctive geology, and rocks are found here that occur nowhere else in the region. Most important for our purposes is rhyolite, a metamorphic rock that was much used by some ancient Indian groups to make stone tools. At the foot of the Blue Ridge, the Potomac is joined by its largest tributary, the river we now call the Shenandoah. Here, near banks of iron ore, the arsenal town of Harper's Ferry rose. It seems that in the 1600s the Indians called the river "Patowmack" only below this point. Above the mouth of the Shenandoah, the river had other names, of which "Cohongorooto" is the one that comes down to us. Early European settlers sometimes called the Shenandoah the South Fork and the Potomac-Cohongorooto the North Fork. Because men in England who knew little about American geography gave out land grants with "the Potomac River" as a boundary, disputes over these names vexed English judges and American landowners for decades in the 1700s, and it was in the course of these disputes that the river was first mapped from its sources to the Atlantic Ocean.



FIGURE 4: The Potomac River in the Great Valley

Beyond the Blue Ridge the river again enters more level terrain. The western part of the Piedmont is known in Maryland as the Lancaster-Frederick lowland. Here the slow-flowing Potomac has formed broad floodplains and several large islands, perfect terrain for Indian villages of late prehistoric and early historic times. The eastern Piedmont, extending to Washington, D.C. is somewhat more rugged and the river flows more rapidly again, finally tumbling over Great and Little Falls down to the head of the Tidewater at Georgetown. Below the Falls the river broadens and grows gradually more salty, looking less and less like a river and more and more like an arm of the Chesapeake Bay.

The different geological zones along the Potomac were sometimes homes to different human cultures, and the geological boundaries sometimes also marked political or cultural boundaries. Because the river offered a highway connecting those different zones, it must at times have been the site of conflict. In historic times we can map out those conflicts and show how white settlers spread up the river, how Iroquois raiders came down the Great Valley, how the Shawnee moved west to Oldtown and then further west, beyond the Ohio. For late prehistoric times, what archeologists call the Late Woodland period, we can trace the rise and fall of cultures along the river and at least offer well founded speculations about the migrations and conflicts that lay behind them. The further back in time we cast our attention, the murkier the picture becomes, but even so we can still identify some events and some migrations. When we find artifacts east of the Blue Ridge that are different from those to the west, we know that in that period the mountains marked a boundary. For other ages the artifacts along long stretches of the river are the same, so we know that related peoples lived along its shores, tied together by the river rather than separated by the mountain barriers.

This middle section of the C&O Canal Park spans three geographic zones, from the Blue Ridge across the Great Valley and into the Ridge and Valley province. It seems that the Blue Ridge marked an important cultural boundary in some periods of the past, and in others the Great Valley was more tied to the East, with a boundary along its western edge. The question of these shifting boundaries is therefore a good theme for this volume.

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*, which falls before the end of the Pleistocene epoch (the time of the Ice Age) and at the beginning of our modern or Holocene epoch. Radiocarbon dates for the Paleoindian period run between 11,000 and 10,000 years before the present, which translates into about 11,500 to 9,500 BC. 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 1400 BC and lasted until the arrival of Europeans, is also divided into Early, Middle, and Late subperiods.

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)		

THE FIRST PEOPLE

The first humans who lived in North America are known as Paleoindians, who appeared around 13,300 years ago. They used distinctive, large spearpoints we call Clovis points (Figure 5), named after a site in New Mexico, so we generally speak of them as the Clovis people. The notion that these were the first humans in the Americas is called the "Clovis-first" hypothesis. The Clovis people spread across North and Central America within a few hundred years, possibly within a few decades. The easiest way to explain their rapid spread is to assume that they were entering a landscape empty of people. We know that they hunted extinct mammals, such as mammoths, because we have found Clovis points with their bones. The arrival of the Paleoindians coincides with a great rapid extinction of the largest Ice Age mammals, and we know that many animals also went extinct when humans arrived in Australia (some 45,000 years ago) and on islands around the world. Wherever Clovis people went, they dominated, and all later cultures seem to be descended from them. The study of genetics has recently confirmed that Native Americans are closely related to the people of central Siberia, and that almost all Native Americans (except for a few groups that we know arrived late) are closely related to each other, as if they were descended from a small group of founders. So the Clovis-first story makes sense.



FIGURE 5: A Clovis Point

There is also evidence, however, that people may have been here before Clovis. Several archeological sites have yielded radiocarbon dates thousands of years older than the oldest Clovis dates, including the Meadowcroft Rockshelter in western Pennsylvania. On the Cactus Hill Site in southeastern Virginia, artifacts have been found several inches below the Clovis level, suggesting that they are somewhat older. These possible pre-Clovis sites have spawned speculation about other routes to the Americas, such as by boat across the Atlantic. The problem with these theories is that none of them really makes sense. The Clovis-first story is internally consistent, and the Clovis people behaved in the ways we would expect of humans arriving in a new world: they multiplied and expanded rapidly, greatly modified their environment, and as they spread and their numbers grew, they began to diversify. Pre-Clovis people, if there were any, somehow managed to live in the Americas without causing extinctions or otherwise modifying their environments, they did not multiply or spread, and they vanished without leaving any descendants. Although it is possible that some small group of people made it into the Americas and then, for some reason (not enough women?) failed to maintain themselves, Clovis-first still fits more of the evidence and is more consistent than any other model, and that is the one we favor here.

Over the past 2 million years great ice sheets have expanded and retreated again and again, driven by variation in the sun's energy, small wobbles in the earth's rotation, or some other

mechanism we do not understand. As they grew, the glaciers locked up water, and sea levels fell to as much as 400 feet below today's levels. The oceans retreated hundreds of miles, and vast new lands were exposed. Among them was what we call Beringia, which connected Alaska and Siberia. Around 14,000 years ago, Beringia was open land, roamed by mammoths, and Paleoindians probably entered North America across this expanse of cold plains. Archeological sites have been found in Alaska that date to that time. The way south was blocked by huge ice sheets, but after 13,500 years ago, as the earth warmed, a path opened through the ice east of the Rocky Mountains, and a bold band of Paleoindians journeyed down this "ice-free corridor."

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. Scientists are not sure why, but it seems certain that the arrival of humans played some role. After all, these animals had survived the comings and goings of the ice for two million years before people arrived, and the changes that led to our modern climate were no greater than many that had happened before. On the other hand, it is hard to see how a small number of humans could have slaughtered all those animals, so some scientists think more subtle mechanisms must have been at work. Perhaps humans or their dogs introduced diseases to which American animals were highly vulnerable, or perhaps the extinction of a few key species, such as mammoths, led to an ecological chain reaction that doomed many others.

Paleoindians entered the Potomac Valley around 13,000 years ago. The lands around the Potomac were never covered by ice, even during the coldest periods, but they were affected by the glaciers in other ways. The Atlantic coast was hundreds of miles east of where it is today. There was no Chesapeake Bay, so the Potomac joined the Susquehanna to form a mighty river that flowed across the now drowned lands. In the colder climate the land was covered with spruce trees and other evergreens, looking much as central Canada does today.

We assume that Eastern Paleoindians hunted mastodons and ground sloths like their relatives in the West, but the acidic soil of the East rarely preserves bone and we have no evidence of this. 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 all of Maryland. Again based on comparison with recent northern hunters, they may have formed a single mobile social group—a "macroband"—shifting camp and breaking up into smaller family groups every few months as they roamed through their territory. The location of each camp was probably selected for comfort and access to resources, such as animal herds and good stone for making tools.

The main evidence of Paleoindian people in Maryland is finds of artifacts, especially Clovis points, from the surface of plowed fields (Figure 6). No major sites of the period have been



FIGURE 6: Paleolithic Spearpoints and Scrapers from a Site near the C&O Canal

found in the state. In all, about 120 Clovis or similar points have been recorded in Maryland. Most of these were found in the Coastal Plain, but at least six have been found along the upper Potomac. A fluted point fragment, made of light-colored translucent chert, was reportedly collected along the Potomac a little north of Antietam Creek. A slightly later fluted point, made of chert, was reported from the Stine Farm Site a few miles further north (Stewart 1980:275-6, 296). It was found on the surface of a small knoll within the floodplain; when it was dropped, this would have been a well drained hill standing above the wet floodplain. The two known fluted points from Allegany County (as of 1988) were found close to the Potomac, near Oldtown and Pinto (Brown 1979; Kavanagh and Ebright 1988). More recently, a Clovis fluted point was reported from the surface of the Barton Site, also in western Maryland.

Although no major Paleoindian sites have been excavated in Maryland or along the Potomac, others are known from the region. One of the most important is the Thunderbird Site, which was excavated by Gardner (1974). The site is on the south fork of the Shenandoah about 40 miles south of the Potomac, near a source of fine-quality jasper used by the Paleoindians to make tools. Many of the tools found at the Catoctin Creek Paleoindian site (in Virginia, near Point of Rocks) were made of jasper. So were some of the Paleoindian points and scrapers found in a cultivated field near the junction of the Potomac and Seneca Creek. During the 2003-2005 archeological survey of the lower 59 miles of the C&O Canal Park, 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.



FIGURE 7: Possible Paleolithic Endscraper from the C&O Canal Park

No Paleoindian artifacts were found during the current study. The people of that distant time remain mysterious to us. We know that they passed by, making and dropping their stone spearpoints and other tools, but really we know little about them.

HUNTERS AND GATHERERS: THE EARLY ARCHAIC

Human life at the end of the Ice Age was dominated by the rapidly changing climate. After the brief relatively warm period when people entered the Americas, a new cold period began that was nearly as harsh as any time in the previous 20,000 years. We call this the Younger Dryas, and it lasted from about 12,900 years ago to precisely 11,590 years ago, a date derived by counting annual growth rings of trees found in German bogs and confirmed by many other methods. Very few artifacts dating to that time have been found along the Potomac, and it may be that the area was abandoned because of the cold. Some geologists have found evidence that a comet or other extraterrestrial body struck the earth at the time the Younger Dryas began, and they have speculated that this long cold snap was caused by that impact. Their theory is new and still very controversial, so we cannot yet say whether people were driven out of the Middle Atlantic by a giant, cooling dust cloud, or if any Americans saw the beginnings of their troubles in a great fire that burned in the sky. When the continent began to warm again, around 11,500 years ago or 9500 BC, people reappeared in the Potomac Valley. By that time the giant animals of the Ice Age had all disappeared, replaced by the much more familiar deer, bear, wolf, and elk.

The warming at the end of the Younger Dryas was abrupt, but the remnants of the ice sheet in eastern Canada and huge, cold meltwater lakes along its southern edge kept the climate of the region cooler than it is now for centuries. Eventually, though, the glaciers melted, the lakes drained away, and by 7000 BC it was as warm as it is today, maybe even warmer. The spruce forests shifted to the north, replaced in the Potomac Valley by oak-hickory forests like those of recent times. Archeologists call the stretch of time between 9500 BC and about 7500 BC the Early Archaic period. Archeological sites dating to this time are much more common than Paleoindian sites, so the population was growing.

The artifacts that define this new period are spearpoints or dart points that look completely different from the points used by Paleoindians. These new points are notched near the base, either in the sides or on the corners. These notches were used to attach the stone point to the wooden shaft of the spear or dart, which is called hafting. Notched points of this period include the Kessell Side-Notched, Palmer, Charleston, Kirk (Figure 8), 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. Some archeologists think this was an adaptation to the hunting of the smaller game animals (mainly deer) that survived the great extinction. But the large Clovis points had probably never been purely functional, as the largest animals can be killed with much smaller spearpoints. Clovis points were probably symbolic and artistic objects as much as they were tools, and their disappearance from the archeological record may have more to do with social and cultural change than deer hunting. The Clovis people, hunters of giant animals, wielders of large, beautifully made spearpoints, had changed along with their environment.

In any case archeologists have seen the change to smaller, notched points 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,



FIGURE 8: A Kirk Point
SOURCE: Illinois State Museum

high-quality raw materials, and they collected them from the same sources, but 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. Early Archaic culture was very much the same throughout the Middle Atlantic region, probably because the population was still low and people regularly wandered long distances across the landscape.

Early Archaic points are quite common in the Great Valley, especially on the high terraces of the Potomac. During his wide-ranging survey of the valley in the 1970s, Michael Stewart found more than a dozen Kirk points as well as a few Palmer points, which seem to be, in Maryland, the earliest of the notched points. Both Kirk and Palmer points are most commonly found on alluvial fans within the Potomac floodplain. An alluvial fan is a place where a small stream runs down from the bluffs onto the level floodplain, dropping its load of sand and gravel as it slows down. The accumulation of this sediment raises the level of the ground. Some of these spots have been in place for at least 10,000 years. Along the Great Valley the river's floodplain is generally narrow, and in Early Archaic times much of it may have been swampy, so these alluvial fans provided dry vantage points within easy reach of the river.

During the earlier phase of this project, the archeological study of the C&O Canal Park between Georgetown and Sandy Hook, an important Early Archaic site was discovered along one of the Potomac's tributaries (Figure 9). The site was discovered by inspecting the bank exposed by the stream. The Early Archaic artifacts came from a dark zone about 7.5 to 8 feet below the surface. The *debitage* (chipping debris) 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.

The black chert piece is a small fragment from the base of a broken dart point or knife, found along with the chipping flakes. This piece was originally the corner of a 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. A few other artifacts suggested an early date for this site. One was a spokeshave or concave-edged sidescraper made of red jasper. These tools were used to scrape the wooden shafts of spears or darts. They are found in both Paleoindian and Early Archaic toolkits. Another was a large cobble, which had a few chips removed from one edge. Such simple chopping tools are often found in the same toolkits along with Kirk and other Early Archaic points.



FIGURE 9: Excavation of a Deeply Stratified Prehistoric Site Along the C&O Canal

The age of this site was confirmed by radiocarbon dating of small charcoal particles collected from the 7.5- to 8-foot zone. Two of these pieces were dated to between 7320 and 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.

SLOW, SLOW CHANGE: THE MIDDLE ARCHAIC

Around 9,500 years ago, or 7500 BC, new types of stone tools appeared along the Potomac, and indeed throughout eastern North America. We use these new artifacts as the markers for a new cultural period, the Middle Archaic. We recognize, however, that these cultures were not so different from those that came before, and the change was a gradual one. The Middle Archaic period roughly corresponds to the warmest and driest part of the modern era, known as the Altithermal or 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 more different ways of getting food 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 apparently they were 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 Southeast and Middle Atlantic regions, the 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 broken bifurcate point was found near Ernstville during this project (Figure 10, upper left). Numerous other examples of these points had been reported from in or near the park. They have been found in essentially the same locations as the earlier Kirk and Palmer points, that is, high terraces of the Potomac River and nearby bluffs.

Bifurcate points are found throughout the Middle Atlantic region, including both the upper and lower Potomac, so there is still no evidence of different cultural zones. Bifurcate points are the earliest type found at workshop sites near the rhyolite boulder quarries in the Blue Ridge (Stewart 1989:7). Those sites were used much more regularly during the Late Archaic, Early Woodland, and Middle Woodland. In the Great Valley 60 percent of the Middle Archaic points are made of rhyolite, so these quarries must have been used intensively during the period. Middle Archaic rhyolite points are less common as one moves further away from the quarries, but they are still rather common along the upper Potomac in Maryland and as far east as Washington,

D.C. Later on, between 7000 and 5000 BC, a mix of diverse point types was used, possibly specialized for different functions. Examples of these types were found during this project (Figure 11, left). Points of this period are especially common in the Ernstville area. Ernstville, we should note, is actually beyond the Great Valley within the Appalachian Ridge and Valley province, where the river valley is wider.

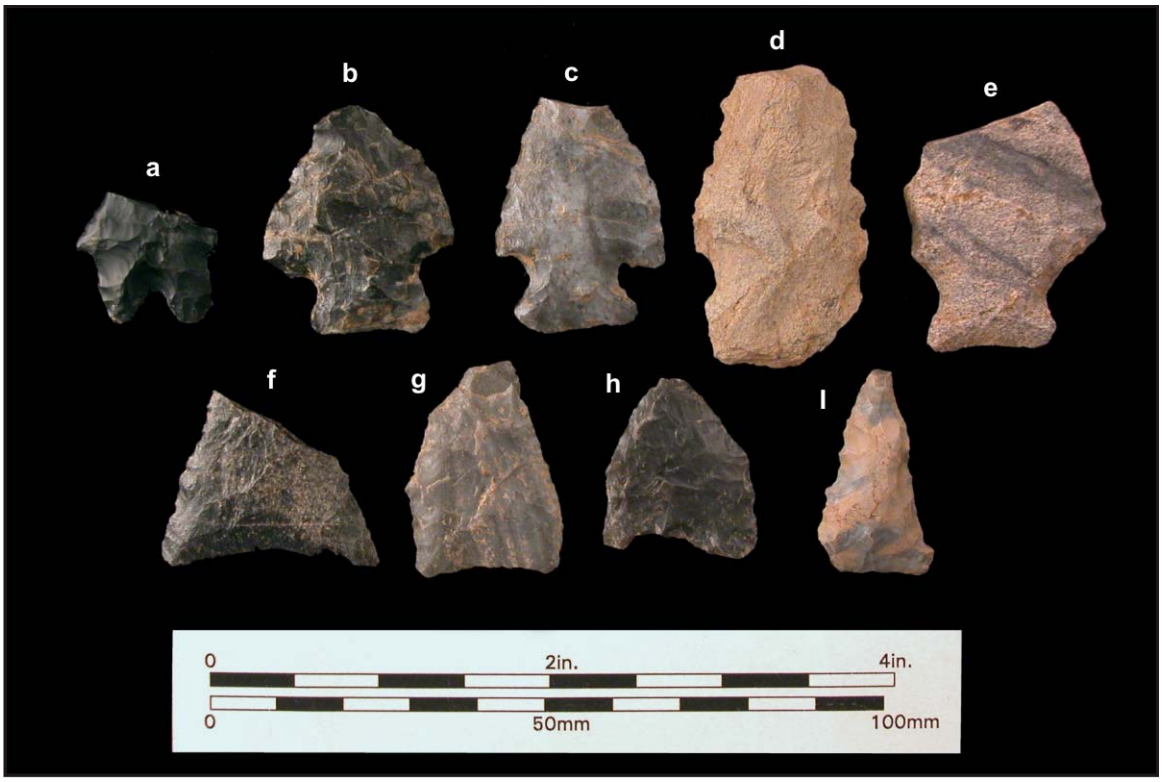


FIGURE 10: Spearpoints and Arrowheads from a Site near Ernstville

a Bifurcate Point (Middle Archaic)
b Perkiomen Broadspear (Terminal Archaic)
c Brewer Corner-Notched Point (Late Archaic)
d Unidentified Point
e Susquehanna Broadspear (Terminal Archaic)
f Levanna Point (later Middle Woodland)
g Levanna Point
h Triangular or Pentagonal Point
i Eared Point

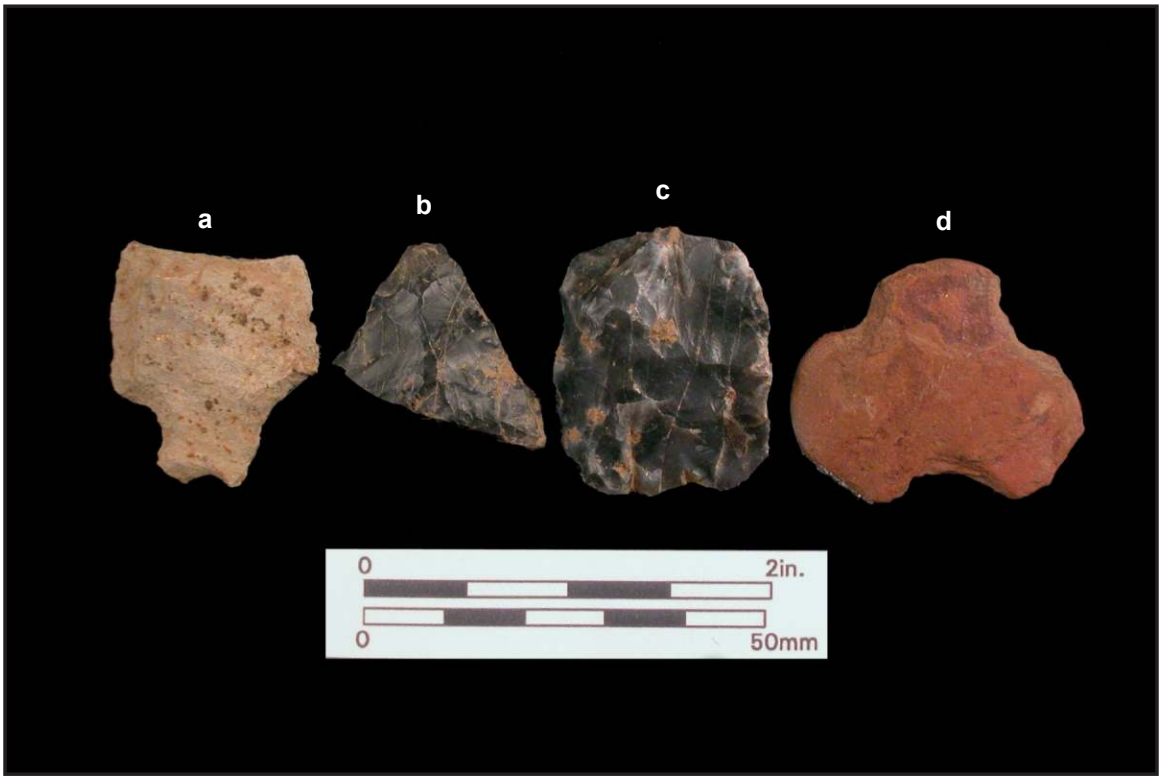


FIGURE 11: Stone Tools from a Site Near Big Pool

a Possible Stanly Stemmed Point (Middle Archaic)
b Unfinished Point
c Unfinished Point
d Possible Netsinker

MIGRATION AND CULTURE CHANGE: THE LATE ARCHAIC

During the next period recognized by archeologists, the Late Archaic, the Great Valley of Maryland may have marked an important cultural frontier. In this period the Chesapeake region was part of a southeastern cultural sphere and its people may actually have been immigrants from the Carolinas. Pennsylvania was part of a northeastern culture zone. One of the important questions about this period is therefore the location of the boundary between these cultures. Archeology done along the Potomac River suggests that the boundary moved back and forth a bit but was never far from the line of South Mountain and the Blue Ridge.

The timing of the transition from the Middle to Late Archaic periods is basically a matter of arbitrary distinction by archeologists. The two most important markers are changes in the styles of dart points and knives, and a great increase in the number of sites. Because there are so many more archeological sites from this period, there must have been many more people. Archeologists are not sure why populations grew in this period, but it was probably a combination of favorable climate and the perfection of cultural adaption to life in the Eastern woodlands. After 5,000 years people must have learned exactly how to hunt all of the region's animals, where and when to find the edible plants, and how to perform the elaborate processing needed to render some wild foods, such as acorns and tuckahoe roots, edible for people.

Along the Susquehanna River, side-notched Otter Creek points are interpreted as marking the beginning of the Late Archaic, at about 5000 BC. They are soon joined by several varieties of Brewerton notched points (see Figure 10, top center). All of these point types seem to be related to those of more northern cultures in New England and Canada. These types are all very common in western Maryland. In Virginia and North Carolina narrow-bladed, stemmed Halifax points are used to mark the beginning of the Late Archaic. Halifax and the similar Vernon and Holmes points are probably the most common point types in Virginia and Maryland. Despite the thousands of Halifax points that have been found, we have only two radiocarbon dates for this culture, and one of those has a range of 4800 to 2800 BC (Coe 1964; Egloff and McAvoy 1990). The boundary between the southeastern Halifax culture and the northeastern Otter Creek/Brewerton culture seems to have been somewhere in the vicinity of Washington, D.C. Halifax points are common in the Maryland Piedmont and Coastal Plain. Several were found on a site at the mouth of the Monocacy River, but this seems to be the furthest west up the Potomac that any have been found (Barse et al. 2002). A large survey of the Monocacy Valley in Maryland found none (Kavanagh 1982). Based on previous work and the current study, they seem to be completely absent from the Great Valley.

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, stone flakes, 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 were probably 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. The culture of the Great Valley in this period seems to have been quite similar. The small, side-notched points of the period are quite common both along the river and in the uplands, but no large, village-like sites have been identified.

The Middle to Late Archaic break that occurred at 5000 BC does not correspond to a major climate transition; it falls within the mid-Holocene Hypsithermal. A major break did occur around 3250 BC, when 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, the number of sites paradoxically 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 rapidly colonized by fish and shellfish, which people were soon collecting for food.

The Halifax culture of the eastern Potomac, and the Brewerton culture to the north and west, were both replaced after 2500 BC by "broadspear-using" cultures. This happened first in the Tidewater region, where the Halifax culture that had seemed so successful disappeared around 2500 to 2200 BC. It was replaced by the Savannah River culture, which originated in Georgia and South Carolina. This change coincides with a centuries-long "megadrought" across North America, and this environmental change may have unsettled the cultures of the region, perhaps even devastated some of them, preparing the way for this major cultural shift. The most distinctive artifact of the Savannah River people is a large, heavy spearpoint that we call the Savannah River Broadspear (Figure 12). In Virginia and Maryland these points are almost always made of quartzite. In fact, Savannah River people were so numerous and so devoted to quartzite that a concentration of quartzite flakes is usually enough to tip off archeologists to their presence. In Washington, D.C., Savannah River people opened large quarries in beds of quartzite cobbles, turning millions of these cobbles into rough "quarry blanks" that were later made into spearpoints and other tools. Although thousands have been found, we do not actually know how Savannah River Broadspears were used. They seem rather large to be used on throwing spears or atlatl darts, so some archeologists think they were knives. On the other hand, experiments have shown that they can serve as spearpoints, and some of the ones we find are broken in ways that suggest impact with a hard body, so the question remains open.



FIGURE 12: A Savannah River Broadspear

Savannah River people had other distinctive artifacts besides their points. Large bowls carved from soapstone (also called steatite) were made during this period in the Piedmont of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. Soapstone quarries around Washington, D.C. have long been studied by archeologists, so we know rather a lot about how these vessels were made. They were tub-shaped, with flat bottoms, sides that slope gently outward, and lug handles at either end. The bowls were carved at the quarries and transported to campsites in finished form, probably by canoe. They 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 Savannah River toolkit was the grooved groundstone axe, which replaced earlier chipped stone axes (Figure 13). Grooved axes have been found 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.

Savannah River people had a strong preference for living along major rivers. From the Monocacy down to its mouth, the Potomac is lined with hundreds of Savannah River sites, some of them covering several acres. Collectors have taken thousands of Savannah River points from these sites (Figure 14). There are also Savannah River sites in upland areas but not as many as sites of the earlier Halifax culture. It seems that people were spending much of the year on the river floodplains and less time wandering in the forests. The focus on these large riverside camps is often taken as evidence of intensive fishing, although no actual fish remains have yet been identified at any of these sites. One sign of fishing we do find is artifacts called "netsinkers," pebbles with notches cut out of them that may have been tied into fishing nets as weights. A strangely notched stone recently found along the Potomac near Ernstville may be one of these netsinkers (see Figure 11, right). Another possibility is that Savannah River people intensely harvested the seeds of wild plants that grow on floodplains, such as goosefoot and sumpweed, or marsh roots with edible roots, such as arrowroot and pickerel weed. Quite likely they exploited all of the resources available along the river, since they seem to have spent much of the year in their riverside camps and each of these food sources is only available in one or two seasons.

What does the spread of these ubiquitous quartzite spearpoints mean? One explanation of the spread of the Savannah River culture is that a large group of people migrated northward, bringing their culture with them. In this view the Halifax people, perhaps weakened by the great drought, were displaced or absorbed. Others prefer to see Savannah River as a technology, that is, a group of tools and techniques for living along rivers and estuaries, that spread by adoption. Given the magnitude of the change, we prefer the migration hypothesis, but this happened too long ago for us to have certain knowledge about who the "Savannah River people" actually were.

How far did the Broadspear people spread? The first part of the answer to this question concerns the spread of Savannah River points, and this can be rather easily answered: with a few exceptions, Savannah River points are only found east of the Blue Ridge. Along the Potomac classical Savannah River sites, with their hundreds of quartzite points, are common east of the Monocacy. Further west there are only a few outliers, for example, 34 quartzite Savannah River points have been reported from sites along the Potomac in Berkeley County, West Virginia (Carr and Gardner 1979). But no Savannah River points were found during our surveys along the river in the Great Valley, nor did Michael Stewart report any from his wide-ranging survey in the 1970s.



FIGURE 13: Two Groundstone Axes from Sites near the C&O Canal



FIGURE 14: A Large Collection of Savannah River Points from a Site near the C&O Canal

In the Monocacy Valley we encounter an interesting local variant of this culture, in which points identical to Savannah River points were made of rhyolite (Kavanagh 1982). Sites of this type are quite common throughout the Maryland part of the valley. During our survey on the eastern segment of the C&O Canal Park, artifacts from this period were found in a deeply stratified site along one of the Potomac's tributaries just a few miles east of the Monocacy's mouth. Here two Savannah River points were found, one made of quartzite and one made of rhyolite (Figure 15). The site thus sits on the transition zone between the quartzite-using tradition of the lower Potomac and the rhyolite-using tradition of the Monocacy Valley.

The spread of the Savannah River culture was stopped by the mountains. The more broadly defined "broadspear-using" culture, however, continued onward to the north. In the Northeast several different types of broad, heavy points were used, including Lehigh/Koens-Crispin points in Pennsylvania and Snook Kill points in New York. These points seem to date to around 2000 BC. Around 1900 BC a new variant, called the Susquehanna Broadspear, appeared, and it spread very widely (Figure 16). These points were almost always made of rhyolite or chert. Examples were found along the C&O Canal near Ernstville (see Figure 10, upper right) during our recent project, and at many other sites throughout the Great Valley. Several were found in a stratified site on the West Virginia shore near Shepherdstown, radiocarbon dated to 2000 to 1600 BC (Fiedel and Galke 1996). The range of these points extends eastward nearly to Washington, D.C., westward to the Potomac's headwaters, and southward up the Shenandoah Valley, as well as throughout Pennsylvania and into New York. Susquehanna Broadspear sites are as large and numerous throughout this area as Savannah River sites are in the Chesapeake Tidewater and Piedmont. Obviously, this was a very successful adaptation, and the people who used these tools thrived. The Susquehanna Broadspear culture resembled the Savannah River culture in many ways beyond the use of big, heavy points. Their larger sites are along major rivers or other large wetlands, and they left relatively few smaller sites in the uplands. They made soapstone bowls identical to those used by Savannah River people. Because of these similarities, many archeologists see them as the same ethnic group, which made a few adaptations to life in the Appalachians but remained culturally very much the same.

Whoever they were, the Susquehanna Broadspear people dominated the Great Valley for several centuries. On the other hand, the number and size of sites from this period are not overwhelming. East of the Blue Ridge on the Potomac, and along some stretches of the Susquehanna, it is hard to avoid finding Broadspear sites, which are by far the most common type. In the Great Valley Susquehanna Broadspear sites are not more common than sites of the preceding Brewerton-using culture. Working along the Susquehanna, Kinsey (1972) had dubbed the Broadspear-using culture "Transitional Archaic" because he thought the difference between this culture and those that came before it was at least as great as that between the Broadspear users and the cultures that came later. Based on his work in the Great Valley, Michael Stewart disputed Kinsey's claim, finding nothing special about the Susquehanna Broadspear culture. Our results tend to support Stewart; we did find Susquehanna Broadspears, but not in great numbers, and we identified no large sites of this period. Two possible explanations for the relatively unimpressive culture of the valley come to mind. One is that the area was never an important site of habitation in this period. Broadspear-using peoples tended to settle on river floodplains, and because of the geology of the Great Valley the Potomac's floodplain is mostly quite narrow, so perhaps it did not support their way of life very well. An alternative explanation would be that the Broadspear sites are there but



FIGURE 15: Savannah River Points and Bases from a Site near the C&O Canal



FIGURE 16: A Cache of Susquehannah Broadspears Recovered near the C&O Canal Park

buried too deeply to be easily found. Along many stretches of the Potomac in the Great Valley the Late Archaic levels are buried 5 to 10 feet below the modern surface. If Broadspear peoples were camping on these low floodplains along the river, their sites may still be there waiting to be found. Near McCoy's Ferry we excavated a stratified site as part of this project that might be one of these. In layers near the surface, most of the stone flakes we found were jasper, but about 4 feet down we entered a clearly defined layer in which most of the stone was rhyolite. We did not find any stone tools at this site, just flakes and fire-cracked rock, but the depth of this layer and the large amount of rhyolite makes us suspect that this is a Susquehanna Broadspear camp.

A few large Susquehanna Broadspear sites have been documented in the Great Valley. A private collection said to come from a site not far west of McCoy's Ferry contained 50 Susquehanna Broadspears, all made of rhyolite. (This suggests yet another reason why sites of this period may be under-represented in recent surveys: the points are large and dramatic-looking, and so collectors may have taken most of them away from surface sites years ago.) Two large Susquehanna Broadspear sites have been found along the Potomac in Berkeley County, West Virginia (Carr and Gardner 1979). The questions of how intensely the Great Valley was inhabited by Susquehanna Broadspear peoples, and how different their lives were from those of earlier peoples, remain open.

One of the mysteries of Potomac River archeology concerns the stone fish weirs that dot the river from Great Falls westward. At least 11 have been recorded in the Potomac, and many more on its tributaries, including 21 in the Maryland portion of the Monocacy (Guzy 2001). The mystery about these structures is not what they are, but when they were built. These triangular stone dams are obviously intended to funnel migrating eels (if they point downstream) or shad (if they point upstream) to a narrow passage where they could easily be caught. Since, however, they are nothing more than neat piles of boulders, it is almost impossible to date their construction. Because early European explorers described their use, we know that they were built by Indians, although it is possible that some were repaired or rebuilt by European settlers. Weirs built of wooden stakes in the Northeast date to as early as the Late Archaic. Given that Late Archaic and specifically Broadspear-using peoples were the first to have large sites on the floodplains, they may have been responsible for building the first of these structures along the Potomac.

POTS AND THEIR PEOPLE: THE EARLY WOODLAND

Potsherds are the archeologist's best friends. Pots are breakable, so people who use pottery are always throwing it away. Although pots break, their pieces generally do not corrode or decay, so if they are buried in the soil, they last practically forever. Pottery is also very diverse. There are, after all, only so many ways you can make a functioning stone spear point, and some of the more obvious shapes have been made in many different times and places. But there is an almost limitless number of ways to make a ceramic pot. Among historic Indians of the East, pottery was almost always made by women. The other predominantly female Indian crafts, such as basketmaking, do not leave much trace for archeologists to find; with the introduction of pottery, the work of women first becomes a key part of how we understand and classify ancient cultures.

Archeologists put their obsession with pottery into practice by placing a major cultural divide at the point when people started using it. In the Middle Atlantic region the time before pottery is the Archaic, and the period after pottery is the Woodland. The first pottery in the region was made and used around 1400 BC, and the Woodland period stretches from then until European contact. It must be said, though, that along the Potomac the introduction of pottery does not seem to mark a very profound cultural shift. Sites of the Early Woodland period tend to be in the same places as those of the Late Archaic, and sometimes we find pottery together with stone tools that could perfectly well have been made in Late Archaic times. The change from the widely dispersed Halifax and Brewerton peoples to the river-focused Broadspear peoples may have been a more drastic cultural break. Nonetheless, the Archaic/Woodland distinction is so well entrenched that we will follow the traditional nomenclature here.

One problem with pottery is the temptation it always offers to jump to conclusions. As we said, there are many different ways to make pottery. Some of the basic distinctions are:

- *Vessel size and shape*. American Indian pots come in all sizes, from thimble-sized cups to gigantic things a man can sit in, which are so unwieldy that we think they were used as liners for storage pits and never moved. Unfortunately, the basic shapes used are more limited. Most vessels in the East have a cylindrical upper section that tapers to a rounded point on the bottom, a shape called "conoidal" that was probably copied from baskets. We also find vessels with flat and round bottoms, but these are less common.
- *Color*. Pottery in the Eastern woodlands is not glazed or painted, but the color of the clay and the firing technique create a limited range of colors, from buff to dark red to nearly black.
- *Temper*. To keep the pots from cracking when they were fired, Indian potters almost always mixed something into the clay. Some of the materials used were various kinds of crushed stone, sand, crushed shell, and plant fibers.
- *Thickness* of the vessel walls.
- *Surface treatment*. Indian potters did not use a potter's wheel. Instead they built their vessels out of damp clay, usually by coiling and then pressing the coils together. Many Indians throughout the east did this with a paddle wrapped in cord. The cord-wrapped paddle left characteristic parallel grooves all over the vessel. Sometimes the paddle marks were smoothed over, or the outer surfaces were polished.

- *Rim shape*. There is much more variation in the shapes of rims than of pot bodies. Some were plain, some thickened, some had handles, and on some pots a distinct collar was attached.
- *Decoration*. Many pots made in the East are not decorated at all. When they were decorated, decoration tended to focus on the rims and necks. Types of decoration include incised lines, punched holes ("punctate"), and impressions made with a cord-wrapped stick. Decoration is the most highly variable of all these characteristics, and decorated potsherds are the easiest to identify with confidence.

A really successful pottery analysis requires a large sample of potsherds, and vessels should be complete enough for their size and shape to be determined. Such a collection should provide information on all of these variables, as well as an idea of the range of vessel types used. Such a collection can always be attributed to a particular culture, and usually dated to within a few hundred years at worst. A collection reveals a great deal about the culture, since different sizes and shapes of pots were used for different purposes.

The problem with pottery analysis in the Potomac Valley, and throughout much of the East, is the general lack of the kind of collection ceramicists prefer to work with. Instead you usually find a handful or two of small potsherds, often crushed by repeated plowing, all some shade of brown, generally without visible decoration. Under these circumstances many archeologists, refusing to be defeated by the lack of data, will speculate about what sort of pottery they have found. Using the information they have (temper, surface treatment, and the thickness of the vessels), they will attempt to assign their sherds to a known pottery type. Sometimes this is easy. But certain combinations of these attributes, such as crushed-quartz temper, cordmarked surface, and moderate thickness, could represent the pots of several cultures widely separated in space and time. Not stopping at this identification, your determined archeologist will then assign his site to the culture that he thinks made the pots he thinks he found. Thus a handful of sherds that look rather like Keyser ware, which was made by a culture we call the Luray Complex, suddenly becomes a Luray Complex site, occupied by Luray Complex people. Now, an archeologist who has worked in a particular area for decades often has a very good feel for potsherds and can offer a good guess as to who made what, but it is still dangerous to rely too much on cultural identifications based on a few small sherds that might, really, be almost anything.

Fortunately for us, the first pottery made in the Middle Atlantic region is very distinctive. Marcey Creek ware, dated to around 1450 to 1000 BC, was made in the image of earlier soapstone bowls, flat-bottomed, tub-shaped, with lug handles (Figure 17). The temper was ground soapstone, as if the potters hoped to magically infuse their pots with some of the strength of carved stone. Marcey Creek pottery was used across a wide area, from the Delaware River to the James, and although it probably originated in the Piedmont, it is known from several sites in the Great Valley. If a vessel was made in this same, soapstone bowl shape, but tempered with crushed rock, we call that Dames Quarter or Bushnell Plain. If it was tempered with soapstone but made in the conoidal basket shape, we call that Selden Island, a type dated to 1000 to 750 BC (Figure 18). A type of pottery tempered with sand or grit, cordmarked, and shaped into conoidal vessels with thin walls is called Accokeek (Figure 19). Accokeek pottery is dated to 1000 to 400 BC, but its resemblance to later types makes it one of the more troublesome types to identify correctly. Accokeek and Selden Island pottery is also common in the Great Valley. Sherds



FIGURE 17: Marcey Creek Pottery from Anne Arundel County, Maryland

SOURCE: Maryland Historical Trust



FIGURE 18: Selden Island Pottery from the Selden Island Site

SOURCE: Maryland Historical Trust

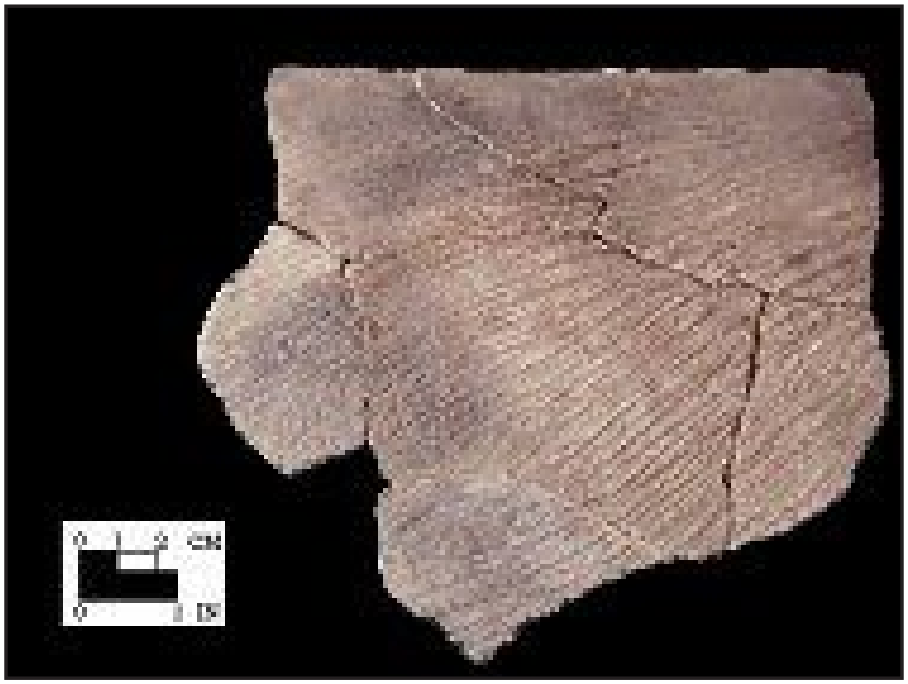


FIGURE 19: Accokeek Pottery from Prince George's County, Maryland

SOURCE: Maryland Historical Trust

representing at least eight Marcey Creek, seven Selden Island, and 32 Accokeek vessels were recovered during the excavation of backyards in Harper's Ferry (YoungRavenhorst 1994).

Early Woodland pottery has been found together with a wide variety of stone tools. The Orient Fishtail point, which appeared in the Terminal Archaic, continued to be used in Early Woodland times throughout the Susquehanna drainage and on the upper Potomac. Points resembling Late Archaic Holmes, Calvert, and Lamoka types also continued to be used, as well as teardrop-shaped bifaces and new pointed-based types called Piscataway and Rossville. The use of the same point types is one reason we think pottery spread by the adoption of a new technology rather than by another wave of migration. Another reason is that Early Woodland sites tend to be found in the same floodplain locations as sites of the Broadspear peoples. The way of life pursued by the people seems to have remained essentially the same in Early Woodland as in Late Archaic times.

The Selden Island Site, for which the pottery type was named, is a large camp on an island in the Potomac, within the Piedmont zone. The site includes large storage pits, which seem to be more common on Early Woodland sites than they were in earlier periods; however, the use of storage pits to cache surplus food (such as nuts, acorns, and roots) 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. Changes in organic material and soil color through time have often rendered the earliest pits invisible to archeologists. There seem to be more pits on Early Woodland sites partly because they are easier to see; perhaps, though, it signals the growing importance of underground storage in a period of variable climate and unstable social relations. One thing we have learned from ethnographic studies is that people sometimes store their goods underground to hide them from chiefs, greedy relations, and poorer neighbors, who might all want to demand a share of any wealth they could see, and also to conceal them from enemies who might steal them.

Another important Early Woodland site, the 522 Bridge Site, is located on the North Fork of the Shenandoah River near Front Royal, Virginia. This site 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). The wigwam-style houses at the 522 Bridge Site are the earliest in the region of which we have conclusive evidence. Again, though, this is probably because features like postholes fade over time, and earlier people almost certainly built similar houses of which evidence no longer survives.

During the earlier phase of the C&O Canal Park archeological survey, an important Early Woodland site was found near one of the Potomac's Piedmont tributaries (see Fiedel et al. 2005). This is a stratified site, with several layers representing different periods. The Early Woodland levels yielded many sherds of both Accokeek and Selden Island pottery, so the site dates to

around 1000 to 500 BC. Only a few 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.

Early Woodland sites are known in the Great Valley, but they do not seem to be as common as sites of the Late Archaic. Near the mouth of Antietam Creek, later burials and storage pits had been dug down through Early Woodland layers, so Early Woodland pottery was found in them. The pottery included Marcey Creek and sherds that resembled the Vinette I type of New Jersey and New York. It is interesting that both of these types come from the east; in this period the people of the Great Valley seem to have close cultural ties with the Piedmont and Coastal Plain. Several fishtail points have been found in the Antietam Creek vicinity. Early Woodland artifacts have also been found near the mouths of Conococheague Creek and Marsh Run and in Bushey's Cavern and the Chickadee Rockshelter.

During the Early Woodland, around 600 BC to AD 100 (as the period is defined in the Midwest), the mound-building Adena culture appeared in the Ohio Valley. The Adena left spectacular burial mounds and a fascinating artistic tradition. We now think that the growth of this culture was made possible by a kind of simple agriculture involving native North American plants, such as goosefoot, sumpweed, and sunflowers. Cemeteries containing Adena artifacts have been found in several Eastern locales, including the upper Delaware River and near both shores of the Chesapeake Bay in Maryland. These sites contain artifacts that were almost certainly imported from the Ohio Valley. They appear to represent some sort of Adena invasion, either by conquest or possibly by religious conversion of local elites. Either way, the Eastern Adena sites are isolated, so the dominance by Adena people or ideas did not last long.

There is some evidence of a more general Adena influence on the Potomac region, especially in the Great Valley. In several parts of the Great Valley, groups of stone burial mounds were described by nineteenth-century writers (Fowke 1894; Smith 1884). Most of these mounds were dug up by antiquarians in search of Indian artifacts more than a century ago, and we have little information about what they contained. What we do know suggests that they date to the Early and Middle Woodland, so they probably represent the spread of Adena influence. A surviving mound in the Shenandoah Valley was excavated in the 1970s, and it produced a radiocarbon date of around 500 BC (Gardner 1982). The question of whether Early Woodland people along the Eastern seaboard practiced agriculture remains unanswered. They certainly harvested the seeds and tubers of plants that thrived on river floodplains, and they may have burned the riverside meadows to encourage these plants (Stevens 1991). But clear evidence of agriculture has not yet been found.

WHERE DID THE PEOPLE GO? THE MIDDLE WOODLAND

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 on recognition of new pottery styles. A further minor division of the Middle Woodland into earlier and later phases is similarly based on changes in pottery. The most striking thing about the Middle Woodland period along the Potomac is that very few sites of this period have been identified. So far as we can tell, the region between Great Falls and Cumberland was nearly empty. At the same time populations were growing in the Coastal Plain, so the near absence of Middle Woodland sites along the Potomac in the Piedmont and Great Valley is quite mysterious. Our inability to find Middle Woodland sites raises questions about both the past and our methods of learning about it.

The Middle Woodland period is defined by changes in pottery, but very little Middle Woodland pottery is known for the Mid-Potomac or the Great Valley. After making his wide-ranging survey of the Hagerstown Valley, Michael Stewart (1982:74) lamented that "Ceramics of this period in the Hagerstown Valley are very poorly known at this phase of research." Kavanagh and Ebright (1988:12) similarly observed that the Middle Woodland is "very poorly known" for the Upper Potomac and the ceramic types of this period are "elusive." This paucity of Middle Woodland occupations was also observed in Berger's survey of the lower section of the C&O Canal Park (Fiedel et al. 2005). A large number of Middle Woodland sites has been found in the Monocacy Valley, but very few of them produced pottery. They were identified by finds of a very distinctive point type known as Selby Bay, which date to around AD 300 to 800. Selby Bay points have a throwaway appearance, as if they were made, used, and discarded in a matter of minutes (Figure 20). Dozens of these points have been found on Middle Woodland sites near the Falls of the Potomac, and almost all are made of rhyolite. Since rhyolite comes from the Blue Ridge, we would expect to find traces of Middle Woodland people near the quarries, and we do: Kavanagh (1982) reported 109 Middle Woodland sites in the Monocacy Valley, many of them close to the rhyolite sources. But only six of these sites produced Middle Woodland pottery, which is very common at the Falls and eastward. The absence of pottery suggests that most of the Monocacy Valley sites were hunting stations, or camps used during trips to acquire rhyolite, occupied mostly by men and only for short intervals. Jack's Reef points, a much more carefully made type that dates to around AD 600 to 900, are also rather common in both the Monocacy Valley and the Great Valley.

Archeologist Michael Stewart (1980:377) suggested one possible explanation for our inability to find Middle Woodland pottery: maybe we are mistaking it for something else. Most Middle Woodland pottery throughout the Middle Atlantic region is undecorated and rather indifferently made, so discriminating between different types can be difficult. In parts of Pennsylvania, we find Middle Woodland pottery that is cordmarked and tempered with limestone. This basic description also fits the Late Woodland Page ware, which is well known along the Potomac, so it is possible that some Middle Woodland sherds are being misidentified. However, no limestone-tempered pottery has been found from a good Middle Woodland context in the Great Valley, so

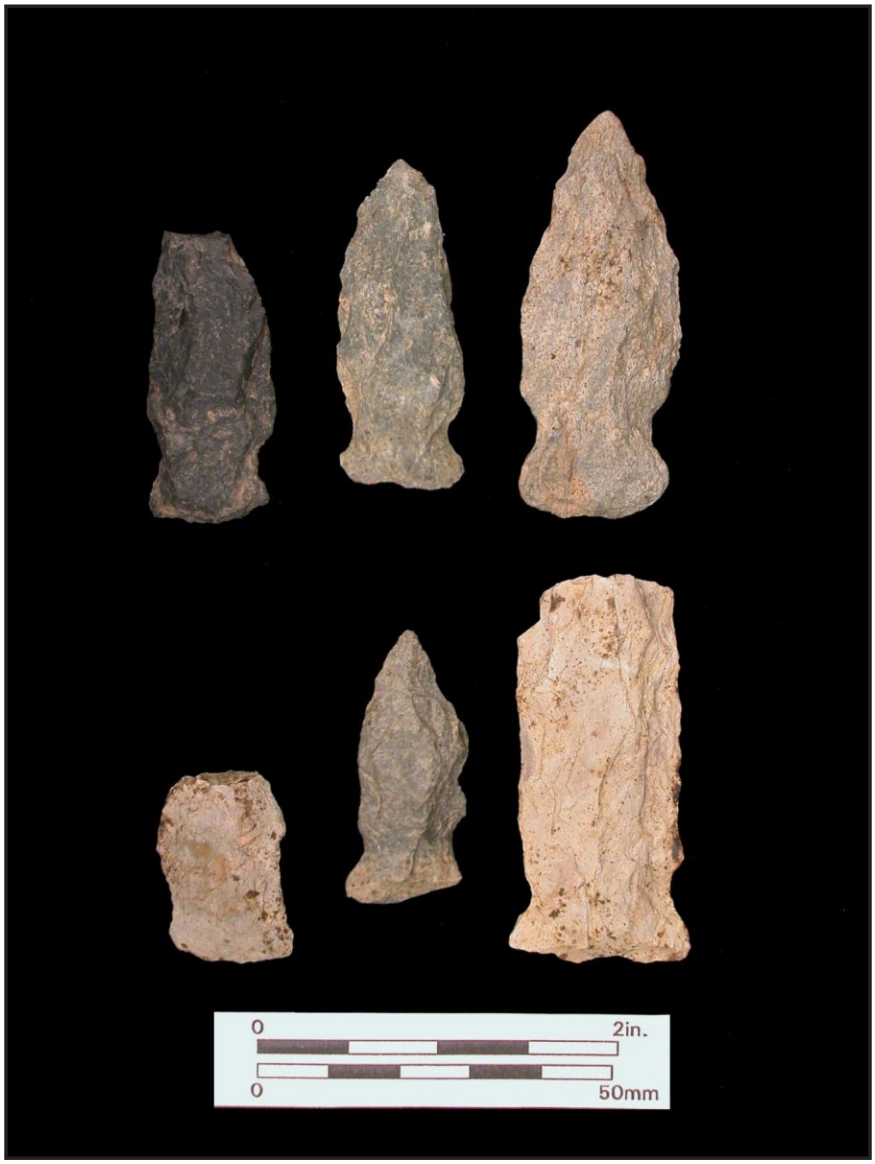


FIGURE 20: Selby Bay Points Recovered near the Falls of the Potomac

this remains pure speculation. Stewart did recover some small sherds tempered with finely crushed rock from Middle Woodland levels at the Stine Farm Site, west of Sharpsburg, and he noted that these could be mistaken for both Early and Late Woodland wares.

During the current project Berger archeologists working on a site near Fort Frederick found several potsherds from a level below Late Woodland artifacts. These sherds resemble Pope's Creek ware, which was used in the Coastal Plain in the 500 BC to AD 300 period. Similar pottery has been found at other sites in the valley, including the mouths of Conococheague and Antietam creeks. Michael Stewart identified Pope's Creek pottery in an old collection said to come from stone burial mounds near Antietam Creek (Stewart 1980:376). The discovery of small amounts of this pottery in the Great Valley suggests that during some parts of the Middle Woodland the Great Valley was a hinterland area used as a hunting territory by coastal groups. A few sherds of shell-tempered pottery resembling the coastal Mockley type (AD 300 to 1000) have also been found in the Great Valley. One was found at the same site near Fort Frederick, in the same level, as the Pope's Creek sherds found during the current project. This would be further evidence that the Great Valley was a largely uninhabited area visited by small bands of hunters or gatherers who lived elsewhere. On sites in the far west of Maryland, along the North Branch of the Potomac, Middle Woodland pottery has been found that resembles wares used at the same time in the upper Ohio Valley (Wall 1993:56).

Selby Bay points, so common along the Monocacy, are not common in the Great Valley. The Middle Woodland levels at the Stine Farm Site produced a small point with a straight stem, and a number of similar points have been found throughout the area. Jack's Reef points from the end of the Middle Woodland are also reasonably common. The sites where these artifacts have been found are in the same locations as Late Archaic and Early Woodland sites, so there does not seem to have been any major change in how people used the area. People were probably practicing the same mix of hunting, fishing, and gathering from seasonally shifting camps.

MAIZE AND VILLAGE LIFE: THE LATE WOODLAND

The Indian Way

During what archeologists call Late Woodland times, the people of eastern North America began to grow maize (corn), build villages surrounded by wooded palisades, and use the bow and arrow, developing the cultures first encountered by Europeans in the 1500s (Figure 21). Although there are faint isolated traces of maize from during the Middle Woodland, significant amounts first appear in the Eastern archeological record around AD 900. Maize was a plant of the subtropics, first domesticated 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 food source. Maize is more nutritious when eaten together with beans, allowing people to synthesize necessary amino acids. Bean plants also help maize grow by fixing nitrogen in the soil. For these reasons it is not surprising that most Indian groups at the time of European contact grew both plants together; however, for now, the archeological record indicates that beans (also derived ultimately from Mexico) were not planted by Eastern Indians until several centuries after they had begun growing maize. Maize farming did not replace the traditional economy of hunting, gathering, fishing, and cultivating native plants, like sunflowers and goosefoot, all of which continued in the Late Woodland period.

In fact it remains something of a mystery how much Late Woodland people, and historic Indians, depended on maize. European observers emphasized maize in their accounts, but of course they were farmers whose eyes naturally fell first on the main crops. They were also able to trade for large amounts of Indian corn when their own food supplies ran short. Direct archeological evidence of maize agriculture, in the form of burned corn kernels, is not actually common anywhere in the East, and it is rare in the Maryland and Virginia Piedmont. In this area we infer maize cultivation 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. These sites always include large numbers of storage pits. It was the storage of large amounts of food, especially maize but also nuts, seeds, and wild roots, that made it possible for people to live in these permanent hamlets and larger villages. Along the Potomac village sites are often near fish weirs, so the harvesting of shad and eels during annual fish runs remained important.

The sites of the larger villages have long drawn the attention of archeologists. Late Woodland village sites have been excavated on the lower, tidal Potomac (such as the Piscataway Creek and Patawomeke sites), on the mid-Potomac (such as the Winslow, Hughes, Gore, and Shepard Barracks sites), and on the upper Potomac (the Barton and Moore Village Sites). As a result of this work, we know a great deal about how Late Woodland people lived, and the archeological record can be supplemented by comparison with documented historic Indians of just a few hundred years later. However, within the current project area there have been some poorly documented amateur digs at Williamsport and the mouth of Antietam Creek, so much less is known about the inhabitants of the Great Valley than about the people up or down river. Archeology of these sites shows us that Late Woodland Indians lived in wigwams just like those

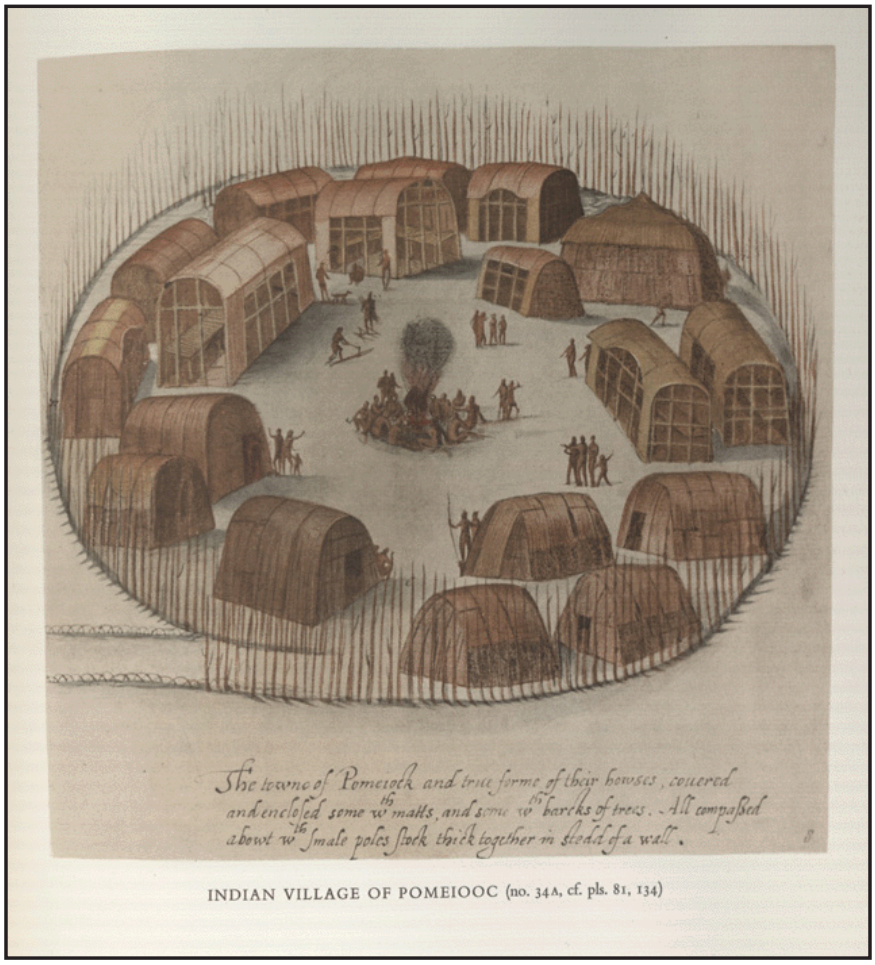


FIGURE 21: John White's Watercolor of the Village of Pomeioc in North Carolina, 1585

of their historic descendants (Dent 2005). These houses were built by driving saplings into the ground and bending them to form arcs. This frame would then be covered by sheets of bark or woven mats. A hole in the roof let smoke escape, but Europeans used to chimneys found the smokiness of wigwams in the winter almost unbearable. The two houses excavated at the Winslow Site in Montgomery County, Maryland, measured 14.0x12.6 feet and 16.9x14.1 feet (Dent 2005).

Archeology and written accounts both tell us that Indians along the Potomac hunted indiscriminately, eating almost anything they could catch. Daniel Denton (1947:7), who traveled among the Delaware Indians in the 1660s, wrote that "The meat they live most upon is Fish, Fowl, and Venison; they eat likewise Polecats, Skunks, Raccoon, Possum, Turtles, and the like." John Lawson (1966[1709]:178) described Carolina Indians eating all sorts of turtles and even "Young wasps, when they are white in the Combs, before they can fly," which are "esteemed a Dainty." John Smith (1986[1608-1631]) summed up the Powhatan Indians' habits by noting "they devoure all they can catch in their power." The most common bones from Late Woodland sites along the Potomac are those of deer and turkey, but elk, rabbit, beaver, groundhog, raccoon, opossum, squirrel, chipmunk, dove, passenger pigeon, song birds, frog, salamander, box turtle, musk turtle, terrapin, snake, and many kinds of fish have also been found. Freshwater clam and mussel shells are also common.

Although interpersonal conflict was nothing new, the incessant warfare that troubled historic Indians seems to have begun in this period. Around AD 1300 or 1400 people throughout the region began to surround their villages with palisades, or stockades, which surely indicates that they feared attack. The oral traditions of the Iroquois League reached back to the 1400s, which they described as a time of constant warfare. We do not know why violence was increasing at that time. It may be simply that the population growth created by maize agriculture brought people more often into conflict with each other, perhaps over hunting territories. Or, it might have been the vital importance of access to the river floodplains that were the best agricultural land. Climate change may also have played a part. From about AD 800 to AD 1300, the whole northern hemisphere was relatively warm and dry. Grapes were grown in Scotland, and the Vikings settled Greenland. But after AD 1300 the climate turned colder and wetter, entering into a "Little Ice Age" that lasted until around 1850. Perhaps the cooling weather intensified the conflict over resources.

An important archeological marker of the Late Woodland period is the first appearance of definite arrowheads (Figure 22). 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. These points started out rather large, as much as two inches long, but they gradually grew smaller over the course of the Late Woodland.

Although Late Woodland Indians built villages, they probably did not live in them year round. In the planting and harvest seasons, when the corn crop needed close attention, most of the community was probably in the village to help. But at other times of the year, they traveled to hunt and gather elsewhere. After all, if they had stayed in once place all year, they would surely have exhausted the local fish and game, so it made sense to spread themselves around the



FIGURE 22: Late Woodland Arrowheads and a Drill from a Site near McCoy's Ferry

landscape. John Smith left us a famous description of the seasonal round of Virginia's coastal Indians, and we suspect that similar patterns prevailed among inland peoples. Smith wrote that in the summer, after the corn is in the ground, the Indians "disperse themselves in small companies and live upon fish, beasts, crabs, oysters, land tortoises, strawberries, mulberries, and such like" (Smith 1986[1608-1631] II:116). Isaack de Rasieres (1909:105) noted the same pattern of summer dispersal among the Indians of the lower Hudson. In the fall, after the corn harvest, many Indian groups moved away from their summer village to distant hunting grounds. Here they sometimes organized great hunts of deer and other animals, the whole community working together to drive the quarry to some constricted place, such as a river bank, where the game could easily be killed (Van der Donck 1968:97). Other groups used fire to drive the animals:

> Now as soon as the winter bids good night, they begin with their hunts, which is done with a fine innovation. Now at that time of the year the grass which grows there, as has been said, is as dry as hay. Then now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then he commands his people close together in a circle of ½, 1, or 2 miles, according to the number of people at his command. . . .

Each person clears the flammable grass from a small area, so the fire will not burn out of control, and then they

> Set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians, traveling away, whereby the circle through its decreasing is more and more contracted toward the center. When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle . . . they break loose with guns and bows on the animals which they then have been blessed with, that not one can escape and thus they get a great multitude of all kinds of animals [Lindstrom 1979: 213-214].

Because of their mobility, the Late Woodland Indians left at least two quite different types of archeological site. Villages were large settlements where we find evidence of houses, palisades, and thousands of artifacts of a few types. For example, recent excavations at the Hughes Site (18MO1) in Montgomery County produced 29,600 sherds of Shepard ware, the ceramic associated with the people who built the village, but only 380 sherds of all other pottery types (Dent 2005:19). In the Piedmont and Ridge and Valley regions these villages are usually on the broad floodplains of the larger rivers and streams. Late Woodland people also left many smaller sites scattered across the landscape. These sites must represent hunting and gathering forays made by small groups of people. They are usually found in spots that had been used for millennia by earlier hunter-gatherer groups, so that Late Woodland material is mixed with Archaic, Early Woodland, and Middle Woodland artifacts. Other sites seem to fall in between villages and camps. It is difficult to tell in these cases whether we have found a camp site that was re-used many times, or perhaps a winter hunting camp or spring fishing camp where nearly the whole population of a village may have spent a month or two each year.

As these accounts of large-scale hunting show, historic Indians did not live in egalitarian societies. They had chiefs who took the lead in organized activities like hunting and war. Some tribes were led by single men, sometimes called "kings" by the English, whereas others were led by aristocratic councils. All observers noted that Indians liked to debate important questions at

great length, and most likely any adult man who was a full member of the tribe could speak in these deliberations. Not all voices counted the same, however, and decisions were made by the chiefs, or by the vote of experienced men from the wealthier families. Most of our information concerns diplomatic and military matters, which were controlled by men; however, it seems that among some groups women also made important decisions. Indians moved their villages every couple of decades, when corn had exhausted the soils close by, and at each new village the fields had to be laid out and the land divided among the families. Among the Six Nations Iroquois this was done by the women of the important families, and since agriculture was considered women's work everywhere in eastern North America, this may also have been the case in other tribes.

The Late Woodland in the Great Valley

The first maize-growing culture in the Great Valley is called Clemson Island after a site in Pennsylvania. No major Clemson Island villages are known in Maryland, but sherds of the distinctive Clemson Island pottery have been found at several sites. This pottery is tempered with chert or similar stones and is often decorated around the rims with the impressions of a stick wrapped in cord (Figure 23). Such pottery has been reported from the now-destroyed Williamsport Site and the mouth of Antietam Creek (Stewart 1980:387), and a few sherds were found during this project on a small site near Fort Frederick. Clemson Island pottery was found in pit features at the Paw Paw Site further up the river, along with burned kernels of maize. These pits were radiocarbon dated to about AD 980 to 1240. Since none of the Clemson Island sites in the Great Valley seems to be a village, it is possible that the Clemson Island people only used the valley as a hunting and gathering ground, with their main settlements further north or west.

The Clemson Island culture is centered in Pennsylvania, and it is obviously related to other cultures further north in New York. It seems very different from the Middle Woodland cultures that came before it. Many archeologists believe that the Clemson Island people were intruders into the region, probably from somewhere to the southwest, and that they brought corn agriculture with them. The area occupied by the Clemson Island and related cultures roughly corresponds to the area where Iroquoian languages were spoken in historic times (Curry and Kavanagh 1991; Stewart 1989). The appearance of the Clemson Island culture may therefore represent the arrival in the Appalachians of Iroquoian-speaking invaders from the west, whose mastery of maize agriculture gave them a great advantage over the people they displaced. Thus from about AD 800 to 1100 the Great Valley of Maryland was part of an "interaction sphere" that stretched northward to central New York, an area probably inhabited by the speakers of Iroquoian languages.

After AD 1100 the cultural situation along the Potomac became much more complex. Three cultural complexes, each producing its own characteristic pottery, appeared in the mid-Potomac at the same time or in rapid succession: the Montgomery complex (makers of collared, cordmarked, quartz-tempered Shepard ware, shown in Figure 24); the Mason Island complex (makers of limestone-tempered Page ware); and the Luray complex (makers of shell-tempered Keyser ware). Radiocarbon dating has been of only limited help in sorting out the relationships between these cultures because the dates for all three cultures overlap in the AD 1200 to 1400 period. Radiocarbon dating is very useful for dating things to the right millennium, but it is often

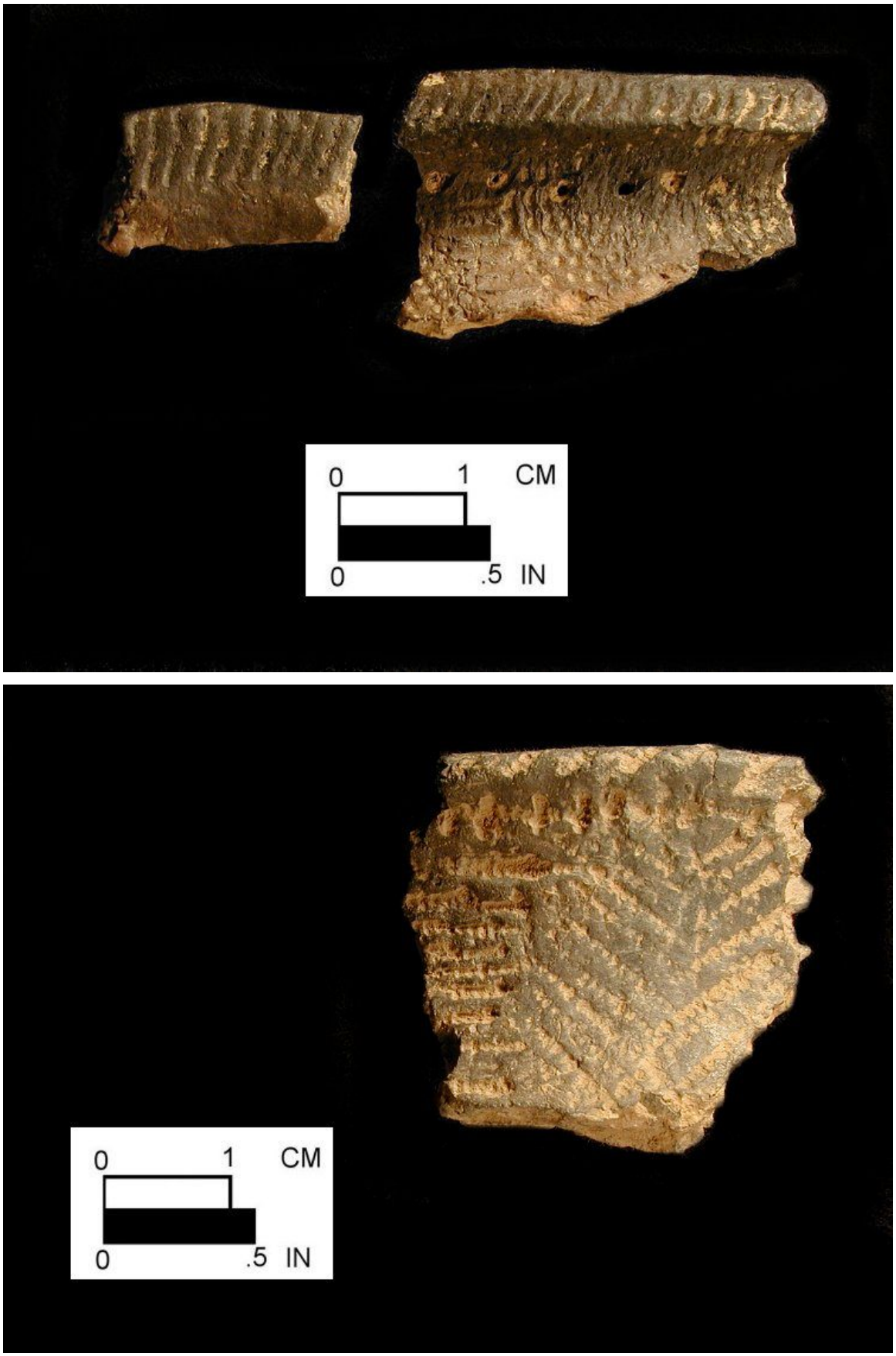


FIGURE 23: Clemson Island Pottery from Western Maryland

SOURCE: Maryland Historical Trust





FIGURE 24: Shepard Pottery from the Rosenstock Site (top) and from a Site near McCoy's Ferry (bottom)

SOURCE: Maryland Historical Trust

not accurate enough to track rapid historical changes spanning only decades. There is a tendency for Luray complex dates to be later, including several dates in the 1500s. Old-fashioned archeology can also help us here: at a few sites in the Piedmont, the remains of these cultures have been found in layers, one on top of the other, and the sequence is always the same: Shepard ware on the bottom and therefore oldest, followed by Page ware, followed by Keyser ware. On the other hand, at the Barton Site in far western Maryland, where Shepard Ware has not been found, Page ceramics are found together with Clemson Island ceramics in features dating to around AD 1000, so perhaps in that area the Mason Island complex is earlier. These Late Woodland peoples were in many ways very similar. They were all village dwellers who depended at least partially upon maize agriculture. Some of their villages were surrounded by palisades. Their ceramic pots, though differently decorated, had similar sizes and shapes. They used identical arrowheads. Small camp sites occupied by one of these cultures were also often used by the other two, so we find all three types of pottery on the same site.

We also have reason to believe that these cultures were in other ways quite different, and they may have been rivals of each other. The Montgomery complex is the most closely related to the earlier Clemson Island culture and therefore to the Iroquoian culture area extending northward to New York. They may have been the direct descendants of Clemson Island peoples. Pottery that resembles Shepard ware has been reported from the Conococheague Creek site, from near the mouth of Antietam Creek, and from sites on the West Virginia side of the river. A large Montgomery complex village may once have stood on the broad floodplain west of Williamsport, and during this project sherds of Shepard pottery were found along the edge of this now disturbed site. The main village sites were further down river, in Montgomery County, Maryland, as well as on the Shenandoah River and the Monocacy River (Slattery and Woodward 1992). Excavations at one of those villages, the Winslow Site, showed that it was surrounded by a circular palisade and measured about 275 feet across (Dent 2005). Although the archeology seems to tell us a clear story about the Montgomery complex, we cannot leap to the inviting conclusion that everyone who made Shepard pottery spoke an Iroquoian language. Around AD 1300 it seems that people from the mid-Potomac migrated downriver where they established a fortified village at Potomac Creek. That village was still there in 1608 when John Smith visited the inhabitants known as the Patawomackes (from whom the river got its name). Like everyone else along that stretch of the river, they spoke an Algonquian language, as different from the unrelated Iroquoian languages as English is from Chinese. Either the immigrants shifted to their new neighbors' language soon after their arrival, or the makers of Montgomery complex pottery were ethnically diverse from the outset. This is one of those troubling cases that reminds us of the real limitations of archeological inference from mute objects.

The Mason Island complex is, in the Great Valley and eastward, the least well known of the three. It is best documented in the far western part of the Potomac Valley, for example, at the Barton and Cresaptown sites west of Cumberland. Mason Island people seem to have come into the Potomac region from the west. Their pottery, limestone-tempered Page ware, resembles limestone-tempered pottery used in the upper Ohio Valley from AD 800 on. One sherd has been found along the Potomac bearing very distinctive decorations used by the Fort Ancient people of Ohio and Indiana, so there was certainly some contact between the Potomac and regions further west (Stewart 1997:28). The archeological record of the Mason Island culture in the Great Valley and the Maryland and Virginia Piedmont is rather ephemeral, compared to the other major

complexes, so they may not have lived along the middle Potomac for very long or in very large numbers. The type site (the site for which the culture is named) at Mason's Island in Montgomery County is actually the easternmost site of the complex. Substantial remains of this culture have also been found at Noland's Ferry and Kanawha Springs, both on the Potomac in Frederick County.

The best known of these cultures in the Great Valley is the Luray complex. A large Luray village has been partially excavated near Oldtown on the upper Potomac. This site, occupied around AD 1400, was surrounded by a palisade that measured about 350x260 feet. The Luray complex extended as far east as the Falls of the Potomac, with several village sites along the Shenandoah and Monocacy rivers and along the Potomac in Montgomery County, Maryland, and Loudoun County, Virginia. Luray artifacts have been found at many sites in the Great Valley. The material culture of the Luray complex was so similar to that of the Monongahela people of western Pennsylvania that they have sometimes been seen as an offshoot of that culture. There is one important difference, however: there are two different ways to twist fibers into cord, right-handed and left-handed, or, as archeologists call them, S-twist and Z-twist (Figure 25). The difference seems to be very basic, and in general everyone from the same culture twists cord the same way. Girls learn how to do this from their mothers when they are young, and once they have the habit they never change. We can tell from the impression of cord-wrapped sticks on pottery which way people twisted cord. Luray women made string by twisting fibers in the opposite direction from that normally done by Monongahela women (Johnson 2001). Most archeologists think this difference implies that the Luray people were not the same, ethnically, as the Monongahela. But not everyone is convinced that cordage twist is an infallible ethnic marker, so some people still believe that the Luray culture represents people moving in from the neighborhood of present-day Pittsburgh.

We must imagine the Late Woodland Potomac Valley in a state of conflict and flux. Several new groups entered the area, competing with those who were already in residence. Surely there was some violence, although we cannot say if it was intense warfare or just occasional raiding. The valley's inhabitants were part of a larger world with which they had many contacts. Archeologists tend to focus their studies on manageable units—such as the 64 miles of one bank of the Potomac River that are the subject of this study—and sometimes we keep our noses so close to the ground that we miss the larger picture. In early historic times Indians thought little of walking two or three hundred miles if they had a good reason to. In the early 1700s the Six Nations Iroquois and the Catawbas of South Carolina fought a bloody war, even though their closest villages were probably 500 miles apart. Of course the colonial period was uniquely chaotic from the Indians' point of view, but archeological evidence shows that prehistoric Indians were also highly mobile. The existence of the Iroquoian "interaction sphere" extending from the Potomac Valley to central New York implies contact between people across that entire area. The movements of the various Potomac cultures also point to mobility and wide connections.

Another sign of the far-flung connections of the Great Valley's Late Woodland residents comes from excavations at Bushey's Cavern. This large cave, now destroyed by quarrying, was on the west slope of the Blue Ridge near Cavetown, Maryland. Before quarrying began, the entrance to the cave was 8 feet high and 60 feet wide. The cave was investigated by archeologists starting in

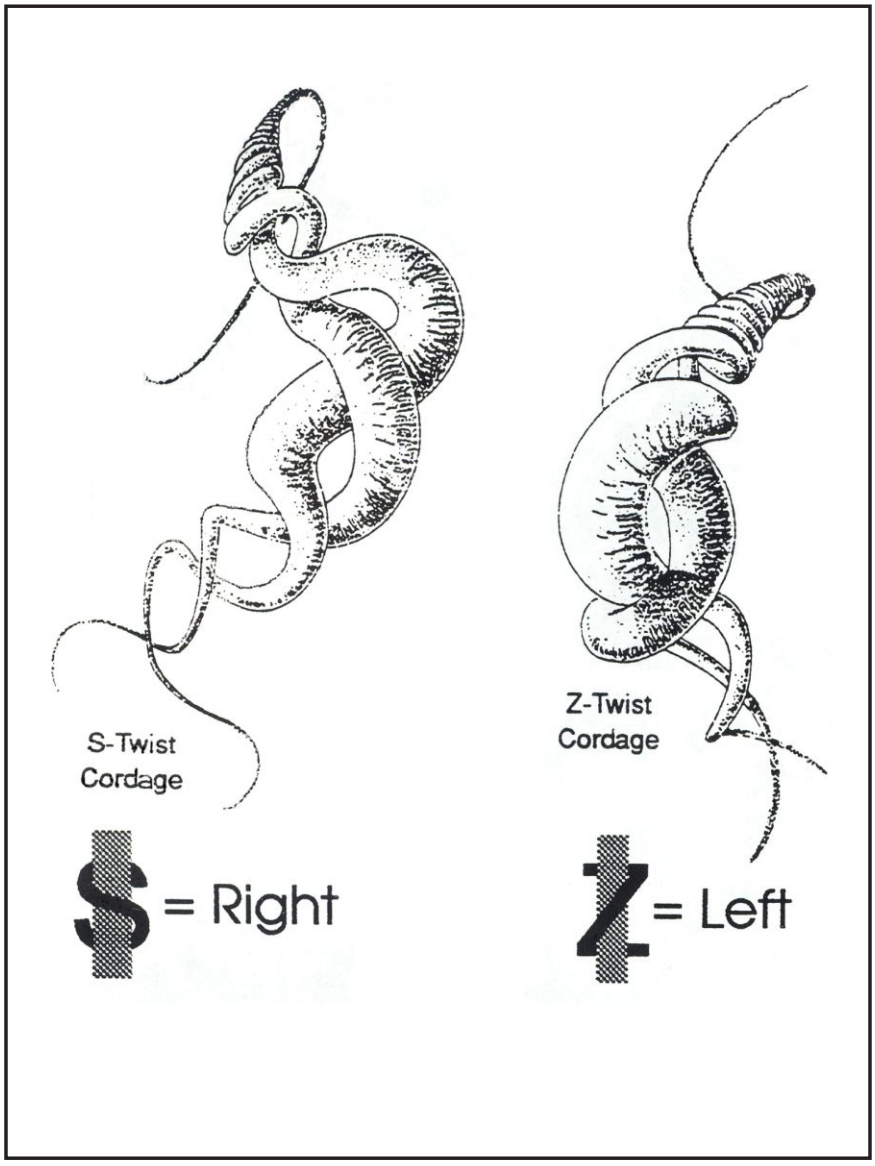


FIGURE 25: The Two Ways of Twisting Cord *SOURCE: Delaware Department of Transportation*

1877, when it was visited by Frank Cushing of the Smithsonian. Cushing and others were trying to find evidence of the presence of ancient, Ice Age man in the Americas. They hoped to duplicate the success of European archeologists who had found stone tools together with the bones of extinct animals in caves. Indians did not, so far as we know, live in caves, but they often used them as temporary shelters when they were on hunting expeditions or especially when they were traveling. Caves and rockshelters have sometimes been described as "prehistoric hotels." The artifacts from Bushey's Cavern include Late Archaic spearpoints, Early Woodland ceramics, and Shepard ware ceramics, all objects that one might find at any site in the Great Valley; however, they also include pottery that does not look like anything made locally. These sherds resemble pottery made by Iroquois Indians in central New York, or even in the Saint Lawrence Valley, between AD 1400 and 1600 (Stewart 1997). No early historic artifacts were reported, so this material probably dates to before the beginning of the fur trade in the later 1500s. We know that in historic times Seneca and Mohawk Indians from the Iroquois League traveled through the area, and the pottery found in Bushey's Cavern suggests that they had been doing this for some time.

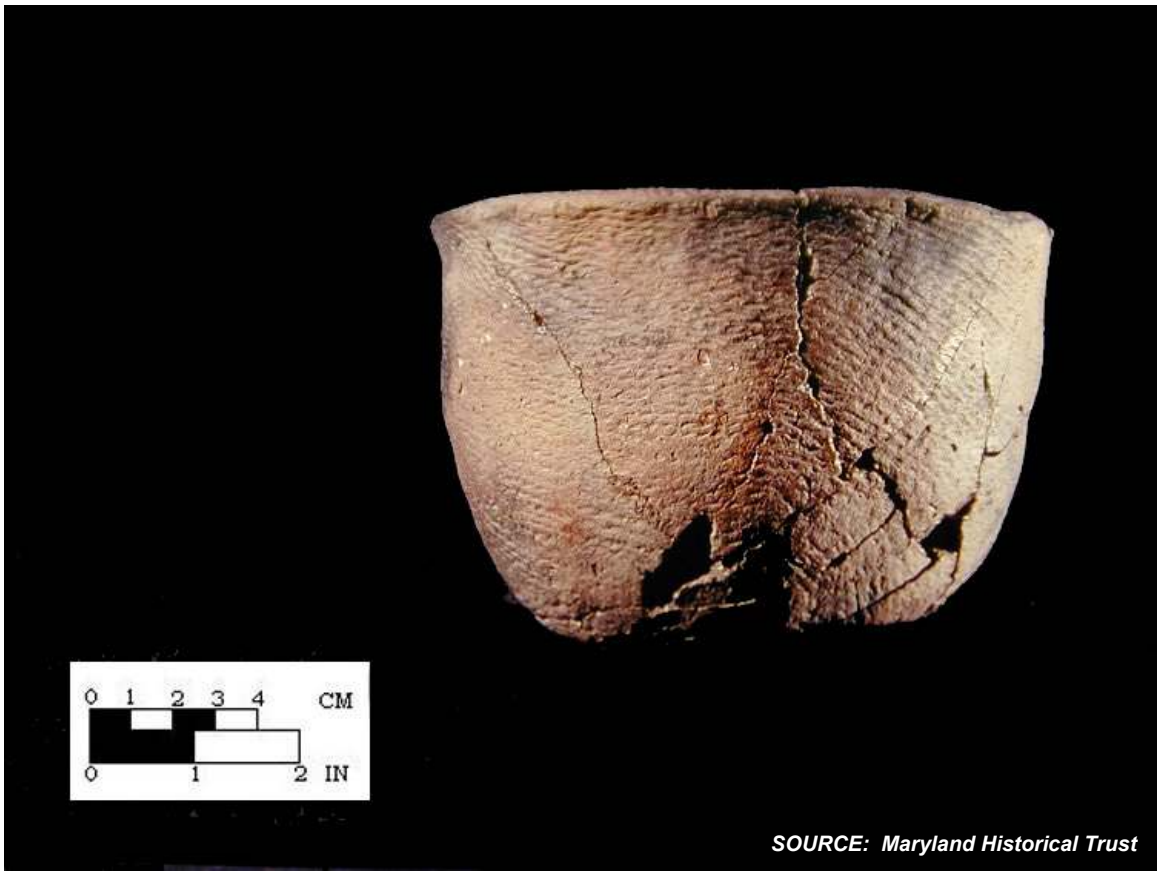
The Luray Complex at the Spring Dell Road Site

The only Late Woodland culture of which significant evidence was found during this study is the Luray complex. A small amount of Keyser pottery, the diagnostic Luray artifact, was found along the Potomac near Fort Frederick State Park, along with a large amount of black chert debitage and several arrowheads (see Figure 22). This material seems to represent occasional camping, and one of the purposes was obviously to make tools from the black chert available locally in the form of large cobbles.

A much larger Luray complex site was found near Spring Dell Road. The Spring Dell Road Site is significant in part because of its location. We have noted several times that Late Woodland people tended to build their larger settlements on broad river floodplains. Along most of its route through the Great Valley, the Potomac flows through a narrow valley. The only expansive level terraces along the Maryland shore between McCoy's Ferry and Harper's Ferry are at the mouths of Conococheague and Antietam creeks, and it is no surprise that numerous Late Woodland artifacts have been reported from both places, including what was probably a large village at Conococheague Creek. Late Woodland people did not make much use of the narrow river terraces that are common all along the river, but the Spring Dell Road Site is a major exception. Here the low-lying, level river terrace is no more than 300 feet wide, and beyond that the ground rises up rather steeply (Figure 26). The Luray complex site here measures at least 200x700 feet and has a rather high artifact density, with 80 potsherds and more than 500 pieces of debitage recovered from a single 5x5-foot test unit. All or almost all of these artifacts seem to be from the Luray complex: all of the pottery is of the Keyser type (Figure 27), all of the projectile points are small triangular arrowheads, and almost all of the debitage is the same type of black chert. Two stone drills were also found. The site obviously represents a substantial Luray settlement, although probably not large enough to be called a village. It could be an unfortified hamlet, a type of site reported for Late Woodland people in the Chesapeake Tidewater, or it could be a winter hunting camp used over many years by people whose main village was outside the valley to the east or west.



FIGURE 26: View of the Spring Dell Road Site



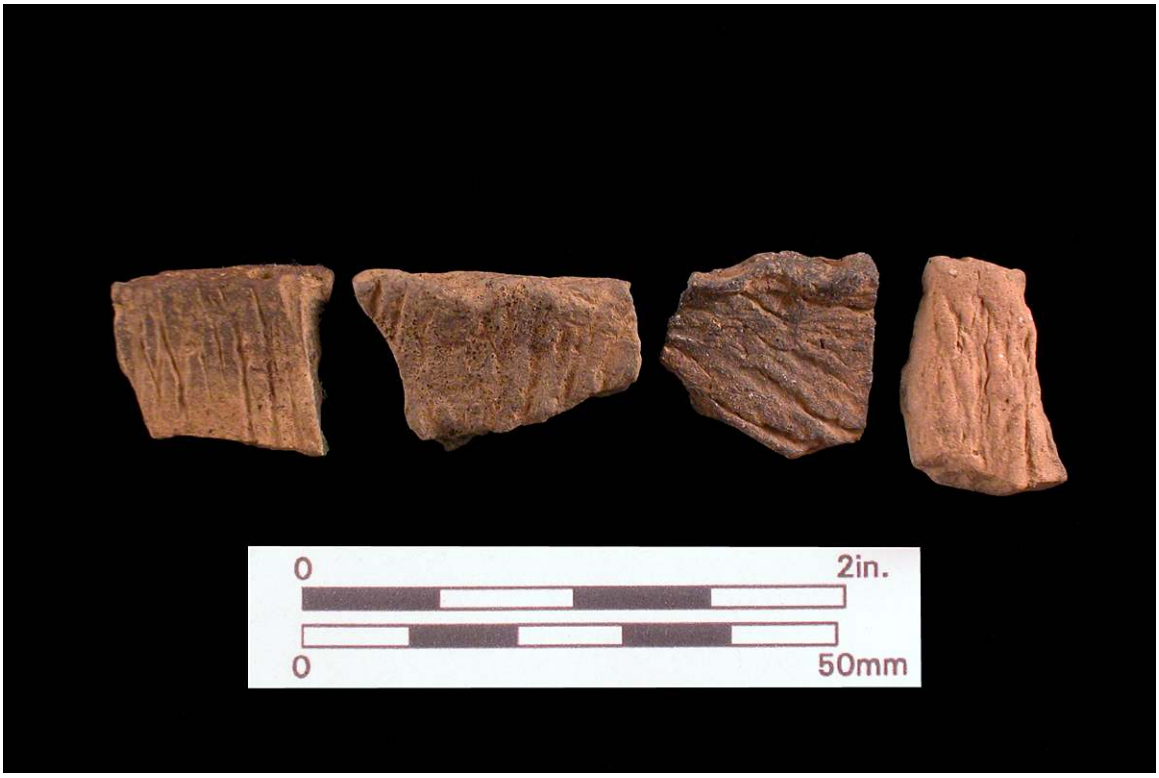


FIGURE 27: Keyser Pottery from the Keyser Farm Site (top) and from the Spring Dell Road Site (bottom)

AN EMPTY PLACE: THE GREAT VALLEY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Warfare and Disease

In about 1500, at the height of the Luray complex, the Potomac Valley from the Falls to its source was well populated. There are at least 10 Luray complex village sites along the Potomac, Shenandoah, and Monocacy rivers, as well as numerous smaller sites. These villages would not all have been occupied at the same time, but at least one and probably two or three would have been. Much of the river would have been lined with active or recently abandoned cornfields, and no doubt canoes were a common site. But by 1632, so far as we can tell, this region was almost entirely abandoned. No European trade goods have been found at any Luray complex site nor at any other Indian settlement along the Potomac between Washington, D.C. and Cumberland or along the Monocacy. Only one site along the Shenandoah has produced trade goods. In 1632 Englishman Henry Fleet sailed to the Falls of the Potomac and sent a party upriver in search of furs, but they reported no Indian villages within 140 miles of the Falls.

The disappearance of people from the mid-Potomac is a microcosm of what happened to Indians all over the Americas. In 1539 Hernando de Soto landed a small Spanish army in Florida and marched them a thousand miles overland to Louisiana, and a detailed account of the expedition by one of its officers survives. As de Soto and his men passed down the Mississippi from somewhere near present-day Memphis, they saw a landscape "thickly set with great towns," "two or three others to be seen from any one." When they stayed too long in one place, they were sent on their way by volleys of arrows from armies that numbered in the thousands, and their crossing of the river was shadowed by a fleet of hundreds of war canoes brimming with warriors. In 1682 another European, the Marquis de La Salle, canoed the length of the Mississippi from modern St. Louis to its mouth, and he saw no towns, no armies, no fleets of boats. South of Memphis where de Soto saw so many towns, La Salle traveled 200 miles without seeing so much as a campfire. The land was deserted (Mann 2005).

What happened to all of these people? Many must have been killed by European diseases. The vulnerability of Indians to new diseases was observed by many people at the time. Thomas Hariot, one of the Roanoke colonists of 1585, wrote a detailed account of the epidemics that broke out in Indian towns visited by the English:

> 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 [Hariot 1590].

But while there is no disputing that European diseases were deadly to Indians, there is great debate over the timing of these disasters. 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, far more than anthropologist Douglas Ubelaker's (1992) figure of only 1.8 million. Our information, spotty at best, portrays a complex and varied picture. Along the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, Indian populations may have collapsed well before 1600. On the other hand, the English colonists found the North Carolina and Virginia coastal plains crowded with people when the colonies of Roanoke and Jamestown were established; and if those populations had already been exposed to European diseases in the 1500s, why were they still so vulnerable in 1585? The population of the Iroquois tribes in the Mohawk and Saint Lawrence valleys seems to have been growing right down to 1635 (Snow 1996). The Monongahela culture of western Pennsylvania was also thriving until the 1630s.



FIGURE 28: An Iroquois Warrior, in a Seventeenth-Century French Engraving

SOURCE: J. Laroque after J. Grasset St. Sauveur. Maryland Historical Trust

At the moment, therefore, we lack evidence that the Late Woodland inhabitants of the Potomac were devastated by disease. An alternative explanation would be that they were driven out by warfare. According to the Iroquois oral tradition, they embarked on wars of conquest against their enemies soon after the Five Nations league was formed, probably in the 1400s (Figure 28). The beginnings of the fur trade, which was well under way by the 1550s, led to intensified 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. The Piscataways of eastern Maryland welcomed the English to Saint Mary's City in 1634 because they feared destruction at the hands of Iroquois and Susquehannock attackers. It may be that the Luray complex people were too weak to survive in the climate of growing violence and so left the Potomac to join with more powerful groups to the west or east.

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. 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 then set about trying to explore the river above the falls, and to make contact with the Indians of the interior. Fleet's descriptions of his explorations 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. But there may be some truth in what he reported, and since it is the only account we possess of the upper Potomac in the period, it is worth considering Fleet's reports.

Fleet sent his brother and two trusted Indians to journey upriver beyond the Falls with presents (beads, bells, hatchets, knives, and coats) to the four kings of whom he had heard. 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 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." Fleet's brother returned to the falls after a journey of 20 days. He said it took seven days of traveling upstream from the Falls to reach the first town, and five days to return. He brought back Indians who wished to meet the English and discuss trading with them. Other Indians came of their own when they heard of Fleet's presence, including a party from Usserhak and a group of Indians dressed in "strange attire" called "Herecheenes" The Herecheenes told Fleet that they lived three days travel beyond the people of the four towns, and that they traded with the French at Quebec, "which is fifteen days journey from this place." It seems most likely that these men were Eries, who in 1632 lived near the lake that bears their name (Scharf 1879:25-30).

Fleet's attempt to establish trading connections with the upriver Indians were ultimately undermined by the Piscataways and their allies, who wished to preserve their role as middlemen. So his business venture failed. But his account remains, leaving us with a few hints about the Indians of the region and many questions.

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. 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? 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 Relations 1640), Sonnontouan (Jesuit Relations 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 to be 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.

Refugees

The insatiable European demand for furs and hides, which drove Henry Fleet's explorations, had far-reaching effects on native economies and political arrangements. The trade was so valuable that it fueled numerous wars. The Iroquois Five Nations tried for decades to get a "piece of the action" in the deer hide trade in the Carolinas. To do so, they staged repeated long-distance raids to South Carolina, where they attacked the Catawbas and one southern branch of the Shawnees (on the Savannah River, which was named for the latter). Apart from economic motivations, an endless cycle of revenge killing fueled the Iroquois-Catawba conflict. The "warrior paths" or "warrior roads" used by Iroquois raiders traversed the mid-Potomac. The Iroquois parties were sometimes accompanied by Delaware warriors. On occasion, the Catawbas would pursue the raiders, giving rise to a series of legends of Indian battles all along the warrior paths.

After Henry Fleet's account, our sources give us no information about the upper Potomac until the 1690s. At that time the region was essentially abandoned, and several different refugee Indian groups settled along the river. In the 1690s a group of Piscataways, or Conoys, fearful of attacks by Virginians, settled on Conoy or Heaters Island, where they remained until 1707. In 1713 the Tuscaroras, an Iroquoian-speaking group from the Carolinas, was defeated by an alliance of Cherokee Indians and the North Carolina militia and fled northward. From 1713 to 1722 a group of them settled near Tuscarora Creek. An apparent archeological trace of the arrival of Indians from the south in this period is a vessel represented by six sherds found in a disturbed context at Harper's Ferry. This has been identified as Qualla complicated curvilinear stamped ware (YoungRavenhorst 1994:3.19), which was made by the Cherokees between 1450 and 1700.

Several different Indian groups claimed overlordship of the upper Potomac, including 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. But 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 (Webb 1984). 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. 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. 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 from about 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. The Shawnees stayed at Opessa's Town until about 1731, when they also moved west to the Ohio.

THE COLONIAL FRONTIER

Indians and Traders

For almost a century after its founding in 1634, the colony of Maryland remained confined to the Tidewater region around the Chesapeake Bay. The population was small, and the economy was based on exporting tobacco to England, which was only profitable if the crop was grown within easy reach of navigable water. Only a handful of white men had any knowledge of the world beyond the heads of the rivers, the vast domain of Indians and French agents. The powerful Iroquois confederacy claimed hunting rights across the whole Appalachian region from New York to North Carolina, and their warriors made frequent use of paths that traversed these mountains. One of these warriors' roads ran through the Great Valley, and another ran east of the Blue Ridge along the approximate route of modern U.S. 15. Other tribes also claimed rights along the upper Potomac, including the Susquehannocks at Conestoga. No European was welcome in the lands beyond the Monocacy without Indian permission, and few were able to get it. This limited access bred ignorance, and maps printed in Europe as late as the 1730s continued to display only a very vague or erroneous knowledge of the geography of this region. One error that first appeared on Augustine Herrman's map in 1673, and was perpetuated by later cartographers, was the depiction of a major Northeast Branch of the Potomac, approximately in the location of Seneca Creek (Figure 29).

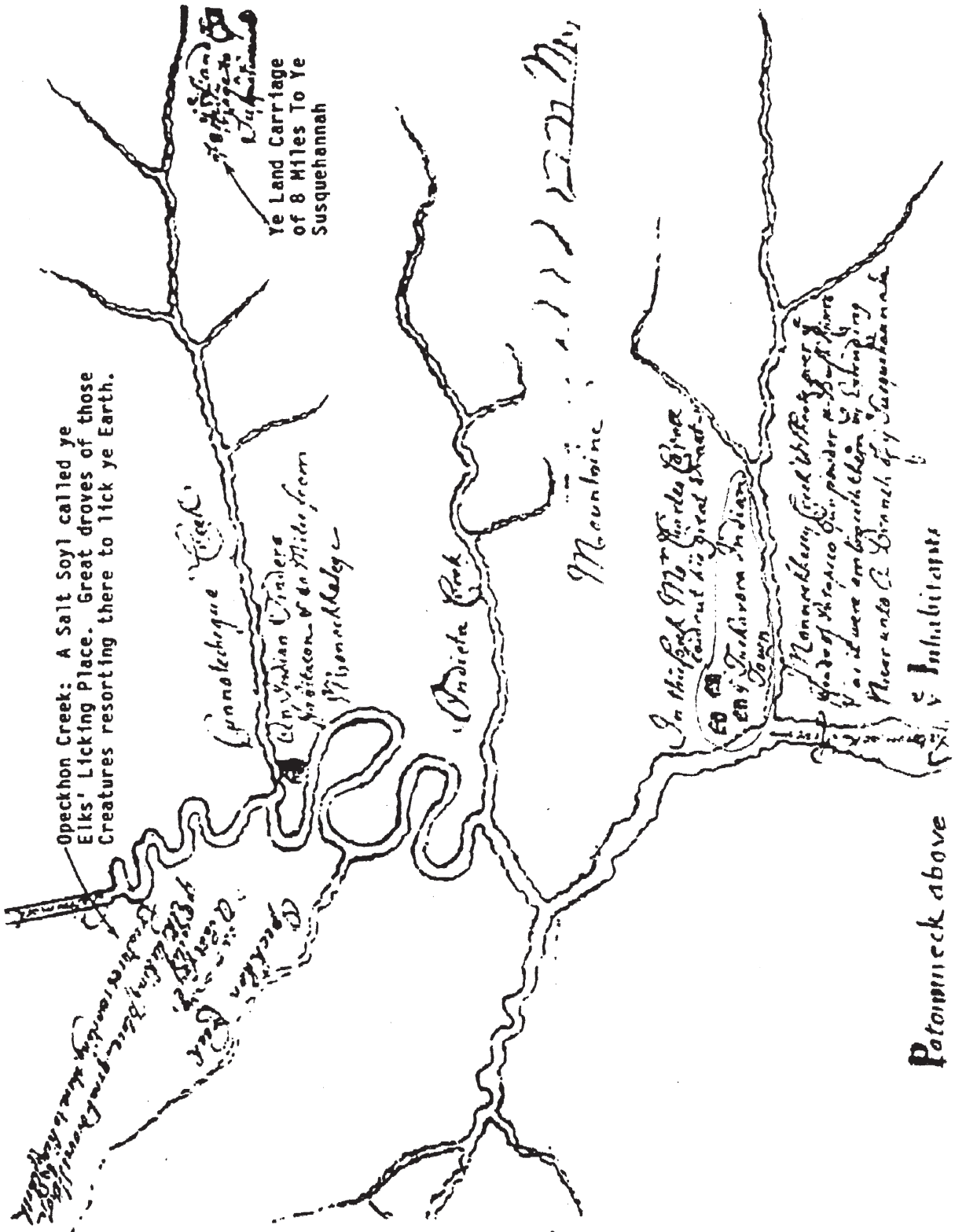
By the 1710s, as we have seen, this situation was changing. The population of the British colonies along the Atlantic was growing rapidly, and land-hungry pioneers pushed inland. A series of low-level conflicts between European settlers and Indians flared all along the frontier from Maine to Georgia. Trade between Indians and European settlers continued to thrive, and both conflicts over land and a desire to do business drove a demand for new knowledge of the interior. In 1721 the secretary of the Maryland colony, Philemon Lloyd, sketched a reasonably accurate map of "Potowmeck above ye inhabitants" (Figure 30). In a fascinating meeting of cultures, Lloyd was able to show his map to some visiting Iroquois diplomats (Marye 1935). It took them some time to equate Lloyd's rendering of the land with their own, very different mental maps of the region, but eventually they were able to make the connection and to tell Lloyd their own names for the rivers that appeared as squiggly lines on his paper.

Lloyd's main source of information about the upper reaches of the river was an "Indian trader" whose residence was located at the mouth of the Conococheague. This trader had evidently traveled up the river at least as far as the later site of Fort Frederick (i.e., around Towpath Mile Marker 112[1]); the 1721 map stops here in the middle of a straight stretch of river to the north of a series of large meanders. Although he was not named on Lloyd's map, the trader can be identified with some assurance as Andrew Friend (alias Anders Frande, Neal, or Nilsson). Friend was a Finn who family had emigrated to the Swedish colony on the Delaware. The Delaware Swedes had good relations with several Indian tribes, especially the Susquehannocks, and the

[1] The use of mile markers (MM) as a locational convenience along the C&O canal follows historical convention. The zero milestone or beginning of the canal is located in Georgetown, where the canal empties into Rock Creek. Canal mile markers are widely used in guidebooks (e.g., Hahn 1997), the List of Classified Strcutures (LCS), and many are still extant along the canal today.



FIGURE 29: Augustine Herrman's Map of Virginia and Maryland, 1678



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

FIGURE 30: Lloyd's Map of the Mid-Potomac, 1721

Finns used these connections and their own tradition of forest living to become formidable frontiersmen. It was probably Finns who introduced log architecture to North America. It is difficult to identify Finns in the records, because some of them adopted English surnames (like Friend), but they were very prominent along the frontier from Pennsylvania southward.

Andrew Friend, along with his partner, Charles Anderson (Mounts, Mansson), had been trading with the Shawnees probably as early as 1697 to 1700, when a band of Shawnees was sojourning in Cecil County, Maryland. Cecil County, at the head of the Chesapeake Bay, had become a center of Swedish and Finnish settlement, and Charles Anderson lived there for a time. These 172 Shawnees had abandoned their camp at the French fort at Starved Rock in Illinois in 1688 and made their way east, arriving at the Chesapeake in 1692. As described in the previous chapter, by 1701 most of this group had moved to Pennsylvania and established a village at Pequea, near the refugee Susquehannock community of Conestoga. Their leader was "King" Opessa. Opessa and his faction left Pequea around 1711 to 1714. They moved west, far up the Potomac, establishing a village near the confluence of the North and South Forks. This community was known at first as Opessa's Town, later as Oldtown (see previous chapter). In October 1720 Andrew Friend, along with other traders, conveyed a request from the Maryland government to the Shawnees, offering rewards in exchange for return of three runaway slaves. He may have already set up his place at the mouth of the Conococheague by that time. Andrew's son, Charles, later patented as the 260-acre "Sweed's (Swede's) Delight" tract in just this location.

In 1722, as a result of negotiations spurred by conflicts over land, the Iroquois Five Nations agreed to the terms of the Treaty of Albany. They gave up their claims to large tracts of land east of the mountains and agreed that their warriors would no longer use the path east of the Blue Ridge. In 1723 the Iroquoian-speaking Tuscaroras, many of whom had been driven out of the Carolinas in 1713 after an unsuccessful uprising, were accepted as the sixth nation of the league. Most of the exiled Tuscaroras moved to central New York, probably including the group that had settled on the Potomac at the mouth of Tuscarora Creek (Lloyd's map depicted their "town" there in 1721).

It took a few years for these developments to spark a land rush up the Potomac. In 1725 the Maryland colonial legislature still defined the area west of the Monocacy as the "Back-Woods" and prescribed special punishments for runaway slaves retrieved from that frontier zone (Fiedel et al. 2005:77). Before about 1730 the only claimants to land on the frontier were a few bold speculators, who knew they might lose everything but could afford the risk, and those ubiquitous Finnish frontiersmen and their close associates. Charles Carroll ("the Settler") had purchased 10,000 acres on the Monocacy ("Carrollton") from the Tuscaroras in 1719. Upstream on the Monocacy, fur traders, including John Hans Steelman and the Cartledge brothers, who had previously dealt with Indians at Conestoga and Pequea, had set up trading posts before 1722. John Van Meter, a frontiersman originally from Ulster County, New York, acquired land on the upper Monocacy in 1724. In 1724 Arthur Nelson surveyed Heaters Island, which had only recently been abandoned by Conoy refugees. He patented "Hobson's Choice" on the Potomac above Tuscarora Creek in March 1725. Nelson's acquisitions reflect the recent departure of the Tuscaroras from that area. In 1726 Gunder Erickson patented 200 acres at the mouth of the Monocacy.

Further upriver, Cecil County-based Indian trader Abraham Pennington was ensconced at the mouth of Catoctin Creek in 1728. In January 1727 Andrew Friend's son, Israel Friend, purchased a tract at the mouth of Antietam (Andahetem) Creek from six chiefs living at 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. A booklet that accompanied a museum exhibit, *From northern shore, the Swedish and Finnish presence in colonial Maryland* (1984?), obtained at the Maryland State Archives, 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 below) is a forgery. But a letter to the

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
[Booklet obtained from Maryland State Archives; on file, The Louis Berger Group, Inc., Washington, D.C.]

Maryland government written by Captain Civility on January 12, 1731/1732 (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. But perhaps the whole thing was a sort of clever joke in which a Finn and several Indians made light of both English legal formulas and the English attitude toward Indians.

The first witness listed on the document is readily identifiable as Humberston Lyon (1690-1743), who is reported to have been living in Monocacy Hundred in 1733. Lyon is sometimes said to have been Scots-Irish, but the name Lyon is found throughout the British Isles, and Humberstone is an English name. We know nothing about his life before 1727, so his relationship with the Finnish/Swedish traders like Israel Friend remains unexplained. He later claimed several land grants in Virginia and died in what is now Augusta County, West Virginia. The second witness is not so easily identified. Perhaps "Margalith" is a mangled version of Meredith, which was sometimes spelled Maradith; 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*).

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." Cohungaruto (or some variant) was the name applied to the Potomac west of the Shenandoah; this was sometimes called the "North Branch" by Europeans, and the Shenandoah the "South Branch." 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.

The Land Rush

Settlement of Maryland beyond the Monocacy really got underway around 1734. The area was again empty of Indians, since the Shawnees had left Old Town around 1731 to 1732 and moved further west, over the mountains to Log Town on the Ohio. 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 . . . 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.

Land records indicate that a wave of land acquisition started in 1734 with the first purchases on the Virginia side of the river. Charles Anderson (Andrew Friend's trading partner) had land surveyed in Frederick County, Virginia (now Berkeley County, West Virginia). Israel Friend acquired 300 acres on the Virginia bank of the Potomac, 2 miles above Harper's Ferry, in October 1734; this land contained rich deposits of iron ore. 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.

There is much confusion about the dates of early land claims because the process of taking land in both Virginia and Maryland had several steps. In Maryland a claimant first obtained a warrant for so many acres of land, which specified the location only vaguely. He would then have a survey made, and with this survey in hand he could apply for a patent, which conferred official ownership of the parcel shown on the survey. Given the conditions on the frontier, two or three years sometimes passed before the claimant could have the survey made and get his paperwork approved in Annapolis. Some speculators were accused of intentionally leaving their claims unsurveyed for years, which they hoped would discourage other settlers from trying to claim land nearby while they gathered the financial backing to enlarge their claims (Brugger 1988:68). This charge was made against Thomas Swearingen, a speculator who claimed a grant named Felfoot on the western side of Crampton Gap in 1728, making it the earliest official warrant in

the Great Valley. The dispute over Felfoot's boundaries was still raging in 1755 (Frederick County Deed Book E:904). Not even the granting of a patent necessarily implied that anyone was actually living on the property. On the other hand, some claimants had probably been living on their claims before they even applied for a warrant. The land records are therefore not a particularly good guide to who was actually living on the land in this early stage of settlement.

Fortunately, we have one very good source of information about settlement along the Potomac in the year 1736. Because of a major property dispute between Jost Hite, a German settler, and Lord Fairfax over 140,000 acres of land in the Shenandoah Valley, Lord Fairfax hired surveyor Benjamin Winslow to prepare a map of the upper Potomac (Figure 31). This remarkably accurate map shows 31 dwellings along the river between Harper's Ferry and Cumberland, and for 26 of those settlements it gives the name of a resident. The legal battle between Fairfax and Hite raged on for 40 years, becoming one of those fantastic English lawsuits that consumed generations of lawyers and litigants in just the way Charles Dickens showed in *Bleak House*. (Of course, the 80-year-long battle between the Penns and the Calverts, finally settled by the survey of Mason and Dixon, was an even greater case of the same type.)

The information on the Winslow map can be supplemented by three lists of the residents of Maryland's western region. The first is a 1733 list of "tithables" (adult workers) in Monocacy Hundred, which at that time included all of Maryland west of Seneca Creek (Table 2). In 1734 a list was compiled of all the property owners in Monocacy Hundred who "had no tobacco burnt," a relic of a failed attempt to hold down the tobacco supply by burning all substandard weed. These two lists, combined, contain 111 names, including most of the men we know or suspect were living on the upper Potomac (Tracey and Dern 1987:358). In 1742 a petition was circulated seeking a new Anglican parish for the western part of the state. This seems to have been signed by most of the property owners in the region, including German Lutherans, which reminds us that under the English system church and state were interwoven, so that an Anglican parish administered poor relief and performed many other government functions. This list contains 196 names, most of them men living east of the Blue Ridge. Using these records together, we can develop a picture of the kind of people who moved to the frontier in these early days.

Winslow's 1736 map (see Figure 31; Table 3) depicts residences of 12 named settlers along the river on the Maryland bank, and three house sites with no names attached to them. It also shows a few important transportation points, including a ferry at Mile Marker 92. These house sites are usually quite close to known prehistoric archeological sites, perhaps because early colonial settlers picked spots where late prehistoric people had previously cleared vegetation for their cornfields (further west, Winslow depicted Charles Anderson's place adjacent to the recently abandoned fields of the Shawnee). Or, maybe these were the only obvious floodplains with expanses of good bottomland for planting; or, they were near shallow spots where the river could be easily forded and therefore had become focal points for trans-regional Indian trails (the various warriors' paths).

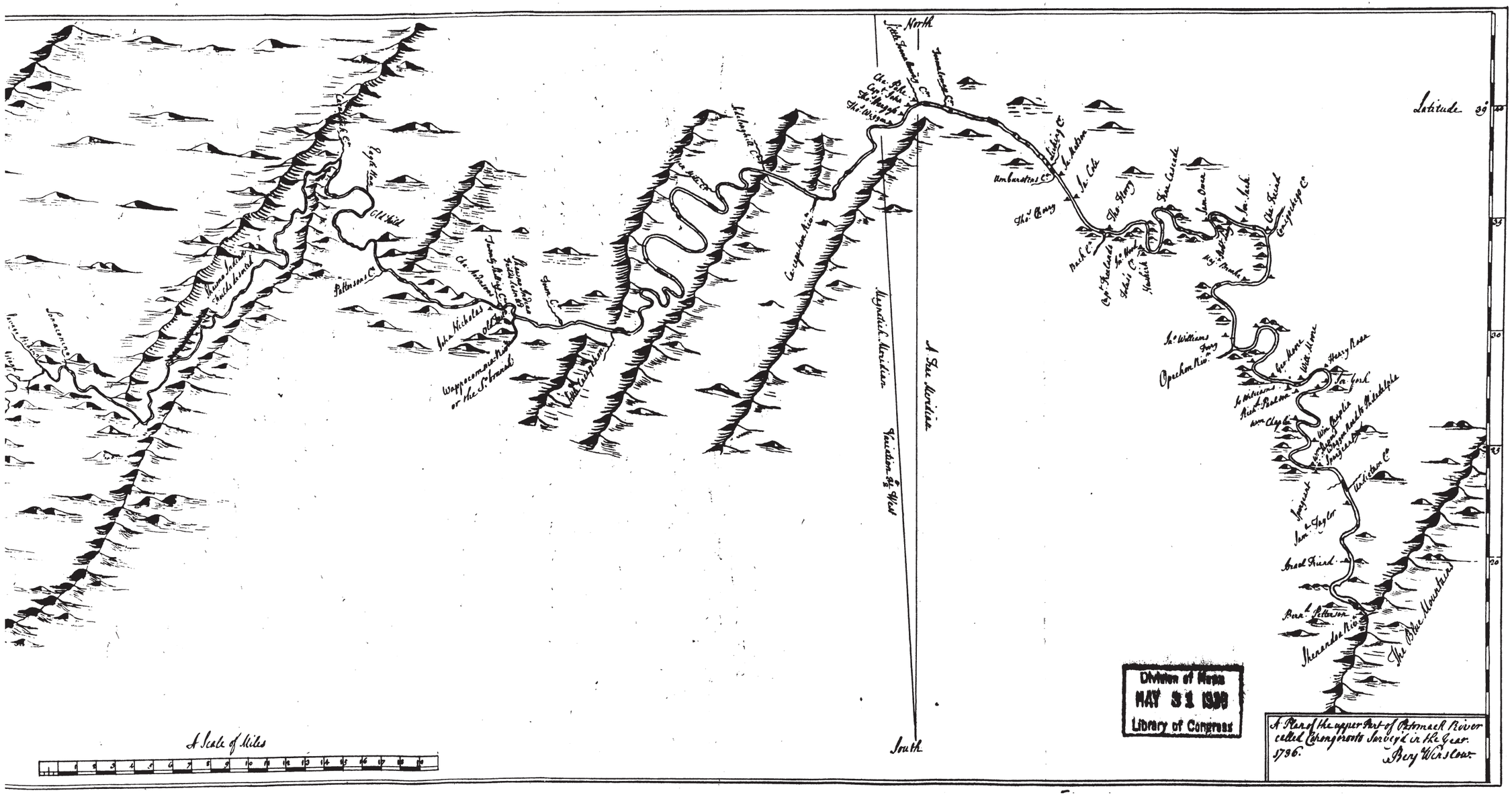


FIGURE 31: Winslow's Map of the Mid-Potomac, 1736

TABLE 2: TWO LISTS OF THE INHABITANTS OF WESTERN MARYLAND, 1733 AND 1734

LIST OF TAXABLES IN MONOCACY HUNDRED, 1733		LIST OF PERSONS HAVING NO TOBACCO BURNT, MONOCACY HUNDRED, 1734	
Bales, John	Ballinger, Henry	Bailes, John	Ballinger, Henry
Bartlett, John	Beatty, Edward	Bartlett, John	Beatty, Edward
Beatty, Henry	Beatty, James	Beatty, Henry	Beatty, John
Beatty, John	Beatty, Thomas	Betty, William	Blevin, James
Beatty, William	Blavin, Daniel	Bockit, Edward	Bray, Henry
Blavin, James	Backelt, Edward	Cantwell, Joseph	Cartledge, Edmund
Bray, Henry	Cantrell, Joseph	Cherry, Thos.	Clarke, William
Cannode, Charles	Cartledge, Edmund	Coburne, James	Cox, Benj.
Cherry, Thomas	Clarke, John	Cox, John	Coxe, Peter
Clarke, William	Coburn, James	Davis, John	
Cocks, Allen	Cox, Brewer	Digs' quarter, Mr. Charles	
Cox, John	Cox, Peter	two slaves	
Davis, John	Dobbin, John Sen.	Dobbin, John	Douthwhite, Thos.
Dobbin, John Jr.	Dowthit, John	Dutchil, William	Fee, George
Dowthit, Thomas	Falling, Redmond	Forquer, Allen	Friend, Charles
Farquhar, Allen	Friend, Charles	Friend, Neals	Harling, James
Friend, John	Friend, Nicholas	Harquis, Thos.	Hedge, Solomon
Harland, James	Harland, John	Hilliard, Thomas	Hoops, John
Hargys, Thomas	Hedges, Charles	Hugh, John	Jacks, Jeremie
Hedges, Joshua	Hedges, Solomon	Jackson, John	Jennings, Will.
Hillyard, John	Hillyard, Thomas	Johnson, Henry	Johnson, John
Hives, William	Hugh, John	Jones, Evan	Jones, Robert
Jacks, Jerom	Jackson, John	Lyon, Ambuston	Mahon, James
John, Capt.	Johnson, Henry	Mathews, Chidley	Mathews, George
Jones, Evan	Jones, Robert	Middock, Johannes	Miers, John
Kelley, Bryan	Kindrick, Robert	Moore, John	Moore, Will.
Lyon, Humburston	Mackee, David	Nichols, Edward	Nichols, John
Matson, James	Mathews, Chidley	Pybonn, John	Rien, Darby
Mathews, George	Mathews, William	Royal, John	Sheppard, William Sr.
Maddock, Johannes	Myer, John	Sheppard, William Jr.	Sherrill, William Sr.
Moore, George	Moore, John	Sherill, William Jr.	Souterfield, John
Moore, William	Nelson, John	Sprigg's Quarter, Capt Ed., 2 slaves	
Nickolls, Edward	Nichols, James,	Spurgin, James	Spurgin, William
Nicholls, John	Payne, Flayle	Story, Richard	Stull, John
Polson, Richard	Powell, John	Swearingen, Van	Touchstone, Richard
Pyborn, John	Ratcliffe, Robert	Tredan, John	Vandever, John
Roberts, John	Rosson, Charles	Vanmater, Isaac	Vines, Mordecai
Ryan, Darby	Royal, John	Veach, John	Vernoy, Cornelius
Sheppard, William Sr.	Sheppard, William Jr.	Walker, John	Wallen, Elisha
Sherlock, John	Shoarwell, William	Wallen, William	West, John
Scarwill, William Jr.	Southernfield, John	West, Thomas	Whitaker, Thos.
Sprigg's Quarter, Mr., 2 slaves		Wilcoxon, John	Wilkinson, Minor
Spurgeon, James	Spurgeon, William	Williams, Joseph	Willson, Robert
Story, Richard	Stull, John	Wright, James	
Swearingen, Van	Swift, Flower		
Touchstone, Richard	Tredann, John		
Upton, John	Vandever, John		
Vametera, Isaac	Walling, Elisha		
Walling, James	Walling, William		
West, John	West, Thomas		
Whitaker, Thomas	Wilkinson,		
MinerWilliams, Joseph	Williams, Province		
Willson, John	Willson, Robert		
Wright, James			
106 names		83 names	

Moving from east to west on the Maryland side, the first important name we encounter is Israel Friend. Friend is shown on the Virginia side of the river at about MM 65, but since we know he lived in Maryland before and after 1736, he must have moved back and forth across the river. The first name on the Maryland side is Spurgent, whose residence was at MM 71 near Packhorse Ford on the "Wagon Road to Philadelphia." This seems to be James Spurgent (Spurgeon, Spurgin). He was the older bother of William Spurgent, who seems to be the Spurgent shown on the Virginia side just opposite James's place. James Spurgent was born in London in 1698/1699. In February 1718 he was arrested for burgling a house, during which he made off with what his indictment itemized as:

cloth coats worth 52s [shillings]
Shag breeches worth 6s
one camel coat worth 2s
one camel waistcoat worth 1s
one furstian frock worth 2s
one furstian waistcoat worth 6s
five druggett coats worth 10s.

TABLE 3: LOCATIONS OF EARLY SETTLERS' RESIDENCES ON THE 1736 WINSLOW MAP

MM	MAPPED NAME
72	Wagon Road to Philadelphia; Spurgeant and Wm. Shepard
74	Wm. Chaplin
79	(anonymous)
80.9	Henry Roan
82.5	Wm. Moore
84.5	Geo. Moore
89.5	(anonymous)
92	Ferry (operated by Jon. Williams, in Virginia)
97.5	(anonymous)
100	Charles Friend
101	Jeremiah Jack
103.5	Sam Owen
111.8	Thomas Florry
114	James Cole
115.5	James Matson (opposite Umburston's Creek=Big Run)

In May of that year, after a spell in Newgate Prison, James was sentenced to "transportation" on the *Margaret* to Maryland. Also on the ship was his brother, William, and an Ann Spurgeon. James and William were sold into indenture to Richard Snowden, and Ann was sold to Rosanna Lees.

James Spurgent does not appear in the records again until 1730, when he married a woman named Susannah in Prince George's County, Maryland. He appears in both the 1733 tax list and 1734 "no tobacco burned" list for Monocacy Hundred, next to his brother. In 1742 James Spurgent signed a list of petitioners seeking the creation of All Saint's Parish, but William did not, presumably because by then he was living in Virginia. James Spurgent seems to have made a success of himself in the valley, and he appears regularly in the Frederick County records making business and land deals. In the 1773 tax record James Spurgeon is listed as owning four tracts of land: Antietam, Trembling, Stony Hill, and Spurgeon's Choice. Spurgeon's Choice was patented by Spurgeon in 1763 on Town Creek. When the Mason Dixon line was drawn, this land turned out to be on the north side, and by the time he made his will in 1784, Spurgeon was living in Pennsylvania. James Spurgeon died in July 1790, at the age of about 91, having led quite a life for a child of London's slums once sent to prison for stealing clothes.

Close by the Spurgents at Packhorse Ford was "Wm. Shepard." This was either William Shepherd, Sr. (circa 1680-1741/5) or Jr. (dates uncertain). Both were listed in 1733 as residents of Monocacy Hundred. Another son of William, Sr. was Captain Thomas Shepherd (born 1705), known as the founder of Shepherdstown, West Virginia. He began to purchase land on the

Virginia side of the Potomac in 1734, with additional purchases in 1751 and 1768. In October 1762 Shepherd was authorized by the Virginia Assembly to run a ferry across the Potomac, and in November he was authorized to create the town of Mecklenburg (named for the place of origin of the wife of George III). Its name was changed to Shepherd's Town in 1798; Thomas Shepherd had died in 1776. It is interesting to note that Shepherd had married Elizabeth Van Meter in 1733. She was the daughter of the Indian trader, John Van Meter, who established the Opequon settlement with Jost Hite (see *The Germans*, below). The land that Shepherd purchased in 1751 lay adjacent to Van Meter's land. Before moving to the Monocacy, the Van Meters and their Dubois in-laws had resided on the Cohansey River in Salem County in southwestern New Jersey. Four of the five Shepherd brothers (James, David, John, Thomas, and Moses), who had arrived in East Jersey from Ireland in 1683, settled on adjacent tracts on the Cohansey around 1690. Thomas was the father of William Shepherd, Sr. Salem County was part of the original New Sweden settlement; the Van Meters and Shepherds could have picked up elements of the Finnish frontier adaptation while living in that area.

The next name up the river, William Chaplin, has not been identified. There is no William Chaplin on the 1733 or 1734 list or the 1742 petition, and no one with that or a similar name patented land in western Maryland. He must have been one of those wandering characters who drifted through the colonies, spending a year here and a year there, never staying in one place long enough to leave a firm record.

The next name is Henry Roan or Roar, another unknown person. One possibility is that this actually refers to a Heinrich Rohrer. Rohrer later became a common German name in the valley, but this is only speculation.

The next two named homes were those of William Moore and George Moore. The Moores were a large family that had been active along the Maryland frontier since the 1680s, steadily moving westward. The exact relationships of William and George to the larger family are not known. They both appear in the 1733 and 1734 lists and the 1742 petition. George Moore took out an 84-acre patent near the house shown on the Winslow map, obtaining his warrant in 1734. He called this tract "Snowden's Friendship." The name is interesting because the Snowdens were one of Maryland's leading families, with tobacco plantations in four counties and important iron works, so perhaps William Moore had once been in their employ and chose the name of his farm either to express his gratitude or further curry favor with his patrons.

In 1736 Charles Friend, the Finnish Indian trader we have already met, was still living at the mouth of Conococheague Creek. Unlike some of his relations, who kept moving further and further west, he settled down at this place. He took out a 400-acre land grant that he called Swede's Delight, and he was buried there in 1752 (Figure 32).

A few miles west of Swede's Delight was the home of Jeremiah Jack, or Jacques. Jeremiah was the first member of this family to settle in the area, and they are still a locally prominent clan. Jeremiah Jacques was listed on the 1733 and 1734 lists and the 1742 petition. The patent for this property, called "Jack's Bottom," was actually taken out in 1739 by Annapolis lawyer Daniel Dulany, but the land ended up in Jeremiah Jacques's hands so Dulany was probably only acting as his agent, or perhaps his banker. The Jack's Bottom patent was for 175 acres, including a large



FIGURE 32: Memorial to Charles Friend and Swede's Delight

amount of Potomac River bottomland. The Jacques family later acquired other lands farther west, including a substantial tract at Big Pool. Jeremiah Jacques's son or grandson, Lancelot Jacques, was the builder of Green Spring Furnace (see THE EARLY IRON INDUSTRY, below).

Samuel Owen, the next name, is otherwise unknown.

Thomas Florry, shown east of Big Pool, has been identified as Thomas Flora, who was born in England in 1702. Flora had been sentenced in London to transportation to the colony for stealing a silk handkerchief and arrived in Maryland as an indentured servant in 1721. In 1735 Thomas Flora married a woman named Margaret in Virginia. The following year Margaret and Thomas had a son, Thomas (1736-1811). There is no record of Thomas Florry in either the 1733 or 1734 lists for Monocacy Hundred or in any of the 1742 petitions for the division of Prince George's County. Thomas Flora died in 1760 in Frederick County Maryland. He left no will.

John Cole, near Ernstville, is also unknown, but remains of his home may have been found during the archeological survey, as discussed below.

James Matson is on the 1733 list of taxables for the Monocacy Hundred but is absent on the 1734 list of "those that had no tobacco burnt." Mattson lived opposite "Umberston Creek," which must have been named after Humberston Lyon.

A settlement made up of at least four houses is shown just west of modern Hancock. Among them is Charles Polke, a fur trader originally from the Eastern Shore. Polke was connected to the Finnish traders and had operated out of Conestoga between 1724 and 1726 (Kester 1995). He was trading at the confluence of the Potomac and Little Tonoloway Creek by 1734, where he is shown on the Winslow map. In August of that year in Philadelphia, Polke married Christian, the daughter of Edmond Cartledge, one of the Quaker brothers from Conestoga accused of murdering a Seneca warrior at their trading post on the Monocacy in 1722 (Fiedel et al. 2005, vol. 1). Connections among these pioneering families were close; out on the frontier, it was a good idea to be surrounded by your kin. It should also be noted that most early documents refer to the Big and Little Tonoloway as Conoloway (or Konolowa).

Clustered just south of Charles Polke's place are the residences of Captain John, Thomas Hargass, and Thomas Wiggon, about whom nothing more is known. The only white settlers noted to the west of this cluster are the two residents of the area that had once been Opessa's Town. On the north side of the river was Charles Anderson, the old Swedish fur trader; his residence may be represented by some sherds of early eighteenth-century pottery (Delft) ware found near here in 1969 (Maryland Historical Trust). On the south side lived John Nicholas. He was probably another Swedish/Finnish frontiersman; Friend family genealogies list a John Nicholas, son of Amos Nichols/Nicholas and Sarah Nilsdotter Friend (and thus a cousin of Israel Friend). John Nicholas was born in 1709 in New Jersey. John's wife, Margaretha, bore a son (John) in 1734, and a daughter (Charlotte) about 1736, so presumably the homestead at Old Town housed the Nicholas family in 1736.

East of Anderson's place, Winslow noted "Shawno Indian Feilds deserted" and east of Nicholas he noted "Old Field." Deserted Shawnee cornfields were also depicted at several locations further west. It is interesting to note how far these fields extend, given that the Shawnee settlement at Old Town probably never had more than 100 inhabitants.

These pioneers were a diverse group. They included Finnish traders, who had close relations with the Susquehannock Indians at Conestoga, and others associated with them. They included Englishmen who had been transported as criminals and others from more respectable backgrounds. When we can learn about their families and marriages, they turn out to be connected to other frontier folk. They followed the river and had a preference for farming bottom land along the river, quite different from the German settlers who came after them. They were a highly mobile group. Of the 12 names on the Maryland side, only William Shepard, Charles Friend, Jeremiah Jacques, and Thomas Flora put down permanent roots in the valley. The others continued moving further west or disappear from the records altogether.

Squatters and Settlers at Antietam Bottom

A good case of the complexity of the relationship between owners and settlers on the frontier is provided by the tract called Antietam Bottom. The 1736 Winslow map shows two settlers around Packhorse Ford west of Antietam Creek, William Spurgin and William Shepherd. These men were therefore already in residence in 1739 when John Moore, with Daniel Dulany acting as his agent, took out a patent for 300 acres that stretched along the river for 2 miles, from below Antietam Creek to west of Packhorse Ford (Figure 33). The Antietam Bottom patent included

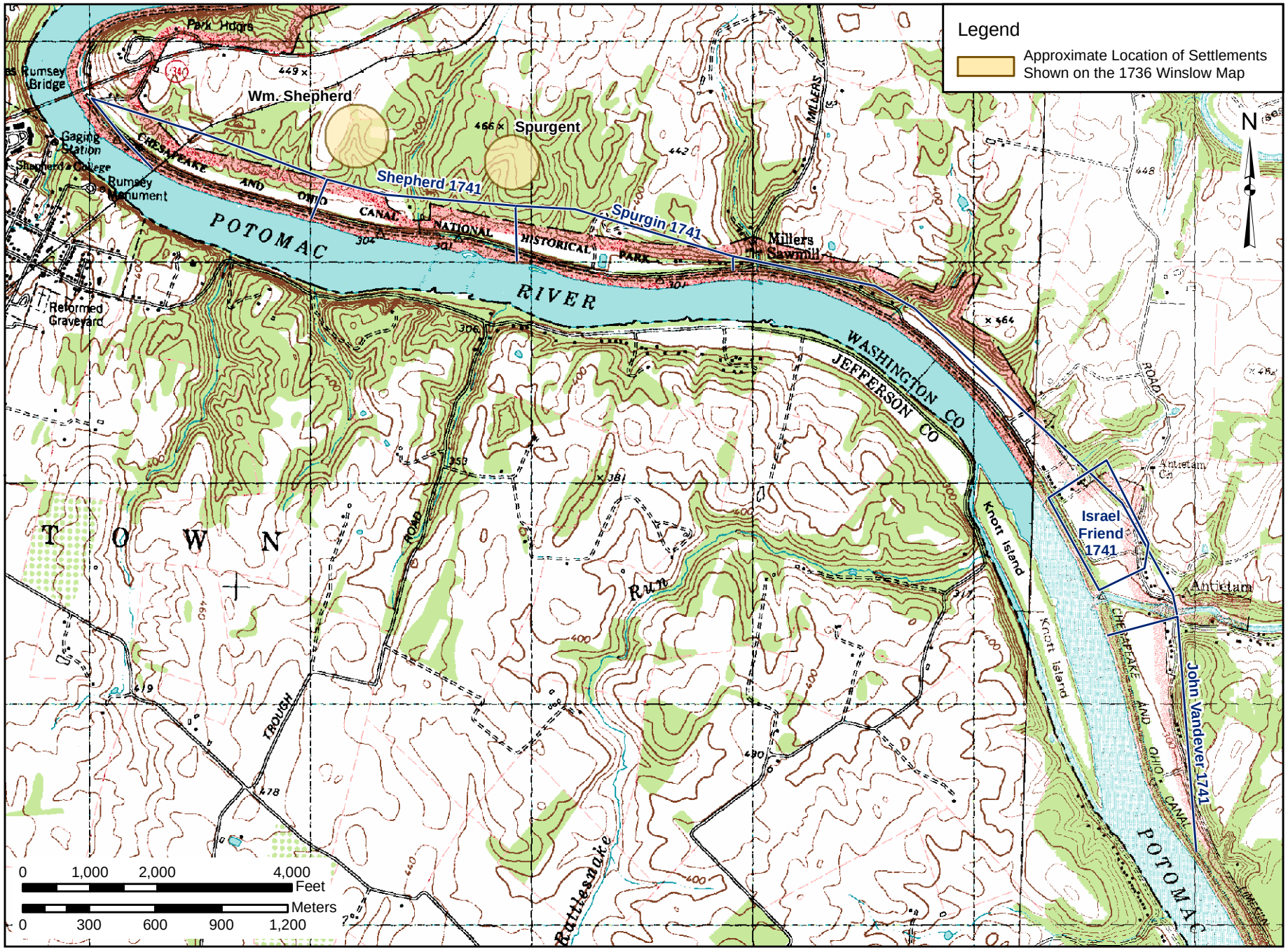


FIGURE 33: Map of the Antietam Bottom Patent, with the Sales Made in 1741

SOURCE: USGS 7.5-Minute Quadrangles, Keedysville 1978 and Shepherdstown 1994

mostly river bottom land, valued because of its fertile soil, and very little bluff-top land that would have been safe from flooding. In 1741 Moore sold off 200 acres of the patent in 50-acre parcels, and two of the purchasers were William Spurgin and William Shepherd, who thus acquired legal title to land they had settled several years before (Prince George's County Deed Book Y:300-301). John Vandever purchased the 50 acres south of Antietam Creek. Vandever is on the 1733 list of tithables, so he had been living somewhere on the frontier for at least eight years when he bought the land from Moore. Israel Friend purchased 50 acres that would have been part of the large parcel he purchased from the Conestoga Indians in 1722. Note that the sale from Moore to Friend seems to include a small amount of land that was not within Moore's original patent. This was a common event, since the boundaries recorded at the land office in Annapolis were often quite different from the boundaries that a property came to have later. As this example shows, the first settlers on the frontier were often legally squatters, as during this period the process of patenting land often lagged years behind the building of cabins. On the other hand the actual patentee of the land, John Moore, is not known to have been a resident of the area then or later.

The Germans

The Germans were not the first European settlers in Maryland's Great Valley. Finns and a small number of English and Welsh from eastern Maryland had preceded them. But the Germans were by far the largest group of settlers, and by 1760 they dominated life in the region. Germans had been trickling into the Chesapeake colonies since the 1630s, when men with German names show up in the records of both Virginia and Maryland. The movement from the German-speaking lands to America received a boost in 1710, when Queen Anne sponsored the immigration of a small group of families from the upper Rhine. This region is usually spoken of as the Palatinate, although there were actually several small independent states in the region. The upper Rhine was overcrowded in the eighteenth century and it was not urbanizing or industrializing, and many of its inhabitants chose to seek new lives in the New World.

Between 1700 and 1730 most Germans came to either Pennsylvania or New York, but some scattered to other colonies. In 1710 a settlement of Palatines and Swiss was established at New Bern, North Carolina, by a Swiss adventurer who called himself Baron Christoph von Graffenried. Graffenried had earlier scouted and rejected several other sites, including one along Rock Creek in Maryland. By 1714 a small German settlement had been set up in the Virginia Piedmont, at a place called Germana in what is now Spotsylvania County. The first major German settlement in Virginia was in the Shenandoah Valley. This settlement was organized by the Van Meters, a Dutch family that had resided in New York or New Jersey for several decades. The Van Meters fit the common profile of frontiersmen in this era: they were not English, they had close relations with Indians, and they had a restlessness that continually drove them to leave settled places for rougher surroundings. The Van Meter family preserved many traditions about their forefathers, and they passed these along to historians on at least two occasions. The one we can document took place in 1898, when James Van Meter of Martinsburg, West Virginia, was interviewed by Ann Van Meter (1902). Another such interview must have been given by one of his ancestors because similar stories were recounted by Samuel Kercheval in his 1833 *History of the Valley of Virginia*.

The first Van Meter to settle in America was Jan Van Meter, who arrived in about 1662, bringing with him a young son. This son, Joost Van Meter, sometimes called John, was later said to have once been taken captive by Indians and to have lived with them for many months. (The kind of person who resented being taken hostage became a soldier, or moved to a safer area closer to the Atlantic. The kind of person who saw being taken hostage as an opportunity to make important business connections became a frontier trader.) According to James Van Meter's 1898 account,

> All I know I got through my father, from the original ones, and the old V's never lied. The first Van Meter (from New York), John, passed through here about 1725 with a tribe of Indians going to the south branch to fight the Catawba tribe. The Catawba tribe killed all of the northern tribe except John Van Meter and two of his Indians. When John got home he told his sons if they ever went to Virginia they must go to the Wapapatoma and take up land for it was the prettiest land he ever saw. That is the Indian name for the south branch of the Potomac [Van Meter 1902].

Samuel Kercheval's 1833 account is quite similar:

> Tradition relates that a man by the name of John Vanmeter, of New York, some years previous to the first settlement of the Valley, discovered the fine country on the Wappatomaka. This man was a kind of wandering Indian trader, became well acquainted with the Delawares, and once accompanied a war party who marched to the south for the purpose of invading the Catawbas. The Catawbas, however, anticipated them, met them very near the spot where Pendleton courthouse now stands, and encountered and defeated them with immense slaughter. Vanmeter was engaged with the Delawares in this battle. When Vanmeter returned to New York, he advised his sons, if they ever migrated to Virginia, by all means to secure a part of the South Branch Bottom…[Kercheval 1975:51].

Kercheval does not give a date for these events. Another nineteenth-century family historian placed the fateful visit to the valley "about the time of Governor Spotswood's expedition, in 1716" (Butler 2004). This earlier dating makes the Van Meters' exploration of the valley contemporary with the famous trek of the Virginia governor and his friends, who dubbed themselves the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe for riding to the crest of the Blue Ridge and gazing down into the valley beyond.

As the more astute genealogists have noted, these accounts cannot possibly be true in detail because Joost (John) Van Meter was dead by 1714, probably by 1710 (Butler 2004). The Van Meter who explored the valley was probably his son, John Van Meter, or else John's brother Isaac. This exploration probably took place after 1722, when the Treaty of Albany obliged the Iroquois to stay west of the mountains and made the area much safer for Europeans. Isaac and John Van Meter had both taken out land grants in Maryland in 1726, so the Van Meters were extending their interests southwestward at that time. We would add that this business of a battle between the Delaware and the Catawbas is a bit of folklore that floats all around the Middle Atlantic frontier and has come to be attached to other families and other places. Thomas Williams's *History of Washington County* (1906) places a Delaware-Catawba battle near the mouth of Antietam Creek. The battle is almost certainly a myth because by 1700 the Delawares had ceased to be an independent tribe and were a satellite of the Iroquois League. The Five (later Six) Nations did wage a long war with the Catawbas, over control of the fur trade, but it featured

many raids and few pitched battles—and none of them, so far as we know, were fought in Maryland or Virginia.

At any rate we can certainly believe that the Van Meters were involved in Indian trading because they were well informed about land across the Blue Ridge at a time when very few other white men traveled there. In 1728 John and Isaac Van Meter each applied to the governor of Virginia for a grant of 20,000 acres of land in the Shenandoah Valley. John stated he wished the land "for the settlement of himself and eleven children and also divers of his relations and friends living in the government of New York." The governor made these grants in 1730 on the condition that each of the brothers bring 20 families to settle on the land.

The Van Meters then set about finding settlers for the land. It happens that a relative of theirs by marriage, Jost Hite, was interested. Hite had immigrated from Germany to New Jersey in 1710, and in 1715 he moved from there to Pennsylvania. He seemed to be doing well in Pennsylvania, owning hundreds of acres of land and a gristmill, but for some reason he chose to sell his Pennsylvania property and move west. In 1731 Hite and his family made the journey south and west, crossing the Potomac at Packhorse Ford and settling along Opequon Creek. Hite liked the place so much that he bought out all 40,000 acres of the Van Meters' claim and applied for 100,000 acres more. The condition of the governor's first grant, that 20 families be settled on the land, was fulfilled by 1733. Dozens more German families followed, and by 1740 a thriving German community had grown up in the Shenandoah Valley. Unfortunately for Hite, the land he had settled on was also claimed by Lord Fairfax, who arrived in Virginia in 1735 to look after the vast lands granted him by the king. He was most disturbed to find that the governor had given 140,000 acres of his land to these Germans, and he initiated a lawsuit that lasted 40 years. In the end the Hites and their fellow settlers kept control of the land.

Already by 1730 the Germans had acquired a reputation in America as model settlers (Brugger 1988:68). They were hard-working, they were pious Protestants, they committed few crimes, and they always added greatly to the value of any land they farmed. They also had little interest in politics, so they posed no threat to the British elites who controlled the governments of the colonies. Seeing a stream of these desirable settlers cross Maryland on their way to Virginia made the leaders of Maryland envious, and they persuaded the Lord Proprietor to do something to help keep some of them within Maryland. In March 1732 Lord Baltimore issued a proclamation beginning, "Wee being Desirous to Increase the Number of Honest people within our Province of Maryland and willing to give Suitable Encouragement to such to come and Reside therein Do offer the following Terms. . . " (Brugger 1988:69). Any family arriving in the colony within the next three years and willing to settle in the Maryland "backwoods" (meaning west of the Monocacy) would be granted 200 acres of land of their own choosing. The proprietor personally undertook to guarantee their title to the land, an important issue when boundaries were so uncertain. At the same time the Proprietor set aside for his own use a block of 11,000 acres near the mouth of Conococheague Creek, called Conococheague Manor, and began making land grants by the usual methods.

Up until the Proprietor's 1732 proclamation, the German presence in western Maryland was minimal. The 1733 list of taxpayers in Monocacy Hundred includes only two names that are definitely German, John Myer and Johannes Maddock or Middock, and two or three others that

might be English renderings of German names (Tracy and Dern 1987:368). But from that time on, the growth of the German population was dramatic.

Settlers moving from Philadelphia to the Shenandoah Valley could take one of two roads across Maryland (Figure 34). One entered the colony east of the Blue Ridge and ran for a while along the Monocacy, crossing South Mountain west of modern Frederick and then running southwest to Packhorse Ford. The other road crossed into the valley in Pennsylvania and entered Maryland west of Conococheague Creek, running south to fords near Williamsport. As Maryland land agents began persuading German settlers to remain in Maryland rather than journeying onward, they first settled adjacent to the roads they were following, and two separate concentrations of German settlers therefore developed. One was in the Monocacy Valley from the area of Frederick north to the Pennsylvania line; the southern part of the Monocacy Valley was already being taken up by British settlers. The other concentration was known as the Conococheague Settlement. Some historians have interpreted these "settlements" as actual towns and wondered where they were and what happened to them; however, this cannot have been the case. Each family lived on its own 200-acre farm, and their holdings were distributed rather evenly across the countryside (Tracy and Dern 1987:76). So far as we can tell, the "Conococheague settlement" refers to the entire Great Valley of Maryland, not just a limited area around Conococheague Creek. The land records give no indication that there was any concentration of German settlers near the creek, nor anywhere else in the valley. An important clue that this is the correct interpretation is that Jonathan Hager, whose lands were on Antietam Creek, is described in one document as a member of the "Conococheague settlement" (Cunze 1958:82).

We know from several sources that Germans began to settle in Maryland after 1733, but the first land claims by men with German names date to 1739, and most date to 1741 or later (Twigg 1997). Nor were there many sales from English speculators to Germans. Tracey and Dern (1987:370) were able to show that dozens of German settlers were living in Frederick County for years before their first land claims. We do not know what these settlers were doing in the interim. Perhaps some of them were leasing land, although this seems unlikely, given that they could have land for free under the Proprietor's generous terms. The most likely explanation is that they simply took their time about filing their land claims, relying on an informal system that guaranteed land to families that cleared and settled on it. Whatever the reason, this problem means that, once again, the land records are not a good guide to who was actually living on the frontier, and they make it difficult to document the early years of the German settlement.

Our richest sources on the lives of the German settlers are religious. The Germans were considered very pious even by the standards of the eighteenth century, and church membership was central to their lives. "One cannot," wrote Tracey and Dern (1987:131), "emphasize too strongly the vital cohesive nature of religion for these early Germans." The German settlers belonged to two denominations, Lutheran and Reformed, and both groups founded churches within a few years of their arrival. The first Lutheran service along the Monocacy was held in 1734 by a young preacher named John Stoever, who was passing through on his way to Virginia; since no church had yet been constructed, the service was held in a hay loft (Cunze 1948:60). Stoever passed through the region again in 1738, and this time he organized the local Lutherans into a congregation, which elected deacons under his supervision. By 1743 they had built a

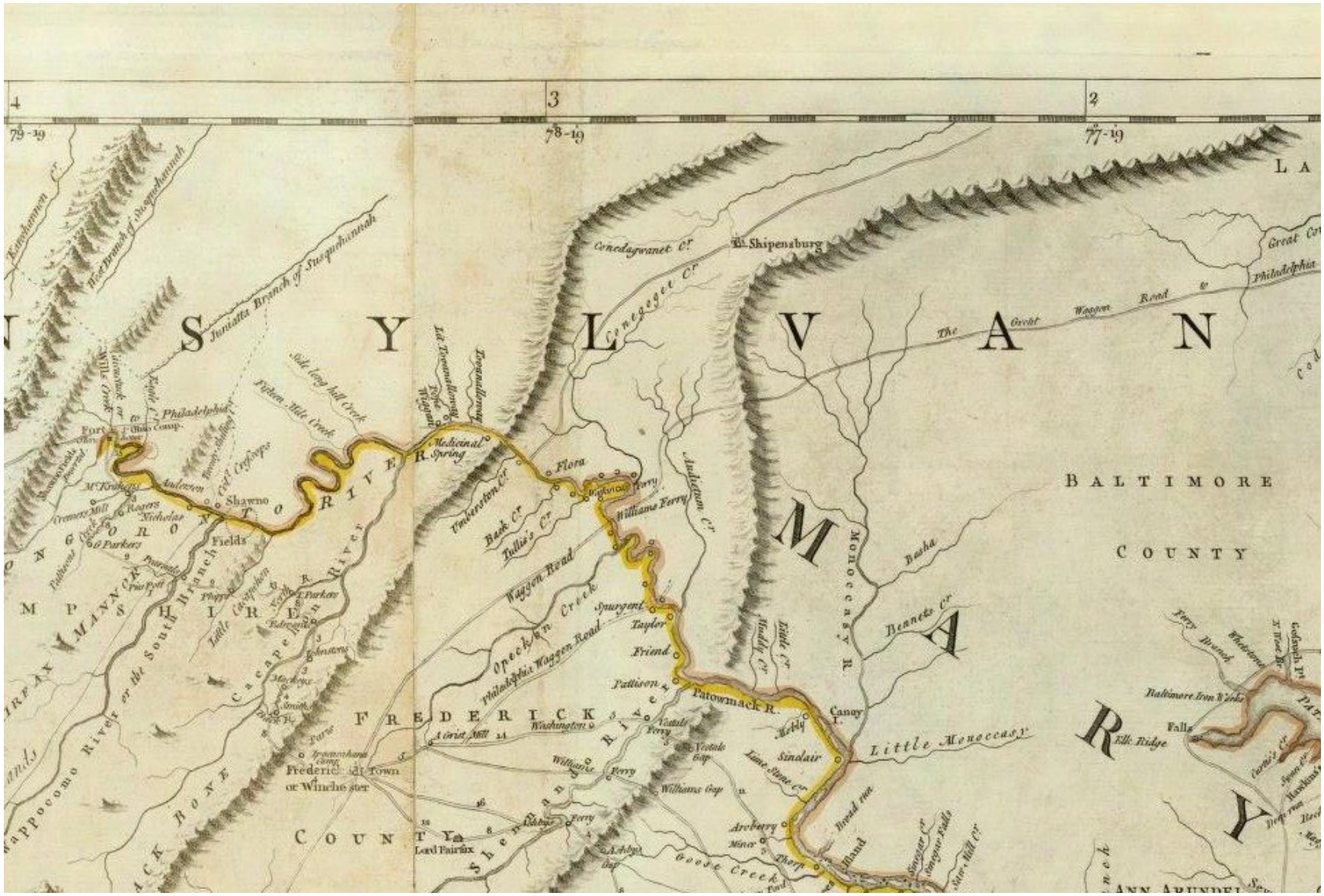


FIGURE 34: Detail from Fry and Jefferson's 1755 Map of Virginia, Showing the Two Roads into Maryland's Great Valley

church, along the Monocacy River east of modern Thurmont. After Frederick town was founded in 1745, a second Lutheran church was built there. In 1747 Henry Melchior Muehlenberg, a noted Lutheran organizer, visited Frederick, and he estimated the German population of the Monocacy Valley at around 1,000 (Tracey and Dern 1987:145). In that same year the first Reformed service was held at Frederick, and a year later the first German Reformed church in Maryland was built in the town. We know less about religious affairs in the Conococheague settlement, but apparently there was a Reformed congregation there by 1747, and by 1750 the Lutherans had built a church in a place called Cedar Ridge (Cunze 1948:80).

Although there were Lutheran and Reformed churches along the Monocacy and Conococheague Creek, none of these congregations had an actual full-time minister until the 1760s. Ministers from Pennsylvania visited when they could. These frontier preachers visited as many as six or seven small churches in rotation, braving the dismal roads and unpredictable weather. One remarked that people liked to say that Maryland was paradise for workers and farmers, but it was hell for preachers and horses (Cunze 1948:66). In the absence of regular preaching, the congregants read to each other from the Bible and other religious books. So keen was the settlers' desire to hear preaching that Lutheran and Reformed churches, bitter rivals back in the old country, sometimes invited visiting ministers from the other faith to preach to them, and these invitations were generally accepted. The Monocacy Lutherans were once taken in by a fraud who called himself Carl Rudolf and hinted that he was really the Prince of Wuerttemberg. He carried impressive-looking credentials proclaiming him to be a Lutheran minister, but he was really, as one complaint put it, "a thief and a drunkard." Taking advantage of America's poor communications, Rudolf visited almost every German settlement from South Carolina to New Jersey before he was finally arrested (Cunze 1948:64; Tracey and Dern 1987:144).

One reason the Palatine settlers did so well in Pennsylvania and the Great Valley was that the climate was ideal for the kind of agriculture they knew at home. While the English settlers moving west up the Potomac remained focused on the rivers and sought out floodplains and other low-lying land, the Germans went first for well drained uplands. They liked to have a small stream on their land for watering cattle, but they did not generally build along the Potomac or the Monocacy. From the first they emphasized wheat as their main crop, although they gradually also learned to grow corn and tobacco. English settlers sometimes delayed complete clearing of their fields when they first settled the land, leaving stumps or dead trees standing amidst their crops, but the Germans always removed all obstacles from their fields and plowed them in straight rows. Most German farmers did not own slaves, but by 1760 a few of the wealthier ones did. German settlers began to build strong stone houses within a decade of their arrival in the valley, and several houses from the 1740s and 1750s are still standing (Figure 35).

The German population had always included a number of craftsmen, and the Germans showed a greater desire to build and live in towns than other Marylanders. Frederick was laid out in 1745, and under the patronage of Daniel Dulany, a wealthy Annapolis-based speculator, it quickly grew into a thriving community. By 1750 its population was estimated at 1,000, which, if correct, would have made it the largest town in Maryland (Brugger 1988:70). The development of a community west of the Blue Ridge was interrupted by the French and Indian War (1754-1763; see THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, below), when most of the valley's inhabitants fled the fighting and lived as refugees in Frederick or Baltimore. The war probably helped Frederick,



FIGURE 35: Home of Samuel Hager in Hagerstown, Built ca. 1740

which served as a supply base for British forces and hosted many refugees. Fighting died down in Maryland after 1760, and many refugees returned to the valley. Several attempts were made to found towns around that time, including Jacob Funk's Funks town and Williamsport. The most successful was a new town laid out by an ambitious German immigrant named Samuel Hager. Hager had taken out his first land grant in the valley in 1739, and by 1750 his holdings had grown to 2,500 acres. In 1762 he received permission to lay out a town, which he intended to call Elisabeth after his wife. Instead, his own name stuck. Hagerstown was composed of 520 lots arranged around a central square. The population of the valley was surging as refugees returned and new settlers poured in, and Hagerstown grew rapidly; by 1772 it was already described as "a settlement which is making quick advance to perfection" (Cunze 1948:82). When Washington County was created in 1776, Hagerstown was made the county seat. The success of this venture made Samuel Hager wealthy, and he was the first of Maryland's Germans to turn his new status into political influence. In 1771 he was elected to the Maryland House of Burgesses. His rise tested the tolerance of the colony's British elite, however, and an attempt was made to bar him from the House on the grounds that he was not a British citizen. It took a special vote of the House to seat him. Hager also tested his new influence in other directions, becoming a director of George Washington's Patowmack Company (Cunze 1948:83), which sought to improve transportation on the Potomac and eventually to connect Virginia and Maryland with the Ohio Valley.

German settlers throughout the colonies became strong supporters of independence from Britain. This is sometimes seen as surprising, given that they had not taken much part in politics before

then and were not much interested in the Enlightenment philosophy that inspired many American rebels. But their revolutionary stand does fit well with some of their traditions (Cunze 1948:131). Since they were not members of the Church of England, they had always resented the mandatory church taxes collected in many colonies, including Virginia and Maryland. They also had no special emotional attachment to Britain, and many of them probably resented the dominance of colonial life by Englishmen with close ties to the mother country. British control of American trade was also an annoyance, since Germans did not see why they should not trade with Dutch merchants. Germans joined in all of the revolutionary activities from 1763 onward, including protests against the Stamp Act and the Intolerable Acts, the organization of Committees of Public Safety, boycotts of British goods, and, after 1775, the raising of the Continental Army.

The Revolution brought German settlers more fully into American political life, and they also continued to thrive economically. At the same time, they began to lose some of their distinctiveness as a people, especially their language. Our best evidence about the language spoken by Maryland Germans after the Revolution comes from church records. Dieter Cunze made a careful study of this evidence, and he found that in both Frederick and Washington counties a major shift from German to English took place between 1810 and 1840 (Cunze 1948:195). At the Lutheran church in Frederick, English sermons were first preached in 1808, and by 1816 they were preached on a regular basis. By 1840 all regular sermons were in English, with German sermons limited to certain Sunday afternoons. This same church kept all of its records in German until 1822, and after that in English.

The Lutheran church in Hagerstown kept a record of how many people attended communion services in each language, and Cunze tabulated the data from selected years (Table 4). At Cumberland all services were held in German in 1820; between 1820 and 1845, some services were held in German and some in English; after 1845, all services were in English.

TABLE 4: THE SWITCH FROM GERMAN TO ENGLISH AT HAGERSTOWN LUTHERAN CHURCH, 1820 TO 1835

	PERSONS RECEIVING COMMUNION IN:	
	German	English
1820	214	48
1824	203	118
1828	181	189
1835	90	206

As one might expect, certain older people resisted this change. In 1844 a number of people left the Hagerstown Lutheran church and tried to found their own, German-speaking church, but their effort failed and the church minute book records their forgiveness and re-admission to the congregation (Cunze 1948:207). But the process of assimilation proceeded despite their efforts, and by mid-century intermarriage between German and English families was becoming common.

The Archeology of the Frontier

It has proved frustratingly difficult to find clear archeological indications of early frontier settlement anywhere along the Potomac. Although written records make clear that European settlement of the Great Valley was well underway in the 1730s, we lack clear archeological evidence of Europeans in the area before around 1750. The most likely reason is that the people who settled on the frontier in those first decades lived without many of the things that enable archeologists to find and date colonial sites. One way to find out how many and what kind of objects people had in their homes is by consulting probate inventories. These lists of possessions

were made after property owners died. They were made by neighbors, not professionals, and the care with which they were taken varied greatly. Some seem quite detailed and precise, but others seem slapdash. By comparing inventories to archeological artifact lists, we can see that they omit many items of small value, such as chickens, sewing equipment, tobacco pipes, and some ceramics. However, inventories are still a very useful way to learn about the material lives of people in colonial America.

The inventory of early settler Charles Friend, made in 1752, is in many ways instructive (Table 5). The most valuable items are a servant boy (£10), livestock (£92 6s) and goods produced on the farm: bricks, planks, leather, wool, homespun cloth, linen, and hemp (£27 5s). The bricks were probably intended for a new brick house, or else a new chimney, so after at least 20 years in the valley, Friend was probably still living in a small log cabin. Tools are also important in the inventory, including a loom, cart wheels, plows, a crosscut saw, and a wolf trap; the total value of these items is £12 8s. The most valuable consumer goods are beds (£18 7s). Besides the beds, the only other furniture listed is "10 Old Wooden Chairs." One need not imagine that these were the only furnishings in the house, since rough tables and benches were so cheap that they were rarely mentioned, but the inventory certainly bespeaks a rather Spartan lifestyle. Of consumer goods—which, along with nails, brick, and window glass, are the most common archeological finds—Charles Friend owned very little. The list includes books, "a parcel of old pewter," knives and forks, one frying pan, three iron pots, four earthen pots, and two small earthen basins. The small quantity of pottery, which is the easiest way to date colonial sites, is particularly disheartening. More of Friend's dishes were wooden (two platters, seven trenchers [plates], and "a parcel of old wooden vessels") than ceramic, and of course wood does not survive in the ground. None of the readily datable fine ceramics are mentioned, just some pots and basins that were probably made of coarse red earthenware. The archeological record of Charles Friend's household would consist of some sherds of earthenware, bits of brick, nails, perhaps some window glass, a little animal bone, some pieces of pot iron, tobacco pipe fragments, and perhaps also some bottle glass. Such a collection could date to any time between 1700 and 1820. And Friend was a rather prominent man who lived in the area for at least 20 years; many other frontier families owned less and stayed in one place for only a few years.

Log cabins, the characteristic home of the frontier, are also frustrating for archeologists. They could be built on very flimsy stone foundations that are easily obliterated by plowing. They could be built with no nails at all, although it was common to use a few in the doors and window shutters. They were generally built without glass windows, although some might be added later. Some had stone or brick chimneys, but the most common chimney was made of logs and lined with mud, and they therefore left next to nothing for archeologists to find.

If we did discover a settlement from the early frontier period, how would we know it? Consider two artifact collections from sites along the Potomac. The first (Figure 36; see box at right) is from a site near Ernstville, on a high terrace about 200 feet from the river, which was surface collected with good visibility.

HISTORIC ARTIFACTS FOUND NEAR ERNSTVILLE
one sherd of a scratch blue, white salt-glazed stoneware teacup (1744-1775)
one sherd of brown-glazed red earthenware
one sherd of whiteware (1820 to present)
one piece of a mold-blown olive bottle glass bearing the letters HALF PINT
one unidentified nail

TABLE 5: PROBATE INVENTORY OF CHARLES FRIEND, 1752

Inventory of Charles Friend

January 10th 1752 An Inventory of the Goods and Chattels Rights and Credits of Charles Friend Deceased, Appraised by us –

	£	s	d
To His Pocket Cash and Wearing Apparel	5	4	-
To This Riding Horse Bridle, Saddle & Halter	10	-	-
To 2 old Horses & 2 Ditto very old	11	-	-
To 4 Sorry Wheels for a Wagon & Irons	2	-	-
To 30 Sheep	9	-	-
To 8 Old Cows & 13 Small Cattle, 5 Calves	32	-	-
To a kiln of Bricks	10	-	-
To 2 Old Plow Shears and apparel of horse harness & 2 forks	2	5	-
To a Parcel of Swine	3	2	6
To 3 Stocks of Bees	1	-	-
To an Old Loom 1 Read & Geer's	2	-	-
To a parcel of planks	1	14	6
To a parcel of Old Wooden vessels	1	17	-
To a parcel of Wool Weight 43lbs	2	3	-
To a parcel of Leather	-	12	6
To a parcel of Working Tools	3	8	6
To a parcel of Cart Irons & other old Iron	2	18	6
To 4 Earthen Potts 2 Do Small Basins	-	2	6
To 1 old Crosscut saw	-	15	-
To a wore out pair small Still yards	-	3	-
To a parcel of old knives & forks	-	4	6
To 3 old Razor's & other old Trifles	-	8	-
To a parcel of old pewter	2	10	-
To 2 Wooden platters 7 Trenchers & other lumber	-	14	6
To a parcel of Old Books	-	15	-
To 5 old Horse Bells	-	18	-
To 3 Small Iron Potts all Broke and Hooks & one pair of Tongs	1	5	-
To 2 Old Guns	5	10	-
To 10 Old Wooden Chairs	-	13	-
To 1 Old Frying Pan	-	5	-
To a Parcel of Wheel Boxes & Bedsteads	4	7	-
To 4 small leather beds & furniture	14	-	-
To 39 Yards of Home Spun Cloth	4	17	6
To a parcel of Linen thread & flax	2	14	-
To a parcel of Hemp	4	4	-
To 1 old Grindstone	-	5	-
To a Large Woolf Trap	-	15	-
To 2 Young Mares 2 Ditto Horses very old	12	10	-
To a servant boy	10	-	-
To a Mare 19 Years old & four colts	5	10	-
	170	11	6

Thomas Prather and John Hawthorn } Appraisers
Robert Turner and Gabriel Friend } nearest akin
Enoch Enochson and Thomas M Hogg } Creditors



FIGURE 36: Historic Artifacts from a Site near Ernstville

What is one to make of this collection? Scratch blue stoneware is hardly a common object to find lying around in a field, and its presence suggests that a colonial farm may have stood nearby. The whiteware and the lettered bottle glass date to the 1800s, but the redware, nail, and brick could also come from an early colonial site. Is this the remains of a tenant farm with a short occupation? Possibly, but four artifacts is not much on which to hang such a conclusion. There cannot have been a residence here in the nineteenth or twentieth century because at such sites archeologists always find hundreds of artifacts. Logically, therefore, whatever process brought the later artifacts to the site could have also brought the earlier ones. Use of a metal detector on the site did not produce any further artifacts. A quick check of a recently plowed field on the inland side of the canal, outside the park, showed that no significant colonial site was present there, either, so what we found was not the outlier of a larger site nearby.

The second collection, which was surface collected near Falling Waters from a site within standing corn, is even smaller: three sherds of brown-glazed earthenware and one sherd of gray stoneware. All the pottery could date to any time between 1700 and 1850. Does this collection represent trash dumping, night soil dumping (kitchen trash was often discarded into privies), or a frontier farm?

The earliest period of European settlement remains very difficult for us to see, either in the written records or in the ground.

Spring Dell Road Site

One definite eighteenth-century farm site was identified during this project, the Spring Dell Road Site, located on a small hill about 200 feet from the Potomac, about 5 miles south of Williamsport. Here the Potomac floodplain is rather narrow, and the ground slopes up rather steeply just behind the site. A large Indian site surrounds the historic farm site, but that Indian hamlet had probably been abandoned by AD 1550 so it is unlikely that signs of the Indians' presence were still visible when European settlers arrived 200 years later. This site was surface collected during the first year of this project, and in the last year archeologists returned to dig shovel tests and test units, one of which was located in the center of the historic site. In all, 257 historic artifacts were recovered (Table 6).

Most of the material dates to the period 1770 to 1820. During that time (and before) the property must have been occupied by tenants because the owners are all known to have lived elsewhere. Those tenants had decorated dishes, including teacups and saucers. Their house was probably a log cabin because rather few nails were found, but it probably had a brick hearth or even a brick chimney and at least one glass window.

When was the log cabin at Spring Dell Road built? The earliest datable objects are sherds of white salt-glazed stoneware, which was introduced in 1720 and became rare after the Revolution, and a type of red-bodied slipware made between 1740 and 1780 (Figure 37). Based on the dates of these artifacts, the site could have been founded as late as 1770, although 1760 might be a better guess. But before 1760 this area was the frontier, and living conditions would have been much simpler than in long-settled districts. Recall that the only ceramics listed on Charles Friend's 1752 inventory were earthenware pots and basins, and the Spring Dell Road Site

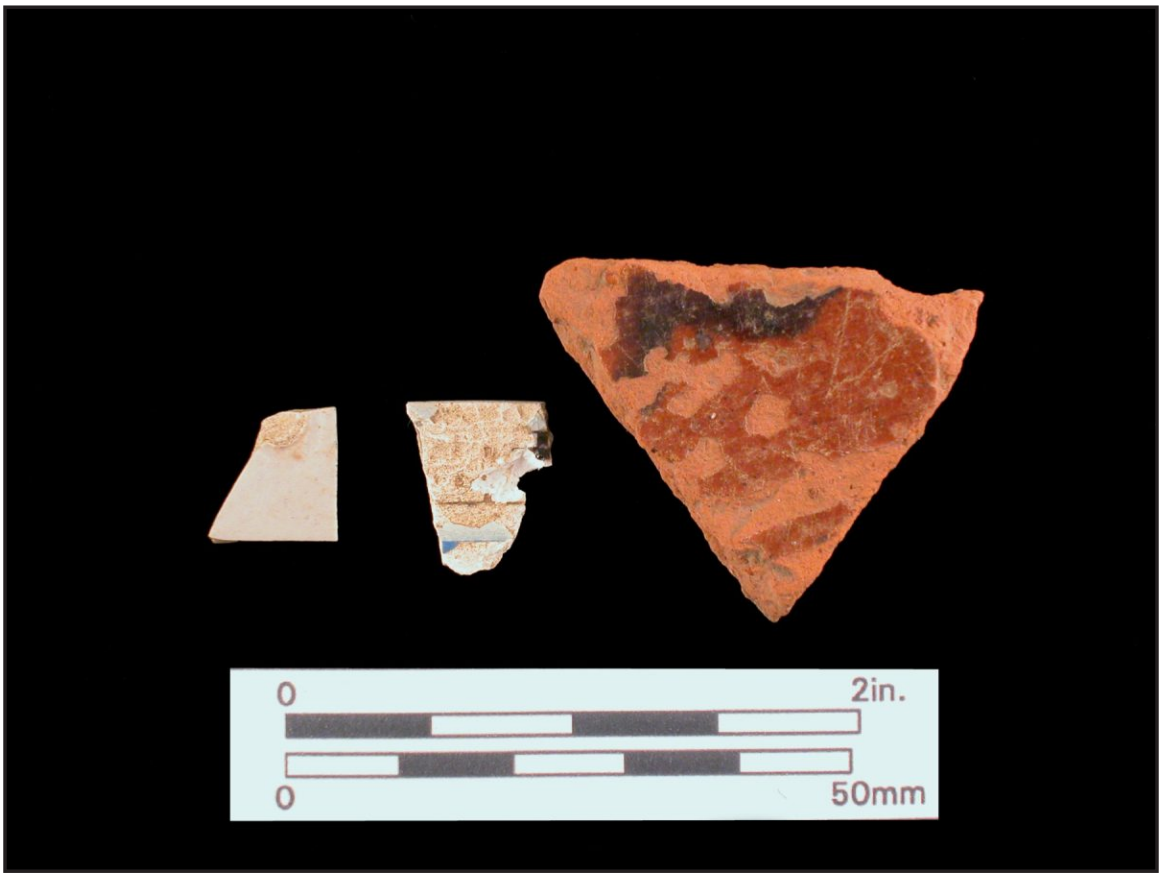


FIGURE 37: Historic Pottery from the Spring Dell Road Site

produced 132 sherds of this kind of simple earthenware. It seems quite likely that the site was occupied well before 1760, possibly as early as 1735, but definitive evidence is lacking and probably always will be.

TABLE 6: HISTORIC ARTIFACTS FROM THE SPRING DELL ROAD SITE

ARTIFACT TYPE	COUNT	ARTIFACT TYPE	COUNT
Stoneware		Red-bodied slipware (1670-1850)	13
White Salt-Glazed (1720-1805)	3	Red-bodied slipware, white-slipped interior with green glaze (1740-1780)	2
Buff Salt-Glazed	1	Hard-paste porcelain, hand-painted	2
Creamware		*Bottle glass*	
Plain (1762-1820)	36	Olive	8
Green glaze (1759-1775)	1	Clear	1
Brown glaze on interior (1762-1820)	1	Amber	1
Pearlware		*White clay tobacco pipes*	
Plain (1775-1840)	13	Bowl fragments	2
Hand-painted, blue (1775-1820)	6	Stem fragments, bore diam. 5/64"	2
Shell-edge, blue (1775-1840)	1	Window glass	1
Dipped (1790-1840)	3	*Nails*	
Transfer-printed, blue (1800-1840)	1	Handwrought (before 1820)	16
Whiteware, plain (1820-present)	1	Unidentified nail	1
Coarse red earthenware, glazed	132	Miscellaneous iron	3
Coarse red earthenware, unglazed	6	**Total**	**257**

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR (1754-1763)

The British and French fought each other repeatedly from 1066 to 1815, with intervals of peace. It is conventional to divide this conflict into various separate wars and to offer plausible reasons for each, but a disinterested observer might simply conclude that fighting each other was what British and French men did. Once both nations had established colonies in the New World, it was inevitable that they would fight each other in the Americas, too. At first there was little conflict, mostly because both had a great fear of the Spanish. But by 1688, when the ascension of French enemy William of Orange to the British throne began a major war in Europe, the two sides were secure enough in their North American possessions to begin fighting across the Atlantic. They fought four wars in the Americas between 1688 and 1763, and some of the years of peace were none too peaceful (Powell 1998).

The New World empires of the two powers were very different. The British Empire was based on a string of colonies occupied by European settlers. In 1750 these colonies were still confined to the Atlantic Coastal Plain, but their populations were growing rapidly. As these colonies grew, they took over more and more land that had belonged to Indians, so their relations with Indians tended to be bad. The French Empire was much larger but contained few Frenchmen. Instead it was based on a series of trading posts that spanned the Continent from Quebec to New Orleans and on treaty relations with Indians throughout this vast region. The conflict therefore pitted a comparatively small number of French soldiers and adventurers with a large number of Indian allies against a much larger number of British settlers. The British also had Indian allies, in part because their superior shipping and access to a greater number of ports meant that they could usually offer European goods at lower prices than their French competitors. The Five (later Six) Nations of the Iroquois played a special role in this conflict, trying to maintain their independence and even expand their power by playing the French and British against each other.

The conflict we know as the French and Indian War began in 1754 over the Ohio Valley. The French wished to retain control of the interior of the continent and keep the British confined to the Atlantic coast, but the growing population of the British colonies was pressing ever westward, and speculators like the Ohio Company were already making land claims along the Ohio by 1750. The French asserted ownership of the territory, citing both the constant presence of Jesuit missionaries in the Great Lakes region and the 1669 expedition of Robert de La Salle, who explored the waters of the Ohio under the French flag (Powell 1998). At length they struggled for control of the Ohio region. Fighting on this remote colonial frontier led to a general war between Britain and France that spread throughout eastern North America and also to other colonial outposts in the Caribbean, India, and the Philippines. Winston Churchill argued that the French and Indian War was, in fact, the “first world war” (Churchill 1957).

The British had little interest in the Ohio Valley until the 1740s, when traders, mostly from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, made commercial contacts with trans-Appalachian Indians (Powell 1998). Until then British colonists had mostly avoided crossing the Appalachian Mountains. In 1744 an agreement was reached between the British and the Six Nations in which the Iroquois asserted the right to sell large tracts of land to British settlers. In 1749 the Ohio Company was formed by land speculators in England, Virginia, and Maryland. The Company

quickly set up a headquarters and trading post at Wills Creek (present-day Cumberland, Maryland) (Figure 38). The Virginia governor provided the company an initial 200,000 acres in the Ohio Valley and an additional 300,000 acres if certain conditions were met, including the settlement of 200 families and the construction of a fort for their protection. That same year the governor-general of New France ordered an expedition of 300 men to travel down the Ohio River and firmly establish the claims of France in the territory. Led by Captain Pierre-Joseph Celoron de Blainville, the force was to assess the attitude of Native American tribes toward the French interest and assert French sovereignty by placing seven lead plates along the Ohio River and its tributaries, each bearing a message proclaiming the territorial claims of the French crown (Powell 1998).

The French efforts to solidify their control over the Ohio Territory did not stop the British colonists. In September 1750 the Ohio Company sent Christopher Gist to establish partnerships with Indian tribes inhabiting the valley and also to scout for sites for future settlements. Following the success of his first expedition, Gist was sent on a second mission to scout the way for a road from Wills Creek to a landing on the Monongahela River.

While Gist was gathering information for the Ohio Company, the French were preparing to further reinforce their position in the contested territory. The governor-general of Canada received permission to build a series of forts on the Ohio and its tributaries. In 1753 a contingent of over 1,000 soldiers left Canada to build three forts along the upper Ohio River, near the western frontiers of Pennsylvania and Maryland. To successfully hold the British to the eastern side of the Appalachian Mountains, forts alone would not suffice; the French had to gain support of the various Indian tribes. Many Indians were eager to ally themselves with the French because they were increasingly frustrated after nearly a decade of British settlement on their lands. By 1750 some tribal leaders had decided that only armed retaliation would slow the pace of British migration (Powell 1998).

The construction of French fortifications on the upper Ohio River did not go unnoticed by the British. In 1753 Virginia Governor Robert Dinwiddie ordered a young Major George Washington to deliver a letter requesting that the French cease the construction of fortifications and withdraw from lands in the Ohio Valley claimed by Britain. The French refused the request. Governor Dinwiddie, determined to press his claim, moved to repel the French with force (Powell 1998). In February 1754 Governor Dinwiddie commissioned Captain William Trent to construct a fortification at "The Forks" (present-day Pittsburgh). A month later a French army of 600 soldiers dislodged the small British garrison. Trent's half-finished fort was captured by the French and renamed Fort Duquesne.

News of the British loss and capture of the fort reached George Washington at Wills Creek. Washington had originally received orders to take 150 men to support the work of Captain Trent. Undaunted by the news of Trent's retreat, Washington proceeded north to a clearing called Great Meadows. There he intended to improve a nearby road and wait for additional reinforcements from Colonel Fry. While working on improvements in the area, Washington received word that 500 French and 100 Native American allies were en route. The British soldiers quickly constructed a makeshift stockade, naming it Fort Necessity, and waited for the approaching French. After a day of fighting, the battle ended with the surrender and subsequent withdrawal of



FIGURE 38: Snow's 1754 Map of Western Maryland Showing the Location of Wills Creek (lower right)

Washington's force back to Wills Creek. With the defeat of Washington, Wills Creek assumed a new importance in the protection of the British frontier (Powell 1998).

Less than two months after the loss at Fort Necessity, actions were taken in Maryland and Virginia to create a major fort at Wills Creek. Construction of the fort was initiated by Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia. The fort was planned to house about 200 soldiers on a 1.5-acre parcel (Powell 1998). In September 1754 Colonel James Innes was appointed as the commander at Wills Creek, and shortly afterward he began construction of the fort. In a month the small stockade was completed, and Colonel Innes named it Fort Mount Pleasant (Ansel 1984). The town of Cumberland, western terminus of the C&O Canal, later grew from this small fort.

After completing the outer defenses, Innes began work on the barracks. At that time Maryland Governor Horatio Sharpe traveled to Wills Creek to inspect the progress. Unimpressed with the fort's small size, Sharpe ordered the Maryland Company, at that time stationed there, to proceed in constructing a much larger stockade on the high ground east of the current exterior walls. Fort Mount Pleasant, although located within the Maryland colony, was a fort of the British Crown, and the garrison was composed of mostly Virginia colonial regulars. A small company of 30 men from Maryland eventually joined in the defense. Fort Mount Pleasant served as an important staging area of the 1755 Braddock campaign and the later Forbes expedition of 1758.



FIGURE 39: A Sketch of a British Grenadier from the Braddock Campaign

The British government viewed the French presence in the Ohio Valley as a threat that could not be ignored, and they sent major armed reinforcements to the colonies. On February 19, 1755, Major General Braddock arrived in Virginia to take command of the British forces in North America. He decided to attack Fort Duquesne as his first priority, and in March he assembled his forces at Alexandria, Virginia (Figure 39). On April 10, 1755, Braddock's forces began their march to Wills Creek. Braddock divided his force during the march, sending one through northern Virginia, led by Sir Peter Halkett, and the other along the Potomac in Maryland. The second group was ferried to the Maryland side of the Potomac River just above Rock Creek. There the regiment led by Colonel Dunbar marched through Frederick and over South Mountain to the mouth of the Conococheague Creek (Figure 40). After crossing the Potomac at Conococheague, Dunbar's men rendezvoused with Halkett north of Winchester.

Braddock arrived at Fort Mount Pleasant in early May with approximately 2,500 British Regulars and colonial militia, about 100 Indians, and several hundred women (Powell 1998). His first order of business was to reinforce the defenses of the fort, which he renamed Fort Cumberland in honor of his friend the Duke of Cumberland. He also appointed the Ohio Company scout, Christopher Gist, as his personal guide for the remainder of the campaign.

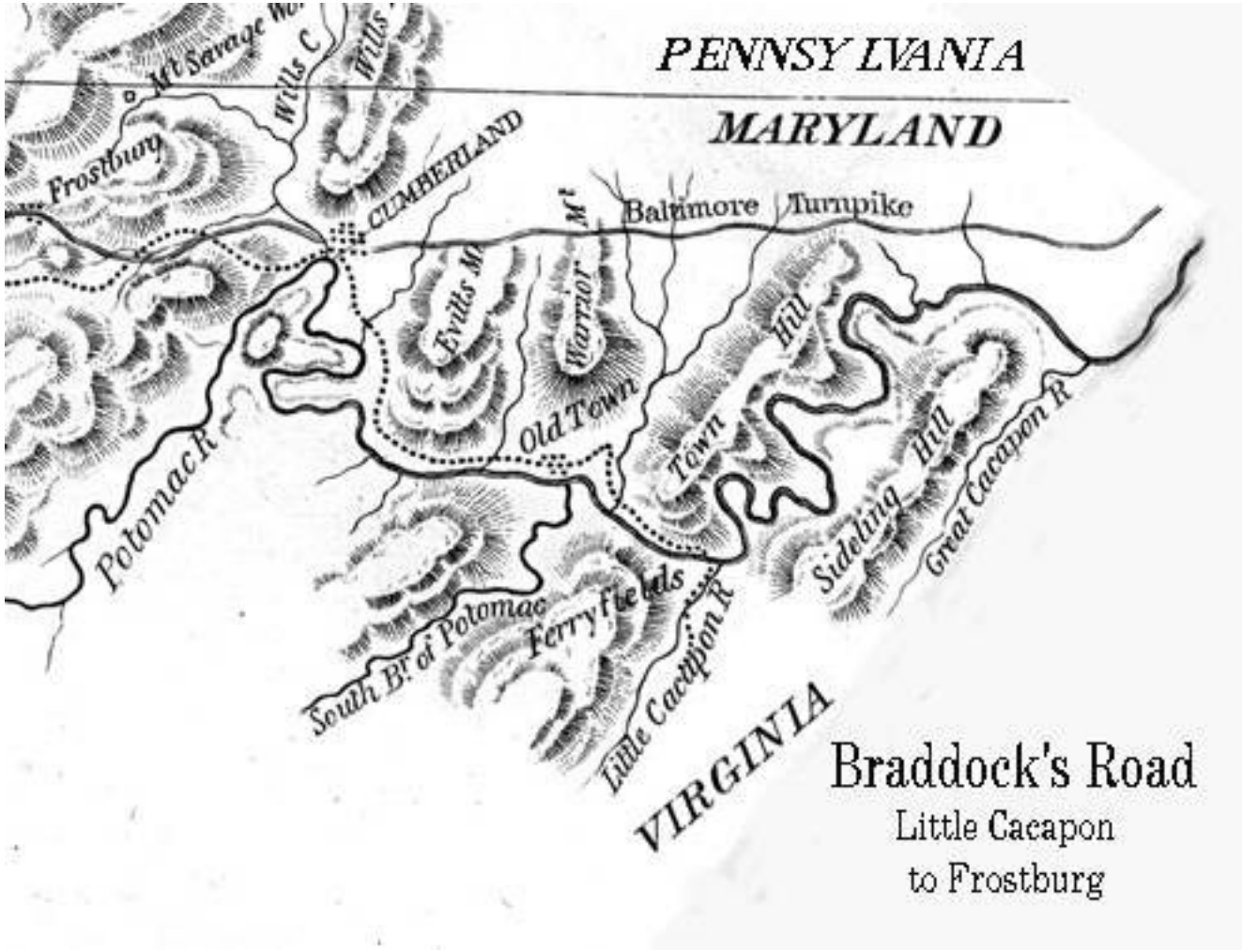


FIGURE 40: Map of Colonel Dunbar's Route to Cumberland

SOURCE: Fort Edwards Foundation 2003

General Braddock's army remained at Fort Cumberland for approximately three weeks while they waited for the supplies needed to continue the march to Fort Duquesne. During those weeks Braddock alienated all but a handful of the Indians he brought with him. On May 16, less than a week after his arrival, Braddock issued an order banning the distribution of liquor to the native population by British or colonial soldiers. He further made the trading of goods with Indians punishable by court martial. Only eight of Braddock's original 100 Indians stayed to finish the expedition.

On May 20, 1755, Benjamin Franklin joined the army with 91 supply wagons from Pennsylvania. Nine days later, Braddock's army began its 110-mile journey to the French fort. The expedition progressed slowly, in some cases moving only 2 miles a day. Frustrated by their pace, Braddock divided his force once again. The main body of 1,500 soldiers moved ahead with the general, while a smaller force under Colonel Dunbar followed with the supply wagons, which were impeded by the rugged terrain. Braddock's 1,500-man army outnumbered the much smaller French force of about 250 French regulars and Canadian militia; however, the French commander at Fort Duquesne, Captain Daniel-Hyacinthe-Marie Lienard de Beaujeu, also received the support of over 600 Indian warriors. The French and the Indians ambushed the British column in the forest about 9 miles from the fort. With the advantage of high ground and tree cover, the French and their Indian allies defeated Braddock's army. Of the 1,500 soldiers he took into battle, almost 900 were either killed or wounded. Among the casualties was General Braddock, shot in the side. He was carried from the field but succumbed to his injuries three days later.

Colonel Dunbar assumed command of the British force and marched the survivors back to Wills Creek. After spending 11 days at Fort Cumberland, Dunbar led his army to Philadelphia to set up winter quarters. His departure in early August left the Maryland frontier vulnerable. Lacking trained troops and adequate fortifications and supplies, frontier residents were ill prepared for the onslaughts of the French and their Indian allies (Powell 1998). On hearing the news of Braddock's defeat, Governor Sharpe set out to Frederick Town and ordered all the militia officers of Frederick County (present-day Washington and Frederick counties) to meet him. Once all had arrived, Sharpe proposed to draft a company of between 60 to 80 men to serve without pay and to take and impress provisions for themselves wherever they could be found (Williams 1906).

Although no major action of the war took place in western Maryland, the territory saw a great deal of fighting in the way of raids by Indian allies of the French. Farms in present-day Frederick, Washington, and Allegany counties were constant targets. Raiding parties, traveling down the Potomac River or south from the Pennsylvania frontier, attacked settler farms, often killing or capturing the residents. After Dunbar's retreat in late summer 1755, residents of western Maryland had little protection, save Fort Cumberland and the small fort at Cresap's farm. Cresap's Fort was built in 1742 and was located along the Potomac River near Oldtown (in present-day Allegany County). The fort was originally built as a trading post but was fortified in 1755 following the events in the Ohio Valley (Miller 1995). Two other small fortifications were also constructed prior to Braddock's defeat. Allen Killough's Fort and Thomas Mills's Fort were both constructed in 1754. Killough's was built near Indian Springs, and Mills's stockade was erected near Millstone, 1 mile from the Potomac River (Miller 1995). Both were little more than settler's homes with stockades.

Attacks on frontier farms escalated after Braddock's defeat at Fort Duquesne, but raids had already occurred before the battle. Thomas Stoddert, in a letter to the *Maryland Gazette*, reported that on July 5, 1755:

> Many Families from the back Settlements, are come in as far as Col. Cresap's, where they are fortifying themselves against the Indians. That among the many Murders committed by the Indians, one was within three Miles of Fort Cumberland [*Maryland Gazette* 1755a].

The same paper includes a letter from Virginia, reporting:

> That two Parties of Indians and French, amounting together to about 130 Men have been seen in the Frontier Counties, where they have destroyed 9 Families, and plundered and burnt their Habitation.[*Maryland Gazette* 1755a].

Even General Braddock's army was not safe from the occasional Indian raid. As his army was marching out from Fort Cumberland, they were often the target of small groups of raiding Indians. In letters from Braddock's camp, dated June 30, 1755, the *Maryland Gazette* was informed:

> That the troops under his Command were, at that Time, within 30 Miles of Fort Du Quesne, which they hoped to see in five Days from that Time. They had lost only four Men on their March from Fort Cumberland, one of whom was carried away alive, and three left scalpt, and no Enemy had then appeared for three Days [*Maryland Gazette* 1755a].

Prior to the events of early 1755, the Maryland House of Assembly was slow to secure the frontier. Virginia had claimed much of present-day western Maryland and Pennsylvania as its own. Many Marylanders viewed the hostilities with the French as a Virginian problem and were slow to raise necessary funds to support a conflict in which they had little to gain. Also, the representatives of the eastern counties of Maryland were, at that time, in little to no danger of Indian attack.

The ever increasing number of raids in the frontier and the news of Braddock's defeat did little to spur action by the legislature in Maryland. On July 1, 1755, a bill entitled *An Act for Securing the Western Frontier of this Province Against the Depredations of the French and their Indian Allies* was debated before the House of Assembly. The assembly voiced their concern for the welfare of the inhabitants of the western frontier, but they could not, in good conscience, pass the bill. Support for the western settlements became caught up in a decades-old dispute between Maryland's legislature and the colony's Proprietor: the legislature refused to authorize funds unless the Proprietor agreed to pay taxes on his own lands, and the Proprietor refused to pay taxes to the legislature, so the stalemate prevented action even in a time of war. It has been estimated that by October 11, 1755, 100 Marylanders had been murdered or carried away (Giddens 1935).

In many of his letters, Maryland Governor Sharpe expressed his frustration about the legislature's unwillingness to act. He reported in a letter to his brother, John, dated October 24, 1755:

> In this part of America Affairs remain as they were when I writ last, we lose an Inhabitant sometimes by Parties of Indians that made Incursions on our Frontier while the Lower House & us concerning the Appreciations of Ordinary Lycence Fines puts it out of my poor wretches whose distant situation exposes them to the Barbarities of our Savage Enemy [Sharpe 1755].

As reports of increasing attacks by marauding Indians flowed into Annapolis, Governor Sharpe was compelled to take some initiatives to protect his western borders. In August 1755 Sharpe had given the promise of protection to those settlers who would not desert their plantations. That same month he ordered Lieutenant Stoddert of the Maryland militia to begin constructing a fort in the North Bend Country (Ansel 1984). Named Fort Stoddert, it was located near Little Tonoloway Creek, west of Hancock in what is now Tonoloway State Park. The blockhouse had a garrison of approximately a dozen men and served as a haven for settlers during Indian raids.

In addition to Fort Stoddert, Governor Sharpe also commissioned the construction of three more blockhouses near North Mountain. Sharpe ordered that each of these forts be manned by a small garrison. The garrisons would be responsible to patrol from one fortification to another, including Fort Cumberland. In the case of alarm, they were also required to receive the neighboring families into their protection (Williams 1906).

Blockhouses were simple structures consisting of a large house, usually two or three stories, surrounded by a stockade that was too high for invaders to scale and too substantial to be penetrated by a rifle bullet (Williams 1906). Timber blockhouses were usually constructed with the top floor projecting outward from the bottom. The houses were built with embrasures, or loopholes, through which the refugees could shoot those attacking. When danger threatened a frontier community, settlers would travel to the nearest blockhouse, frequently remaining in it for extended periods, only venturing out in groups to cultivate the fields and gather food (Williams 1906). Settlers would typically return to their farms in late fall when the threat of attack lessened as raiding parties left to return to their winter settlements.

Some settlers who did not want to wait for the government built their own fortifications. In some cases these settler forts were later enlarged with the help of government funds. One example of this type of fort was Fort Mills. Located along the North Mountain Road, Fort Mills was constructed by Thomas Mills on his plantation. Eventually, Mills was provided the resources and support by the government to reinforce and expand his fort; often such privately built fortifications were constructed with the expectation that the owners would receive money or supplies from the government once completed. One such fort was built by Isaac Baker, also a lieutenant in the Maryland colonial militia, on Conococheague Creek near the Pennsylvania border. For fortifying the hill near his home, Baker received a reward of £20 from Governor Sharpe (Powell 1998).

Between the end of 1754 and the beginning of 1756, more than a dozen small stockades or blockhouses were erected for the protection of Maryland's western frontier. Often these fortifications were too small to house a large enough garrison to serve the isolated homesteads they were built to protect. These installations also could not prevent raiding by small, mobile bands of Indians and French irregulars (Powell 1998).

By October 1755 conditions in the western frontier had become increasingly dangerous. Reports from the western settlements continued to reach Annapolis telling of wholesale destruction and abandonment of settlements. One such story appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* on October 9, 1755, written by an anonymous person returning from Colonel Cresap's Fort. He reported:

> That last Wednesday, in the Morning, the Indians had taken a Man Prisoner, who was going to Fort Cumberland from Frazier's, and had also carried off a Woman from Frazier's Plantation, which is four miles on this side of Fort Cumberland. The same Morning, they

> fell in with a Man and his Wife, who had left their Plantations, and were retiring into the more populous Parts of the Country; they shot the Horse on which the Man rid, but as it did not fall immediately, he made his escape; the Woman, it is supposed, fell into their Hands, as neither she nor the horse on which she was riding, have been seen or heard of. The same Party of Indians have also killed or carried off Benjamin Rogert, his Wife, and seven children, and Edward Morle, of Frederick County [*Maryland Gazette* 1755b].

On the same day, the *Maryland Gazette* reported that settlements on Patterson's Creek and near Stoddert's Fort, near Tonoloway Creek, were vacated either through Indian attack or abandonment:

> On Patterson's Creek many Families have, within this Month, been murdered, carried away, or burnt in their Houses, by a Party of these Barbarians, who have entirely broke up that Settlement.
>
> Another Person, who left Stoddert's Fort last Sunday, acquaints us, that the Inhabitants of that Part of the Country were in the greatest Consternation; that near 80 Persons were fled to the said Fort for Protection, and many more gone off in the greatest Confusion to Pennsylvania. This has been occasioned by an Express that was sent Lieutenant Stoddert and the neighborhood by Col. Cresap, advising them, that a Party of 17 Indians had passed by his House, and cut off some People who dwelt on the Town Creek [*Maryland Gazette* 1755b].

Settlements and farms on the western frontier were continually attacked through the end of 1755. By November settlements on Great Cove and Tonoloway Creek were destroyed. Refugees from Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, reported that over four days, more than 20 plantations were burned to the ground. By the end of the year, the increasing Indian raids forced surviving settlers to abandon their farms and return to the safer, more populated parts of the colony:

> A great Part of Cumberland County, which was thick settled, now lies desolate. Numbers of Cattle, Sheep, and Hogs, have been killed and carried off by the Indians [*Maryland Gazette* 1755d].

Following Braddock's defeat and Dunbar's retreat to Pennsylvania in the summer of 1755, a large British military presence would not be seen in Maryland for the remainder of the war. Campaigns to capture French fortifications and territory in New York, Pennsylvania, and Canada would occupy the British crown until the declaration of peace in 1763. In addition to constructing a line of defenses in western Maryland, Governor Sharpe and the House of Assembly were also required to commission their own militia for the defense of the colony. In late 1755 several groups of volunteers set off from Annapolis and the surrounding areas to help settlers to the west. On October 23 a group of 31 volunteers under the command of Captain Alexander Beall and Lieutenant Samuel Wade Magruder left for the lower part of Frederick County. A week later Colonel Henry Ridgley and 30 volunteers left for the same destination. At the same time a third group of approximately 60 men set out westward from Prince George's County to aid in the defense of the western frontier.

The militia raised in the lower counties was supplemented by ranging parties organized by frontier settlers for the defense of their homes. These parties were usually led by a commissioned colonial officer and consisted of a handful of local farmers and tradesmen. The group functioned as the garrison at community blockhouses and tracked Indian raiding parties that threatened the local

farms and towns. Some such ranging parties were led by Colonel Stoddert on Tonoloway Creek and Colonel Cresap near Conococheague Creek and Oldtown. Colonists received extra incentive to kill Indian attackers in 1756. On March 6 Governor Sharpe was authorized by both houses to use:

> . . . the sum of Five hundred Current money out of the Public monies now in their hands to be by him laid out and disposed of as well as in the fulfilling and performing his Engagements with the Parties Raised by his Command by the Lieutenants Baker and Shelby and for the payment of the sum of Ten pounds Current money to any of the Inhabitants of this province or Friend Indian who have or shall Kill or Scalp or take alive any Indian Enemy. . . [Pleasants 1942].

It is likely that the practice of scalping was conducted by both Indians and colonists prior to this legislation. What this authorization did, however, was attach a commercial incentive to an act already performed by both sides of the conflict. Officers in charge of the ranging parties were also authorized to pay the government bounties for scalps brought to them by members of their group, independent colonists, and Indian allies. After nearly two months of the initial legislation, additional funds were allocated. On June 2, 1756, Sharpe wrote the Board of Trade:

> £1000 to be given as a Reward or Bounty to such as shall act offensively against our Indian Enemies & produce their Scalps in testimony for their having so done [Pleasants 1942].

After a period of quiet on the western frontier during the winter of 1755-1756, the spring thaw also brought with it new accounts of violence along the upper Potomac River. On March 4, the *Maryland Gazette* reported, citing people recently returned from Frederick County, that in the last week three boys had been killed and scalped while three members of one family had gone missing. Another letter to the paper reported that all the homes near Little Cove in Pennsylvania were burned during a separate attack. Finally, an account from Stoddert's Fort tells that one house, located a half mile from the fort, was burnt and the owner's sheep were thrown on to the fire alive. As additional accounts of attacks reached the more populated areas in eastern Maryland, residents began to show their desperation for action to be taken. In an editorial printed in the *Maryland Gazette*, publisher Jonas Green asserts:

> Our Accounts from the Westward, are truly Alarming: All the Slaughters, Scalpings, Burnings, and every other Barbarity and Mischief that the mongrel French, Indians, or their Chieftain the Devil, can Invent are often perpetuated there and approach us nigher and nigher [*Maryland Gazette* 1756a].

Around the same time, Mr. Green began publishing additional editorials by citizens concerned about an imminent attack on Annapolis and other coastal communities by the French and their Indian allies. They suggested that as the enemy began to gain a secure foot hold on the western frontier, they would start to make advances further east. By the spring of 1756, all of Maryland had begun to view the western counties as the front line of the war.

For the settlers in western Maryland, these sentiments had been felt for some time. In the late fall of 1755, Governor Sharpe experienced first-hand the conditions the settlers faced. In early November 1755 Sharpe marched with several companies of volunteers from Frederick Town to assist the western inhabitants. While there he received:

> . . . Frequent alarming Accounts, of the Damages done by the French and their Indians on our Borders, but have room to hope that they are told with Exaggeration. This is certain, that they frequently commit Murders, and have laid much of the Country waste, and that they draw nigher in nigher [*Maryland Gazette* 1755d].

As Indian raids increased in the spring of 1756, Governor Sharpe became convinced that a larger, more permanent fortification was needed in the west. Fort Cumberland, he thought, was too remote, and the small stockades and blockhouses could not hold enough men to defend the isolated homesteads (Powell 1998). British military engineers suggested that a new fort be built at the confluence of the North and South branches of the Potomac River, near Cresap's Fort in Oldtown. By 1756 many of the settlements in that area had been abandoned or destroyed, however, and a site near the Potomac River on a spur of North Mountain was chosen instead.

For nearly two and a half months Maryland's Lower House of Assembly debated the importance of such a costly measure. In that time attacks on settlements continued mostly unabated. During the months of March and April, accounts from the frontier continued to flow into Annapolis. In a March letter from Conococheague, a man reported that he had witnessed several dead and a number of houses burned near Stoddert's Fort. When the anonymous man arrived at the fort, he saw the garrison under arms, expecting to be attacked at any minute. From there he made his way to Combe's Fort, located on the Maryland-Pennsylvania border. Four men and over 40 women and children had taken shelter in the stockade. They informed the man that they had been under constant attack by Indians and during one siege were close to losing the fort to fire.

Security on the frontier had degraded to the level that settlers soon became the victims of not only Indian attack but also crimes of opportunity by fellow settlers. Individuals, hoping to earn some money, would take advantage of people's fears by posing as Indians. According to Thomas Mills, who had recently returned from the settlement at the mouth of Conococheague Creek:

> That the Inhabitants of that Part of Frederick County, were lately thrown into the greatest Consternation by some Persons firing Guns, and hallowing with a Design to terrify the Inhabitants, and make them desert their habitations. Upon the People's flying, these Villains went and robbed their Houses [*Maryland Gazette* 1756b].

Not even word of these atrocities could immediately break the political logjam in Annapolis. Alarmed at the slow pace of legislative action, Colonel Thomas Cresap threatened to march his company of riflemen on Annapolis from Oldtown if more money for defense was not promptly forthcoming (Miller 1995). On May 16, 1756, Governor Sharpe announced in a letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania that both houses of the Assembly had arrived at an agreement on the defense of the western frontier. In a May 27 letter to his brother, Governor Sharpe provided details on their decision:

> After sitting 13 Weeks both Houses of our Assembly have agreed and I have passed an Act for granting the Sum of £40,000 Currency or £25,000 Sterling for His Majesty's Service. Eleven of the forty are appropriated to build & support a Fort on the North Mountain at present our Westernmost Frontier tho more than 60 miles on this Side of Fort Cumberland & as many to the Eastward of some settlements that our People had made before these Disturbances happened & Continued on some time after General Braddock's Defeat. To Garrison this Fort and range on the Frontiers two Compromises of

> 100 Men each are to be raised & kept up till next February. The remainder of the Money granted is to be expended in Carrying on an Expedition to the westward & making Presents to the Southern Indians . . . [Sharpe 1756].

Construction of Fort Frederick began in June 1756. The fort was named in honor of Maryland's Lord Proprietor Frederick Calvert, sixth Lord Baltimore, in hopes that this would induce him to make a large contribution toward the cost of its construction. Governor Sharpe was anxious to complete the new stone fort; reports arriving from Pennsylvania told of numerous wooden forts being burned by hostile Indians. Sharpe thought it imperative that he personally supervise the construction:

> This journey of mine, I think the more necessary as Engineers or persons of Military Experience & Skill are not to be found in this part of the World & as Fort Cumberland & the little places of Defense that have been built in the Two Neighboring Colonies are by no means such as I would have built on the Frontiers of this Province [Sharpe 1756].

In mid-June Governor Sharpe left Annapolis for western Maryland to oversee construction of the fort. He was met at the site by Colonel Dagsworthy and his garrison of 200 men, who until recently had been posted at the now abandoned Fort Cumberland. Sharpe returned to Annapolis a month later, confident that the work on the fort would continue on schedule. The fort was built on a 1.5-acre parcel of the 150-acre tract purchased by Governor Sharpe. The sandstone fortification was square with four corner bastions, each defended by cannon (Figure 41). The walls were 17 feet tall, 2 feet thick at the top and 4 feet at the base. Inside the walls were two timber enlisted men's barracks and an officers' quarter. The fort was designed to house the 200 enlisted men and the officers required for staffing a military post of its size (Powell 1998).

In late 1756 a party of about 50 Indians under the command of a French captain crossed into western Maryland with the orders to proceed to Fort Frederick. Once there they were to meet

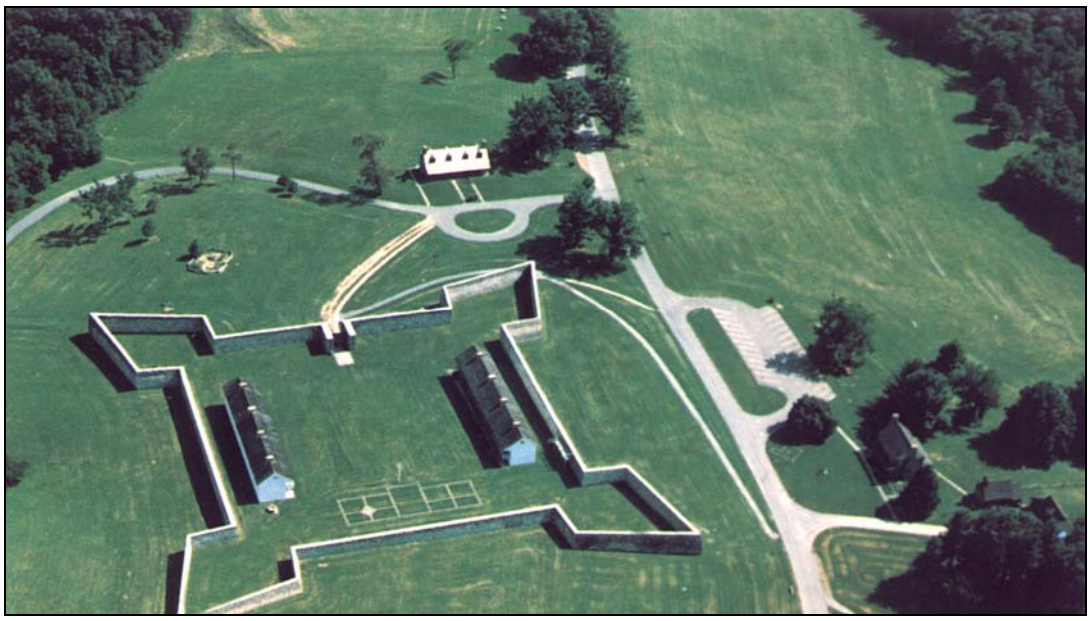


FIGURE 41: Fort Frederick

another party of 50 Indians and capture the fort and destroy its magazine. The French and Indian force traveled to the fort by way of the Potomac River. After reaching some of the settlements on the Virginia side of the river, the party looted and burned several of the settlers' homes. Upon reaching the Capon River, the 50 Indians were met by a group of frontiersmen led by Captain Jeremiah Smith. The French and Indian raiding party was defeated and the French officer killed. The second group of 50 Indians, unable to rendezvous with the first group, was also encountered and defeated on the Capon River by a group of settlers. With both parties in disarray, the plan to attack Fort Frederick was abandoned.

Fort Frederick was completed in the first months of 1757 and protected western Maryland until 1763. In that time the fort was never attacked and served as a haven for settlers during numerous raids by Indians on nearby settlements. Colonel Dagsworthy and his garrison of provincial regulars were replaced in February by a regiment commanded by Colonel Joseph Chapline, founder of Sharpsburg, Maryland. When it became evident that the colonial forces could not serve as an effective deterrent to the French, British regulars were brought to America (Powell 1998). The regiment that saw the most service at Fort Frederick was the 60th Regiment of Foot Royal Americans, who were recruited from many of the Germans already living in the colony.

Although Fort Frederick never experienced any action during the war, it served as a staging point for both the British Army passing through the area and its Cherokee and Catawba Indian allies. As part of the bill that was passed in the House of Assembly, a portion of the money given in the defense of western Maryland was also provided to create alliances between Maryland and the Cherokee and Catawba tribes. The interests of these tribes were served in that the alliances earned them goods and supplies to help in their fight against the Iroquois enemies to the north. At the same time the Maryland government received much needed support in their fight against the French. Iroquois occupied with Cherokee and Catawba attacks on their own settlements were less likely to carry out distant attacks on Maryland settlements.

In spring 1757 one such alliance was formed at Fort Frederick. In late April a Cherokee chief by the name of Wahachey arrived at Fort Frederick with 62 braves seeking to make an agreement of friendship and to "take up the Hatchet" against the French (Powell 1998). When this news reached Annapolis, Governor Sharpe sent £100 worth of presents and authorized the fort's commissary to supply them with provisions during their stay. By May Sharpe had sent two representatives, Daniel Wolstenholme and I. Ridout, to Fort Frederick to meet with the Cherokee. After several days a treaty was signed pledging their mutual support for each other against their enemies. Wahachey and his Cherokee warriors subsequently crossed the Potomac into Virginia.

Native American and French incursions into Maryland continued as Fort Frederick was being built. In the last six months of 1756, several more accounts of Indian raids were reported in the *Maryland Gazette*. On July 8, in a letter, Colonel Cresap reported:

> Yesterday about 11 o'clock as myself and 12 more men were on our Way down when we got as far as the End of the Fence below the Saw Mill, by which the Men, who were before following one another, got all standing together, and while they were in that Posture were fired on by a Party of Indians. Two of the Men who were behind in the Road, fired and kill'd one of the Indians on the Spot, another says he fired at 3 Indians who stood together . . . [*Maryland Gazette* 1756d].

Seeing that they were outnumbered, members of Cresap's company fled the area. Cresap and a companion, named Spencer, after failing to convince some of the men to stop running, thought it best to return home. Once back at their stockade, Cresap reunited with several members of his party and was able to muster a total of 20 men to return to where the fight occurred. Cresap's letter continued:

> I immediately muster'd up about 20 Men, and went to the Place of Action, where we found a Indian lying dead, together with the three men before mentioned; we scalp'd the Indians, and found several things belonging to them, such as Wampum, Silver Wrist-bands, Ear-Rings & a French Gun, together with our own Mens Guns. Our Dead we brought home [*Maryland Gazette* 1756d].

Colonel Cresap's account continued with a description of a number of attacks on settlers on his way from his fort in Oldtown to Fort Cumberland. When he arrived at Fort Cumberland, he learned of a man and a boy who had been attacked by Indians. The man was found dead, but no remains of the child were found.

A month later an account from Fort Frederick recalled an attack on the settlements at the head of Conococheague Creek, where several had been taken prisoner. Following the attack the Indians were discovered by a detachment from the fort. Lieutenant Prather, who commanded the detachment, wrote:

> . . . That there was an Englishman armed with the Enemy, and several others that did not appear to be Indians. A Person who was carried away from the Head of the Conococheague by a Body of forty Indians, made his escape from them, and cam to Conococheague last Saturday; he says, That the Party by whom he was taken, are all, except five, returned to Fort Duqesne, with ten Prisoners and several scalps. The five are left as Spies, and to do any Mischief that they shall find themselves able to execute, in order to break up the Settlements on Conococheague. That, in twenty-two Days, all the Parties that are gone off are to return again, and make another Attempt on one of the Pennsylvania or Maryland Forts, as they shall be advised by the five who are left and to get and give them Intelligence [*Maryland Gazette* 1756e].

The warnings received from the man from Conococheague about the second planned attack of the settlements along the creek arrived too late. Only a couple of days after the man gave his account, a letter from the frontier tells of an Indian attack that almost destroyed the settlement on Conococheague. The letter continued by describing how Colonel Cresap and about 60 men from Fort Frederick were in pursuit of those Indians thought responsible. Although unable to track down the enemy, Cresap's group did stumble across a large, empty Indian camp on an abandoned plantation near Great Tonoloway Creek. The letter describes the camp as a place of general rendezvous for a considerable time (*Maryland Gazette* 1756e). After following the trail for two days with no success, the men returned to Fort Frederick.

The following year the number of incursions into western Maryland declined dramatically. As in the previous years, raids by hostile Indians started as early as late February and early March. In 1757 the first attack on a frontier settlement did not occur until the last week of June; the second and last series of attacks reported for the year occurred over a month later, on August 4 (*Maryland Gazette* 1757).

The first attack occurred at the house of George Pew, near Antietam. A 17-year-old boy, Samuel Wilson, was shot and scalped close to the house. Pew along with his wife and eight children were able to escape, but his house was burned to the ground. Another attack around that time occurred even further east of settlements raided in previous years. It was reported that a group of Indians shot Alexander M'Keasy at his house on Tom's Creek, near the town of Frederick. During the attack he was mortally wounded, and his son was carried away. A third victim, simply described as "a Negro girl," was cut in the neck with a tomahawk but was expected to survive. Aside from these two instances, no other raids were reported on the Maryland frontier.

After two years of constant attacks, few frontier settlements remained in western Maryland. By 1757 many of the plantations and settlements between Fort Cumberland and Frederick were destroyed, leaving the owners either dead or as refugees in the lower counties. Others abandoned their livelihoods on the frontier for protection in the more populous regions of the colony. 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). As attacks in Maryland declined drastically during 1757, events of the following year drew the colony even further away from the main theater of war.

The summer of 1757 signaled a change in Britain's war policy with France, the effects of which would not be felt in North America until the following year. William Pitt was appointed Prime Minister of Britain in June 1757. Pitt, known for his vanity and arrogance, gave new energy to an old plan to drive the French from North America (Powell 1998). In the years following Braddock's defeat, Britain was continually on the defensive in the North American colonies. A succession of British generals were unable to stop French advances in Pennsylvania, New York, and Canada. Eventually the British government, bombarded by pleas from the Colonial governors, decided that an offensive was indeed needed. Under the direction of William Pitt, the new strategy called for an all-out offensive against French holdings in Canada and New France. Specifically, Pitt's offensive would include the conquest of Nova Scotia, the reduction of the cities of Quebec and Montreal, an expedition against the forts on the Hudson River-Lake Champlain waterway, and the retaking of Fort Duquesne (Powell 1998).

Pitt's strategy was helped by France's continued neglect of their North American territory. The French and Indian War was just one part of a global war, with the North American territories just one of many areas of contention between the French and British Empires. France, preoccupied with the war on the European continent, was unable to spare the resources needed for the full support of her colony.

Of the various campaigns against New France, the capture of Fort Duquesne most affected the colony of Maryland. After the loss of the fort to the French in 1754, Fort Duquesne served as the staging area for countless French and Native American raids on the frontier settlements of the colonies. Even Washington repeatedly urged that only an offensive against Fort Duquesne could save the situation. In March 1757 John Forbes was promoted to Brigadier General and assigned to command an expedition to recapture the former British fort.

By May 1757 Forbes had obtained a promise of at least 3,000 provincial troops from Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. In addition, Forbes expected an additional 1,600 soldiers composed of both British Regulars and the newly formed Royal Americans. He had hopes of also enlisting the aid of approximately 600 Cherokee and Catawba warriors. Of the 6,000 troops Forbes expected to raise in the coming months, only 500 of that number were promised by Maryland's Governor Sharpe (Powell 1998).

Several months after giving the promise to contribute troops, Maryland finally provided soldiers to the Forbes expedition, although it was not what the general had expected. According to a return of July 17, 1758, the Maryland troops participating in the campaign consisted of four captains, eight lieutenants, four ensigns, eight sergeants, four drummers, and 248 privates for a total strength of 276 men (Miller 1995). Although the Maryland colony contributed far less than they had originally promised, the overall strength of the Forbes expedition still surpassed the general's early estimates. By the start of the campaign, General Forbes had created an army 6,406 strong.

In the early planning stages of the Forbes campaign, Fort Frederick and Conococheague were considered as assembly sites for troops and supplies (Powell 1998). From there the army was expected to march to Fort Cumberland and onward to Fort Duquesne via the road cut during the failed 1755 Braddock campaign. In the spring of 1758, Forbes decided that a different staging area and route to the French fort would be in the best interests of the expedition. The new plan called for the army to assemble at Raystown (present-day Bedford, Pennsylvania). From there the army would complete a slow and methodical march to Fort Duquesne, ensuring that lines of supply and communication would remain intact. The new route also provided the path of least resistance. During the 1755 campaign Braddock's route had crossed the Monongahela River several times, eventually cutting him off from nearly half of his force and most of his supplies. The Forbes road cut a straight path over the Allegheny Mountains to the fort, avoiding all the rivers and other obstacles that had plagued the Braddock campaign.

At the end of July, the Forbes expedition reached Loyalhanna Creek, located only 40 miles east of Fort Duquesne. As they began cutting the last stretch of road, Forbes sent an advance column of 800 soldiers to assess the French defenses. As the British reached the fort, they were repelled by a force of over 800 Indian warriors. Following the defeat, and with the prospect of spending several months in the middle of the mountains during the dangerous Pennsylvania winter, Forbes decided to delay his attack on Fort Duquesne until the following spring.

As Forbes was cutting his way through the Allegheny Mountain wilderness, Conrad Weiser and Frederick Post were on the other side of Pennsylvania attending talks with representative of several Ohio Valley tribes in Easton, Pennsylvania. In October the Indian representatives, including those from the Shawnee and Lenape (Delaware), signed the Treaty of Easton. The details of the treaty included an end of Indian support to the French in the Ohio Valley in return for the promise by Pennsylvania representatives not to build settlements west of the Allegheny Mountains at the conclusion of the war.

As the treaty was being concluded in Easton, the commander of Fort Duquesne learned of the French loss at the fortress in Louisburg, Nova Scotia. Believing that attack on his fort was

imminent, the French commander ordered 500 Canadians and 100 Indians to destroy the British depot at Loyalhanna with the hopes of delaying Forbes' attack until the spring. On October 12 the attack began. The action lasted two days, and resulted in a French defeat. During the course of the fighting, a captured French prisoner provided some vital intelligence about the strength inside Fort Duquesne (Powell 1998). Forbes had been overestimating the resources of his enemy, but he now knew that the French were running out of supplies and their Native American allies had already begun to desert the fort.

Despite the impending winter, Forbes ordered the last stretch of road cleared for a march on the French. As the British army approached the French bastion, the commander was rushed to evacuate in good order (Powell 1998). On November 24 the remaining French troops spread powder around the fort and detonated the magazine. The next day Forbes's triumphant army entered the scorched and ruined Fort Duquesne, signaling the end of the French threat to the frontier territories of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

Between 1759 and 1760 additional British successes at Fort Ticonderoga, Fort Niagara, and Quebec City, and a great naval victory at Quiberon Bay on the west coast of France, eventually led to the complete withdrawal of French forces from the Ohio Valley and Canada. Although the war would not officially end for another two and a half years, most of the fighting in North America ended on September 8, 1760, when the Marquis de Vaudreuil surrendered Montreal, and effectively all of Canada, to the British. The war formally ended with the Treaty of Paris on February 10, 1763, which resulted in the loss of all French interests in North America east of the Mississippi River. It also forced France to cede all of Canada to the British, excluding two small islands off the coast of Newfoundland. In return, the French regained control over the Caribbean Islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique, which were both conquered by the British during the war. Although the quantity of territory lost by the French was enormous, the economic value of these two small islands far outweighed that of Canada.

In Maryland the British victory in the war reopened opportunities in the western frontier, and in the colony as a whole, at least for a short time. Following the 1758 Treaty of Easton and the sacking of Fort Duquesne, Indian raids on western settlements came to an end. Former landholders and new settlers returned to the lands between Fort Cumberland and Frederick town. Settlements that had been abandoned only two years previously were resettled. As the British claim on the Ohio Valley was ratified with the 1763 Treaty of Paris, settlers from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland would pass through "The Narrows" at Wills Creek to points west. Towns like Frederick, Wills Creek, and Conococheague (now Williamsport), flourished as settlers and traders made their way to and from the Ohio Valley. All of this prosperity was, however, short-lived.

In May 1763 the Indian tribes that had become dissatisfied with British rule in the Great Lakes region formed a loosely organized resistance to British encroachment into their lands. Led by the Ottawa chief Pontiac, 13 tribes banded together in opposition to colonial settlement around the Great Lakes, the Ohio Valley, and Illinois country. Although much of the fighting during the uprising took place around the Great Lakes, there was considerable activity by Shawnee and Delaware (Lenape) Indians on the Maryland-Pennsylvania border.

The attacks reported in Maryland were reminiscent of those that had occurred only a few years earlier. As quickly as the western frontier was resettled following the French and Indian War, it was abandoned just as suddenly as Delaware and Shawnee raiding parties crossed into Maryland, burning settlements and killing their inhabitants. To many who witnessed these new attacks, they were often compared to those experienced following Braddock's defeat in 1755. In one letter from Frederick, dated July 19, 1763, the author sums up the panic felt by colonists during the Indian uprising:

> Every day, for some time past has offered the melancholy scene of poor distressed families driving downwards through this town with their effects, who have deserted their plantations for fear of falling into the cruel hands of our savage enemies, now daily seen in the woods. And never was panic more general or forcible than that of the back inhabitants, whose terrors at this time exceed what followed on the defeat of Gen. Braddock, when the frontiers lay open to the incursions of both French and Indians. Wilst Conococheague settlement stands firm we shall think ourselves in some sort of security from their insults here. But should the inhabitants there give way, you would soon see your city and the lower counties crowded with objects of compassion, as the flight would in that case become general [*Maryland Gazette* 1763].

Murders and kidnappings continued in the Maryland frontier until the fall of 1764. At that time a force of 1,500 British soldiers marched west with Colonel Henry Bouquet to the Delaware and Shawnee villages on the Muskingum River. Once they arrived, the British commander issued an ultimatum to the Indian leaders to return all white captives within 12 days. Just before the deadline, over 200 captives were turned over to be restored to their families (Powell 1998). Another 100 prisoners were also promised as soon as they could be collected from neighboring villages.

The restitution of prisoners by the Shawnee and Delaware leaders signaled the end of hostilities between Indians and Maryland colonists spawned by Pontiac's Rebellion. Just as they did following the French and Indian War, farms and settlements in western Maryland were reestablished. Many of the small blockhouses and forts dotting the landscape were abandoned and fell into disuse. Western Maryland became a gateway to the west as settlers traveled through the Maryland valley to settle in open lands along the Ohio River. Over the next decade industry and agriculture prospered in western Maryland; however, in just 12 years the western counties and Maryland as a whole would be thrown into conflict once again as the British colonies began their fight for independence.

THE EARLY IRON INDUSTRY

After the war life in the Great Valley resumed patterns that had already been established. By 1770 all of the land in the valley had been claimed, and most of the suitable acreage had been cleared for farming.

One important development of the late colonial period was the establishment of an iron industry. Iron tools were always needed on frontier farms, so demand was strong. Other necessities of an iron industry—iron ore, fuel, and limestone—were also present. Enormous quantities of wood were needed to produce charcoal for the blast furnaces, and the clearing of forests for agriculture provided a ready source of fuel. Iron ore was present at several places along the Potomac, especially on the Virginia side just north of Harper's Ferry, on land claimed by Israel Friend in 1734. This area was known as "Friend's Orebank," and its presence was one factor that made possible the rise of Harper's Ferry as a center of arms manufacturing.

The first iron foundry west of the Blue Ridge was Vestal's Bloomery, established in 1742 on the Shenandoah south of Harper's Ferry by Thomas Mayberry (or Maybury) on the plantation of William Vestal. In 1763-1764 John Semple (or Sample) built a blast furnace at the junction of Elk Run and the Potomac (on the Virginia side), which he called "Keep Triste" (from the motto emblazoned on the Sample family crest). Reportedly he acquired Friend's ore bank from the Virginia entrepreneur, John Ballendine, who had purchased the property from Israel Friend's son, Jacob. Semple bought a huge tract (10,202 acres) on the Maryland side, also called "Keep Triste" (Scharf 1882:986), probably to provide wood for the furnace. This tract presumably included the hamlet now known as Samples Manor (1.5 miles east of MM 65), where the Kennedy Farm is located, now famous as the place where John Brown planned his 1859 attack on Harper's Ferry. Semple's business and land speculation ended in bankruptcy in 1773.

Another iron industry entrepreneur of this period was Lancelot (or Launcelot) Jacques. Local historians have given a variety of incompatible and garbled accounts of his career, sometimes making him an immigrant even though he was almost certainly the son or grandson of Great Valley settler Jeremiah Jacques (for example, Scharf 1882:1295-1297). Jacques went into business with Thomas Johnson (later the first governor of the State of Maryland) around 1763. In 1768 they purchased a 9,860-acre tract known as Green Springs, located on the Potomac River about 2 miles south of Fort Frederick, where they built a furnace called the "Fort Frederick Iron Mill" in 1768 (Wehrle 2000). This venture was not very successful, however, and the partners looked for a better furnace location. Johnson, in partnership with his brother, built the Catoctin Furnace in 1770. According to Scharf, the partnership was dissolved in 1776. Jacques remained at Green Spring. Although some accounts place his furnace on the Potomac, in the C&O Canal Park, nineteenth-century sources place both his operations and his residence at the present-day hamlet of Green Spring Furnace, a mile up the creek from the Potomac confluence and well beyond the park boundary (Figure 42). Indeed, ruins of the nineteenth-century furnace (on the site of the earlier works) were identified there in 1971 and recorded as an archeological site. No traces of an earlier furnace near the river, if it ever existed, have yet been identified. According to Scharf (1882:1294), the furnace was bought by J. Dixon Roman & Co. in 1848 and was rebuilt

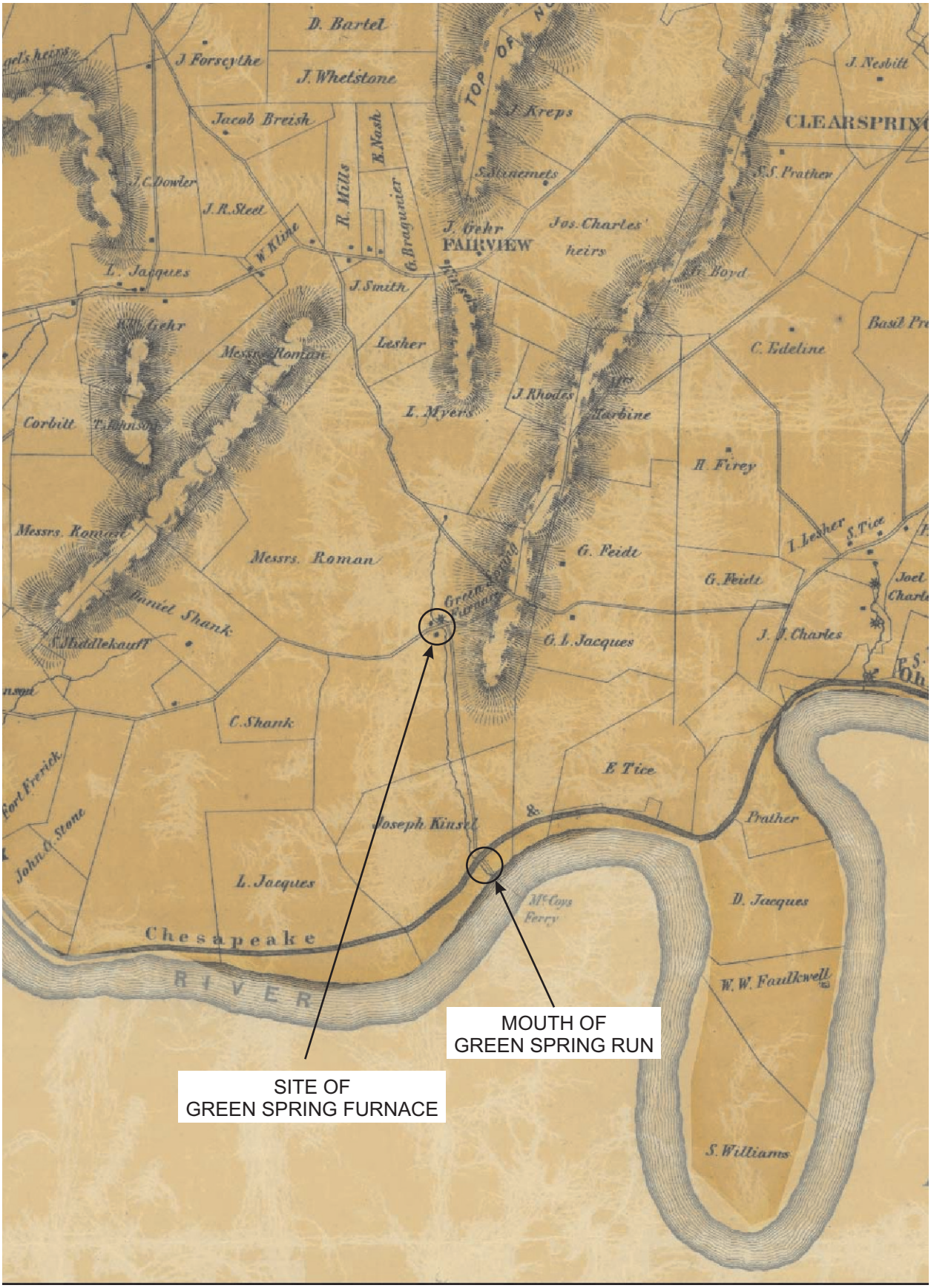


FIGURE 42: Location of Green Spring Furnace on an 1859 Map

in 1866 by J.B. Haines & Co. (Moses Whitson, Jeremiah B. and Mark Haines). The furnace then operated only until 1874. Lancelot Jacques was acquainted with George Washington, and he was one of the investors in the original Patowmack Company.

One of the most important industrial enterprises along the whole length of the C&O Canal was the Antietam Iron Furnace (Figure 43). The initiation of iron manufacture at Antietam Furnace is generally dated to around 1765 (Frye 1984:18; Hahn 1997:119); however, there is much debate and confusion about the exact date and the names of the first proprietors. Scharf (1882:1218) reported that "these locally famous works…were erected by Wm. M. Brown about sixty years ago, and were operated by Ross, Bell & Henderson, of Baltimore." William Brown is presumably the "W. Brown" who appears as the owner of a tract on the north side of Antietam Creek, opposite the furnace buildings, on the Taggert (1859) map (Figure 44). But it is obvious that Scharf got the date of the furnace's construction wrong. "Ross, Bell & Henderson" were Dr. David Ross, Samuel Beall, Jr., and Richard Henderson, who seem to have been the original investors and operators in the 1760s. No additional information has been found about Henderson. Beall family genealogical sources report that Samuel Beall was one of the owners of the Frederick Forge and identify the latter with the Antietam works; however, there is another site known as the Frederick Forge, some miles upstream from the Antietam Furnace.



FIGURE 43: Antietam Furnace in 2007



FIGURE 44: Map of Antietam Furnace in 1869

SOURCE: Taggert 1859

Dr. David Ross was a merchant who lived in Bladensburg, Maryland. During the French and Indian War he served as commissary agent for the Maryland colonial troops stationed at Fort Cumberland and Fort Frederick. In that capacity he interacted with the young Colonel George Washington in 1757 (Archives of Maryland 9:54). Ross later had business and political dealings and correspondence with both Washington and George Mason; presumably this is why there is a copy of his will at Mason's home, Gunston Hall. Ross patented the 595-acre "Addition to Jack's Bottom" in 1761 (Scharf 1882:982). Ross, Henderson, and Beall patented a huge tract (8,025 acres) called "Boston" on July 25, 1769 (Scharf 1882:896). This land was needed to supply charcoal for the furnace, and the remains of charcoal pits have been found throughout the area, including on Maryland Heights opposite Harper's Ferry. Also in 1769, according to Frederick County, Virginia, deeds (Book 13:28-35), this consortium (along with John Semple of the Keep Triste furnace) bought iron ore banks from the heirs of Israel Friend.

A curious fact is that there was another David Ross, also an ironmaster and about the same age, who operated the Oxford furnace in Campbell County, Virginia, and was one of the wealthiest men in Virginia. *That* David Ross, born about 1736, died on May 4, 1817 (Dew 1994). Several authors have confused the Virginia and Maryland Rosses (e.g., Dew 1994; Selfa 1993).

Dr. David Ross, the merchant of Bladensburg, died in Prince George's County in May 1780. His probate inventory (Gunston Hall n.d.) includes many slaves, among them, "James Black Smith" "1 Negro Man Davie a Blacksmith" and 1 [ditto] Abram a Refiner of Iron." A sum of "1523.7.8" Pennsylvania Dollars was listed as "Half of the amount of the Effects at the Frederick forge (as per Inventory taken by the manager on Behalf of all the Partners in Currency." This document confirms that Ross owned iron works jointly with business partners (although they are not named) and also appears to substantiate the identification of Frederick Forge and Antietam Furnace; however, it has not been established conclusively that the forge and the furnace actually were the same place. It is clear, in any case, that the works at the mouth of Antietam Creek were *not* the Antietam Furnace where the Hughes brothers (Daniel and Samuel) manufactured cannon during the Revolution. *That* Antietam Furnace was located much further upstream on the creek; its remains were excavated by Frye (1984).

Archeological and documentary evidence indicates that the Hughes Antietam Furnace ceased operations before 1783 (Frye 1984:159). In contrast, the furnace at the mouth of the creek continued operating well into the nineteenth century. In 1806 the furnace was purchased by John McPherson, a Frederick businessman (Howell 2001). He handled business affairs while a Pennsylvania ironmaster, John Brien, ran the works. The Antietam Furnace was known for custom casting and pig iron. About 1830, after McPherson's death, Brien adopted Welsh puddling and rolling techniques to make cut nails. Brien died of a liver disease in 1834; his son, John McPherson Brien, took over the furnace. An investor from Baltimore, Robert Gilmore, bought the works in the early 1840s but left Brien on as manager. Gilmore's debts mounted and he gave up the furnace in 1848. The Chancery Court sold the works to Brien, allowing him to pay off the debt gradually by selling adjacent land holdings; however, he died in April 1849, and his wife could not erase the debt.

An interesting account of the condition of African-American workers at the furnace circa 1844 is provided in the autobiography of Reverend Thomas W. Henry, an A.M.E. Church minister:

From this place I went to a place called Red Hill, in Pleasant Valley, in Washington county, Md.; there I found true friends, as Mr. Jacob Snavly and wife, who took me in and cared for me and my horse for at least nine years. This is a sample of the olden friends. My appointment was at the school house on Red Hill for nine years in succession, and I could always find a good congregation of good christians. From this place I moved on to a place called Brinn's Antietam Iron Works, in Washington county. This Mr. Brinn was a long and tried friend of mine; his father made me a present of a church on his place before he died, and when Mr. Brinn moved from his works at Catoctin; he left the doors open for me, the same as his father left them. I had long wanted to see Mr. Brinn, and he had told his servants that he had wanted to see me as long as I had wanted to see him. I had always made it a practice to start out early in the morning, and for this reason had never seen him. On one of these occasions I had left something behind—I cannot think what it was—but I had to return for it, and in doing so I met him at his gate for the first time. He asked me if I was Thomas Henry. I answered in the affirmative. He then told me that he had long wanted to see me, and I told him that such was my case about him exactly; he then said that he wanted to have a conversation with me; and said that he had been told by a young man who was at that time a clerk for him, that I was not a safe man to be among slave servants, and that he was sorry to hear such a report about me. I told him that such report was unfounded, and that the young man who circulated such a report about me was a member of the M. E. Church, and it was because I had left that connection that he had so arranged matters to harm me. He told me that he saw through the whole matter, and that they had lost their interest in me when I left their Church. I told Mr. Brinn that he could perceive very readily that such charges against my character were unfounded, and that I had been among his father's servants for at least seven years, and none had ever been misled or run away in that time. He told me that all I said was the truth.

Having gone so far about Mr. Brinn's Antietam Iron Works, I had forgotten to mention one fact. This place was said to be one of the wickedest places in Washington county prior to my taking charge of the Circuit, which takes in this place. Mr. Brinn told me that he had a very fine set of young men there to work and attend to his business, and said he, "I am very glad that you have come among them to teach them the way to live." He further said that he did not wish any of his men to marry slave women, and he would rather they should marry free women and bring them on the place, and he would have them there with him, that he might do and care for them as he liked; he stated further, that he had plenty of land and timber to build them houses, just as they wished to have them built: he further gave them more privileges than any white man had on his place; he also offered the men all the refuse from his mills, which was an immense quantity of fuel, which no white man on the premises could disturb—and at any time that his white employees wanted any work done, it should be done by his men's wives, that they might make all the extra money that could possibly be made, and to encourage his own slaves, he gave them their tasks—all over their tasks they were paid for, just as free men were paid for their labor, and on Saturday night every man would be seen waiting for his pay, just as all the other hands were paid. He told me that he allowed them their board and clothing, and they all had their book accounts at his store, which accounts were properly adjusted every Saturday night, and at the end of each year there was a general settlement.

This good man told me that the white help had a spirit of animosity against his servants because they were so well treated. He had occasion to leave home for several days, and while he was gone the agent and some of the white hands had some words with the colored servants; they wanted to catch them and tie them and whip them. Mr. Brinn

> exclaimed: "good God! Thomas, they could never do that, as I had never whipped them myself." This caused a young insurrection. He had a colored man that they called Stuttering Pete, who caught one of the white men and threw him across the mill race. He then told me that his men could not be taken—and well he might say this, for a more powerful set of men I have never seen. The agent then went up to Sharpsburg to bring down the militia, and when they arrived the boys had fled to the hills and mountains, and could not be seen. They stayed away from the forge and watched for the return of Mr. Brinn, their master, and when he returned he said to me, "Thomas, here comes my boys from the mountains and hills, all coming to me like wild cattle." He told the agent that no man had authority to strike any of his hands, and if they have done anything that conflicts with the law, I will settle that myself. He told me that he called his men together and settled with them as he thought best. The first cause of this outbreak was, that Mr. Brinn had a very faithful colored man, named James Reeder, who dealt out all the stuff that the puddlers used, and this was a great saving to Mr. Brinn. The white employees did not like this colored man dealing out their stuff. Hence the animosity. He said that all his men were very fine men; but as to young James Reeder, the money was never made to buy him. Mr. Brinn then told me that was his place, and that I could come as often and stay as long as I pleased, at any and all times. He said he had given orders to old James Reeder that, if any of the men misbehaved in my meetings, he would hoop-polp them. From this time I had no trouble during my stay at the Antietam Iron Works [Henry 1872:23-26].

A speculator purchased the furnace in 1853 (Howell 2001); Scharf (1882:1218) identifies the buyers as Samuel Horine and William B. Clarke of Hagerstown. Hahn (1997:120) reports that 260 workers were employed at the furnace in the 1840s, and that coke replaced charcoal as fuel in the 1860s.

> The water-power was furnished by the Antietam Creek, and the works comprised rolling and slitting-mills, a sheet-iron mill, a shingle-mill, a sawmill, a paddle-mill, and an extensive nail factory. Near the works is a large bed of iron ore. As far back as 1853 quite a village had sprung up near the works, and in addition to the dwellings for the operators there was a large grist and saw-mill, a blacksmith-shop, a store and office, and a handsome mansion for the proprietor. About five hundred operatives were employed at the works [Scharf 1882:1218].

The iron works were depicted and named as such on the Weyss map of the area, which is dated 1867 and was designed to show the area as it was during the Battle of Antietam in 1862. A few sources mention Daniel and Peter Ahl as owners of the furnace in the postwar period. Scharf mentions "the Messrs. Ahl" (1882:1202) but also names David Ahl, who bought out Horine and Clarke around 1873 (Scharf 1882:1218).

The great flood of 1877 caused severe damage to the C&O Canal and also affected the Antietam furnace: "The Antietam Iron-Works, at which every preparation had been made by the Messrs. Ahl for starting work, were damaged to the extent of several thousand dollars, about eight hundred tons of coke having been washed away" (Scharf 1882:1202). The Ahls did resume production in 1879, turning out eight to 10 tons of iron per day, but they suspended operation in 1880. Writing two years later, Scharf (1882:1218) seemed to think that the stoppage would be temporary, but it may have been final. According to the National Register nomination, the furnace was dismantled in 1891.

Ruins of the Antietam Iron Works are still visible; the furnace itself is still standing on private land. Within the C&O Canal Park are extensive ruins of the mills that once powered pounding hammers (Figure 45) and other structures. The furnace complex and the remains of the surrounding town have been listed in the National Register of Historic Places as an important early example of both industry and housing for industrial workers.



FIGURE 45: Ruins of Buildings Associated with the Furnace in the C&O Canal Park

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Rural Life in the Valley

The detailed Taggert map of Washington County, published in 1859, gives us a good look at how the region developed over the first half of the nineteenth century. In the Sharpsburg District (Figure 46), around Antietam Creek, there was a major change in the settlement pattern from early colonial times. The first English pioneers followed the river westward and settled on its banks, growing tobacco on the floodplain, but the Germans who came later arrived via the roads from Pennsylvania and Baltimore, and they settled along them. The first land patent claimed in the district was Antietam Bottom, which took in the lowlands from Antietam Creek west almost to Shepherdstown—and much of this land had already been settled by squatters. By 1859 the most densely settled part of the district was inland, around Sharpsburg. Despite the building of the canal, roads were apparently a much more important factor in locating houses than the Potomac, and Sharpsburg was a much bigger town than the hamlet at the mouth of Antietam Creek. English and German names are interspersed across the district, but there is still a tendency for English names to cluster closer to the river (Wade, Adams, Douglas, Brown) whereas German names (Mumma, Rohrbach, Pofferberger, Middlekauf) dominate further inland. There are no great plantations; the only tract larger than about 400 acres is the hilly land along the southeastern border that belonged to the iron furnace (shown as tracts 210, 221, 223, and 224), most of it probably kept in timber for making charcoal.

It was a district of middle-sized family farms. A house that belonged to one of these farming families is standing in the C&O Canal Park near Dargan Bend. The Staub House (Figure 47), probably built around 1850, was a two-story stone structure with a full basement and numerous large windows. A large porch once graced the front of the house, with a view down to the river. The house had a pump well in the basement and stoves on each floor. It fits the image that prosperous Maryland farmers cultivated, solid but also up-to-date. Few artifacts were found in shovel tests dug around the house, showing that the close-in yard was kept clear of trash.

Although the Taggert map is a good example of its kind, no map is perfect, and these nineteenth-century local property maps have many problems. They were made to be sold to property owners, so they emphasize a landscape of prosperous families. They simplify the natural landscape to make farms and their owners stand out, and they omit many other features. The Taggert map omits many mills, including the sawmill that stood close to the Potomac on Jacob Miller's land due south of Sharpsburg. Sawmills and gristmills were common throughout the Great Valley, where wheat was the main crop, but many steep or rocky spots remained in trees throughout the nineteenth century. The first truly accurate map of any part of the Hagerstown Valley was a plan of the Antietam Battlefield made by a military engineer named Weyss in 1867. A section of this map (Figure 48) shows the mills and some other structures omitted from the Taggert map and also some of the terrain that Taggert simplified.

The Taggert depictions of the Mercerville and Williamsport districts (Figures 49 and 50) are similar. The map shows the hamlet of Mercerville along the Canal near MM 71 and Middelkauf's Mill. Further west in the Clearspring District archeology has revealed another

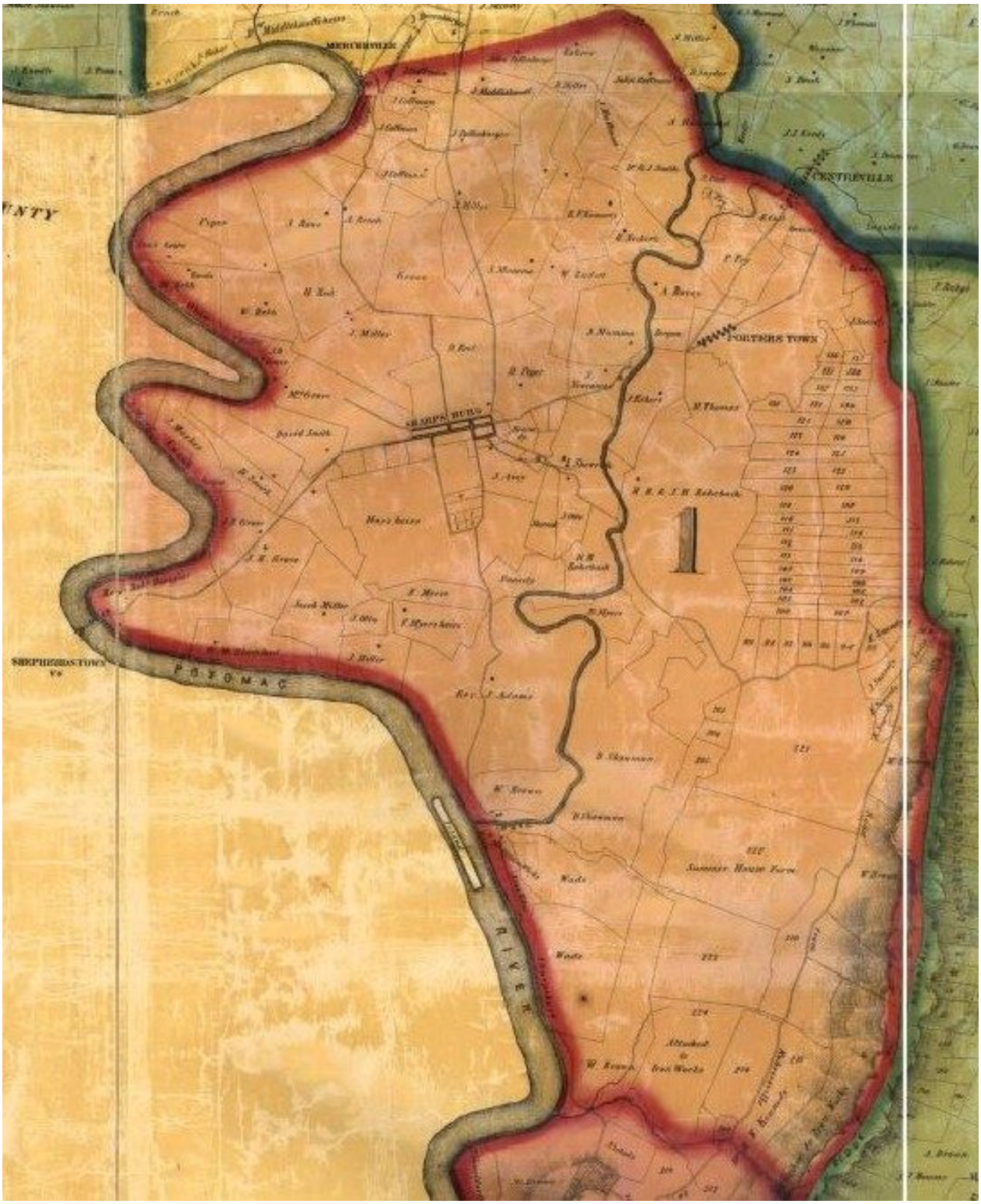


FIGURE 46: The Sharpsburg District in 1859 *SOURCE: Taggert 1859*



FIGURE 47: The Staub House in 2007

problem with these county maps (Figure 51): the map shows no lock houses, and it omits small, nineteenth-century homes, the ruins of which are still standing near Two Locks (Figure 52) and Prather's Neck (Figure 53). Many of the valley's residents were tenants too poor to be likely purchasers of an elaborate local map or atlas, and their humble homes were almost never shown on these maps. Much of the valley's population lived in small, one-and-a-half story log houses like these two throughout the nineteenth century, and even beyond—both of these two houses showed evidence of occupation down to the 1930s. Shovel testing around these houses produced bottle glass, pieces of ceramic dishes, animal bone, and other artifacts, showing that their yards were not neatly kept.

On the western edge of the Great Valley, the Taggert map shows the tiny community of Millstone, population 100 in 1910. Millstone originated at a stage stop on the National Road, which had to be moved when the canal was built (Hahn 1997:167; Scharf 1882:1294). The inn at the stage stop was owned by another Lancelot Jacques, son or grandson of the man who built the Greenspring Furnace. (It is confusing that the family re-used the name Lancelot in every generation, but when a name like Lancelot runs in the family, who can blame them?) The Western Maryland Railroad had a stop nearby called Moffet Station. There was also a mill and, by 1900, a school. Most of Millstone was destroyed during the construction of Interstate 70. The ruins of what remains are still visible in the park, a reminder of the many gone and nearly forgotten communities that dot the American landscape.

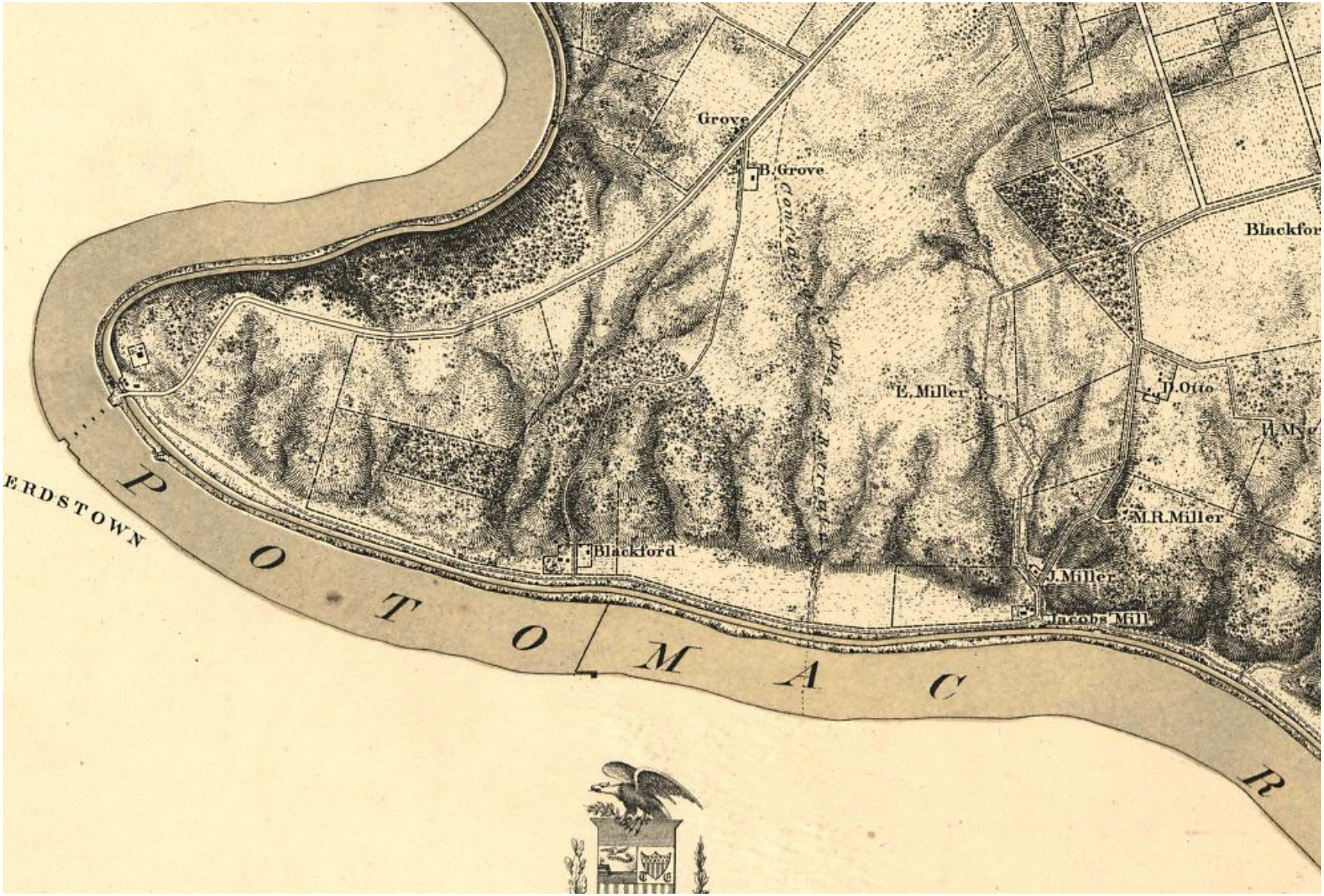


FIGURE 48: A Small Section of the 1867 Weyss Map of the Antietam Battlefield, Showing Structures Along the Canal



FIGURE 49: The Mercerville District in 1859 *SOURCE: Taggert 1859*

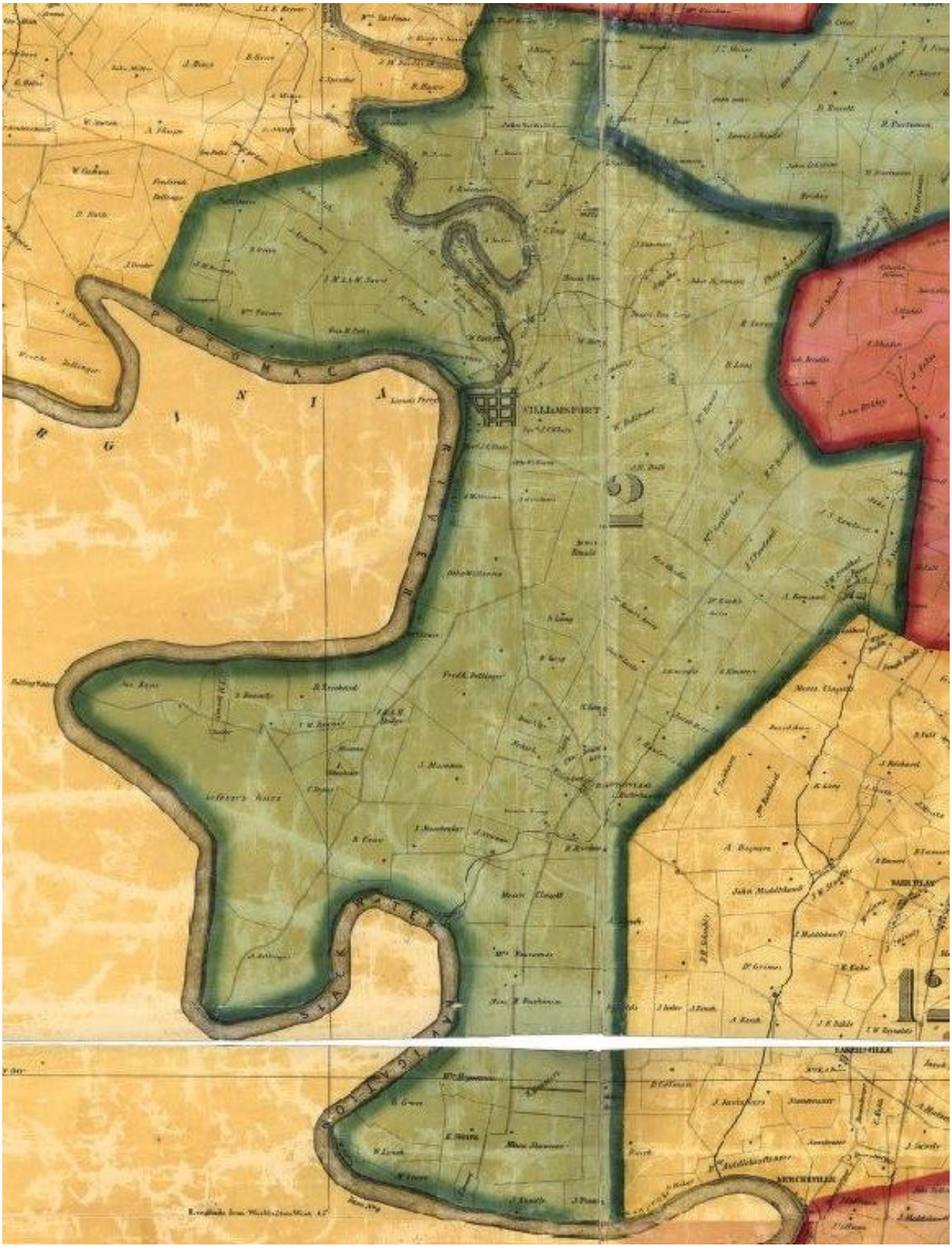


FIGURE 50: The Williamsport District in 1859 *SOURCE: Taggert 1859*

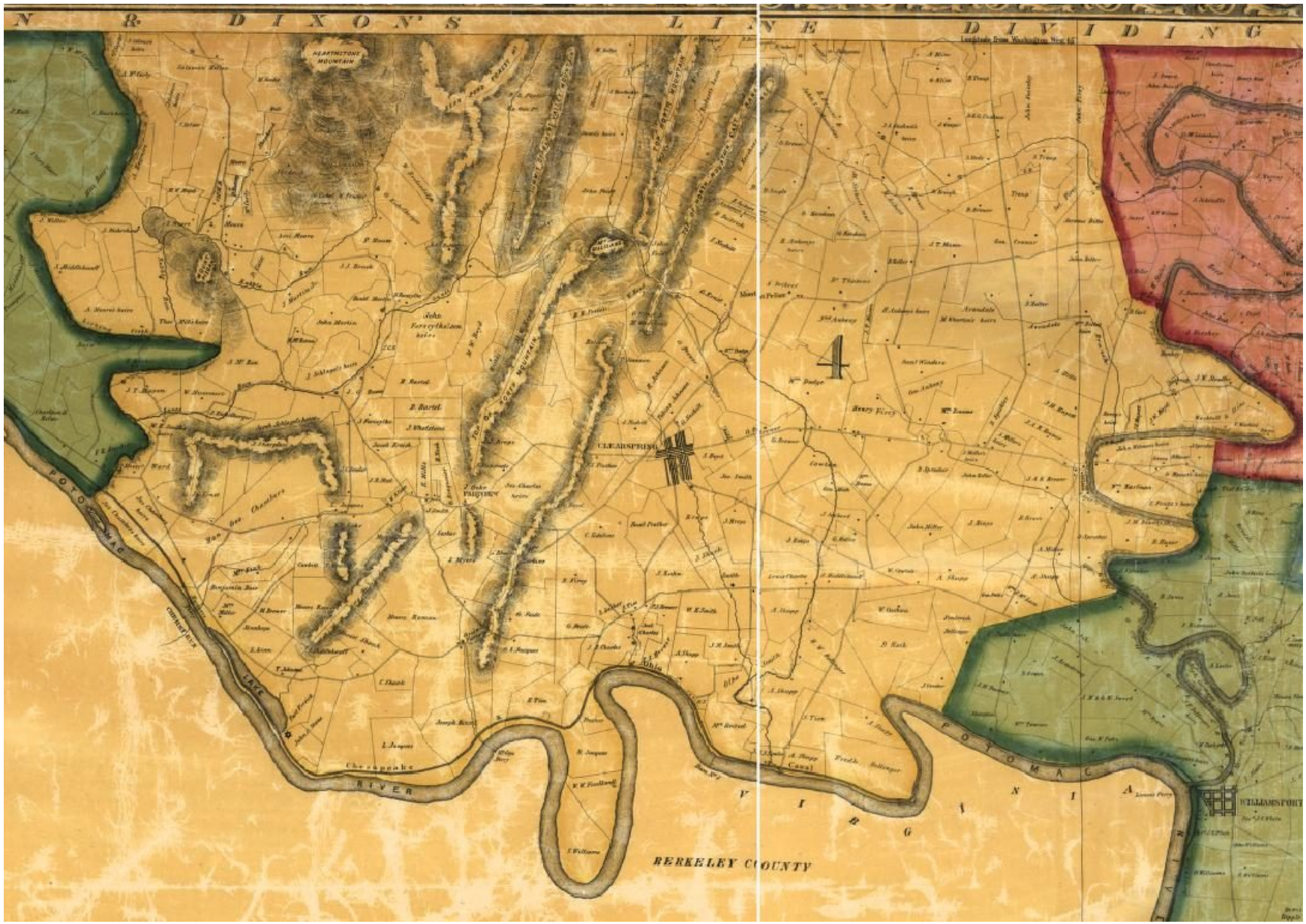


FIGURE 51: The Clearspring District in 1859

SOURCE: Taggert 1859



FIGURE 52: A Small Nineteenth-Century House near Two Locks



FIGURE 53: A Small Nineteenth-Century House near Prather's Neck

Industry

One of the distinctive features of the Appalachian region as it developed in the nineteenth century was the spread of industry within a landscape that remained largely rural. We have already discussed the spread of iron furnaces through the region, taking advantage of iron ore deposits and large tracts of timber for making charcoal. Gristmills were a regular feature of rural life in America, and several are found near the canal. Most of these were built before the canal, between 1775 and 1825, taking advantage of the fall of streams down the Potomac's bluffs. But the canal made it possible for these mills to enter long-distance trade. Using canal boats, flour could be cheaply shipped down to Georgetown, where it was loaded on ships and sent to Baltimore or Europe.

Near Dargan Bend the Potomac Refining Company operated a manganese mine and processing plant (MM 65.10) in the later 1800s (Figure 54). The manganese deposit had first been noted during the canal's construction. After 1912, with the manganese exhausted, they switched their emphasis to lime burning. Stone lime kilns near Dargan Bend had been built in the early 1800s. A carpenter's shop at Lock 44 developed a sideline in treating wood with creosote, a direct industrial outgrowth of the canal's presence.

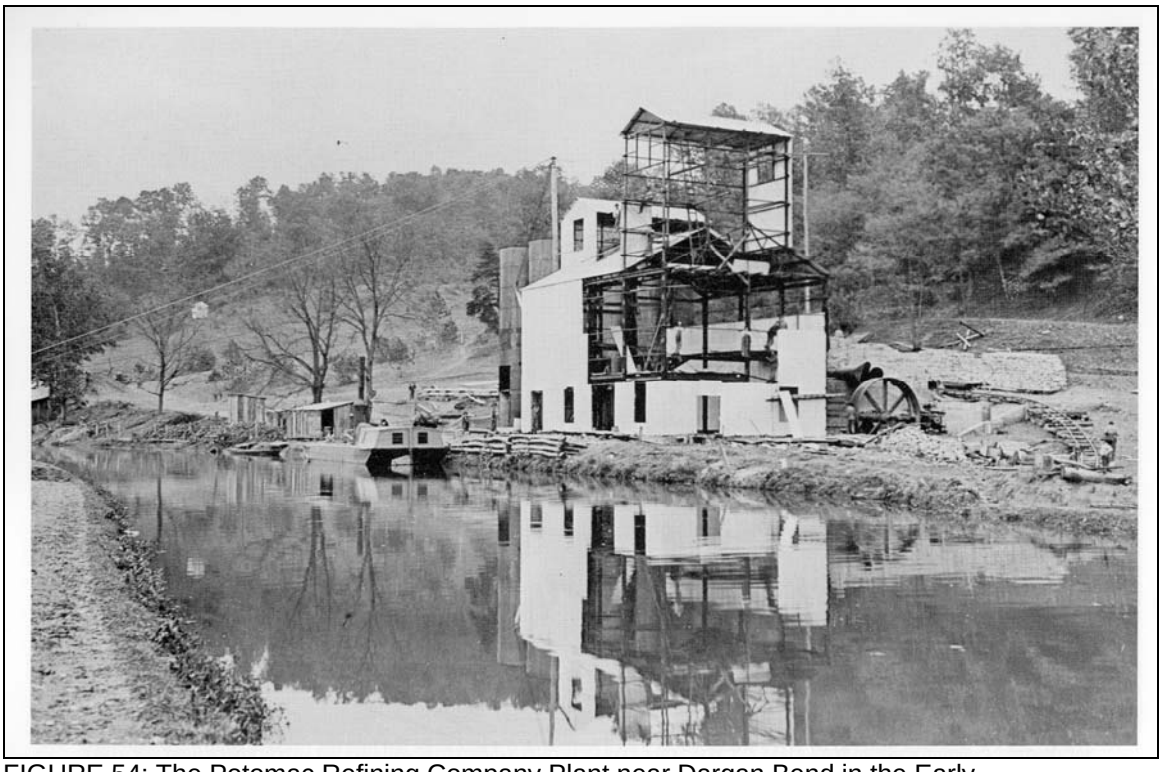


FIGURE 54: The Potomac Refining Company Plant near Dargan Bend in the Early Twentieth Century *SOURCE: Hahn 1979*

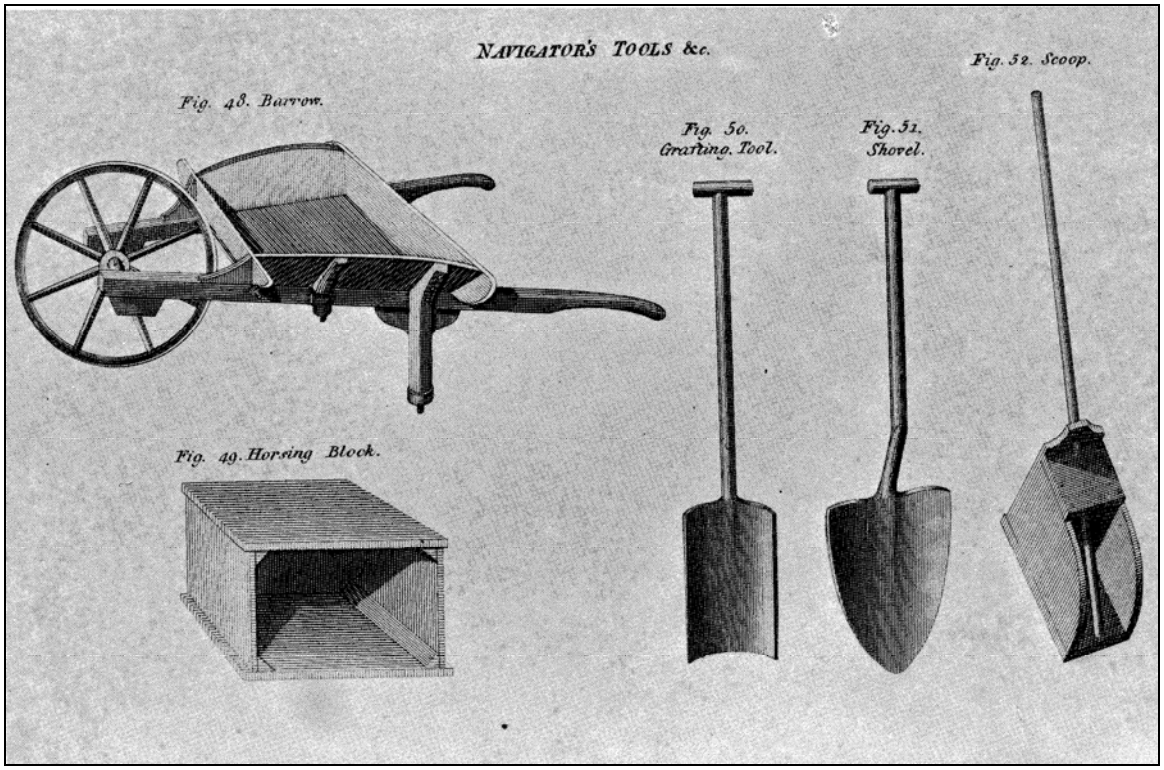


FIGURE 55: Tools Used by Canal Workers *SOURCE: Stapleton 1980*

Building the Canal

The C&O Canal is the most intact and impressive survivals of the American canal-building era, and the historical importance of the canal is the basis for creation of the C&O Canal Park. The C&O Canal has been recognized as historically significant primarily because it embodies nineteenth-century engineering and architectural technology. The entire 184.5 miles of the canal is listed in the National Register of Historic Places, and the magnitude of the engineering achievement is exemplified by the entire length of the canal, which includes 74 lift locks that cumulatively rise 605 feet. Eleven stone aqueducts were built to carry the canal prism over large Potomac River tributaries, and 241 stone culverts were built to carry smaller streams and roads under the canal. Seven supporting dams were also constructed (Romigh and Mackintosh 1979).

Although the historical significance of the canal has been recognized in the areas of architecture, engineering, commerce, transportation, military history, and conservation, the story of the canal has seldom been told from the point of view of the men who built it. Canal-building in the early nineteenth century was quite a labor-intensive undertaking. Skilled tradesmen, carpenters or stonemasons, were needed for the locks, aqueducts, and culverts, but the back-breaking work of digging the canal prism was accomplished with the simplest of tools—shovels, picks, and wheelbarrows (Figure 55). Construction was typically completed by contractors who employed gangs of unskilled laborers, and their work has seldom been recognized.

Labor Strife and Financial Turmoil

The C&O Canal was built across the Great Valley during the 1830s, during the early stages of American industrial capitalism. The men who built it were early exemplars of the industrial working class, and their conflicts with the C&O Canal Company offered the nation a glimpse of a century of labor strife looming in the future. In the first half of the nineteenth century, a wage labor force was being molded out of immigrants (Way 1989). The C&O Canal Company, like other capitalist enterprises, relied on the wage labor force to get the canal built at low cost to investors. In this equation the laborers figured as an expense to be minimized; the less they were paid, the more the investors made, and if a way could be found to avoid paying them altogether, that was best of all. The majority of the laborers on the canal were Irish immigrants, with a few Germans and native-born Americans. Early on, enslaved blacks were used in some places, but that practice had largely been abandoned by the time construction reached the Blue Ridge. In the 1830s and 1840s unskilled laborers did not have a refined criticism of capitalism, but they certainly recognized exploitation and banded together to fight it (Way 1989). Besides short or missed wages, the canallers (as they were called) faced dangers on the job, unsanitary living conditions in their camps, and payment in company scrip instead of cash. To fight or at least ease such injustices, canallers often resorted to violence or at least the threat of it. In the six years between 1834 and 1840, the C&O Canal experienced at least 10 significant disturbances and virtually continuous labor unrest (Way 1989).

Work along the line of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal was difficult and the living conditions were primitive. Laborers worked 12- to 15-hour days in all kinds of weather, beginning at sunup and continuing to sundown. There were breaks at lunch, dinner, and during periodic visits by the "jiggerman," who brought the daily ration of liquor. The workers would spend much of their day in the ditches, mired in mud or water up to the waist. Labor was uniformly backbreaking: hauling rocks, cutting trees and brush, and digging, always digging (Way 1989). Injuries were common on the line, maiming and death far from rare.

The homes the canallers returned to at the end of the day were nothing to smile about, either. The transient nature of canal work meant that the labor force often lived in temporary camps. Laborers lived in makeshift shanties at the worksite, often in a bunk house with 15 to 20 other men. In some cases married men constructed huts for their families, who traveled with them along the line. Families were rare as canal work often attracted young single men. At one camp in 1850, 82 percent of the workforce was single. Although only 18 percent were married, about one-fifth of the people in the camp were women, so most of the married men had their wives with them (Way 1993b). The women living in these shanty towns were not employees of the company, but by managing the domestic life of the camp, they served the needs of the industry. Women were as much a part of canaller culture as were the men working the ditches.

Living conditions were rough in the shanty towns along the canal line. Supplies were typically provided by the contractors and the contractors often supplied little. Laborers and their families often did not have enough fuel for their fires or enough food to eat. Matthew Carey, an Irish American journalist, argued that canallers and their families lived in the shadow of want (Way 1989). According to his calculations in 1831, a laborer with a wife and two children earned $156 annually while their expenses were $171.02, leaving a deficit of $15. They lived a hand-to-

mouth existence. Accounts of the day show that workers often stole from local residents to make life a little easier (Way 1993a). Laborers chopped down trees or pulled apart fences for firewood. In order to supplement their diet, canallers also took poultry and pigs from farms and fruit from nearby orchards. Such thefts became more widespread in the 1830s as the C&O Canal Company continually missed payments and the laborers were left even more desperate.

These pallid living conditions often lead to hunger and sickness among the canal workers. Serious illness was a very real threat to canallers. Epidemics regularly swept the line, scattering men and their families and leaving a trail of bodies in their wake (Way 1989). The 1832 cholera epidemic is one such event, leaving many dead and many others fleeing for safety. In a letter Thomas Purcell, an engineer, informs the company of the cholera outbreak:

> I regret to announce to you that the Asiatic Cholera has made its appearance on the line of the canal near this place [Williamsport]. We have had 6 cases within the last 3 days, and 5 deaths. There is a new case reported this morning on section 175. The disease is creating an alarm among the hands and will, I fear, cause a general desertion of the line should the number of cases increase.
>
> Thomas Purcell, June 24, 1832
> [NARA 1832a]

Over several months the epidemic spread along the line. Without the support of the company and left to fend for themselves, many workers decided to abandon their work on the canal for safety elsewhere. One witness reported:

> The poor creatures, after seeing a few sudden and awful deaths amongst their friends, straggled off in all directions through the country; but for very many of them the panic came too late. They are dying in all parts of Washington County at a distance of 5 to 15 miles from the river. I myself saw numbers of them in carts and on foot making their way toward Pennsylvania.
>
> Benjamin Price Sept. 5, 1832
> [NARA 1832b]

Following the 1832 epidemic, the C&O Canal president, Charles Mercer, sought to calm the fears of the workers by promising that a hospital would be built to care for the infected. A physician was immediately hired by the company to go to the shanties and inspect the canallers for illness. Later that year, two "hospitals" were created from two rented cabins at Harper's Ferry. In order to fund the hospitals, workers were asked to pay a fee of 25 cents a month. The hospitals opened in October 1832, but with the threat of cholera having passed and the workers' refusal to pay the surcharge, the facilities closed two months later.

Epidemics were inherent in canal construction, and working conditions were fairly consistent from section to section (Way 1993b). The laborers accepted certain risks as inherent in the job. When conditions became unbearable, workers usually protested not through riots or violence but by moving to a different section of the canal or to an entirely new project.

Labor unrest amongst the workers, for the most part, was caused by the financial difficulties of the contractors and the C&O Canal Company as a whole. The cost of constructing the canal had

been grossly underestimated at the beginning, with the result that the company was never far from bankruptcy. According to one recent calculation, the overall cost of building the canal from Georgetown to Cumberland was at least 51 percent above the initial estimate (Unrau 2007). The problems of individual contractors added to the uncertainty. As with any construction project, contracts were given to those who promise to do the prescribed work at the lowest cost to the client, which placed a great deal of pressure on contractors to cut their estimates to a minimum. In 1828, 500 bids were received on the building of the first 34 section of the canal. The contractors often did not have good knowledge of the terrain and soil through they would have to dig. This system forced bids down and created a situation in which luck, as much as skill, was required to finish sections at a profit (Way 1989).

Contractors were independent builders who put up initial capital, mobilized, and provided for their work force. The small scale of the contractor's job meant that the contractor forged close ties with his hands, often providing food and shelter as well as living and working alongside them (Way 1989). But contractors constantly teetered on the edge of financial ruin. The difficulty of this balancing act was often exacerbated by the system of payment common to such public works projects. Contractors were paid on a monthly basis according to their established contract, minus 20 percent, which was retained by the C&O Canal Company to insure completion of work. This system increasingly broke down in the 1830s as the canal hovered near insolvency. Occasionally the C&O Canal Company received an infusion of money through loans and stock subscriptions; however, even with this influx of money it continually fell behind in payments to contractors. The C&O Canal Company began making payments in scrip, or IOUs, to keep going.

Contractors were used to operating one or two months behind in payments. When debts grew too large and workers started to grumble, contractors often took the only option left to them and fled the line, abandoning their contracts, leaving unpaid workers to scramble for whatever they left behind. Contractors were the linchpin in canal construction (Way 1989). Given the limited resources available, the strain periodically caused the linchpin to snap, resulting in the breakdown of the delicate balance between capital and labor.

The workers were not willing to shrug off such losses; they needed the pay they were owed just to feed themselves and their families. While they held the contractors immediately responsible, they increasingly saw beyond the contractor and held the company responsible for the welfare of those digging the canal. Three incidents on the canal line in 1838 demonstrate how the workers took out their frustrations after being abandoned.

The first incident took place in the winter of 1837-1838. A Methodist parson and contractor, Lee Montgomery, had been overseeing the construction of the Paw Paw tunnel. By the end of December 1837, Montgomery, who had not been paid by the company, reached a crisis point and could no longer pay his workers. On New Year's Day 1838, 400 men from the tunnel, unpaid for a month, descended on Oldtown looking to celebrate in a fitting fashion (Way 1989). The laborers ransacked several buildings before the Cumberland militia intervened and jailed 10 ringleaders.

The second incident also occurred at the Paw Paw tunnel, in February 1838. Montgomery had not paid his laborers since December. In no position to pay them and fearing for his safety, Montgomery fled to Washington, D.C. The laborers, agitated by Montgomery's absence and by reports of defaults by other contractors along the line, were not willing to wait for the possibility of eventual future payment. In a February 15, 1838 letter to the company, Chief Engineer Charles B. Fisk tried to impress on the board the gravity of the situation:

> I have received intelligence of the most alarming character from the tunnel. Mr. Morris writes:
>
> Mr. Dugan reports that a mob of laborers surround the Office at the Tunnel as he penned yesterday. The miners were threatening to quit and rumors has this moment reached my ears that his [Montgomery] store was some time after Mr. Dugan came by, broken & robbed and that threats were held out by the men that they would destroy certain parts of the work…
>
> I will merely say further that if Mr. Montgomery appears again at his work without the pecuniary means necessary to satisfy the just claims of his workmen for labor done there is reason to believe that his life itself would not be safe from those exasperated men [NARA 1838a].

The rioting workers persisted for three days, but they were finally pacified by a company agent who assured them that Montgomery would soon have the money they were owed. Despite the agent's promises, however, Montgomery was unable to pay the workers until mid-April, when the C&O Canal Company advanced him $25,000.

A third incident regarding the company's failure to pay wages occurred at Prather's Neck just a few days after the conclusion of the events at Paw Paw Tunnel. By April 30, 1838, contractor David Lyles was deep in debt for labor and supplies, owing his laborers $27,000 in back wages. Unable to pay, Lyles withdrew to the safety of Washington, D.C. The workers, already suffering from two months of lost pay earlier in the year, were in serious trouble. Idle for three weeks, in debt to local farmers and merchants, many actually starving, the men were not willing to compromise (Way 1989). With Lyles gone from the line, the men focused their anger on the company. The company first offered 25 cents on the dollar, but the workers rejected it, stating they must have all or none. They further argued that they had earned the money and that the responsibility of payment fell to the company. Playing their trump card, the laborers threatened to tear down the improvements they had built. The C&O Canal Company knew they were defenseless:

> It is vain to disguise it. We are in the laborers power; in one night they could destroy more masonry than would pay them in full twice over. Pay them in full, or pay not at all. Give them even 90 cents in the dollars & the same feeling of being injured will remain, with less to restrain them from proceeding to extremities. If they cannot feed their families they will feed their revenge.
>
> Letter from Engineer Bender to the Company in Washington, May 9, 1838 [NARA 1838a]

By May 11 the laborers had struck, seizing 140 casks of gunpowder from David Lyles's stores and threatening to blow the locks up if they did not get their money. Mr. Gore, Company

engineer at Prather's Neck, asked General Williams to call out the militia. Unpaid from the last time they rescued the company from a similar incident, the militia initially refused to turn out, one officer claiming that his men were more likely to fight with the Irish than against them. The troops were eventually convinced to come out by assurances that the soldiers' expenses would be met. The gunpowder was seized peacefully, but further threats and incidents followed. Local citizens, as that militia officer had said, this time supported the canallers. Like the laborers, they had been caught up in the C&O Canal Company's financial troubles. Many were owed money themselves, and the company scrip that circulated as money in Washington County was losing value. The locals' sympathy for the hands, and the general prejudice against the company, exerted pressure on the Board to settle with the contractors so their creditors could be paid (Way 1989). Eventually, Lyles reached a settlement with the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company, out of which the men were paid in full.

Financial difficulties were not isolated to the late 1830s. The C&O Canal Company often passed the burden on to the contractor, who in turn passed it on to the laborer. While the previous examples show how the canallers took their frustrations out on the company, sometimes they tried other solutions.

Many of the laborers working on the canal had few other options for employment outside of public works projects. Relatively steady work and prompt payment of wages were keys to survival. During the 1830s the workforce along the C&O Canal fluctuated between 2,000 and 5,000. Some German and Dutch workers found their way onto the Canal in the 1830s, and "natives" also worked there, but for the most part, canallers were Irish (Way 1993b). In order to insure prolonged employment, laborers began organizing to protect themselves and assert their right to work. Workers banded together and sought to establish a certain amount of control over the workplace. These organizations typically defined themselves along ethnic lines, and none were more successful than the Irish.

The Irish secret society acted as the model for organization. These societies were rooted in the breakdown of traditional social and economic relations and governed by a common code, the basic premise of which was the right to subsist (Way 1993b). These groups were communally based, loosely organized, bound by oath, and they were willing to use terror to achieve their ends. This violence was an effort to dominate allocation of contracts and jobs and, in effect, claim control over the labor process. The groups asserted their control by chasing off contractors and laborers that refused to meet the societies' demands. Organization among the workers was a thorn in the side of the company, undermining its authority, interfering with construction, and damaging property (Way 1993b).

The two most successful organizations operating amongst the canallers were two Irish factions: the Fardowns, or Longfords, and the Corkonians. The Fardowns were composed of workers who had immigrated from the north of Ireland; the Corkonians hailed from the south. The two factions often competed with each other, using intimidation in an attempt to lay claim to the remaining jobs on the canal. When such tactics failed, the result was a sort of guerilla war. One such war occurred near Williamsport, Maryland, in January 1834 and led to the one of the most famous labor conflicts to occur along the C&O Canal.

The conflict started on January 16 when Corkonians assaulted Longford laborers. The fight resulted in the death of one Longford man. Over that day and night, Fardowns and Corkonians made sorties against each other's camps north and south of Williamsport, causing the citizens of the town much distress. Several newspapers of the day covered the events as they took place:

> Chesapeake and Ohio Canal.
> A Battle!
> Williamsport (MD) January 18
>
> Since the foregoing event, great commotion has existed among the hands. Very little work has been done, and a state of alarm and warlike preparation has taken place. On Thursday last, we are informed, a party of Corkonians committed excesses along the line above this place. Yesterday morning a small party were seen approaching this place from above, and were met on the aqueduct and driven back by an opposing party of their countrymen in the town. In this affray one man was very seriously beaten and wounded. The citizens of the town, with considerable alacrity, soon put themselves in military order, under arms for the protection of the peace, and remained under arms for the balance of the day, and the greater part of the night [*Niles' Weekly Register* 1834a].

On Friday, January 17, the conflict reached a climax when two large forces of Fardowns and Corkonians, with numbers swelled, met in open conflict on a hill at Middlekauff's Dam (Dam No 5). As the newspaper relates:

> …A party of *Fardowns or Longfords,* consisting of about three hundred men, headed by intrepid leaders, were announced as approaching from below. Their design, they stated to be, to pass up the line of the canal to the upper dam, for the purpose of exhibiting their strength, and not to commit a breach of the peace unless attacked. They were armed in part with guns, but principally with halves, clubs, &c. They passed up quietly over the aqueduct, and on their way, as we learn, three or four hundred more of the same party fell into their ranks. At the upper dam, in a field on the other side of Middlekauff's, they met the enemy in battle array, drawn up on the top of a hill, about three hundred in number, and armed, in part, with military weapons.
>
> The information we have is, that the attack or at least a challenge to the combat, was made by the latter party [Corkonians]. Volleys of shot were exchanged; some men were seen to fall, and the party above began to fall back and disperse before the superior forces of their enemy. A pursuit ensued through the woods, where frequent firing was heard, and no doubt many lives were taken. Persons who traversed the field after the battle was over, observed five men in the agonies of death, who had been shot through the head; several dead bodies were seen in the woods and a number of wounded in every direction. Those that observed the battle describe it as one of great rage and most deadly violence. All the deaths and wounded are reported to have been of the Corkonians [*Niles' Weekly Register* 1834a].

The response of the citizens of Williamsport, and the newspaper editors, was outrage. With the support of the C&O Canal Company, the Maryland State Militia was called in on the line and 35 "rioters" were arrested. Federal soldiers were also called into the area and remained on the line to maintain order at the request of the Maryland governor. Eventually a peace conference was arranged between the two sides, and the faction delegates signed a treaty promising not to interfere with anyone working on the line and to inform on those who broke the pledge (Way 1989).

Newspapers and other contemporaries to the riot appeared to have simply seen it and others like it as an ethnic brawl between rival factions of Irish immigrants. To the public these acts were the strange doings of troublesome foreigners, and few people seem to have understood that these actions had an economic purpose (Way 1989).

Less than two months after the events at Middlekauff's Dam, a second conflict between the Corkonians and a third Irish society flared up near Little Orleans further upriver:

> The Corkonians and the United Irishmen, laborers on the canal, have had a terrible fight at New [Little] Orleans, in which several were killed and wounded when the riot was suppressed and many of the rioters were arrested to answer for it. We wish that these people would leave their abominable local hatred of each other, as well as their much cherish desire of appealing to force, behind them [*Niles' Weekly Register* 1834b].

Interestingly enough, the Canal Company saw the events of late January 1834, and similar conflicts that followed, in a completely different light. They, at least, understood that these conflicts were driven not by ethnic hatreds but by economic conditions.

> We were engaged all Monday & Tuesday in suppressing a riot among the laborers of the Canal; they gathered to the number of about 300 from various parts of the line & at the hour of 6 in the morning attacked the hands engaged on sections 170, 171, and 172. Several shanties were torn down and much injury done to the men… it has struck a fancie in the hands on the whole line and the work is nearly stopped… The disturbances are supposed to be the result of a regular organization for that purpose, the ultimate object being to expel from the canal all except those that belong to the strongest party and thus secure for the remainder higher wages.
>
> Thomas Purcell, January 23, 1834
> [NARA 1834]

The riot of January 1834 grew out of the workers' increasing frustration over months of missed wages and the fear that contracts would dry up. The canal company knew this. Throughout the winter and spring of 1834, the company tottered on the brink of insolvency, and frantic efforts were made to secure loans from local banks so that contractors could be paid (Way 1993b). The laborers' anxiety that work would be abruptly halted seemed confirmed when one contractor, owed money from the company, discharged his workers, unpaid, upon the completion of a job. These disgruntled laborers later formed the core of the rioters.

The clandestine societies, like the Fardowns and Corkonians, often organized strikes to obtain better work and living conditions. In a letter to the President of the C&O Canal Company, Thomas Purcell writes about one such strike:

> …operations on the portion of the canal below this place [Williamsport] are entirely suspended in consequence of a spirit of discontent and disaffection manifested by the laboring hands; these were *turned out* as it is called on Monday morning and have not

> gone to work yet, and it is probable that the whole will not again resume their labor. The peaceable men and those disposed to work are prevented through fear of injury from the malcontents.
>
> Thomas Purcell, Feb. 5, 1835
> [NARA 1835]

Only 16 days later, the *Niles' Weekly Register* reported about a separate incident, a riot had broken out in which the participants were demanding better wages:

> Another riot on the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, near Galloways Mill. Workers turned out for higher wages and would no let anyone else work until a troop of horse and a company of riflemen happily reduced the rioters to order and drove them away [*Niles' Weekly Register* 1835].

As more workers created work stoppages or left the line, canallers created an artificial labor shortage, driving up wages and imposing their conditions on the line. In 1828, at the opening of construction, wages ranged from $10 to $12 per month plus board for laborers. By 1839 laborers were being paid between $30 and $39 a month. Such attempts to manipulate the labor market and establish what amounted to a "closed shop" were effective strategies for workers given prevailing conditions on the canal and the limited options open to them (Way 1989).

By 1836 the two largest societies were again at odds and attempting to drive the other off the line of the canal. In January the *Niles' Weekly Register* reported:

> There has been considerable excitement and some violence among the canallers, in the neighborhood of Clear Spring, within the last few days. On Friday and Saturday night last, two shanties were burnt and several of the combatants severely wounded. The belligerents are divided into two parties, as was the case the winter before last, when the whole county was annoyed for weeks by their commotions. The parties are designated as the Corkonians on the one side, and the Longford men on the other. They now both stand in dread of each other, and keep guard at night with as much vigilance as would two threatening armies. The public authorities should keep a close eye on them, or much blood may yet be shed before spring; when their attention to their work will keep them from committing acts of violence on each other [*Niles' Weekly Register* 1836].

Influenced by rising costs and violence among the Irish societies, some contractors sought to evade their grip on the canal by using non-Irish laborers. This would quickly prove to be a poor decision on the part of the contractors. In 1834 Irish laborers attacked German workers near Point of Rocks, Maryland. The disturbance resulted in up to three fatalities and was put down by the local militia. Another similar attack occurred in April 1836, when a workforce of German and "country born" laborers were attacked and dispersed by Irish hands.

Although attacks on non-Irish workers were driven by ethnic animosities, they were fueled by concern over a stable income (Way 1993b). Regardless of the violence threatened or done to them, some contractors were anxious to reduce their labor costs by any means. They continued to use "scab," or non-Irish, laborers, and the societies continued to target their sections. One of the

offending contractors was Lee Montgomery, already discussed in conjunction with the unrest at the Paw Paw tunnel in 1838, became a key figure in the ensuing conflict.

Montgomery was contracted to build the Paw Paw Tunnel. Previously he had built a tunnel 729 feet long on the Pennsylvania Union Canal. The Paw Paw Tunnel would require Montgomery to cut through 3,118 feet of solid rock. In the spring of 1837, he imported 40 miners from England, both for their skill and to keep the Irish from his section (Way 1993b). He was already known as an employer of "scabs," and his hiring of the English did not improve the situation. Eventually, Montgomery's need for unskilled labor forced him to hire a number of Irish laborers, and almost immediately they began to scare off the English. By 1838 only two English miners remained. Financial problems had plagued Montgomery from the beginning of the project, and by May 1839 he had to lay off most of his men so he could purchase necessary gunpowder. The out-of-work Irish laborers responded by riotously marching up and down the line. The trouble was momentarily averted when the company secured the needed money and rehired the workers. By August, however, a rumor spread that that the company was planning to suspend parts of the work and cut the number of laborers employed on the line. The Paw Paw Irish decided to preempt the company by walking off the job.

On August 11, 1839, about 100 armed Irish from the tunnel marched on German laborers downriver near Little Orleans. *The Daily National Intelligencer* reported:

> OUTBREAK and BLOODSHED ON THE CANAL
> Hagerstown, (MD) August 23.
>
> On Saturday last, a messenger arrived in this place with a requisition from the civil authorities of Allegany county on General Williams, requiring him to order out a military force from his brigade to "suppress an insurrections or riot proceeding from armed bodies of laboring men, amounting to about 100, who, with guns, clubs, and other deadly weapons, came to section 293, on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and broke open all the shanties occupied by Germans, destroying all their property, beat men with great violence, and threw one of them in the fire, several of whom are not expected to live; they then went to section 281; and pursued the same course of cruelty, and plundered and destroyed property to a large amount" [*Daily National Intelligencer* 1839].

The violence carried out that day caused a priest, Father Guth, who ministered to the German laborers, to confess in a letter to Chief Engineer Charles Fisk, "…were I superstitious I would really believe they [the Irish rioters] are incarnate Devils."

The events of August 11 served as a breaking point for the canal company. For too long the company had been allowing the laborer societies operate along the canal. Chief Engineer Fisk, with the aid of the state militia, sought somehow to end the influence of the Irish societies (Way 1989). The Washington and Allegany County militias, led by Colonel Thruston, swept down the line and over the next five days were involved in rounding up rioters and weapons.

> On Tuesday Morning, the 27th August, colonel Thruston moved from Cumberland with a force of about 80 men, composed of captain King's, Haller's, and McCulloch's volunteer companies, in the direction of Little Orleans, where he arrived at 12 o'clock the next day, and found all the laborers at work, without any suspicion of his approach. He captured all

> the men on the section, picked out such as could be identified as rioters, disarmed them all, destroyed the arms, and moved up the line…
>
> …They were joined by col. Hollingsworth's and Major Barnes' cavalry; destroyed 40 or 50 shanties and shops; took and destroyed 120 guns and pistols, and captured 26 of the prominent leaders, who are now in Cumberland jail. The troops were actively engaged for five days, and performed a march of 81 miles…[*Niles' National Register* 1839].

The success of the militia could be attributed to the German priest, Father Guth, who provided the company with a list of labor leaders. In addition to the 26 they captured, the militia was also responsible for the injury of eight to 10 resisting laborers, one of whom died. On the orders of Fisk, the militia destroyed the laborers' shanties and grog shops. In all around 30 to 50 buildings were destroyed.

During the 1830s the use of the militia following a riot or labor uprising was quite common. It was also common to have ringleaders rounded up and carted off to jail. The events at Little Orleans caused a shift in how the company dealt with the riotous groups. Previously the militia would arrest the leaders, a period of quiet would descend on the line, and the leaders would be released from jail without prosecution. Such treatment did not deter conflict in the long run, and authority on the canal continued to shift out of the hands of the company and into those of the secret societies. Chief Engineer Charles Fisk was determined not to make that same mistake this time. James Finney served as a laborer spy for Fisk and collected evidence against the riot leaders and on the secret societies after the events of August 11, 1839. The evidence and the testimony of Finney lead to the conviction of 14 laborers with charges ranging from riot, robbery, and arson to assault with the intent to kill. They were sentenced to the state penitentiary for five to 18 years. Nine others, convicted on lesser charges, were given a fine and a short imprisonment. Four others were acquitted. For his service to the company, James Finney was awarded $100.

Although it was a victory for the company, the conviction of the leaders of the August 1839 riot did not satisfy Charles Fisk. Following the trial, he made a petition to the company on behalf of several contractors to establish a permanent police force on the line. Fisk saw that a police force would be an effective means of limiting the power of the societies and in turn would drive down the cost of labor. After some debate, Fisk was denied his police force but in some ways did receive what he wanted. The swift and savage repression of the August disturbance and the harsh prosecution of labor leaders upset the organization of the Irish societies and served to undermine what power they had acquired (Way 1989). As a result, wages fell from the high $1.25 to 87.5 cents a day.

Firmly dealing with the secret labor societies did not solve the financial problems of the C&O Canal Company. Labor unrest lessened after 1839 but never completely disappeared. Severe financial problems after 1839 forced the company to cut back on construction and its labor force. Unemployed laborers straggled off the line to find work elsewhere. The organization that the laborers had built up on the canal over the last 10 years was broken down by the rhythms of the labor market more so than by the "union-busting" techniques of the canal company (Way 1989).

Many canallers found other sorts of wage-earning jobs, moving to the mines, docks, or eventually railroads. Some canallers even moved into farming, particularly in the frontier regions where land was cheaper and the labor was in short supply. Still others remained canallers, moving from one canal project another, eventually finding themselves in Illinois or Michigan. By 1841 the C&O Canal had only 600 laborers on the line. Construction ground to a halt. Occasionally work was renewed for a short time, only to peter out quickly. The shanty towns of canallers that dotted the landscape along the line in the 1830s had vanished by the 1840s.

The laborers that carved out the C&O Canal lived and worked in an unusual setting. They had less control over their lives than the average worker in the early nineteenth century. As immigrants they were outsiders and lived on the periphery of society. They had very little, and laborers had no choice but to rely on their employer for basic subsistence. When financial difficulties hit the company, those problems were often passed down the line to the laborer, who then had to make a choice to make do or risk leaving and finding work elsewhere.

In reaction to their dangerous, poorly paid, uncertain jobs, the workers organized secret societies and worked for better lives. These associations were in some ways heroic but in other ways vicious. They were based on the principle that every man who was willing to work was entitled to a living, and that poor people could achieve this end by banding together to oppose the machinations of the rich. These men looked after each other and fought for justice as they understood it. They had considerable success. For more than five years, they were able to get better pay and to insist that they be paid in full for work they had done, allowing many of them to put down roots in America. On the other hand, their tactics were violent and based on hostility toward all outsiders. The few deaths they caused seem to have been accidents, but they were certainly willing to attack workers who didn't belong to their associations and to destroy other people's property to get their way. To advance their own rights, they disregarded those of Germans, Englishmen, and even Irishmen from the "wrong" part of the island. It is hard for us, so far removed from their fears and needs, to fully understand their actions. They were strangers in a foreign land where many people despised them and their employers often treated them as intelligent mules. They were willing to work hard at difficult, dangerous jobs, but in return they expected a decent wage and some security in their employment. The one thing they knew was that to win the lives they wanted they had to stick together. If that meant fighting against outsiders, breaking bones with wooden clubs, burning shanties, being mocked in the newspapers, or even being sent to jail, so be it. They were willing to do all of those things to be sure that they, and not just other men, received the fruits of their own labor.

Searching for Workers' Camps

One of the goals of this project from the beginning has been to locate camps of the canal workers. The construction of large works, such as Dams 4 and 5, employed hundreds of workers for many months, and such a large concentration of people always leaves an archeological signature. However, it has proved very hard to separate that signature from the general distribution of historic artifacts along the canal. Two possible camp locations were found on the lower segment, but neither could be confirmed. A number of nineteenth-century artifacts was found during the excavation of a prehistoric site near the Monocacy Aqueduct in the 1970s; however, this area was also the location of a Civil War camp, and we could not be sure whether

the artifacts were left by canallers or soldiers. A tenant farm site nearby also drew our attention because a surface collection of the site produced both a large number of artifacts from the 1830s and five iron tools: two gouges, a chisel, and two auger bits (Barse et al. 2002:5.48). Since it is unusual to find even one such tool on the surface of a tenant farm site, we thought the site might have been used as a workshop during canal construction, or that a shanty town might have been built around it.

During this project we searched every large level spot in the park near Dams 4 and 5 but found no sign of the canallers. Most likely they were camped outside park boundaries. We also made a careful examination of the C&O Canal Company's records for documents that mentioned the location of the camps. We found only one: an 1835 letter from the master of the Antietam Iron Furnace to the president of the C&O Canal Company complains that:

> There are several shanties at the mouth of this creek on the line of the canal, that are great nuisances to us, the Irish who occupy them sell liquor and are consequently injuring the habits of our hands greatly, their houses or shanties are a common resort for these people & indeed it is almost impossible to operate our works on account of these nuisances [Brien 1835].

The company president responded that he would move the Irish as soon as the weather warmed, suggesting that the camp was in place over an entire winter at least.

With this clue in hand, we searched for the troublesome shanties at the mouth of Antietam Creek. This area proved to be covered with a dense deposit of slag from the Antietam furnace, which made digging difficult and metal detecting impossible. The slag probably dates to after the furnace switched from charcoal to coke in the 1860s (Hahn 1997:120). If so, the slag deposit conceivably could have capped and preserved the location of the shanties. So shovel testing was pursued in the area, and a handful of historic artifacts was recovered from underneath the slag: a plain brass button, two machine-cut nails, three unidentified nails, an iron staple, two unidentified pieces of iron, a sherd of whiteware (post-1820), and one decorated pipestem (Figure 56). These artifacts are not much to go on, but they certainly could come from a workers' camp. The artifacts one would expect from such a site would probably be nails, tobacco pipe fragments, and bottle glass, so the fit is not perfect. Also, these are the same artifacts that one might expect from workers at the iron works, whose trash might have ended up mixed with the slag. So once again we have hints of a workers' camp, but no proof.



FIGURE 56: Historic Artifacts from the Mouth of Antietam Creek

THE CIVIL WAR

Garrisons and Skirmishes

During the Civil War the Potomac was the boundary between North and South, so there was a great deal of military activity in the area. Fortifications were built, such as Fort Duncan near Harper's Ferry; armies crossed and camped; skirmishes were fought; farms were burned. The C&O Canal and the Baltimore & Ohio railroad were important supply lines for Washington, D.C. and therefore tempting targets for Confederate raiders. Union troops were stationed along the Potomac to guard against Confederate attack

At the onset of the war, Confederate Brigadier General Joseph E. Johnston, who was in command at Harper's Ferry, decided to withdraw his men to a safer position at Winchester. Before he left he attempted to damage local infrastructure that might be useful to the Union, including the C&O Canal. This led to a series of skirmishes along the river, as Confederates attempted to blow up portions of the canal works, and local militias, sometimes supported by Union troops, tried to stop them. On June 8, 1861 Confederates attempted to blow up Dam No. 5. The alarm was raised and the Clearspring Guards took up their muskets and marched through the night to the dam, driving off the rebels before significant damage was done. By June 13 the gates of four locks between Point of Rocks and Williamsport had been destroyed. The Confederates made a serious attempt to destroy Dam No. 4, led, according to the Washington newspapers, by an Irish Virginian who had superintended its construction. Companies of militia from Boonsboro and Sharpsburg drove off the Confederates after a pitched battle in which four Virginians were badly wounded (Unrau 2007:711-712). Other actions in this period included a skirmish at Falling Waters on July 2, during which the bridge over the Potomac to Shepherdstown was burned by the Confederates.

The Confederate high command continued to worry about the canal. No less a figure than future Confederate hero Robert E. Lee, then commander of Virginia's forces, wrote in July 1861 to Colonel Eppa Hunton at Leesburg:

> It is necessary to destroy the navigation of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, to prevent its being used by the enemy, and you will take measures to do so effectually, but cutting the dams at Seneca and Edwards Ferry, and blowing up the Monocacy Aqueduct [O.R. Series 1, Vol. II:917].

But despite these efforts the canal remained open. In December 1861 Major General T.J. "Stonewall" Jackson, hero of the Confederate victory at Manassas in July, tried once again to destroy Dam No. 5. He wrote,

> The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal having been repaired to such an extent as to render it boatable and of great service to the Federal Army at Washington, I determined, if practicable, to cut off western supplies by breaking Dam No. 5. . . . A few days subsequently, Capt. R. T. Colston, Company E, Second Regiment of Virginia Volunteers, who was well acquainted with the locality of the dam and its structure, volunteered to take charge of the working party to accomplish the desired object. As there was reason to

> believe that General Banks could soon concentrate a large force there, I moved, with Garnett's Brigade, part of the cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Ashby, and part of Carson's brigade, to the neighborhood of the dam. General Carson made a demonstration towards Falling Waters and Williamsport, while the remaining troops took such a position as to support the working party [O.R. Series 1, Vol. V:390].

Jackson posted artillery on a hill overlooking the dam to protect the demolition party, and his guns destroyed a house on the Maryland side from which militiamen had been firing on his men. But General Banks—that is, Union Major General Nathaniel Banks—was able to "concentrate a large force there," including two rifled guns from the 1st Pennsylvania Artillery. These took Jackson's gunners under fire, drove them off the heights, and then turned their fire on the Confederate sappers. One man was killed, but instead of withdrawing, the Confederates continued their work by night. Eventually four Union regiments and a second artillery battery were sent to defend the canal, and artillery and musket fire thundered across the river (Figure 57). After three days of this, Jackson withdrew. He thought at the time that his sappers had made a breach "sufficiently large for the object in view," but in fact the damage was superficial and easily repaired. Jackson returned to the canal in January 1862, attempting to destroy Dam No. 5 with artillery fire and briefly shelling the town of Hancock. This, he said, was in retaliation for Union shelling of Shepherdstown in the summer.

The Confederates in all of these operations were able to employ men "well acquainted" with the canal and its operations. The real or imagined Confederate sympathies of the canallers were much on the mind of some Union officers throughout the war. In 1862 the government conducted "loyalty investigations" of some key personnel (Unrau 2007:741). In 1863 the Provost Marshal (chief military policeman) for Montgomery County, Maryland, a certain M. Moulden, wrote to his superiors that "The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal is almost wholly officered and worked by men having little or no sympathy for our Government." In particular, he said, the lock keepers and superintendents at Great Falls and Seneca Locks were Confederate sympathizers, so that these "very important points on the canal" were "in the hands of our enemies." More broadly, he wrote, "The population along the banks of the Potomac is disloyal" (O.R. Series 1, Volume II:363). Maryland was a state of divided sympathy during the war, and several Maryland regiments fought in the Confederate army. Maryland's rebels were mostly drawn from the old counties in the southeastern part of the state, which had an economy based on slavery and tobacco and which had ties with Virginia going back to 1634. The presence of Confederate sympathizers along the Potomac is a relic of the way western Maryland was settled. As we have already discussed, most of western Maryland was settled by Germans moving southwest from Philadelphia, a group with strong Union leanings; however, the land adjacent to the Potomac was settled by men from eastern Maryland moving west up the river, staking out the bottom land where tobacco could most easily be grown and shipped to market. Their descendants in the 1860s largely kept up their political sympathies and slave-owning habits. So Provost Marshal Moulden was right that Confederate sympathy in western Maryland was concentrated along the Potomac's banks.

Antietam and Gettysburg Campaigns

During the two Confederate invasions of Maryland, which led to the Battles of Antietam and Gettysburg, thousands of troops crossed the canal. After the bloody stalemate of Antietam



FIGURE 57: Contemporary Drawing of Jackson's Attempt to Destroy Dam No. 5 in December 1861 *SOURCE: Hahn Files*

(September 17, 1862), the Confederate Army retreated across the Potomac at a place then called as Boteler's Ford. Boteler's Ford was the same crossing place as the old Packhorse Ford, where German immigrants had crossed a century before. On September 19 two Union divisions under Major General Fitz John Porter stormed across the ford and attacked the Confederate rear guard, taking four guns. But a Confederate counterattack the next day drove them back and nearly destroyed the 118th Pennsylvania Regiment, which took 267 casualties (Unrau 2007:738). This Battle of Boteler's Ford, as it was called, discouraged the Union army from pursuing the Confederates, who retired unmolested to Winchester.

The 100th Pennsylvania Volunteer Regiment ("Roundheads"), part of the IX Army Corps, camped at Antietam Furnace, near the mouth of the creek, from September 20 to October 6, 1862, and one of the regiment's soldiers drew the charming sketch of the site shown in Figure 58. The Confederates had tried but failed to blow up the Antietam Aqueduct during this campaign, and at other times they tried to blow up the Monocacy and Catoctin aqueducts. It is a testimony to the skill of the canal's engineers and builders that the Confederates never succeeded in demolishing or even seriously damaging any of these stone structures.

There was also fighting along the Potomac in the aftermath of Gettysburg. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia retreated on July 4, 1863, after its defeat at Gettysburg, pursued by Union troops of the Army of the Potomac. Lee had established a defensive line east of Williamsport by July 10. A pontoon bridge, constructed by the Confederates at Williamsport the next day, was floated downstream to Falling Waters on July 12. Confederate engineers had to improve the road, across the C&O Canal, on the Maryland side. To defend the army as it crossed the Potomac, engineers and pioneers constructed breastworks and gun emplacements about one and a half miles up the road from the river, near J.M. Downey's brick farmhouse. These defensive works stretched across the bend in the river from bank to bank. The Confederate rear guard, flanking the breastworks, was formed by Major General Henry Heth's Division. Lee had to allow 26 hours for the army's crossing. It rained heavily into the early morning on July 13, turning the road into ankle- or knee-deep mud: "The shoes of those who still had them were literally sucked off their feet" by the mud (Brown 2005:334). Despite this, the wagons and troops of Longstreet's and Hill's corps proceeded to cross the pontoon bridge to Virginia with relatively small losses during their march. Lee's artillery lost 10 forges, two caissons, two guns, and a number of battery wagons and horses during the retreat (Brown 2005:351). On the foggy morning of July 14, Union cavalrymen of the 6th Michigan attacked Heth's Division (Figure 59). In chaotic hand-to-hand fighting, the cavalry suffered heavy casualties: 40 killed (including their commander, Major Peter Weber) and 85 wounded. But the Confederates also suffered losses: among the dead was Brigadier General James Pettigrew of North Carolina. As the last men crossed the pontoon bridge before it was dismantled, Confederate artillery took up position on the bluffs along the Virginia bank. These included Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Carter's battalion just downstream of the bridge, six guns of Lieutenant Colonel Garnett (two Napoleons and four rifled guns) above the bridge, 20-pound Parrott rifles of Lane's Sumter Artillery further downstream, and two Whitworth rifles of Hurt's Alabama Battery further upstream. The artillery "kept the enemy at a distance" (Brown 2005:350).



FIGURE 58: Civil War Soldier's Sketch of the Antietam Iron Works

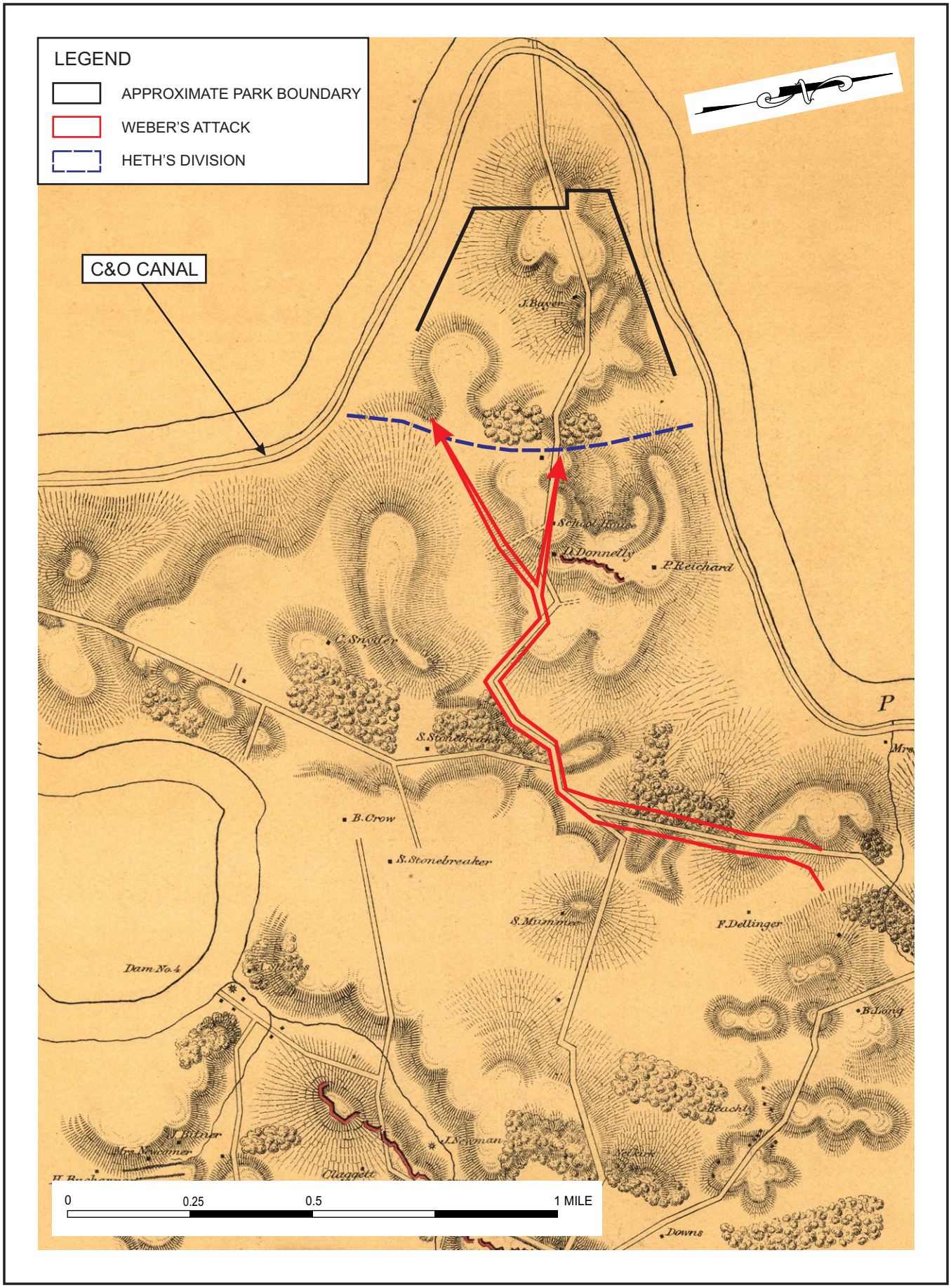


FIGURE 59: Map of the Union Cavalry Attack on Heth's Division at Falling Waters

SOURCE: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1879

The Canal in Wartime

Once Lee's men were back in Virginia, in July 1863, they mostly stayed there. The Union grip on West Virginia tightened, and the Confederates were driven away from the Potomac. There was still some raiding and skirmishing across the river, and damage was done to the canal during Jubal Early's 1864 raid on Washington, D.C. but for the most part the canal remained in operation. Between Confederate attacks and major floods, 1861 and 1862 had been dire years for the Canal Company, forcing it close to bankruptcy. But by 1863 the damage had been repaired, the attacks had slackened, and the canal entered one of the most profitable periods of its history. With the capital swollen by wartime immigrants, a huge army to feed in Virginia, and many trains commandeered by the military, demand for flour and coal in Washington, D.C. was very great. Canal boat operators cashed in, raising their costs by as much as 50 percent, and the tolls paid to the Canal Company also swelled. The resulting profits staved off bankruptcy for the canal and insured that it would keep operating for years to come (Unrau 2007:743-769).

CANAL LIFE

Lock Keepers and Other Canal People

During this project archeologists tested in the yards of a number of lock keeper's houses and other structures close by the canal (Figure 60). These humble homes are reminders that for many people the canal was a way of life. The C&O Canal Company began looking for lock keepers soon after construction got under way. The board of directors was determined to recruit sober, reliable men for these jobs, and they tried to make the positions attractive. In the 1830s pay was usually $200 a year for a keeper who looked after one lock, $300 for a keeper who looked after



FIGURE 60: Excavating by a Lock Keeper's House

two (Unrau 2007:792). This salary was about what an unskilled factory worker would earn in a northern city. In addition they received the use of the lock keeper's house and a plot of company land on which they could plant a garden or raise animals. They were allowed to let rooms to travelers, provided they did not serve liquor. Some had other businesses: in the early 1900s the wife of the keeper at Lock 38 near Shepherdstown sold bread and pies to passing boatmen (Hahn 1979:65). The company's rules specified that lock keepers be men, but the board did occasionally let a widow take over from her husband.

The company established standards for lock houses, and they were built to a common plan. Until 1836 all were stone. Between 1836 and 1847, contractors could build them of stone or brick; in the last phase of construction, from 1847 to 1850, the standards were relaxed, and some were built of wood or even logs. The houses measured 18x30 feet, with a main floor raised off the ground, a basement under half the house, and an attic floor. They had glass windows, strong locks on the outside doors, pine floors, and fireplaces. They were small but snug houses, better than many poor country people lived in.

Test excavations around lock keeper's houses yielded the same kind of artifacts that were found around other nineteenth-century sites in the region, including glass and potsherds from decorated dishes. These were working homes, and old photographs show them surrounded by sheds and tools, not lawns or flower gardens. The archeology supports this image, since bits of domestic trash like broken glass and animal bone were found close to the front doors of some houses.

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. 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.

REFERENCES CITED

Anderson, Fred
2000 *Crucible of War: the Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America.* Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Ansel, William H. Jr.
1984 *Frontier Forts Along the Potomac and Its Tributaries*. McClain Printing Company, Parsons, West Virginia.

Archives of Maryland
var. Archives of Maryland Online, Annapolis, 2005. Accessed at <http://www.mdarchives. state.md.us/ megafile/msa/speccol/ sc2900/sc2908/html/index.html>.

Barse, William P., Marvin Brown, Mike Scholl, and George L. Miller
2002 *An Archaeological Survey, Inventory and Evaluation Study of Site 18FR102 and an Archaeological Collections Research Report on Site 18FR355 [*sic*], Chick Farm Property, C&O Canal National Historical Park, Frederick County, Maryland.* Report submitted to National Park Service, National Capital Region, Washington, D.C., by URS Corporation.

Brown, Kent M.
2005 *Retreat from Gettysburg.* University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill and London.

Brown, Lois E.
1979 Fluted Projectile Points in Maryland. Paper distributed by Council for Maryland Archeology.

Brugger, Robert J.
1988 *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634-1980.* Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

Butler, Steven R.
2004 Van Meter Family. Steven Butler's Genealogy Website. Accessed online at <http://www.watermelon-kid.com/family/bios/vanmeter_family.htm>.

Carr, Kurt W., and W.M. Gardner
1979 *A Preliminary Prehistoric Archaeological Resources Reconnaissance of Berkeley County, West Virginia.* Thunderbird Research Corporation. Ms. on file, Maryland Historical Trust, Crownsville.

Churchill, Sir Winston
1957 *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples*. Dodd, Mead, & Company, New York.

Coe, Joffre L.
1964 The Formative Cultures of the Carolina Piedmont. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 54(5). Philadelphia.

Cunze, Dieter
1948 *The Maryland Germans: A History*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

Curry, Dennis, and Maureen Kavanagh
1991 The Middle to Late Woodland Transition in Maryland. *North American Archaeologist* 12(1):3-28.

Daily National Intelligencer (Washington, D.C.)
1839 Outbreak and Bloodshed on the Canal. August 24. On file, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Dent, Richard J.
2005 The Winslow Site: Household and Community Archeology in the Middle Potomac Valley. *Maryland Archeology* 41(March-September 2005):1-51.

Dent, Richard J., Jr., Katherine Clermont, Ali Ghobadi, and Kelsey Woodman
2002 Excavations at the Winslow Site (18MO9): Preliminary Report on the 2002 Field Season. *Maryland Archeology* 38(2):13-32.

2005 The Winslow Site: Household and Community Archeology in the Middle Potomac Valley. *Maryland Archeology* 41(1&2):1-51.

Denton, Daniel
1947 A Brief Description of New York. Columbia University Press, New York. Originally published 1670.

de Rasieres, Isaack
1909 Letter to Samuel Blommaert. Written 1628. In *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*, edited by J. Franklin Jameson, pp. 102-120. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Dew, Charles B.
1994 David Ross and the Oxford Iron Works: A Study of Industrial Slavery in the Early Nineteenth-Century South. *William and Mary Quarterly* (Third Series) 31(1):189-224.

Dobyns, Henry F.
1983 *Their Number Become Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

Egloff, Keith T., and Joseph M. McAvoy
1990 Chronology of Virginia's Early and Middle Archaic Periods. In *Early and Middle Archaic Research in Virginia, a Synthesis*, edited by Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges, pp. 61-79. Special Publication No. 22. Archaeological Society of Virginia, Richmond.

Fiedel, Stuart, John Bedell, and Charles LeeDecker
2005 *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)*. Submitted to National Capital Region, National Park Service, Washington, D.C., by The Louis Berger Group, Inc., Washington, D.C.

Fiedel, Stuart J., and Laura Galke
1996 *Archeological Data Recovery, the Shepherds Field Site (46JF325), Fish and Wildlife Service, National Education and Training Center, Jefferson County, West Virginia*. Report submitted to National Park Service, Silver Spring, Maryland, by John Milner Associates, Inc.

Fort Edwards Foundation of Capon Bridge, West Virginia
2003 *Braddock's Road, Little Cacapon to Frostburg*. Fort Edwards Foundation of Capon Bridge, West Virginia Accessed online on May 22, 2007 at <http://fortedwards.org>.

Fowke, Gerard
1894 *Archeologic Investigations in James and Potomac Valleys*. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

Frederick County Deed Book
var. Deed Book E. On microfilm, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis.

Frye, Susan W.
1984 *Archeological Excavations at the Antietam Iron Furnace Complex (18 WA 288), Washington County, Maryland*. Maryland Historical Trust, Crownsville.

Gardner, William M.
1974 The Flint Run Complex: Pattern and Process during the Paleoindian to Early Archaic. In *The Flint Run Complex: A Preliminary Report 1971-73 Seasons*, pp. 5-47. Occasional Publication No. 1. Archeology Laboratory, Department of Anthropology, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

1982 Early and Middle Woodland in the Middle Atlantic: an Overview. In *Practicing Environmental Archaeology: Methods and Interpretations*, edited by Roger W. Moeller, pp. 53-86. Occasional Papers 3. American Indian Archaeological Institute, Washington, Connecticut.

Giddens, Paul H.
1935 The French and Indian War in Maryland. *Maryland Historical Magazine* 30:307.

Gunston Hall
n.d. Inventory of the Goods and chattels of Doctor David Ross late of Prince Georges County deceased, Appraised in Current money that is Dollars at Six Shillings by us the Subscribers. Prince George's Maryland Inventories 1777-1780, pp. 155-157; ST 1, i; CR 34; 690-3; CM 809-8. On file, George Mason's Gunston Hall Plantation, Mason's Neck, Virginia. Available online at <http://gunstonhall.org/probate/ROSS80.PDF>.

Guzy, Dan
2001 Fish Weirs in the Monocacy and Potomac Rivers. *Maryland Archeology* 37(2):11-21.

Hahn, Thomas F.
1979 *Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Old Picture Album.* The American Canal and Transportation Center, Shepherdstown, West Virginia.

1997 *Towpath Guide to the C&O Canal*. Harpers Ferry Historical Association, Harper's Ferry, West Virginia.

unknown Files and notes, in the Hahn Collection, Gelman Library, George Washington University, Washington, D.C. The original source of this drawing is probably *Leslie's Illustrated.*

Hariot, Thomas
1590 *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*. London. Published in 1871 by J. Sabin and Sons, New York. Electronic version online at Academic Affairs Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill <http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/hariot/hariot.html>.

Howell, H. Marc
2001 Antietam Iron Works: The McPherson & Brien Era, 1806-1853. Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for Industrial Archaeology, Washington, D.C.

Jennings, Francis
1978 Susquehannock. In *Northeast,* edited by Bruce G. Trigger, pp. 362-367. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 15, William C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Jesuit Relations
var. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents.* 71 Volumes. Originally compiled and edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Electronic files housed at College of Arts and Sciences, Creighton University, Omaha. Accessed online at <http://puffin.creighton.edu/jesuit/relations/>.

Johnson, William C.
2001 Cordage Twist Direction and Ethnicity in the Potomac River Basin: The Luray Complex Conundrum. Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Pennsylvania Archeology, Barton, Pennsylvania, May 5.

Kavanagh, Maureen
1982 *Archeological Resources of the Monocacy River Region.* Maryland Geological Survey, Baltimore.

Kavanagh, Maureen, and Carol A. Ebright
1988 *Archeological Testing of Four Prehistoric Sites in Town Creek Valley, Allegany County, Maryland*. File Report No. 216. Division of Archeology, Maryland Geological Survey, Baltimore.

Kercheval, Samuel
1975 *A History of the Valley of Virginia.* Comstock Publishers, Richwood, West Virginia. Reprint of the second edition, published 1850; first edition published 1833.

Kester, John G.
1995 Charles Polke: Indian Trader of the Potomac, 1703-1753, *Maryland Historical Magazine* 90(4):447-466

Kinsey, W. Fred
1972 *Archeology in the Upper Delaware Valley.* Anthropological Series, No. 2. Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg.

Lawson, John
1966 *A New Voyage to North Carolina.* Reprinted by Readex Microprint Corporation, Naples, Florida. Originally published 1709, London.

Lindstrom, Peter
1979 *Geographia Americae, with an Account of the Delaware Indians.* Arno Press, New York.

Mann, Charles
2005 *1491: New Revelations of the Americas before Columbus.* Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Marye, William B.
1935 Patowmeck above ye Inhabitants. *Maryland Historical Magazine* 30:1-11, 114-137.

Maryland Gazette (Annapolis)
1755a Accounts from Frederick County, Maryland. July 10. On file, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

1755b Reports of Indian Attacks in western Maryland. October 9. On file, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

1755c Report of volunteers leaving for Frederick County, Maryland. October 23. On file, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

1755d Reports about destroyed settlements in western Maryland. November 20. On file, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

1756a Reports of raids on Maryland's western settlements. March 4. On file, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

1756b Accounts of Indian raids on settlements in Frederic County, Maryland. March 11. On file, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

1756c Burning of M'Coard's Fort. April 15. On file, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

1756d Col. Cresap engaged Indians at Cox's Fort. July 8. On file, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

1756e Account from Conococheague Creek. August 26. On file, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

1756f Letter from Col. Cresap. September 2. On file, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

1757 Accounts of raids near Frederick and Antietam. August 4. On file, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

1763 Accounts from Frederick, Maryland. July 19. On file, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

McLearen, Douglas

1991 Late Archaic and Early Woodland Material Culture in Virginia. In *Late Archaic and Early Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*, edited by Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges, pp. 89-138. Special Publication No. 23. Archaeological Society of Virginia, Richmond.

McMullans, Rick

2007 *Fort Frederick Birdseye*. www.McMullans.org. Accessed online on May 22, 2007 at <http://mcmullans.org>.

McNett, C.W. (editor)

1985 *Shawnee-Minisink: A Stratified Paleoindian-Archaic Site in the Upper Delaware Valley of Pennsylvania*. Academic Press, New York.

Miller, David P.
1995 *Fort Frederick's Role in the French and Indian War.* Master's thesis, Shippensburg University, Shippensburg, Pennsylvania.

National Archives Record Group [NARA] 79/190
1832a From Thomas Purcell. June 24. On file, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

1832b From Benjamin Price. September 5. On file, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

1834 From Thomas Purcell. January 23. On file, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

1835 From Thomas Purcell. February 5. On file, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

1838a From Charles B. Fisk. February 15. On file, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

1838b From Bender. May 9. On file, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Niles' Weekly Register (Baltimore)
1834a Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. A Battle! February 1.

1834b Account on the Canal. March 15.

1835 Account near Galloways Mill. February 21.

1836 Canal Disturbances. January16.

1839 Riots on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. September 14.

Pennsylvania Archives
var. Volumes 1-8, 1st Series, 1853. J. Severns, Philadelphia.

Pennsylvania Colonial Records
var. Volumes 1-9, 1683-1775. T. Fenn, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Pleasants, J. Hall
1942 *Proceedings and Acts-General Assembly of Maryland*. Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

Powell, Allan
1998 *Maryland and the French and Indian War*. Gateway Press, Inc., Baltimore.

Prince George's County Deed Book Y
1741 Microfilm on file, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis.

Romigh, Philip S., and Barry Mackintosh
1979 *C&O Canal.* National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form. On file, National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.

Scharf, J. Thomas
1879 *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day*. Tradition Press, Hatboro, Pennsylvania. Reprinted 1967.

1882 *History of Western Maryland*. Regional Publishing Co., Baltimore. Reprinted 1968.

Selfa, John B.
1993 Planter Industrialists and Iron Oligarchs: A Comparative Prosopography of Early Anglo-American Ironmasters. *Business and Economic History* 22(1):62-70.

Sharpe, Horatio
var. Correspondances of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol I:1753-1757. Accessed online at <http://www.msa.md.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000006/html/am6p--1.html>.

Slattery, Richard G., and Douglas R. Woodward
1992 The Montgomery Focus: A Late Woodland Potomac River Culture. *Archeological Society of Maryland Bulletin* (No. 2).

Smith, John
1986 *Complete Works.* Three volumes, edited by Philip L. Barbour. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Smith, J.P.
1884 Antiquities in Washington County, Maryland. *Smithsonian Institution Annual Report for 1882*:796-799.

Snow, Dean R.
1996 Mohawk Demography and the Effects of Exogenous Epidemics on American Indian Populations. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 15:160-182.

Stapleton, David H. (editor)
1980 *The Engineering Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.

Stevens, J. Sanderson
1991 A Story of Plants, Fire, and People; The Paleoecology and Subsistence of the Late Archaic and Early Woodland in Virginia. In *Late Archaic and Early Woodland Research in Virginia: a Synthesis.* Edited by Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges, pp. 185-220. Special Publication No. 23. Archaeological Society of Virginia, Richmond.

Stewart, R. Michael
1980 *Prehistoric Settlement and Subsistence Patterns and the Testing of Predictive Site Location Models in the Great Valley of Maryland*. Doctoral dissertation, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

1982 Prehistoric Ceramics in the Great Valley of Maryland. *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 10:69-94.

1989 The Middle Archaic Period in the Great Valley of Maryland. *Maryland Archeology* 25(1):1-13.

1997 Early Archaeological Research in the Great Valley of Maryland. *Maryland Archeology* 33(1&2):1-44.

Taggert, Thomas
1859 *A Map of Washington County, MD*. Maryland State Archives, Annapolis. Accessed online at <http://www.mdslavery.net/html/mapped_images/wad11.html>.

Tracey, Grace L., and John P. Dern
1987 *Pioneers of Old Monocacy: The Early Settlement of Frederick County, Maryland, 1721-1743*. Genealogical Publishing Company, Baltimore.

Twigg, Jerry
1997 Washington County Maryland—Early Settler Plat Map. Accessed online at http://midatlantic.rootsweb.com/MD/washington/plats/map.html

Ubelaker, Douglas H.
1992 North American Indian Population Size. In *Disease and Demography in the Americas*, edited by John W. Verano and Douglas H. Ubelaker, pp. 169-176. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

United States Geological Survey
1973 *Reston, VA*. 1:500,000 map. United States Geological Survey, Washington, D.C.

1978 *Keadysville, MD*. 7.5-Minute Topographic Quadrangle. United States Geological Survey, Washington, D.C.

1994 *Shepherdstown, WV*. 7.5-Minute Topographic Quadrangle. United States Geological Survey, Washington, D.C.

Unrau, Harlan D.
2007 *Historical Resource Study: Chesapeake and Ohio Canal.* Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historic Park, Hagerstown, Maryland.

Van der Donck, Adriaen
1968 *A Description of the New Netherlands.* 1968 version edited by Thomas F. O'Donnell. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, New York. Originally published 1655.

Van Meter, Ann Hunter
1902 A Glance at the Van Meter Family in the United States of America. *West Virginia Historical Quarterly,* 1902. Accessed online at <http://www.vanmetre.com/reference.htm>.

Wall, Robert D.
1993 Stratigraphy and Sequence in the South Branch of the Upper Potomac, Moorefield and Petersburg, West Virginia. *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology* 9:49-66.

The War of the Rebellion, A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies [O.R.]
various Available on CD-Rom, Guild Press of Indiana, Inc., Zionsville, Indiana.

Way, Peter
1989 Shovel and Shamrock: Irish Workers and Labor Violence in the Digging of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. *Labor History* 30:489-517.

1993a Evil Humors and Ardent Spirits: The Rough Culture of Canal Construction Laborers. *Journal of American History* 79(4):1397-1428.

1993b *Common Labor: Workers and the Digging of North American Canals 1780-1860*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

Webb, Stephen S.
1984 *1676, The End of American Independence*. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, New York. Revised second edition 1995.

Wehrle, Edmund R.
2000 *Catoctin Mountain Park: An Historic Resource Study.* On file, National Park Service, Catoctin Mountain Park, Thurmont, Maryland.

Weyss, J.E.
1867 *Antietam.* Prepared by Brevet Brig. Gen. N. Michler. Surveyed and Drawn by Maj. J. E. Weyss. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Williams, Thomas J.C.
1906 *A History of Washington County, Maryland: Vol. 1*. John M. Runk and L.R. Titsworth, Hagerstown, Maryland.

Winslow, Benjamin
1736 *A Plan of the upper Part of Potomack River called Cohongorooto Survey'd in the Year 1736*. Copy of map on file, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Original manuscript in Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore.

YoungRavenhorst, Cari C. (editor)
1994 *Archeological Investigations in the Backyards of Park Buildings 32 to 36, Harper's Ferry National Historical Park: The Package 116 Prehistoric Occupations*. Occasional Report No. 10. National Park Service, National Capital Region, United States Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.