ARCHEOLOGICAL OVERVIEW, ASSESSMENT, IDENTIFICATION, AND EVALUATION STUDY OF NEWLY ACQUIRED LANDS AT

ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD

MARYLAND



FINAL TECHNICAL REPORT VOLUME I

CONTRACT NO. C3086100056
WORK ORDER NO. 4

PREPARED FOR:

NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
1100 Ohio Drive, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20242

PREPARED BY:

THE LOUIS BERGER GROUP, INC.
1250 23rd Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report describes the results of three years of archeological inventory and evaluation on newly acquired lands totaling 792 acres at the Antietam National Battlefield (ANTI). The work was carried out for the National Park Service, National Capital Region, and ANTI by The Louis Berger Group, Inc. The project is part of the Systemwide Archeological Inventory Program, which has been developed to address the requirements of the National Historic Preservation Act, Executive Order 11593, and the Archeological Resources Protection Act.

Because the Antietam Battlefield has already been so well studied, the project focused on answering particular questions about certain properties rather than a broad exploration of the landscape. The survey focused on known historic-period farms and tenant houses, either still standing or shown on historical maps, and on recovering military artifacts from certain areas where particular information was sought about the battle. Metal detecting for battle-related artifacts showed that all of these properties have been intensely explored by amateur relic hunters, leaving only a sample for the archeologists to find. Testing around the standing farms was more promising. Domestic deposits dating to before the Civil War were found at all of the tested farm sites, including very rich deposits at the J. Poffenberger and Roulette farms. Overall an area of 805 acres was investigated by surface reconnaissance; 109.3 acres received more intensive exploration, 45.7 by shovel testing, 43.5 by metal detecting, and 20.1 by both methods.

The first year of the program focused on background research and the archeological survey of five parcels with a total area of 374 acres. This entire area was investigated by surface reconnaissance; 39 acres received more intensive exploration, 19 acres by shovel testing, 19 acres by metal detecting, and 1 acre by both methods. Seven new archeological sites were defined: the Joseph Poffenberger Farm (Site 18WA594); the Poffenberger Tenant House (Site 18WA595); the Clip Tenant House (Site 18WA596); the Newcomer Tenant House (Site 18WA597); the Parks Floodplain Site (18WA598); the Pry House (Site 18WA599); and the Miller Farm Outbuilding (Site 18WA600). Three previously defined sites (18WA509, 18WA320, and 18WA438) received further investigation. The sites consist of four farmsteads with standing buildings, three tenancies without standing structures, a historic-period scatter that may be the remains of a demolished outbuilding, and two prehistoric lithic scatters. Only 16 battle-related artifacts were found, mainly shell fragments from pastures around the J. Poffenberger Farm, compared with more than 2,700 artifacts from historic-period farms and tenancies.

Low-lying terraces along Antietam Creek were explored to assess the potential for buried, stratified prehistoric sites in these locations. Shovel testing and the inspection of eroding banks both showed that these areas are mantled in deep deposits of historic-period sediment, built up behind the mill dams that once blocked Antietam Creek. The same situation was found in an earlier deep test near Burnside Bridge. Buried Holocene terraces may be present in some locations along the creek, but it will not be possible to locate them with shovel testing, and no such testing is recommended. A few prehistoric artifacts, all stone flakes, were found on bluffs overlooking Antietam Creek.

The second year of the program focused on background research and the archeological survey of four parcels with a total area of 418 acres. This entire area was investigated by surface reconnaissance; more intensive investigations were carried out on 60 acres, 26.7 acres by shovel testing, 16 acres by metal detecting, and 17.3 acres covered by both methods. Four new archeological sites were defined: the John Otto Farm Site (18WA601), the Parks Farm Site (18WA602), the Parks Floodplain II Site (18WA603), and the Joseph Sherrick Farm Site (18WA604). The new sites consist of three farmsteads with standing buildings and a small prehistoric scatter (Site 18WA603). Three previously defined sites received further investigation—Site 18WA320 and two sites identified in Year One, Sites 18WA598 and 18WA599.

The third year focused mainly on more intensive testing of four domestic sites identified during the first two years: the J. Poffenberger and Roulette farms and two tenant houses, the Clip Tenancy on the Roulette Property and the Keplinger Tenancy on the Newcomer property. Major finds include a well-built, stone-lined cellar at the Clip House, antebellum trash middens at the Poffenberger and Roulette houses, and a small cellar or pit feature at the Keplinger tenancy. Identification survey was carried out by shovel testing on 1 acre of land overlooking the stone mill on Town Creek. Additional metal detecting was carried out on the fields of the Sherrick property, searching for traces of the advance made from Burnside's Bridge toward Sharpsburg by Willcox's Division. Several military artifacts were found. Additional documentary research was also carried out on this part of the battle. The Benner Tenancy (Site 18WA606) was identified on the Clarke Tract.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Louis Berger is grateful to the many people who contributed to the research efforts that resulted in this report. The archeological survey at Antietam was part of a long-range plan for archeology in the Potomac Valley developed by Dr. Stephen Potter, Regional Archeologist for the National Capital Region, National Park Service. Thanks to the way this plan unfolded, the Antietam project was able to draw on much research already carried out for studies of Rock Creek Park, the C&O Canal National Historical Park, and Catoctin Park. Dr. Potter was also instrumental in designing and carrying through the Antietam investigations. Marian Creveling and Karen Orrence, also of the National Capital Region, provided important help with curation, reviews of reports, and the search for the Confederate burial trench. The project received splendid support and assistance from the Park staff, especially Ed Wenschhof, who was Acting Superintendent at the beginning of the project; Susan Trail, who was Superintendent for years 2 and 3; and other folks who have held a long list of different jobs over the past three years: Ted Alexander, Debbie Cohen, Jane Custer, Stephanie Gray, Tom Jones, K.C. Kirkman, Alann Schmidt, and Keith Snyder. Special thanks are due to Keven Walker, whose boundless enthusiasm and vast knowledge did so much to make the project a success.

Many Louis Berger personnel worked on this project. The project manager was Charles LeeDecker, the principal investigator was John Bedell, the field supervisor was Jason Shellenhamer, and the field crew consisted of Mary Patton, Jerusha McLeod, Emily Walter, Kathleen Maher, Lex Vancko, and Lucas Richardson. Laboratory Supervisor Katherine Lamzik had overall responsibility for the processing and cataloging of the artifact collections. Others who assisted in the cataloging included Todd Hejlik, Michael Dulle, David Boschi, and Jason Roberts. The GIS data files and manipulation were developed by Gregory Katz. Jacqueline Horsford prepared the finished graphic illustrations, with assistance from Janine Baumgartner. Senior Editor Anne Moiseev oversaw the editing and production of the report. The report was written by Dr. John Bedell and Jason Shellenhamer, incorporating material from earlier reports on the C&O Canal Park National Historical Park written by Dr. Stuart Fiedel.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. PROJECT BACKGROUND

Today the Antietam Battlefield is an idyllic rural landscape, dotted with lovely old farms and groves of stately trees. For one day in 1862, it was hell on earth. On these fields the Army of the Potomac under George McClellan and Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia came together like lumbering, angry beasts and mauled each other until neither could take any more. At least 6,000 men were killed and 15,000 more wounded, making September 17, 1862, the bloodiest day in American history. Tactically the battle was fought to a draw, but strategically that worked to the Union's advantage. The Confederates had to abandon their invasion of the North and march back to Virginia, their train of ambulances stretching for miles. McClellan was content to let them go. Lincoln took the opportunity of this victory to issue his Emancipation Proclamation, a revolutionary act that changed the political character of the war. The tenacity with which soldiers from both sides fought, and the terrible losses, confirmed that the neither side could win the war without years of slaughter, and Lincoln's Proclamation insured that the war's end would lead to a social revolution.

Those bloody fields now make up the Antietam National Battlefield (ANTI). Established in 1890, the park has gradually expanded over the years to take in more and more of the battleground (Figures 1 and 2). Since 1998, the park has acquired 792 new acres of land. On behalf of the National Park Service (NPS), National Capital Region, The Louis Berger Group, Inc. (Louis Berger), has carried out a three-year archeological survey of this newly acquired property. The property acquired before 1998 was covered by a previous survey, conducted in that year (Sterling et al. 2002). The newly acquired land is mainly around the periphery of the battleground but does include areas where intense fighting took place. The previous archeological survey did not include intensive investigations of the entire park, so the current project revisited some areas that have been in the park since its early days. The project is part of the Systemwide Archeological Inventory Program (SAIP) (Little 1995), which has been developed to address the requirements of the National Historic Preservation Act, Executive Order 11593, and the Archeological Resources Protection Act.

This report is divided into two volumes. Volume I is organized as a narrative and is intended to present the findings of the study for the public and park interpretive staff. Volume II includes the full details of the archeological study and is intended for professional archeologists and managers.

B. THE BATTLEFIELD LANDSCAPE

The Antietam Battlefield is located on rolling terrain in the Great Valley of Washington County, Maryland, between the Town of Sharpsburg and Antietam Creek. There is very little land in the park that could accurately be described as flat or level. Instead there is a gently folded landscape of hills, ridges, and valleys, like a ruffled bed sheet, the hills all about the same height. There are no commanding heights or deep ravines. The underlying bedrock is dolomite and limestone, and there are numerous outcrops of stone. Some parts of the battlefield have sinkholes, but there are no known caves. The main geographic feature is Antietam Creek, a large stream that could just as well have

Figure 1

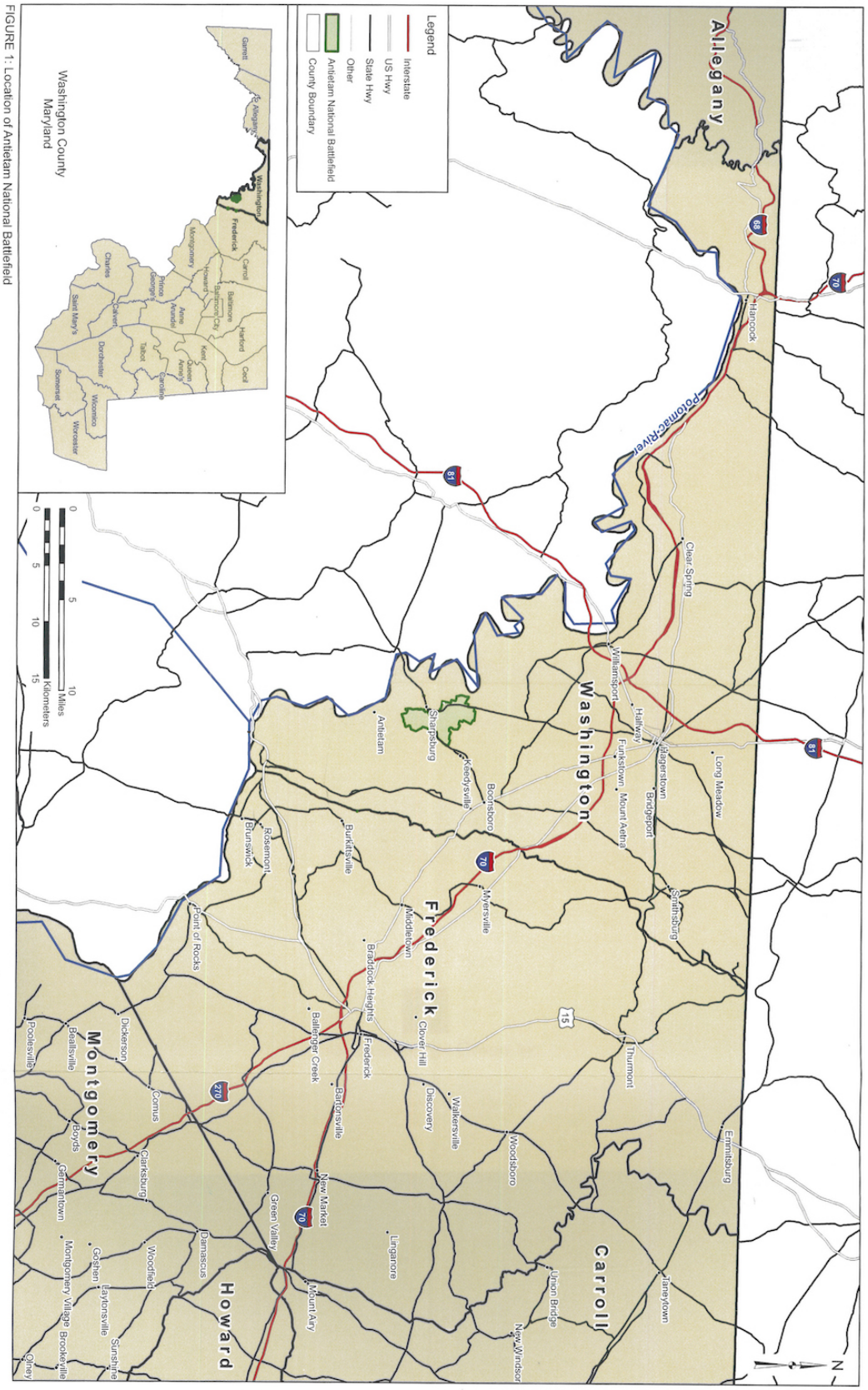


FIGURE 1: Location of Antietam National Battlefield

Figure 2

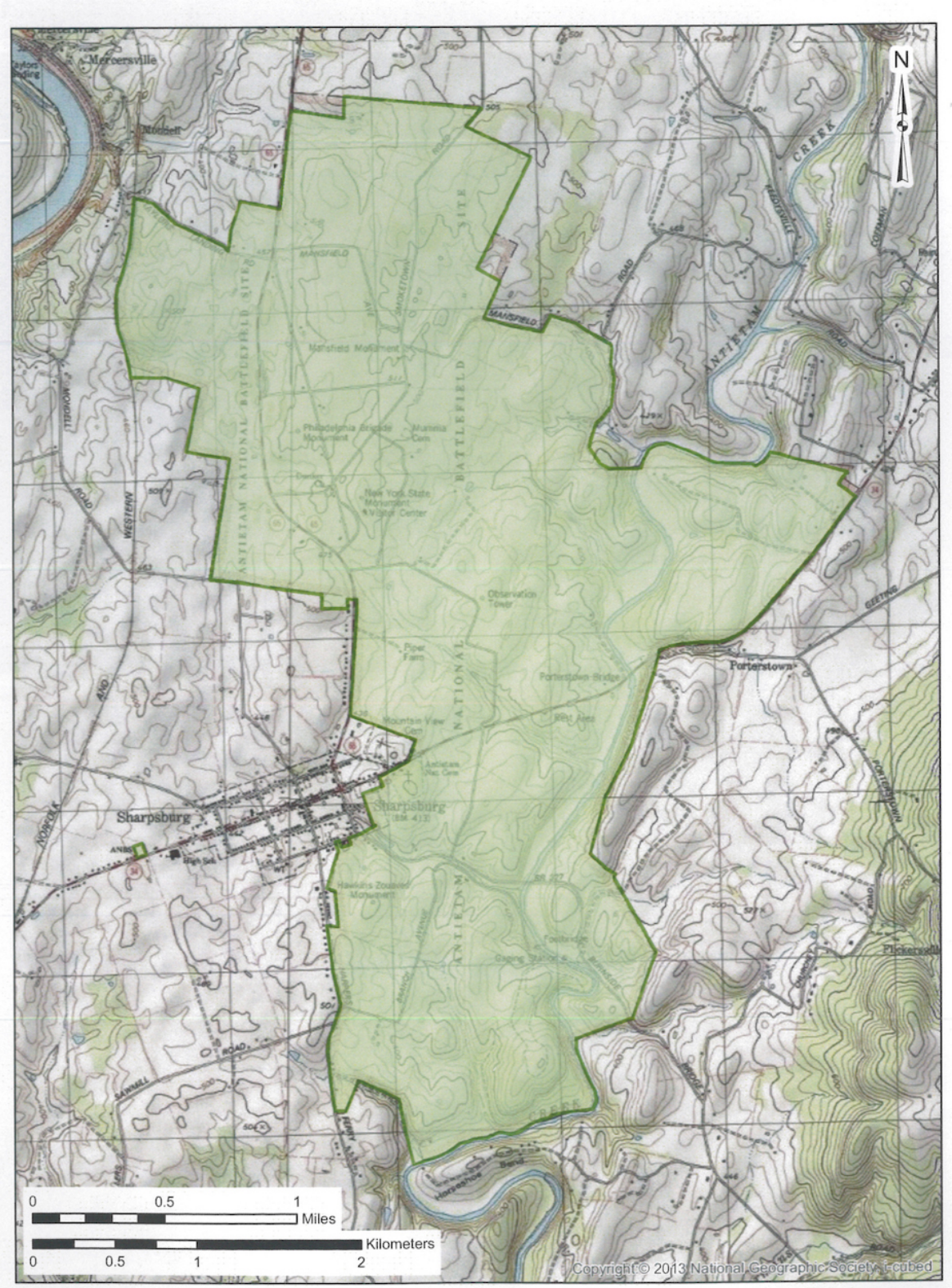


FIGURE 2: Overall Map of Antietam National Battlefield

SOURCE: ESRI 2009

been called a river. It is not deep, however, and can be forded in many places. The creek snakes through several wide bends in its 2-mile journey through the battlefield on its way to the Potomac a mile and a half to the south. A number of small creeks cross the park, fed by springs. Historical maps illustrate that in the nineteenth century there were more springs and small streams on the battlefield, but many no longer exist. Some may have been plowed under, and some springs may have ceased to flow because modern deep wells have lowered the water table. A map by Confederate mapmaker Jedediah Hotchkiss, made in 1895 but depicting the battlefield as it was in 1862 (Figure 3), conveys a good sense of the landscape, showing how it is broken up into numerous small ridges and valleys that have no consistent alignment. Soldiers who wrote later about the battle often remembered how little they could see of the landscape around them.

The road network is another major feature of the landscape. The old Hagerstown turnpike runs north to south from Hagerstown to Sharpsburg, forming a key component of the northern part of the battlefield. The modern road has been relocated to the west, carrying the heavy traffic away from the scenes of heavy fighting, and the nineteenth-century alignment is preserved as a tour road within the battlefield. Three bridges cross Antietam Creek within the battlefield's limits, the Upper Bridge, the Middle Bridge, and the Lower (Burnside) Bridge. The old Middle Bridge has been demolished and replaced with a modern bridge that carries Route 34 across the battlefield from east to west, following the approximate route of the nineteenth-century road to Boonesboro. This road continues to the south, toward the mouth of Antietam Creek and Harpers Ferry beyond. Numerous smaller roads and farm lanes run across the landscape at a variety of angles.

At the time of the battle, the landscape was a patchwork of plowed fields, pastures, orchards, and woodlots. The NPS is in the process of restoring the landscape to its 1862 appearance, but at present some of the 1862 woodlots are still grass. Some parts of the park are still in agricultural use or active pasture. The various parcels that make up the park have been acquired by the NPS at different times over the years, and this has proved to have a major impact on their archeology: the longer ago a parcel was acquired, the less time relic hunters with modern metal detectors had to explore the property and remove Civil War artifacts.

One of the most remarkable features of the battlefield is the collection of standing buildings dating to the nineteenth century and even earlier. This includes houses as well as spring houses, barns, and other outbuildings. The modern farms on the landscape are all in the same places as the 1862 farms, and at most of them some buildings survive from the Civil War era (Walker 2010). The continuity in the landscape also extends to other features, such as farm lanes, stone walls, and fences. The battlefield therefore preserves one of the most intact nineteenth-century rural landscapes anywhere in the Middle Atlantic region.

Figure 3



FIGURE 3: The Northern Part of the Battlefield

SOURCE: Hotchkiss 1895

II. ANCIENT INDIANS IN MARYLAND'S GREAT VALLEY

A. Antietam as an Archeological Locale

Within the Antietam Battlefield, and in the surrounding area, very little evidence has been found of prehistoric Indians. The sites that have been found are all small scatters of stone, representing camping by small groups of people as they passed through. Such small sites have been documented at the Mumma Farm, which is located at a good spring, and at three places along the bluffs overlooking Antietam Creek. These sites tell us little about the ancient past of the area. However, the battlefield is quite close to two areas with rich prehistoric records, the rhyolite workshops around the headwaters of Antietam Creek and the banks of the Potomac River. Most likely it is its proximity to the Potomac that explains the paucity of Native American sites in the park, since the Antietam landscape was within easy reach of excellent riverside camping spots.

Rhyolite is a volcanic stone that some groups of Indians preferred to use for tool-making, and in the Middle Atlantic region it is found only in a few locations. One of those is on South Mountain overlooking the headwaters of Antietam Creek, and to the east into what is now Catoctin Mountain Park. Michael Stewart (1980) explored the area for his dissertation research and documented two large sites that seem to be both camps and workshops for making tools from rhyolite mined in the hills nearby. Another important site in this general area is Bushey Cavern (Site 18WA18), where numerous prehistoric artifacts were found before the cave was destroyed by quarrying. Stewart believes that the pottery found here closely resembles wares made in the late sixteenth to seventeenth centuries AD by the Iroquois-speaking tribes of New York, so it may represent intrusions by Seneca or Susquehannock war or hunting parties.

The archeological record of the Potomac River has been explored by Louis Berger for the NPS in a nine-year archeological inventory and assessment study of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historic Park (Bedell et al. 2009, 2011; Fiedel et al. 2005) and in limited excavations at the mouth of Conococheague Creek (Bedell et al. 2010). Michael Stewart (1980) has also conducted surveys and test excavations of sites along the river, and reviewed the work of amateurs who worked from the 1930s to 1950s. Sites have been found along the river dating to all periods of prehistory.

B. Ancient Times

1. Paleoindian Period

The earliest well-attested human inhabitants of the Potomac Valley were Paleoindians of the Clovis culture, who appeared in North America around 13,300 years ago. They used distinctive, large spearpoints we call Clovis points. They spread rapidly across the Americas, and their arrival coincided with the extinction of numerous species of native mammals and birds, including mammoths and mastodons. Evidence from the West shows that Clovis people hunted these large animals, but in eastern North America the only evidence we have of subsistence practices points to the harvesting of seeds and nuts. A Clovis point fragment, made of light-colored translucent chert, was reportedly collected from the surface of Site 18WA133, along the Potomac about 3,000 feet west of Antietam Creek (Stewart 1980:275-6). A Mid-Paleo fluted point, made of chert, was

reported from the Stine Farm Site (18WA42), which is along the Potomac near the northwest corner of the Antietam Battlefield (Stewart 1980:296, 298, 312). It was found on the surface of an alluvial fan in the floodplain; in the terminal Pleistocene this would have been a well-drained knoll standing above the wet floodplain along the Potomac River.

A major Paleoindian occupation, associated with a jasper quarry, was excavated by Gardner (1974) at the Thunderbird Site, located on the south fork of the Shenandoah about 40 miles south of the Potomac. This site was the source of jasper that was exploited in Paleoindian and also Early Archaic times. Many of the tools found at the Catoctin Creek Paleoindian Site (in Virginia, near Point of Rocks) were made of jasper, and some of the scrapers from the Pierpoint Site near Seneca, Maryland, were of jasper. Other lithic materials at the latter site included cherts of various colors, chalcedony, quartz, and quartzite. In view of the presence of cortex, some of the jasper at Catoctin Creek was apparently derived from cobbles rather than bedrock sources; a gray chert of unknown source was also flaked there (Dent 1991).

2. Early Archaic Period

Human life at the end of the Ice Age was heavily influenced 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 11,590 years ago. 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. When the continent began to warm again, around 11,600 years ago or 9600 BC[1], 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 Early Archaic period is generally bracketed between 9600 BC and about 7600 BC. Archeological sites dating to that time are much more common than Paleoindian sites, apparently because of a growing population.

The artifacts that define this new period are spearpoints or dartpoints 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. Notched points of this period include the Kessell Side-Notched, Palmer, Charleston, and Kirk.

Kirk and Palmer points are quite common along the Potomac River. In the southern Marsh Run survey transect that included Site 18WA42, Stewart (1980:298) found 10 Kirk points (eight rhyolite, one chert, one quartzite) and a side-notched rhyolite point that he ascribed to the Early Archaic Warren type. These points were generally found on alluvial fans in the Potomac floodplain. One Kirk point (quartzite) and one Warren point (rhyolite) were collected near the mouth of Antietam Creek (Stewart 1980:272). Stewart also recorded one Palmer point, made of quartzite, in a collection from the Bikle Home Site (18WA74), located near Mercersville, about 300 feet from the Potomac.

1 Dates in this report are presented variously in several formats: "rcbp" refers to uncalibrated radiocarbon dates before present ("present" by accepted convention is AD 1950); "cal BP" refers to calibrated or calendrical years before 1950 (generally earlier than radiocarbon ages, by as much as 2000 years at 11,000 BP [=13,000 cal BP]); "bc" and "ad" are uncalibrated dates before and after Year 1 (as used in many previous chronological schemes for this region), and "cal AD" and "cal BC" denote calibrated calendar ages according to standard western (Christian) usage.

At Site 18FR798 on Tuscarora Creek, a deeply stratified Early Archaic assemblage, radiocarbon-dated to circa 9300 rcbp, contained small flakes of jasper, amber-colored translucent chalcedony, and glossy black chert, in addition to rhyolite, quartz, and quartzite (Figure 4). A basal fragment of a Palmer/Kirk-like point was made of dark gray chert (Fiedel et al. 2005). The deeply buried feature at the Barton Site (along the North Branch west of Cumberland) that was recently dated to circa 9000 rcbp (Wall 2005) may be associated with a similar Early Archaic component.



FIGURE 4: Scraper Made of Chalcedony Like That Found in the Early Archaic Layers at Site 18FR798

3. Middle Archaic Period

The appearance of new stone tool types marks the beginning of the Middle Archaic, around 7500 BC; however, the societies of the Middle Archaic seem to be very similar to those of the Early Archaic, and sites of the two periods are found in similar locations. The main diagnostic artifact of the earlier Middle Archaic is the bifurcate-based point. These are quite common in the Great Valley, especially along the Potomac. From the vicinity of Site 18WA42, Stewart (1980:298) reported five LeCroy points (two rhyolite, one quartz, two quartzite), five Morrow Mountain points (all rhyolite), and one rhyolite Stanly point. One rhyolite Morrow Mountain point was reported from the Antietam-Potomac transect (Stewart 1980:272). Stewart reported several Middle Archaic points from sites located between Fort Frederick and Ernstville: a rhyolite bifurcate and a chert Kanawha-like point from Site 18WA25, a Stanly-like point from Site 18WA88, and a chert bifurcate-based point from Site 18WA183. A notable find from the vicinity of Dam No. 4 on the Potomac, between Sharpsburg and Williamsport, was a chert bifurcate-based point (Stewart 1980). During the SAIP survey of the middle section of the C&O Canal Park, bifurcate-based points were found near Ernstville (Bedell et al. 2009).

The earliest points found at workshop sites near the rhyolite boulder quarry areas in the Blue Ridge are bifurcate-base points (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 found at non-quarry-related sites are made of rhyolite; however, there is a sharp fall-off in rhyolite frequency in sites located more than 30 miles from the boulder quarries.

4. Late Archaic and Terminal Archaic Periods

During the Late Archaic period populations grew throughout eastern North America, and strong regional variations between cultures began to develop. The Late Archaic seems to represent the maximum development of the generalized hunter-gatherer way of life practiced throughout the Archaic period. Numerous Late Archaic camp sites are found throughout the region, including locales that had not previously been much used. The people of this time period, represented by Halifax points in the Piedmont of Virginia and Maryland and Brewerton points in central

Pennsylvania and New York, had perfected their knowledge of how to survive in the Eastern woodlands, including the best ways and times to hunt all the animals and gather the plants.

In recent years the beginning date for the Late Archaic has been moved backward in time to around 6000 rcbp (5000 BC), much earlier than previous practice. In this scheme the Late Archaic onset is marked by the initial appearance of Otter Creek and Brewerton points, which replace the Morrow Mountain type (Fiedel et al. 2005). The ubiquitous occurrence of Savannah River broadspears and related forms (such as Holmes points) after about 2200 BC should be distinguished as the Terminal Archaic, which is marked both by technological changes and a sharp increase in the numbers of artifacts and sites and an inferred population spurt. During the Terminal Archaic population seems to have concentrated along the larger rivers, where very large sites formed. Terminal Archaic people seem to have been more sedentary than their forebears, spending months at a time in their riverbank base camps.

In the vicinity of Stine Farm, Stewart (1980:298) classified 17 points as Late Archaic; all but one of these were made of rhyolite. These include seven Brewerton-like side-notched, seven broad-bladed straight-stemmed (one of these is quartzite), and two broad-bladed with contracting stems. Four Brewerton-like side-notched points (all rhyolite) and three broad-bladed rhyolite points with contracting stems were reported for the Antietam-Potomac transect (Stewart 1980:272). Brewerton-like points were also observed by Stewart in a collection from Site 18WA88, at Mile Marker (MM) 117.8 in the C&O Canal National Historic Park. Stemmed points of probable Late Archaic ages were recorded by Stewart in several private collections. Fifty rhyolite (Susquehanna?) broadspears were noted in the collection from Site 18WA183. The state site form for Site 18WA10 (the site was probably destroyed by road construction in 1964) notes the presence of large rhyolite bifaces, probably of Terminal Archaic age.

One of the few stratified Terminal Archaic occupations that has been investigated in the region is at the Shepherds Field Site (46JF325) near Shepherdstown, West Virginia (Fiedel and Galke 1996). A Susquehanna Broadspear assemblage, with fire-cracked rock (FCR) features, was buried about 1.5 to 1.9 meters below ground surface, near the Potomac levee. Associated radiocarbon dates were 3300±80, 3540±120, and 3610±80 rcbp; these indicate a calendar age of about 2000 to 1600 cal BC. Nearly 100 percent of the tools and debitage from this component were made of rhyolite.

Levels 13 and 14 in the deep unit at Site 18WA42 (about 5.7 to 7 feet below ground surface) were ascribed by Stewart (1980) to the Terminal Late Archaic on the basis of the large size of the abundant rhyolite flakes and their relative position underlying strata containing ceramic sherds. This is roughly the same depth at which the Susquehanna Broadspear component was found on the opposite bank of the Potomac at Shepherds Field (about 1.5 miles west of Site 18WA42). Debitage was found in the underlying Level 15, which Stewart attributed to the Late Archaic. Although he probed deeper, to 9 feet below ground surface, this was the deepest level that contained artifacts.

Recent excavations carried out by Louis Berger at Site 18WA14, at the mouth of Conococheague Creek, also produced data from the Terminal Archaic period. Two levels at a depth of 2.5 to 3.1 feet produced two rhyolite biface fragments, 22 pieces of chert, rhyolite, and argillite debitage, and eight pieces of fire-cracked rock.

5. Early Woodland Period

The introduction of pottery around 1400 BC marks the beginning of the Woodland period. In the Early Woodland life seems to have gone on much as it did during the Terminal Archaic, and indeed some of the same projectile points may have been used in both periods. Occupations remain focused on the larger rivers. After about 800 BC there seems to have been a falloff in population throughout the region, although this remains disputed and the cause of any population drop is unknown.

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 and tub-shaped with lug handles. The temper was ground soapstone. Marcey Creek pottery was used across a wide area, from the Delaware River to the James River, and although it probably originated in the Piedmont, it is known from several sites in the Great Valley. A slightly later type, Selden Island, was tempered with soapstone but made in the conoidal basket shape between 1000 and 750 BC. Another important Early Woodland type, called Accokeek, is tempered with sand or grit, cordmarked, and shaped into conoidal vessels with thin walls. Accokeek pottery is dated to 1000 to 400 BC. The Accokeek and Selden Island pottery types are common in the Great Valley. Sherds representing at least eight Marcey Creek, seven Selden Island, and 32 Accokeek vessels were recovered during the excavation of backyards in Harpers 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 in use, as well as teardrop-shaped bifaces and new pointed-based types called Piscataway and Rossville.

The Selden Island Site, for which the pottery type was named, is a large camp on an island in the Potomac in 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.

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, 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.

During the earlier phase of the C&O Canal Park archeological survey (MM 0 to 59), an important Early Woodland site was found near one of the Potomac's Piedmont tributaries (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 seemed 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 (Stewart 1980).

At the Shepherds Field Site Accokeek ceramic sherds that were found just above the Terminal Archaic rhyolite artifacts indicate an Early Woodland occupation (circa 2800 rcbp). One smooth-surfaced sherd, tempered with steatite and schist and resembling Marcey Creek ware, was found immediately above a level with rhyolite debitage and a Susquehanna Broadspear point fragment. A typical Marcey Creek base sherd was found in a secondary context (Fiedel and Galke 1996:105-107).

In his deep excavation unit (No. 22) at Site 18WA42, Stewart (1980) found in his Level 12 a "corner removed" point that resembled both Early Woodland fishtails and Vernon points. No ceramics were reported from that level. The earliest appearance of pottery in this stratified sequence seems to be in Level 10 at a depth of about 4 to 5 feet below ground surface. These deepest sherds, presumably Early Woodland in age, were cordmarked and tempered with micaceous sand. This ware resembles but is not precisely the same as the Accokeek type (Stewart 1982:73). In the overlying Level 9 (possibly early Middle Woodland) Stewart recognized two wares. One consisted of sherds tempered with finely crushed quartz and another crushed rock, perhaps shale; the exterior surface showed smoothed-over cordmarking. The other ware was cordmarked, and the only tempering material was quartz. In Level 8 some sherds were tempered with sand or fine grit and probably also shell (which had leached out); in other sherds the sand/grit was accompanied by crushed quartz. Exterior surfaces were cordmarked or smoothed over. Stewart did not assign type names to these wares, which, apart from their stratigraphic position, were not readily distinguishable from Late Woodland ceramics found at or near the surface of the site.

6. Middle Woodland Period

The Middle Woodland period in the Great Valley is not well understood, especially the earlier part (500 BC to AD 200). 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) observed that the Middle Woodland is "very poorly known" for the Upper Potomac and that the ceramic types of this period are "elusive." This paucity of Middle Woodland occupations was also observed in the SAIP survey of Section I (MM 0 to 59) of the C&O Canal National Historic Park (Fiedel et al. 2005). Jack's Reef points (dated in other regions to about AD 600 to 900) occur in western Maryland along with a side-notched concave-based point type (presumably equivalent to the Raccoon Notched type found in western Pennsylvania). Wall (1992) also noted that few diagnostic Middle Woodland points have been identified in western Maryland; both local and exotic cherts were used.

The stone mounds near Shepherdstown described by Smith (1884), like the mounds in eastern West Virginia noted by Fowke (1894), probably dated to the Early or Middle Woodland and reflected influences from the Adena and Hopewell centers in the Ohio Valley. Gardner (1982) radiocarbon-dated a mound in the Shenandoah Valley to about 2400 rcbp.

At Stine Farm (18WA42) Stewart (1980) attributed the ceramics found between 1 and 4 feet below ground surface (Levels 2 through 8) to the Middle Woodland. Level 5 contained a short, fairly broad, straight stemmed rhyolite point. Stewart (1982:75) noted just one shell-tempered, net-impressed sherd in a Smithsonian collection from a site on the Potomac near Williamsport. Stewart (1980:299) attributed 15 Jack's Reef-like points (12 rhyolite, three chert) and 21 small straight stemmed points (18 rhyolite, three quartz) from surface collections at Site 18WA42 to the Middle Woodland.

An interesting Middle Woodland occupation was documented during the SAIP survey at Site 18WA516 a few miles west of Conococheague Creek. Underneath a very dense Late Woodland layer several ceramic sherds were found that resemble Pope's Creek ware, which was used in the Coastal Plain in the 500 BC to AD 300 period (Bedell et al. 2009). Stewart (1980:376) identified Pope's Creek pottery in an old collection said to come from stone burial mounds near Antietam Creek. 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. 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.

Discoveries in the Valley and farther up the Potomac suggest that occupation intensified toward the end of the Middle Woodland. After the long data gap from 800 BC to AD 200, several sites can be dated to the AD 200 to 1000 period. Wall found a substantial Middle Woodland component on the site of the federal prison near Cumberland, radiocarbon dated to circa 200 AD. This included material resembling finds in the Ohio Valley, and even a few artifacts made of imported Flint Ridge chert (Wall 1993). At the mouth of Conococheague Creek, Site 18WA14 produced numerous artifacts dating to the very late Middle Woodland, directly below material from the early Late Woodland (Figure 5). The pottery here included chert-tempered, cordmarked sherds, and one sand-tempered sherd (Bedell et al. 2010). The Paw Paw Site seems to be a small, semi-permanent village of the AD 700 to 1000 period (Kavanagh 1984).

Figure 5



FIGURE 5: Middle and Late Woodland Projectile Points from Site 18WA14 at the Mouth of Conococheague Creek

SOURCE: Bedell et al. 2010

C. VILLAGES AND TRIBES

1. Late Woodland Period

Although the Middle Woodland period is sparsely documented for the region, the Late Woodland period is lavishly so. In the Late Woodland period, roughly AD 900 to 1550, the people of the region began to practice maize-based agriculture, live in palisaded villages, and in general resemble the Indians of the early historic period. The sudden appearance around AD 800 or 900 of Late Woodland villages, with maize, triangular arrowpoints, and new types of pottery, may represent the arrival of new peoples who entered the region from the west. This early Late Woodland culture appears to be related to the Clemson Island culture of central Pennsylvania, which also appeared full-blown without local Middle Woodland antecedents.

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. Such pottery has been reported from the Williamsport Site, which was near the bridge that carries Route 68 across Conococheague Creek, and the mouth of Antietam Creek (Stewart 1980:387), and a few sherds were found during the SAIP survey on a small site near Fort Frederick. Pottery resembling Clemson Island was found in pit features at the Paw Paw Site farther 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 farther north or west.

The Clemson Island culture is centered in Pennsylvania, and it is related to other cultures farther north in New York. It is believed 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 1980). 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); 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 among 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 often 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. At a few sites in the Piedmont, the remains of these cultures have been found in stratified

layers, 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 were 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 vessels, though differently decorated, had similar sizes and shapes. They used identical arrowpoints. 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.

These cultures were quite different in other ways, 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. The main village sites were farther downriver, 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).

The simplest interpretation of the archeological data is that the Montgomery complex represents an intrusive, Iroquoian population, but this is not certain. Around AD 1300 it seems that people from the mid-Potomac migrated downriver and 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 remains an open question.

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, such as the Barton and Cresaptown sites west of Cumberland. Mason Island people seem to have come 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 farther 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, Maryland, 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 River in Frederick County, Maryland.

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 (Pousson 1983). At the Shawnee Oldfields Site nearby, recent test excavations revealed the existence of two Luray villages, one possibly dating to as late as 1550 (Figure 6) (Bedell et al. 2011). 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, including a substantial settlement (but not a village) at Site 18WA515, opposite the mouth of Opequon Creek (Bedell et al. 2009). 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.

Two major Late Woodland village site areas are present near the mouth of Conococheague Creek. Site 18WA14, tested by Louis Berger in 2008, produced numerous potsherds from the earlier Late Woodland. Site 18WA69, located east of Pinesburg Station, was recorded by Curry (1978). Both Early Woodland and Late Woodland wares were reported. The Late Woodland component is attributed to the Montgomery focus because of the presence of grit-tempered Shepard pottery (Curry and Kavanagh 1991). Some chert-tempered sherds resembling Clemson Island pottery were also reported. Little evidence of Luray people has been found near the Conococheague's mouth.

2. Contact Period

Archeological investigations at sites of the Montgomery and Luray complexes in the C&O Canal Park indicate an apparent hiatus of native occupation after about AD 1550. Similarly, Walker and Miller (1992:181) noted the general absence of early European trade goods in the northern Great Valley of Virginia. The only exception is the Perkins Point Site (44BA3), where three glass beads were found dating to about AD 1600. In contrast, west of the Great Valley, there is evidence of Monongahela occupations lasting until circa AD 1635, and also intrusive Susquehannock occupations (with trade goods) in the late sixteenth century (circa AD 1590) and the first few decades of the seventeenth century (Wall and Lapham 2003).

The empty mid-Potomac zone was settled between the 1690s and 1720s by refugee Indian groups displaced from their traditional homelands—Piscataway/Conoys on Heaters Island, Tuscaroras at Tuscarora Creek, and Shawnees at Oldtown. An apparent archeological trace of Indians arriving from the south in this period is a vessel represented by six sherds found in a disturbed context at Harpers Ferry. This has been identified as Qualla complicated curvilinear stamped ware (YoungRavenhorst 1994:3.19), which was made by the protohistoric Cherokees, circa AD 1450 to 1700 (Stephen Potter, NPS, personal communication to Louis Berger archeologist Stuart Fiedel, 2006).

An insatiable European demand for furs and hides had far-reaching effects on native economies and political arrangements. One of these consequences was the effort of the Iroquois Five Nations to get a "piece of the action" in the trade of deer hides in the Carolinas. To do so, they staged repeated

Figure 6



FIGURE 6: Luray Phase Artifacts from the Shawnee Oldfields Site

SOURCE: Bedell et al. 2011

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" 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. There are local tales, reported by Kercheval and repeated by Williams (1906:19), of two battles fought in 1736 between the Delawares and the Catawbas, one at the mouth of the Antietam Creek and the other at the mouth of the Conococheague. The lone survivor of the latter battle is supposed to have sought shelter at the nearby house of the trader Charles Friend (on the "Swede's Delight" tract that Friend later patented in 1738 or 1739).

III. HISTORIC CONTEXT: SETTLING THE VALLEY

A. COLONIAL FRONTIER

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. Route 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 7).

By the 1710s 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 8). 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; 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 whose 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 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.

Figure 7



FIGURE 7: Augustine Herman's Map of Virginia and Maryland, 1670

SOURCE: Herman 1670

Figure 8

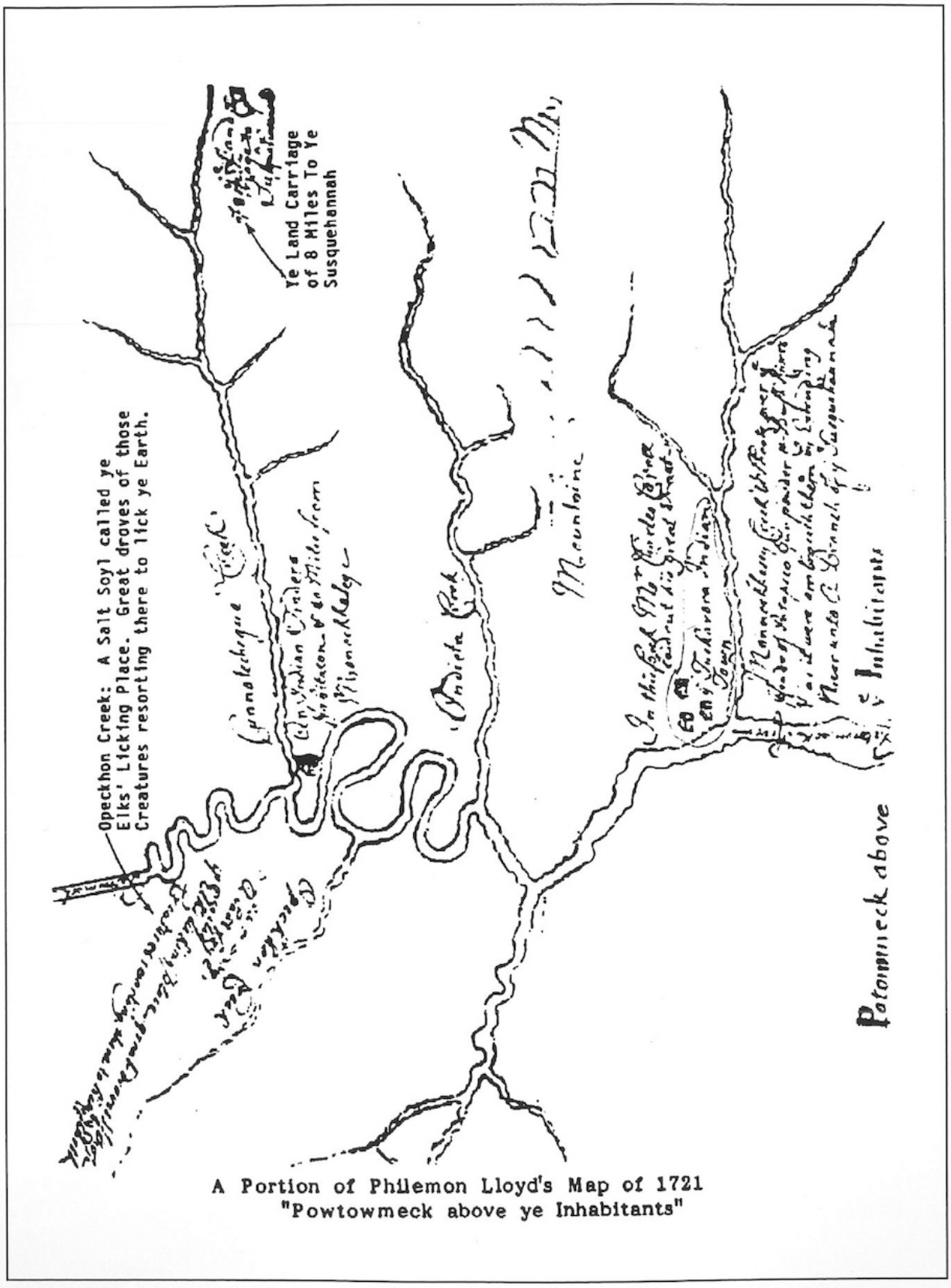


FIGURE 8: Lloyd's Map of the Mid-Potomac, 1721 SOURCE: Lloyd 1721

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. 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. 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 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.

Farther 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* (Margalith 1984), obtained at the Maryland State Archives, contains a facsimile of the marks of the Susquehannock chiefs made 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 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 British legal formulas and the British 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 Humberston 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).

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

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.

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 farther 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 Harpers 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.

Another settler who arrived in the Great Valley during this period of early settlement was Col. Thomas Cresap. Prior to arriving in Washington County, Thomas Cresap had earned a reputation in

Maryland and Pennsylvania as a "border ruffian" and was given the title of "Maryland Monster" by Pennsylvanians. Cresap was born in Skipton, Yorkshire, England, around 1694 (the actual year of his birth is uncertain). At the age of 15, he came to America, settling in Maryland near Havre de Grace. By 1729 Thomas Cresap had become a central figure in Maryland's border dispute with Pennsylvania.

Known as Cresap's War (or the Conojocular War), the Maryland/Pennsylvania dispute was largely about unsettled lands west of the Susquehanna River, in present-day Lancaster and York counties, Pennsylvania. To press his claim to the land, Lord Baltimore granted Thomas Cresap 500 acres called Pleasant Garden near Blue Rock, 5 miles south of present-day Wrightsville, Pennsylvania. Cresap served as a land agent, persuading German immigrants to purchase parcels of Pleasant Garden, thus gaining title for Maryland. Cresap collected quit-rents from the settlers, further establishing Lord Baltimore's claims over the lands. He also went into business for himself, operating a ferry.

These advances by Cresap did not go unnoticed by the Pennsylvania Assembly. As tensions between Marylanders and Pennsylvanians grew heated, violent and bloody collisions took place (Darlington 1893). On November 24, 1736, Cresap's house was surrounded by an armed company of 24 Pennsylvanians, lead by the Sheriff of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Cresap was captured only after sheriff's men set his house on fire. He was taken to Philadelphia and imprisoned for two years on the charge of murdering a Pennsylvania colonist (Handsman 1977). This conflict between the two colonies, each represented in Britain by one of the great English families, drew the attention of King George II. The Calvert and Penn families agreed to rein in their partisans and await a judicial verdict on the boundary between their domains, and as part of this settlement both sides released all of their prisoners. Cresap regained his freedom in 1738.

Upon leaving Philadelphia, Thomas Cresap moved his family west, securing land patents in Prince George's County (present-day Washington County), Maryland. In 1739 Cresap acquired three tracts, Long Meadow (550 acres), Skie Thorn (370 acres), and Forest of Needwood (300 acres). Cresap settled his family on Long Meadow, located a short distance north of the future site of Hagerstown on a "draught" (tributary) of Antietam Creek called Marsh Run. There he built a large stone house over a spring, which eventually became known as "Old Castle Cresap" (Handsman 1977). While residing in the Great Valley, Thomas Cresap attempted to engage in the fur trade with local Indians. With a £500 loan from Daniel Dulany, Cresap set out in his trade. He had amassed a good number of pelts during his trade with nearby tribes; unfortunately, his first shipment was on a vessel that was seized by a French ship on its way to England, thus leaving him deeply in debt to his financial backer (Wroth 1914). To pay off his debt to Dulaney, Cresap had to give up his property and house. He still retained ownership of his other two properties, Skie Thorn and Forest of Needwood, but instead of settling on those lands, Cresap and his family decided to venture farther west, settling in Oldtown before 1744. Eventually, Cresap sold his remaining land holdings in Washington County.

During his time in Maryland's Great Valley, Thomas Cresap also served as a land broker, a skill he acquired in Pennsylvania. Likely serving as surveyor, his name is often found on the land patents of several early English and Welsh settlers in the area. He also often served as a "go-between" for several of these new residents. During his time in service to Samuel Ogle, Proprietary Governor of Maryland, Cresap developed relationships with several land speculators in Annapolis, such as Daniel

Dulany. Since patents needed to be filed in the Maryland capital, Thomas Cresap likely brokered deals between the English and Welsh settlers in western Maryland and the speculators in Annapolis.

Another individual who greatly influenced early settlement in Washington County never stepped foot in Maryland's Great Valley. Dr. George H. Steuart patented several large tracts of land in the county from 1734 to 1743. Several of these tracts are now contained within Antietam National Battlefield, such as Elswick's Dwelling (1734), Anderson's Delight (1739), and Smith's Hills (1739).

George Hume Steuart was born in Perthshire, Scotland, around 1700. Since his older brother stood to inherit the family estate in Scotland, George studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh and in 1721 immigrated to Annapolis, where he established a medical practice (Papenfuse et al. 2009). In 1725 Steuart purchased Dodon, a 550-acre tract on the South River near Annapolis. At Dodon, Steuart planted tobacco and bred thoroughbred racehorses. Steuart had a contentious rivalry with fellow Maryland planter Charles Carroll of Annapolis. To compete against Carroll's horse stable, Steuart bought the racehorse Dungannon from England. In 1743 Dungannon won the Annapolis Subscription Plate, the first formal horse race in Maryland (Figure 9).

Throughout his life, Steuart was closely aligned with the Calvert family. In 1742 Charles Calvert, fifth Lord Baltimore, sent his eldest illegitimate son, Benedict Swingate Calvert, to Maryland to live with George Steuart (Yentsch 1994). His connection with the Calvert family clearly benefited him politically. In 1753 he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Horse Militia under Governor Horatio Sharpe. He also served as Deputy Secretary of Maryland as well as two one-year terms as Mayor of Annapolis (Papenfuse et al. 2009). Steuart remained loyal to the Calverts and the Crown throughout his life. When the American Revolution broke out, George H. Steuart sympathized with the patriots but decided to return to Scotland rather than forfeit his Perthshire estates by siding with the American cause.

During the early years of settlement in the Great Valley, many of the patents George Steuart received were acquired on behalf of English and Welsh settlers already residing in western Maryland. It appears Steuart filed the patents for those unable to travel to Annapolis to file for themselves. Once the patents were surveyed and awarded, Steuart would sell the properties to their intended owners. For instance, Anderson's Delight was eventually sold to William Anderson in 1751 and Smith's Hills was sold to James Smith in 1739. Although it is clear George Steuart benefited from this arrangement, it also helped early immigrant English and Welsh settlers in western Maryland to purchase lands they would have otherwise found difficult to acquire.

B. German Migration

The Germans were not the first European settlers in Maryland's Great Valley; as noted above, Finns and a small number of English and Welsh from eastern Maryland preceded them. But the Germans were by far the largest group, 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 German-speaking lands to America received a boost in 1710, when Queen Anne sponsored the immigration of a small group of families

Figure 9



FIGURE 9: The Annapolis Subscription Plate

from the upper Rhine. This region was known 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, so 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, 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 from 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 *History of the Valley of Virginia* (1833/1975).

The first Van Meter to settle in America was Jan Van Meter, who arrived 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 1833/1975:51].

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 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" (Kercheval 1833/1975). 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 emigrated from Germany to New Jersey in 1710, and in 1715 he moved to Pennsylvania. He seemed to be doing well there, 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

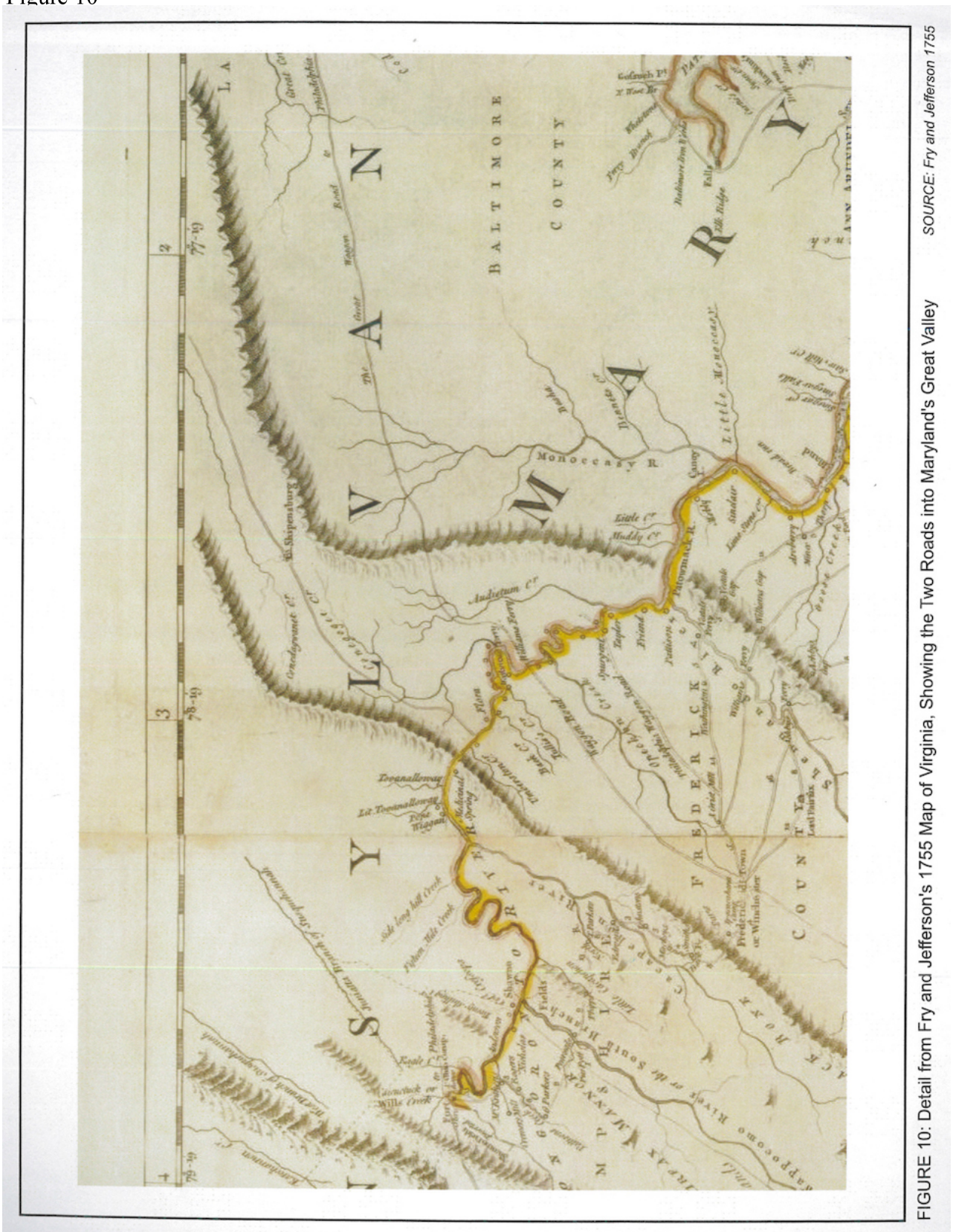
they always added greatly to the value of any land they farmed. They also had little interest in politics, so they posed no threat to the British elites who controlled the governments of the colonies. Seeing a stream of these desirable settlers cross Maryland on their way to Virginia made the leaders of Maryland envious, and they persuaded the Lord Proprietor to do something to help keep some of them in 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 (Tracey 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 10). 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 (Tracey 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, or 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 1948:82).

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 British 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

Figure 10


VIRGINIA
MARYLAND
BALTIMORE COUNTY
FREDERICK COUNTY
Monocacsy R.
Potomack R.
Shenandoah R.
Blue Ridge
Fredericktown or Winchester
Shepherds town
Harpers Ferry
Conococheague Cr.
Antietum Cr.
Little Monocacsy
Patowmack Road
Braddocks Road
Wagon Road
Indian Road
Ferry
Falls
Falls Ridge
Godwich P.
Rock Creek
Little Cr.
Muddy Cr.
Bush Cr.
Tuscarora Cr.
Fishing Creek
Sugar Tree Cr.
Long Meadow Cr.
Sandy Cr.
Sinsbar
Lime Stone Cr.
Beaver Dam Cr.
Hunting Creek
Great Cohongoronto R.
Susquehanna R.
Potomack R.
Shenandoah R.
Monocacsy R.
Great Wagon Road
Philadelphia
Lancaster
Shippensburg
Carlisle
Winchester
Frederick Town
Fredericktown or Winchester
Harpers Ferry
Shepherds town
Williamsport
Hagers Town
Conococheague
Tuscarora Path

them were leasing land, although this seems unlikely because 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, making 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 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 had a 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 said 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 British settlers moving west up the Potomac remained focused on the rivers, 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. British settlers sometimes delayed complete clearing of their fields, 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 11).



FIGURE 11: Home of Samuel Hager in Hagerstown, Built Around 1740

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), when most of the valley's inhabitants fled the fighting and lived as refugees in Frederick or Baltimore. The war probably helped Frederick, 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 Jonathan 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 Jonathan 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 British men 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 of the language spoken by Maryland Germans after the Revolution comes from church records. Dieter Cunze's study of this evidence found that in 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 1). 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. 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). By mid-century intermarriage between German and English families was becoming common.

TABLE 1. 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

C. JOSEPH CHAPLINE

Of all of the early residents of Maryland's Great Valley, Joseph Chapline was most responsible for shaping settlement along Antietam Creek in the eighteenth century. Joseph Chapline was born to William and Elizabeth Chapline on September 5, 1707, in Queen Anne's Parish, Prince George's County (Dare 1902). In 1730 Joseph's father, William, decided to leave Prince George's County for the western "back-parts." He received a grant for 465 acres in Northern Virginia, which he named "Little Bottom." The property was located along the Potomac River on the south side of Horseshoe Bend, about 4 miles above Shepherdstown. As William established his new plantation, he left Joseph a portion of his former farm, "Forrest," in Prince George's County. Joseph was also left in charge of his six younger siblings.

By 1736 Joseph Chapline had also moved west, settling across the Potomac River from his father in present-day Washington County. Chapline had patented and settled a 100-acre parcel called "Rush Bottom" in 1734, a property on a bluff overlooking the Potomac River, just west of present-day Sharpsburg. The house is shown on Benjamin Winslow's 1736 map of the Upper Potomac (Figure 12). The map depicts two locations, opposite each other, both occupied by William Chapline (Joseph's father). The property on the Virginia side of the Potomac is William Chapline's plantation, "Little Bottom." The "William Chapline" identified on the Maryland side of the river is actually Joseph Chapline, and his plantation, "Rush Bottom."

Maryland colonial records for that period show that Chapline was an active member of a community developing west of the Monocacy River. In May 1739 Joseph Chapline was a signatory on a petition of 88 inhabitants of the "back-parts" of Maryland. The petition states:

> The court of Judicature is from 120 to 200 miles away; many vagabonds steal horses and cows, but the injured party would rather suffer the loss than go to the great expense and trouble prosecuting; also he would suffer the loss of any debt rather than apply to the court of judicature for justice; the sheriffs never come to demand or give any account of officers' fees or taxes, but if the inhabitants come to court, they are taken in execution; the petitioners therefore pray that the county [Prince George's County] may be divided and that the court house may be erected at Salsbury Plain [present-day Williamsport] [Archives of Maryland].

That same year, Chapline sold his former plantation, Forrest, to William Bowell. According to the deed, Bowell had been residing on the property prior to the sale, since Chapline was already investing his time and energy in Maryland's Great Valley.

In 1744 Joseph Chapline began patenting and purchasing several tracts in the vicinity of the Antietam Battlefield (Table 2). That year, he patented two additional tracts on the Potomac River, adjacent to his home farm of Rush Bottom. The first property, "Joseph's Choice," was a 100-acre parcel and extended Chapline's holdings slightly south along the Potomac. Later that year, Chapline also extended his holdings to the north by patenting 136 acres of vacant land. He named this northern parcel "Bad Enough." In 1747 he patented the 250-acre tract "Hunting the Hare," located just south of present-day Sharpsburg. Earlier that year, Chapline also purchased the adjacent property, "Abston's Forrest," a 150-acre tract originally patented by Francis Abston in 1742. Finally, in 1753, Joseph Chapline patented a 104-acre parcel called "Hopewell," located on the north end

Figure 12



FIGURE 12: Detail from Winslow Map of 1736, Showing Joseph Chapline's Estate SOURCE: Winslow 1736

of the Antietam Battlefield (the Joseph Poffenberger Farm). Two years later he had Hopewell resurveyed, incorporating the vacant lands around the parcel and expanding it to 717 acres.

In addition to his roles as planter and land speculator, Joseph Chapline was involved in the burgeoning government of this part of Maryland. In December 1748 Frederick County was created from parts of Baltimore and Prince George's counties, and included all of western Maryland. That same year, Frederick Calvert, Lord Proprietor of Maryland, made Joseph Chapline and several others Justices of the Peace for the first court in Frederick County (Scharf 1882). The following year, Chapline was elected as delegate to represent Frederick County in the Lower House of the Maryland General Assembly. He remained a General Assembly delegate for the next 19 years, until his death in 1769.

TABLE 2. JOSEPH CHAPLINE PROPERTIES, 1734-1755

YEAR	TRACT	ACREAGE
1734	Rush Bottom	100
1744	Joseph's Choice	100
1744	Bad Enough	136
1747	Hunting the Hare	250
1747	Abston's Forest	150
1753	Hopewell	104
1755	Resurvey of Hopewell	717

In 1754 the Great Valley was thrown into chaos as the French and Indian War reached the Maryland frontier. Following news of the defeat of General Braddock's army at Fort Duquesne on July 9, 1755, the whole frontier was thrown into a state of alarm. Lacking trained troops and adequate fortifications and supplies, frontier residents were not ready to withstand the onslaughts of the French and their Indian allies (Powell 1998). 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. It has been estimated that by October 11, 1755, 100 Marylanders had been murdered or carried away (Giddens 1935).

The Maryland General Assembly had been slow to secure the frontier. Virginia had claimed much of present-day western Maryland and Pennsylvania. 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. 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 Assembly. The Assembly members voiced their concern for the inhabitants of the western frontier, but they could not, in good conscience, pass the bill. The rejection of the legislation was not unanimous, with Joseph Chapline, Edward Sprigg, and other members from western Maryland voting for it, along with speculator Daniel Dulaney. A week later, Maryland Governor Horatio Sharpe begged the Assembly to reconsider the bill, and after another round of debate, the Assembly voted to pass the resolution:

> Be it Enacted, by the Right Honourable the Lord Proprietary, by and with the Advice and Consent of his Lordship's Governor, and the Upper and Lower Houses of Assembly, and the Authority of the same, That his Excellency the Governor, for the Time being, enlist, raise, or impress, a Number of able-bodied Men, not exceeding Eighty, including Officers, and appoint and commission such Officers to discipline and command them; and that he order and dispose

> the same for the Security of the Western Frontier of this Province, against the Insults, Murders, and Depredations of the French, and their Indian Allies, for and during such Time as to him shall seem necessary, not exceeding Four Months, in such Manner as the him shall seem meet. Provided, That no Freeholder or House-Keeper, within this Province, shall be impressed for the Service herein directed [Pleasants 1942].

Throughout the conflict Joseph Chapline continued to support efforts to secure the western frontier. On numerous occasions Chapline voted to raise revenue for the defense of the Great Valley by placing new duties on Maryland's imports, such as rum and spirits, and on exports, including iron and home-made spirits. Interestingly, he did not support an effort to levy a tax of one shilling on surveys of newly patented lands measuring 100 acres or less and one penny for every 10 acres over and above 100 acres. Clearly his loyalty for the war effort did not eclipse his personal efforts as a speculator.

In 1757 Joseph Chapline began to take a more active role in defending the western frontier. In April Capt. Joseph Chapline formed a company of militia; muster rolls for 1757 indicate that he had over 90 men from the western province under his command with several other prominent residents serving as his lieutenants, such as Evan Shelby, Moses Chapline, and John Pessen (Maryland Historical Society [MHS] 1914). On April 23 Horatio Sharpe ordered Chapline out on a patrol to protect the residents of the western frontier:

> To Captain Joseph Chapline, and to Lieutenant Moses Chapline, of Frederick County.
>
> Whereas I have been informed, that a considerable Number of Indians have lately killed several Persons in Frederick Cunty, at no great distance from your Habitations, and that they are still Lurking in that part of the Province with an Intention, as might be reasonably supposed, to do more Mischief; I have thought fit, and do hereby impower and direct you to muster the Company of Militia under your Command, and with the said Company or any other Men capable of bearing Arms to Range on the Frontiers for the Protection of the Inhabitants, till a greater body of Troops can be Raised for their Defence. You are to act agreeable to the Militia Laws of this Province, while you are on this Service, and to keep a Journal of your Proceedings in Consequence of these Orders, to be returned to me at the End of one Month, before which Time you may expect to be relieved.
>
> Hor. Sharpe.
> Given at Baltimore the 23rd of April, 1757 [Pleasants 1942]

Chapline's Company remained on the frontier for the summer, patrolling near Fort Frederick and the North Mountains. The results of their ranging were mixed. Although Chapline's Company was effective in updating Governor Sharpe and the General Assembly on the conditions of the frontier and the nature of the Indian raids in Maryland and Pennsylvania, the company was rarely able to locate and engage the raiders. Chapline and his force were further deterred by the absence of support both by the colonial government in Annapolis and the standing garrison at Fort Frederick. In a letter to the governor, Joseph Chapline explains the conditions he is facing and describes his concerns:

July 20th, 1757.

Sir,

At the Request of, and in Behalf of, our settlement, I beg Leave to acquaint your Excellency, that from the several Murders committed amongst us, and other Mischief by the Indians, within these Ten Days past, is like to break us up, and certainly will, except some Assistance can be had speedily. Frequent Applications has been made to the Officers of Fort Frederick for Help, but none can be had; for their Answer is, that they have scarce Men enough to escort their Provisions and other Necessaries to and from the Forts, which causes the People not to know what to do. There is above Two Thirds of the Inhabitants, between Conococheague and South-Mountain, have slew into Heaps; many of which are removing quite away, and the rest will I expect soon, if there is no Notice taken of them by your Excellency. . It is with Concern that I repeat it again, but I am very sure that if we have no Relief at the Return of this Messenger, the greater Part of the People will leave the Settlement, which if they do, what few of us that would willingly stay, will not be able.

I am, Sir, Your Excellency's most obedient and humble Servant,

Joseph Chapline [Pleasants 1942]

Chapline did not receive the aid he requested, as the governor feared that the General Assembly would not approve an additional request for militia above the 400 already stationed at Fort Frederick and other fortifications. Rather, Governor Sharpe asked that if Chapline and any other commissioned officers had the "inclination to range with their respective companies," he would recommend to the Assembly that those militias be reimbursed for their efforts at a later date. Sharpe also informed Chapline that Captain Beall and his provincial company remained on the frontier, and continued to conduct ranging expeditions. To that, Chapline replied:

July 30th, 1757.

Sir,

I received yours of the 24th Instant, wherein I find his Excellency does not incline to let us have any Assistance to defend us against this inhuman Enemy that is constantly harassing us, but expects that Capt. Beall takes Care to guard us sufficiently with the Provincial Troops; this I can venture to say, that there has been none yet that there can be any Hopes put in Defence; true it is, that since I wrote last, he sent a Serjeant [Sergeant] with Thirty Men to Mr. Baker, or as many, with what few there was before, as made up Thirty; but most of them was out of the Hospital, or at least appeared as such. I call'd on Capt. Beall since the Receipt of your Letter with an Expectation of his immediately sending a stronger Party, but found it as he said, and I believe out of his Power, as there was then Forty under the Doctor's Hand, and many others that had recovered not fit for Duty, so that there was no help to be had, nor none we expect from the Place; and if his Excellency does not incline to send us any Help, the Consequence is, we must break up and leave the Settlement, or be sure of being murdered by Degrees. There is near Seven Hundred Souls, as you will see by the enclosed List, that still remain at the several Places where they were gathered, and stands upon their own Defence, still hoping that when his Excellency is truly informed of their unhappy Circumstance, that they will get some Relief.

I am, Sir, Your Excellency's most obedient and humble Servent,

Joseph Chapline [Pleasants 1942]

No additional letters between Joseph Chapline and Governor Horatio Sharpe are recorded in the *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly*, but it is clear that Chapline did not receive the assistance he requested. By September Joseph Chapline was back in Annapolis, attempting to do as a legislator what he could not as a soldier and protect the residents of western Maryland. One example of this determination occurred in the spring of 1758, when Chapline supported legislation to conscript 200 soldiers and officers to be stationed at Fort Frederick and serve as rangers. He and his fellow western Maryland delegates were in the minority, and the measure was defeated.

The following month Chapline and the General Assembly appropriated £2,000 for the purpose of "cultivating the friendship and engage the assistance of the southern tribes of Indians" (Pleasants 1942). That same month Chapline and his fellow delegates voted to raise 1,000 men within the province to serve under the command of Brigadier General Forbes in his campaign to capture Fort Duquesne. The assembly fell short of their quota, only contributing 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 was 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. After an exhaustive march during the summer and fall of 1758, the British finally captured Fort Duquesne on November 25. In Maryland the British victory in the war reopened opportunities on the western frontier and in the colony as a whole. Following 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.

The end of hostilities in Maryland's western frontier signaled a period of expansion and prosperity for the Great Valley. 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 Frederick County (and present-day Washington County) 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.

At the same time, new towns were founded in the valley. As already noted, in 1762 Jonathan Hager founded Elizabethtown (Hagerstown) on 200 acres he purchased in 1739. The population of the valley surged as refugees returned and new settlers poured in, and Hagerstown grew rapidly.

Joseph Chapline also sought to take advantage of the influx of new settlers coming into the valley. In 1763 Chapline founded the town of Sharps Burgh (present-day Sharpsburg) in honor of Maryland's provincial governor Horatio Sharpe. On July 11, 1763, Joseph Chapline purchased a 200-acre tract owned by Edmund Cartledge. The parcel was located close to his plantation, Rush Bottom, and adjacent to two other parcels he owned, "Resurvey on Abston's Forest" and "Hunting the Hare." What made this parcel of "Hickory Tavern" such an appealing place for a town was the presence of a fresh water spring and its location along the wagon road to Philadelphia. Over the next year, Chapline laid out the plan for the town, consisting of 187 lots located around the spring. Each lot measured 103 feet wide by 206 feet long. On January 24, 1764, Chapline began selling the lots. The first was sold to Catherine Rodeman for one shilling (Frederick County Land Records [FCLR] Liber

J:109). In addition to the shilling, Catherine and all other residents of Sharpsburg were required to pay a quit rent of three shillings and six pence annually on July 9. By 1768 only 84 of the 187 lots had been purchased. The majority of the lots were purchased by speculators; however, some houses were built in the early years of the town.

The majority of the early settlers in Sharpsburg were British and German immigrants to the Valley. Some of the residents also owned farms outside the town. Some of the most notable early residents included John Reynolds, Christian Orendorff, William Chapline, and Samuel Beall. In March 1768 planning began for the first church in Sharpsburg. That month, Joseph Chapline gave Lot No. 154 to Dr. Christopher Cruss, Matthias Need, Nicholas Sam, and William Hawker, Vestrymen and Church Wardens of the Lutheran Church in Sharpsburg. The deed goes on to demand that in return for the land, a church must be constructed within seven years of the deed.

At the same time Joseph Chapline was founding Sharpsburg, he was also acquiring new properties and consolidating his holdings around his new town. In addition to patenting several small parcels in the Valley, Joseph Chapline acquired three large patents in the years following the French and Indian War (Table 3). In August 1764 Chapline patented "Joe's Lot," which consisted of 2,127 acres on the south and east sides of Sharpsburg. The parcel included over 1,680 acres of vacant land along with the original surveys of Resurvey on Abston's Forest and Hickory Tavern. The following year, he resurveyed Hopewell yet again and added an additional 450 acres of vacant land, renaming it "Loss and Gain." Finally, in 1765 Chapline patented the vast 6,352-acre parcel, "Little I Thought It." The parcel included his home plantation of Rush Bottom and stretched east from the Potomac River and south toward the mouth of Antietam Creek. By the time of his death in 1769, Joseph Chapline owned over 12,257 acres in present-day Washington County, most of which lies in and around Antietam Battlefield.

TABLE 3. JOSEPH CHAPLINE AQUISITIONS, 1763-1765

YEAR	TRACT	ACREAGE
1763	Hickory Tavern	200
1764	Near the Nable	100
1764	Clydesdale	273
1764	Joe's Lot	2,127
1765	Addition to Williams Project	50
1765	Loss and Gain	1,167
1765	Little I Thought It	6,352
1765	Gap	50

In the last years of his life, Joseph Chapline also became involved in the burgeoning iron industry in Maryland. On October 31, 1765, Chapline became investor and part owner of the Antietam Furnace and Iron Works. In the Articles of Agreement concerning the iron works, Chapline's partners are listed as Samuel Beall, Jr., Dr. David Ross, and Richard Henderson (FCLR Liber J:798). The articles further state that Joseph Chapline would contribute his lands for "the erecting iron works on or near Antietam in Frederick County." Initially, Chapline contributed 2,940 acres of his grant, Little I Thought It. Those lands included property along Antietam Creek and vast wood lots on South Mountain:

> Beginning on the Potowmack River, one hundred yards west of the Anti-Eatam Creek and extending parallel to Anti-Eatam Creek until a west course will meet Beaver Creek, and then by the Marsh Branch of Beaver Creek, so as to include all the ore and wood of South Mountain, then down the east side to the Potowmack and up the Potowmack to the beginning [FCLR Liber J:798].

In return, the other partners agreed to pay £300 each to Chapline as well as construct the furnace and iron works on the property. Once improvements at Antietam Furnace and Iron Works were complete and half payment received, Joseph Chapline promised to contribute the remaining 3,081 acres of his patent to the joint venture.

Chapline's involvement with the Antietam Furnace was limited. Operations and new land acquisitions for the iron works were handled by Ross, Beall, and Henderson. In 1770 Dr. David Ross, Samuel Beall, and Richard Henderson resurveyed and patented "Boston," an 8,025-acre tract consisting of the land they acquired from Chapline along with several thousand other acres in the valley. Joseph Chapline restricted his involvement to the initial land acquisition for the furnace, and he and his heirs remained mostly silent during the remainder of their partnership with the other investors.

In 1806 Antietam Furnace and Iron Works was purchased by John McPherson, a Frederick businessman. The iron works changed hands several more times over the period of its operation. The great flood of 1877 caused severe damage to the area and affected Antietam Furnace. After repairs were completed, the furnace resumed operation in 1879 only to cease the following year. Antietam Furnace was finally dismantled in 1891.

Joseph Chapline died in 1769. In his will he divided his vast holdings among his children. His eldest, Joseph Chapline, Jr., received the majority of his lands, including Sharpsburg and the surrounding land. He also received the interest in the Antietam Furnace and Iron Works, which was still under construction at the time the will was drafted (1768). His other son, Jeremiah, received the plantation at Rush Bottom as well as the land between Sharpsburg and the Potomac River. James Chapline received his father's tract north of Sharpsburg, the 1,168-acre Loss and Gain.

IV. FARMSTEAD ARCHEOLOGY

A. THE ANTIETAM NEIGHBORHOOD

The Antietam Battlefield has a remarkable collection of old farms, preserved because they happen to have been caught up in the Civil War but fascinating in their own right (Walker 2010). These were the sorts of houses farmers in the Great Valley lived in at the time of the Civil War, and the sorts of barns they built. But what was life like inside them, and what did these farms really look like in 1862 and before?

One way to learn about life on old farms is through archeology. Over the years there has been quite a bit of archeology at Antietam, much of it at the old farms (Figure 13). Some of this work was done because of construction or excavation around the houses, some during two major archeological studies of the park in the 1990s and 2012-2013. By excavating around foundations and in farm yards, archeologists have learned about now vanished outbuildings, wells, paths, and other features, and they have found many artifacts left by the farm's residents. These artifacts tell us about what the residents ate, what sort of dishes they owned, and how they used the space around their farms. For the Antietam Battlefield we are also very lucky to have several good photographs of farms around the time of the battle. People in the 1800s rarely took photographs of ordinary farms, but because of the famous battle they did take pictures of the farms at Antietam. By putting together the standing buildings, the historical photographs, and the results of archeology, we can learn much about farm life at the time of the battle and before.

Most of the farms at Antietam were established in the later 1700s or early 1800s. Some were initially set up as tenancies while the Chaplines still owned the land, others by owners who bought land from the Chaplines or from John Buchanan, who acquired more than a thousand acres of Chapline lands when James Chapline ran into debt. The pattern throughout British North America was for the initial large land grants, mainly to speculators, to be broken up into family-sized farms as the area was settled, and this is what happened along Antietam Creek. Most of the new owners, the family farmers, were German. In fact many of them were related to each other, or intermarried after they became neighbors; the family connections of the Middelkauffs, Orrendorfs, Poffenbergers and Mummas spread across the whole district. They were part of the wide zone of German cultural influence that stretched from central Pennsylvania down the Great Valley into Virginia and North Carolina. Since the large farms at Antietam were occupied by people of similar backgrounds, the farms were also similar in many ways.

B. FARMS

The place to begin is with what can still be seen above ground. Most of the standing buildings on these farms are more than 150 years old, so they still preserve some of the architecture and the basic layout they had from their first years. They are also still in the same places, so they show us what the builders were looking for in a home site. For example, most were sited in valleys rather than on hilltops, usually near a spring (Figure 14). These farmers wanted convenience and shelter from winter winds, not a nice view. The farms were not directly on the public roads, but set back some

Figure 13



FIGURE 13: Archeologists Excavating in the Cellar of the Clip Tenant House

Figure 14



FIGURE 14: The Mumma and Roulette Farms

distance. The main buildings were a house and a large, two-level barn (Figure 15). Most farms had numerous other outbuildings, such as a spring house, a smoke house, an out-kitchen, and various sheds. A photograph Alexander Gardner took of the Sherrick Farm in 1862 shows the house, the large barn and two other outbuildings, a kitchen, and a smoke house. In front of the kitchen and outbuilding is a garden with an arbor (Figure 16). Shovel tests dug in this area encountered deep, dark topsoil, showing that the garden had been worked for years and regularly enriched with manure or compost.

Some of the old outbuildings are still standing at Antietam, but others have disappeared over the years. The smoke house shown in the old photograph of the Sherrick Farm is no longer there, and Civil War photographs and drawings show other now missing buildings. Yet the existence of these Civil War images can give us a false sense that we know what these farms "used to be like." After all, some of the farms were already a century old in 1862, plenty of time for buildings to have been put up and torn down. Archeologists digging behind the Mumma Farm found the stone foundations of an old building that had been completely forgotten, apparently a kitchen. Inside the foundation was a layer of soil mixed with charcoal and ash, containing artifacts from the 1760 to 1790 period. It seems that the farm once had a summer kitchen, which burned down around 1800.

Another fascinating discovery in the Mumma Yard was an oval pit lined with fire-reddened soil. The soil within it was ashy and contained nails and pieces of animal bone. From its shape archeologists might have guessed that it was part of an ancient Indian camp, but the nails and pig bones show that it was not much older than the farm. This pit raises an interesting question: on the frontier where did people live while they were building their first houses? In 1750 there were not many people living along Antietam Creek, so there were no inns to stay in and not many neighbors one might impose on. Quite likely the first farmers in the valley lived in temporary shacks of some kind, or even tents, until they had a house with a roof over it. And how did they cook, before they had built fireplaces and kitchens? Quite likely over fire pits like the one in the Mummas' yard.

C. HOUSES

The houses on these farms were large and comfortable by nineteenth-century standards. However, they were not all large or comfortable to start with, and all were built in stages. For example, the Joseph Poffenberger house was built two rooms wide and only one room deep, but then an addition as large as the first stage was added to the back, with porches on both the first and second floors (Figure 17). This was a common thing to do in American farm country. Many farmers started out with a basic house and then enlarged it after they had the rest of their farms in working order, however many years that took. In fact the Newcomer House at Antietam has a rear addition almost identical to the Poffenbergers', with the same two-story porch, as if they used the same builder.

Other houses started out even smaller than the Poffenbergers'. The Roulette house was first built around 1760 as a two-room cabin; the frame was made of hewn logs held together with wooden pegs. This forms the southern end of the house as it stands today, on the left in Figure 18. Around 1780 what is now the center section was added with walls made of local stone—but only three walls, since the fourth side was against the standing house. Then around 1800 a kitchen was added at the north end, with a wood-fired beehive oven. In the twentieth century a bathroom was tacked onto the back (Figure 19).

Figure 15



FIGURE 15: House, Barn, and Other Outbuildings at the Roulette Farm

Figure 16



FIGURE 16: The Sherrick Farm in 1862

Figure 17



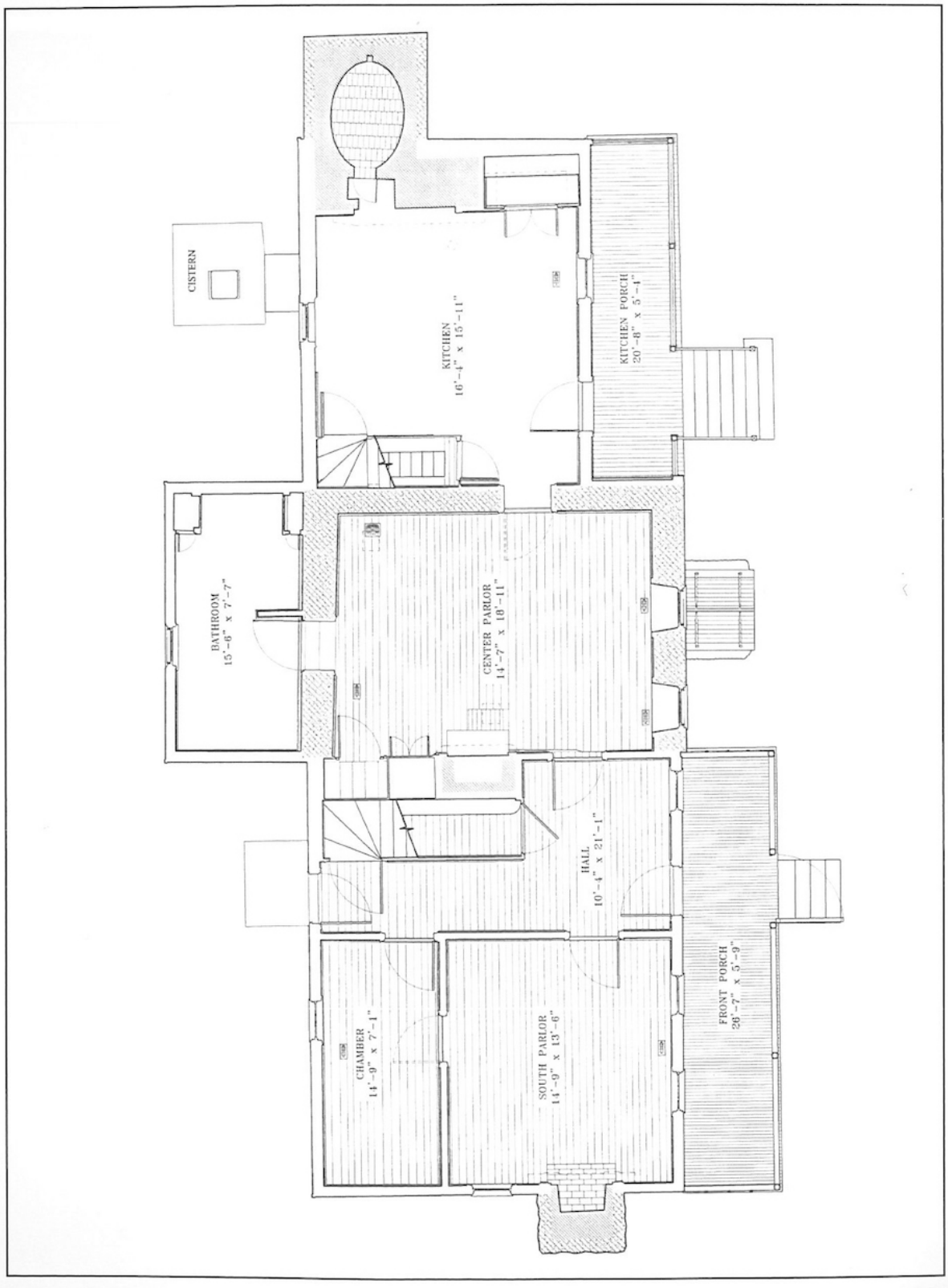
FIGURE 17: The Joseph Poffenberger House, Showing the Original House and the Rear Addition

Figure 18



FIGURE 18: The Roulette House, Which Was Built in Three Sections over the Years

Figure 19



SOURCE:

FIGURE 19: Plan of the Roulette House, Showing the Stages of Construction

One of the grandest houses on the battlefield belonged to the Mummas, and it was also built in three stages. The Mumma house was burned during the battle by Confederate soldiers to deny it to Union snipers. Photographs taken at the time show the standing walls of the brick section, but they seem to show only three walls; the southeast side is open (Figure 20). Today that part of the house has brick walls on all four sides. Architectural historians assumed that the brick section had been built against an earlier frame house. The first section rebuilt after the war was the brick section, which was made habitable by building a fourth brick wall across the open southeast side. Some years later a frame structure with a full basement was built southeast of the brick house, probably re-using the basement and foundations of the frame section burned during the battle. Still later a frame ell addition was built, attached to the frame section on its southwest side. This sequence of events was confirmed during archeological testing in the early 1990s. The excavation of several test units underneath the brick section showed that two of the walls were not original (Figure 21). The southeast wall, as expected, was added later. The original northeast wall turned out to be a foundation running 5 feet inside the current wall. This foundation, designated Feature 1, was bonded with the northwest wall and the chimney base. Apparently the house was built with a porch on the northeast side, open on its long side but walled at either end (Walker and Bedell 1993).

In one part of the basement, the archeologists found a "builder's trench." In the days before poured concrete, laying foundations meant getting down into the foundation trench to set stones or bricks in the bottom. The trench was therefore always bigger, sometimes much bigger, than the foundation wall. When the wall was finished, the rest of the trench was filled in with the dirt that had been dug out of it. Any artifacts found in the trench therefore date to before the house was built, and they can be used to date its construction. Excavation of a 2-foot section of the Mumma builder's trench produced eight pieces of ceramic and a white clay pipe stem, as well as six pieces of animal bone and four oyster shells. The presence of so much domestic trash in the trench shows that people had been living here for years before this part of the house was built, long enough for quite a bit of stuff to get discarded and trampled into the ground around the house. The artifacts probably date to around 1790-1810, and this gives us an approximate date for the building of the brick section of the house.

The destruction and rebuilding of the Mumma House was clearly visible to the archeologists digging underneath it. Most of the artifacts came from layers that had been sealed by the post-Civil War reconstruction of the house. A clear burn layer was present in some of the units, and, on top of that, a layer containing plaster, nails, and other evidence of construction. Little domestic material was found in these layers, indicating that the artifacts date mostly to before the war.

More digging was done under this part of the Mumma House in 2002, when a new climate control system was installed (Orrence and Potter 2002). At that time the archeologists noticed that the older, more deeply buried artifacts were not burned, nor did the soil show any signs of heating. This makes sense; heat from a fire rises, and only an intense fire built directly on the ground will alter the soil or artifacts buried beneath it. The many burned artifacts found under the house were probably not already in the ground. They were probably in the house and either fell into the ground when it collapsed or were tossed there during the clean-up. So the burned artifacts from under the Mumma House give us a good look at what was actually being used in the house in September 1862, a very rare find in archeology. The burned objects included numerous refined dishes such as the plates shown in Figure 22 and also many large earthenware crocks and jars like those in Figure 23.

Figure 20

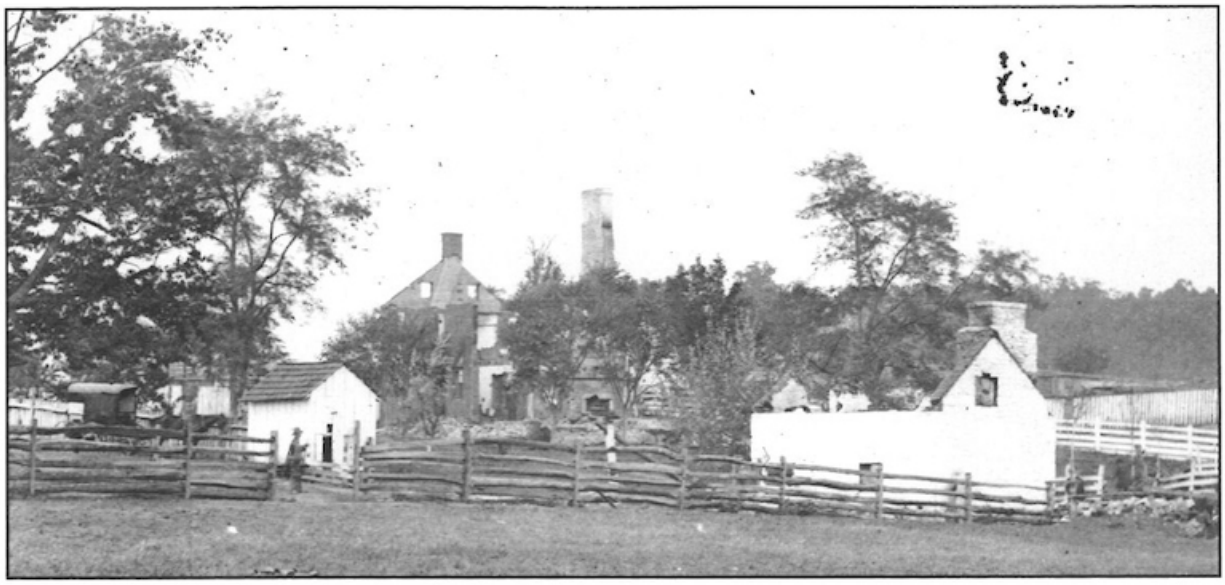


FIGURE 20: The Mumma Farm after the Battle

SOURCE: Library of Congress

Figure 21

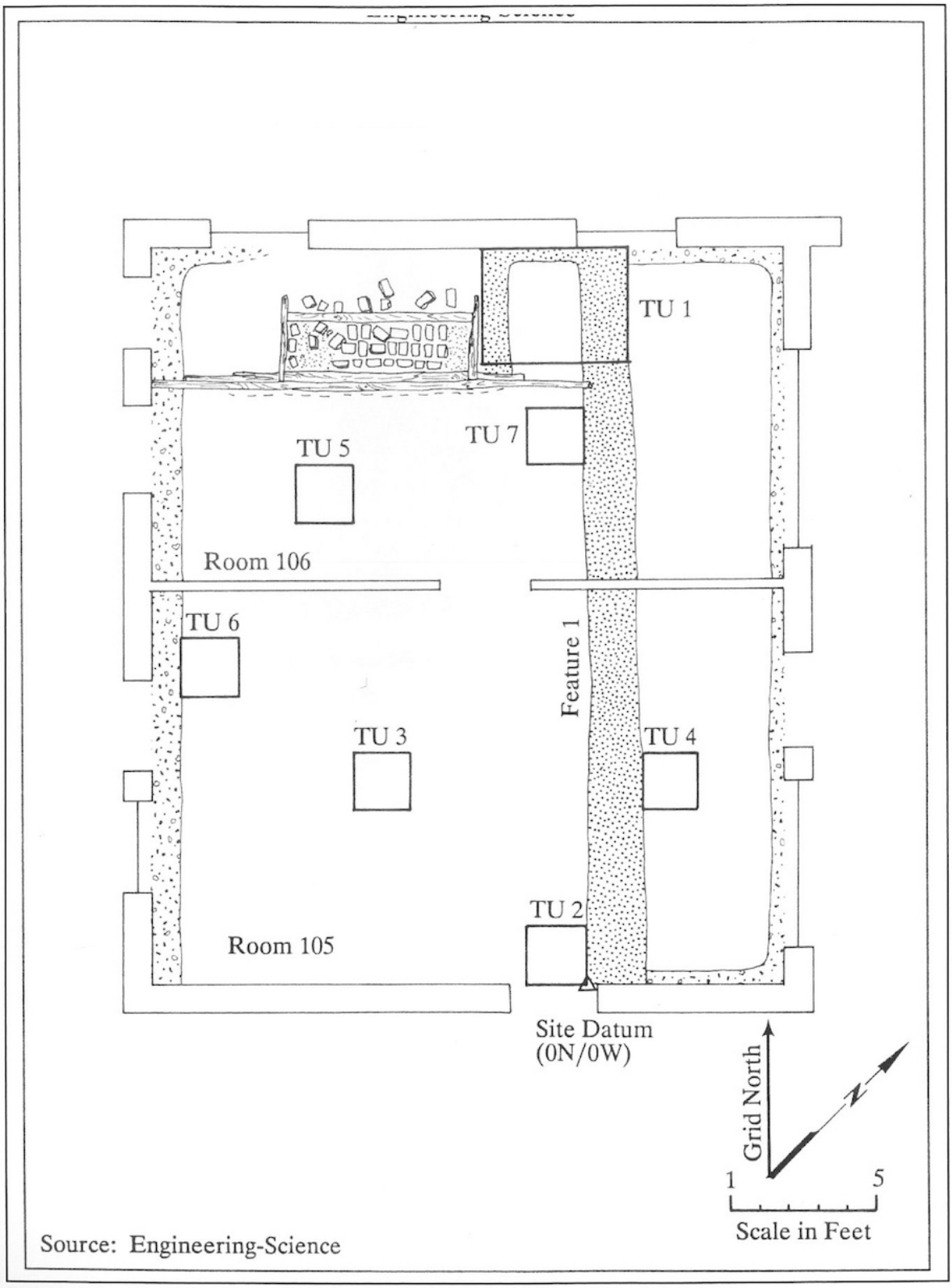


FIGURE 21: Plan of 1992 Test Excavations under the Brick Section of the Mumma House

SOURCE: Walker and Bedell 1992

55

Figure 22



FIGURE 22: Sherds of a Burned Whiteware Dish from under the Mumma Farmhouse

Figure 23



FIGURE 23: Pieces of Earthenware Crocks from under the Mumma Farmhouse

D. Dishes and the Right Sort of People

When archeologists dig around nineteenth-century farms, they always find many pieces of refined plates and teacups. These imported English dishes, made of the creamy or white earthenwares we call creamware, pearlware, whiteware, bone china, and ironstone, were more than just something to eat off of. They proclaimed that their owners were civilized people. A wonderful account of the importance of these dishes from the other side of the table, as it were, is given by Joseph Doddridge in his memoir of growing up in the backwoods country of western Virginia in the 1770s and 1780s:

> I well recollect the first time I ever saw a tea cup and saucer and tasted coffee. My mother died when I was about six or seven years of age. My father then sent me to Maryland with a brother of my grandfather, Mr. Alexander Wells, to school. At Colonel Brown's in the mountains, at Stony creek glades, I for the first time saw tame geese, and by bantering a pet gander I got a severe biting by his bill, and beating by his wings. I wondered very much that birds so large and strong should be so much tamer than the wild turkeys. At this place, however, all was right, excepting the large birds which they called geese. The cabin and its furniture were such as I had been accustomed to see in the backwoods, as my country was then called. At Bedford everything was changed. The tavern at which my uncle put up was a stone house, and to make the change still more complete it was plastered in the inside, both as in the walls and ceiling. On going into the dining room I was struck with astonishment at the appearance of the house. I had no idea that there was any house in the world which was not built of logs; but here I looked round the house and could see no logs, and above I could see no joists; whether such a thing had been made by the hands of man, or had grown so of itself, I could not conjecture. I had not the courage to inquire anything about it. When supper came on, "my confusion was worse confounded." A little cup stood in a bigger one with some brownish looking stuff in it, which was neither milk, hominy nor broth: what to do with these little cups and the little spoon belonging to them I could not tell; and I was afraid to ask anything concerning the use of them.
>
> It was in the time of the war, and the company were giving accounts of catching, whipping and hanging the tories. The word jail frequently occurred: this word I had never heard before, but I soon discovered, and was much terrified at its meaning, and supposed that we were in much danger of the fate of the tories; for l thought, as we had come from the backwoods, it was altogether likely that we must be tories too. For fear of being discovered I durst not utter a single word. I therefore watched attentively to see what the big folks would do with their little cups and spoons. I imitated them, and found the taste of the coffee nauseous beyond anything I ever had tasted in my life. I continued to drink, as the rest of the company did, with the tears streaming from my eyes, but when it was to end I was at a loss to know, as the little cups were filled immediately after being emptied. This circumstance distressed me very much, as I durst not say I had enough. Looking attentively at the grown persons, I saw one man turn his little cup bottom upwards and put his little spoon across it. I observed that after this his cup was not filled again; I followed his example, and to my great satisfaction the result as to my cup was the same.
>
> The introduction of delft ware was considered by many of the backwoods people as a culpable innovation. It was too easily broken, and the plates of that ware dulled their scalping and clasp knives: tea ware was too small for men; they might do for women and children. Tea and coffee were only slops, which in the adage of the day "did not stick by the ribs." The idea was they were designed only for people of quality, who do not labor, or the sick. A genuine backwoodsman would have thought himself disgraced by showing a

> fondness for those slops. Indeed, many of them have, to this day, very little respect for them [Doddridge 1876:89-90].

There is an element of satire in Doddridge's story, but the satire works because he was writing about real issues. Anyone who did not want to be thought a child of the backwoods like the young Doddridge — or a beggar, or an immigrant from someplace respectable people did not come from — had to own "china" dishes and know how to use them. For women especially, socializing often involved "taking" tea together, and being able to participate in this ritual was essential for becoming part of the local society. Because dishes were an important sign of status, people regularly bought new sets to replace chipped or worn items or just to keep up with changing fashions. Thus archeological sites of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries often produce large assortments of ceramic fragments in many different patterns. The 800 ceramic sherds found in Test Unit 1 by the front porch of the Joseph Poffenberger House come from a bewildering variety of brightly decorated teacups, saucers, and plates, a quick history of fashion in dishes over the 1780 to 1840 period (Figure 24). One reason archeologists love these little sherds is that between about 1700 and 1850 ceramic technology was evolving very quickly and fashions in decoration changing even more rapidly. These change make these artifacts a great way to date archeological sites and deposits.

Although the dishes found on Antietam farms are almost all of middling quality, there is variation. For example, the whiteware bowl found in the burned layer under the Mumma house (see Figure 22) is a cheap thing, thick and crudely painted. It may have been intended for children or servants. On the other hand the red and brown transfer-printed wares found off the Poffenbergers' porch (Figure 25, lower left) were quite fashionable in the 1840s and 1850s.

Besides these imported plates and teacups, the farm families at Antietam made much use of locally made coarse red earthenware (Figure 26). Large earthenware crocks and jars were used for storage, milk pans for separating milk from cream, bowls for mixing, other dishes for making pot pies (a common dish), puddings, and noodle dishes. In the 1600s pottery like this had been used throughout Europe and European America, but by 1820 much of the world had switched to vessels made of stoneware or tin. Only in the German-influenced parts of America did coarse earthenware remain a big part of life down to the Civil War and beyond. Even more traditional was the practice of decorating earthenware pans and plates with lines of slip, which is clay thinned with water so it could be applied like thick paint (Figure 27). Slip-decorated dishes had been quite fashionable across northern Europe in the 1600s, but in most places they had been abandoned after the rise of refined, white-bodied wares. In the German areas they remained popular into the late 1800s. We have to imagine the dinner table of the Poffenbergers or Mummas with a mix of stylish pearlware or whiteware dishes, hand-painted or transfer-printed in bright colors, with some serving dishes, platters, or jugs made of traditional earthenware decorated in patterns two or three centuries old.

E. TENANCIES

Besides the large houses of the farm owners, there were other, smaller homes on the Antietam landscape. Farmers built these small houses on their properties for several reasons: to provide housing for laborers, to earn extra revenue, and to house their relatives. For example, the Poffenbergers' tenant house became the home of Joseph Poffenberger when he retired and handed

Figure 24



FIGURE 24: Sherds of Pearlware Plates and Teacups Found by the Front Porch of the Poffenberger House

Figure 25

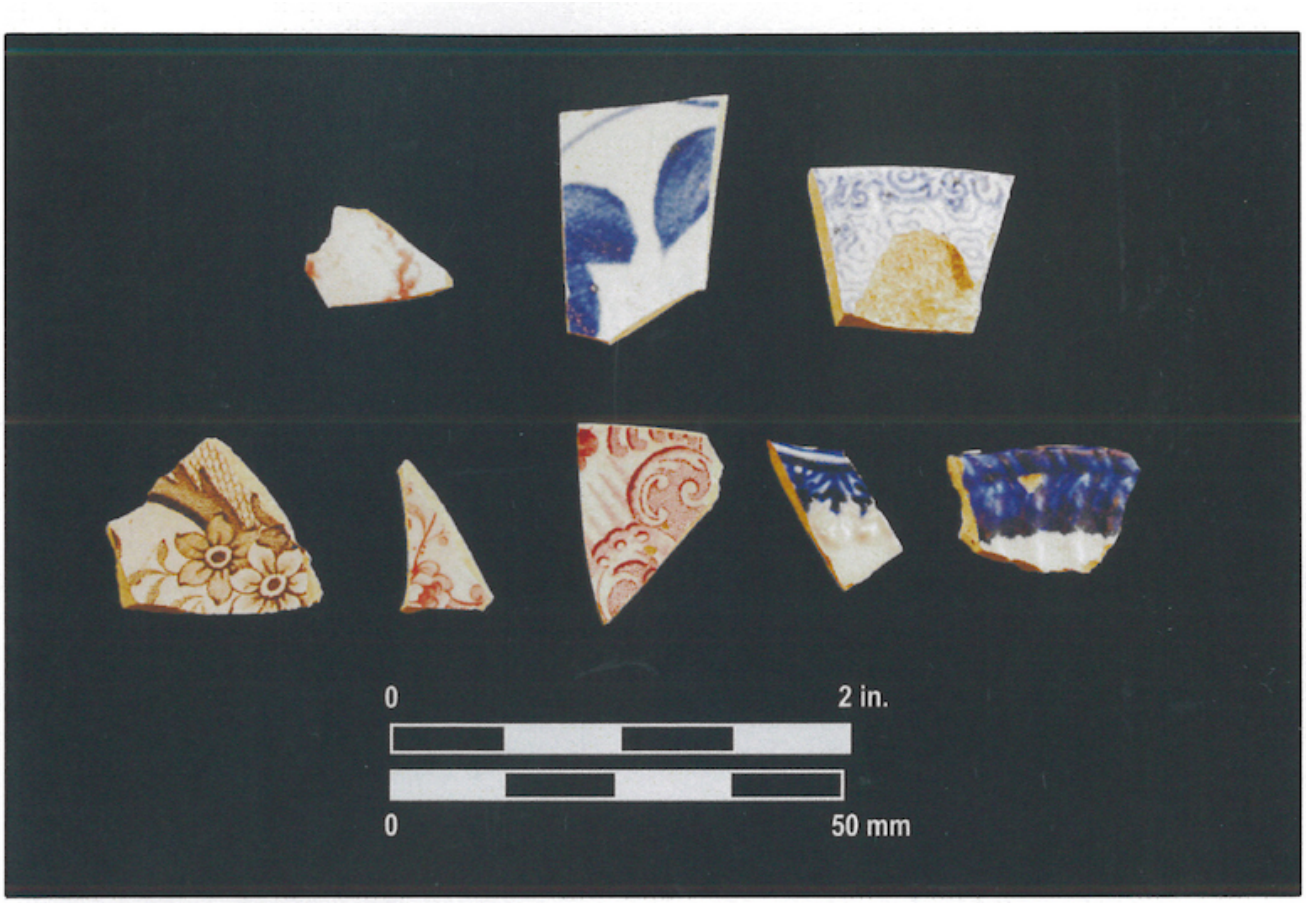


FIGURE 25: Sherds of Whiteware (1820 to 1900) Found by the Porch of the Joseph Poffenberger House

Figure 26



FIGURE 26: Sherds of a Coarse Earthenware Crock from the Mumma Farm

Figure 27



FIGURE 27: Sherds of Slip-Decorated Pans or Plates from the Mumma Farm

the main house over to his nephew. A good photograph of one of these small houses was taken in 1862 by the Middle Bridge (Figure 28). The house was built of logs in the rather casual style of the region, that is, rather than shaping the logs to fit together well, the builders left them rough and filled in the large gaps between with various kinds of "chinking." There are glass windows. There was probably only one door to the main floor, on the front of the house. The main floor would have been a single room, used by the family for cooking, eating, working, and sleeping; children might have slept in a loft above. The door on the back of the house, visible in the photo, led down to at least a partial basement. This was probably the only entrance to the cellar; interior stairs would have taken up a lot of space, something people in such a small house could not afford. There is a large, well-built chimney. The photograph gives a good idea of what these yards were like: functional. There is a garden but it was not decorative, and it was weeded only enough to give vegetables the advantage. Various sheds and lean-tos, none too neat or well-built, were used to store tools. Fencing was something of a mess, with different sections built in different styles. Laundry flapped in the breeze. One interesting refinement was a large front porch, visible around the corner of the house, where the residents could sit and watch traffic go by on the road.

Another interesting record of a small, rented house from this period is a drawing published by *Frank Leslie's* of the Kennedy House, where John Brown and his band prepared for their attack on Harpers Ferry in 1859 (Figure 29). The Kennedy House was only a few miles from Sharpsburg, very much in the same neighborhood. This small log house was perched atop a stone foundation nearly a whole story tall, a similar structure to that of the small house at Middle Bridge but lifted out of the ground. A small addition was tacked onto one side, with another nice porch for sitting. The random quality of the fencing is apparent, since there are three different types in this one image. The yard seems to be bare earth picked over by chickens, although the artist may have simplified. A single shed is the only outbuilding. The house seems to lean, and a long pole has been propped against the right side to help hold it up. We sometimes think that "they don't build them like they used to," and it is true that the houses still standing from before the Civil War are mostly quite well built. That is because all of the many shoddily built houses have fallen down.

Archeology can tell us more about these small houses and the tenants who lived in them. In the 1990s a small house site was identified near the northern end of the Miller property that was probably a tenancy. The house here was a crude, post-in-the-ground structure, that is, it was framed around large posts or poles set into holes in the ground. This ancient building technique was common in the Chesapeake area in the 1600s, but it had mostly disappeared from the region by 1800. The Miller tenant house was probably not built until after the battle, so it is surprising that it was built in such a traditional way. Perhaps it was intended as a temporary shelter for refugees whose home had been destroyed by the fighting, or to house laborers needed for cutting down trees and otherwise cleaning up the post-battle landscape. Only a handful of artifacts were found — machine-cut nails, bottle glass, ceramics — suggesting a decade or so of occupation in the 1863 to 1880 period.

Archeologists recently investigated two more tenant houses at Antietam, the Clip House on the Roulette property and the Keplinger house on the Newcomer property, during the SAIP survey of additional lands acquired by the park. In 1862 the Clip House was rented to Hiram Osborne Clip or Clipp, a Virginian who had briefly been a Confederate soldier before leaving the army and moving to Maryland. He leased a portion of the Roulette farm along with the house. Artifacts found around

Figure 28



FIGURE 28: Small House by the Middle Bridge in 1862 *SOURCE: Library of Congress*

Figure 29

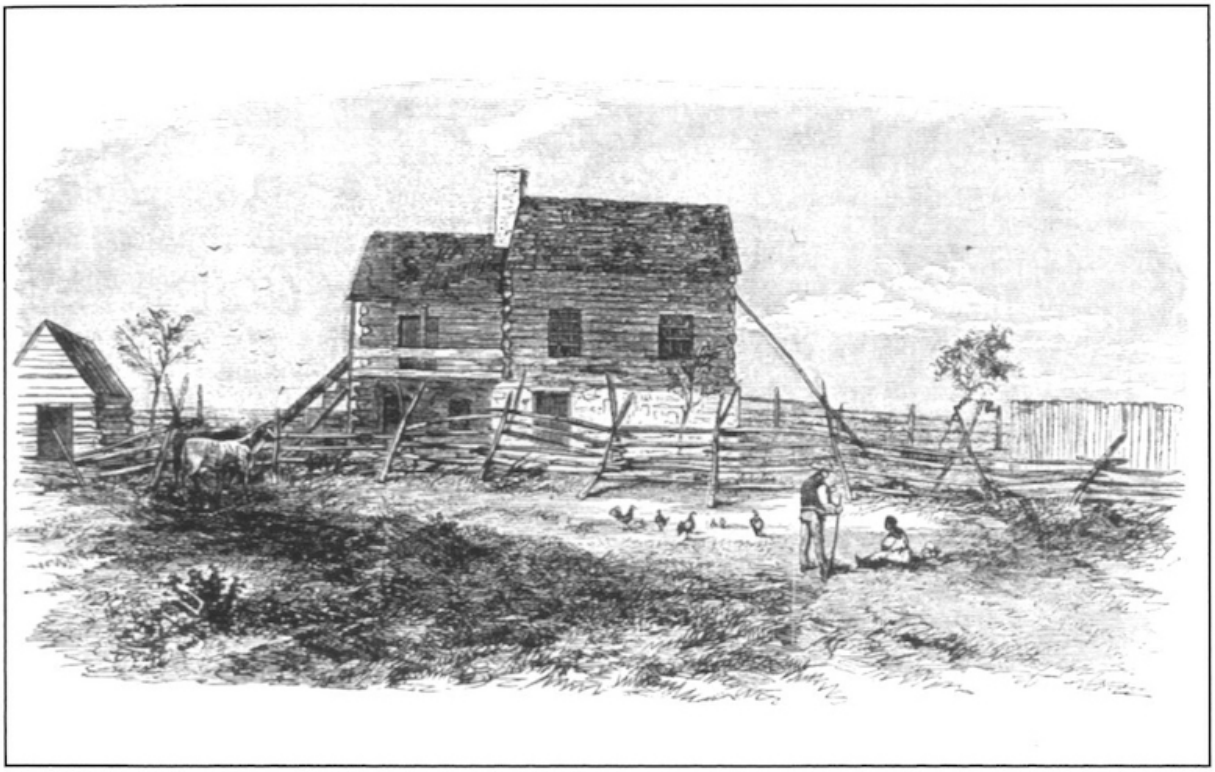


FIGURE 29: The Kennedy Farmhouse in 1859 *SOURCE: NPS*

the house showed that it had been built some years before, perhaps around 1820. It was demolished in the early 1900s. During test excavations a stone-lined cellar hole was uncovered (Figure 30). The cellar measured about 6.5x8.5 feet, and it was aligned with the Roulette lane. The house must have been bigger than this cellar, which was under only part of it. Entrance was via outside stairs, just as with the house by the Middle Bridge. The cellar was filled in with stone rubble and soil, and it contained artifacts from the whole time that people lived in the house. These included pieces of a woman's leather shoe, pressed glass buttons, a straight pin, a sleigh bell, a glass marble, and a decorative knob from a dresser drawer or some other piece of furniture. The older artifacts included pieces of pearlware ceramics made before 1840. To have ended up in the cellar, these older artifacts must have been in the soil around or underneath the house.

The Keplinger Tenancy was on the Newcomer property, just north of the road from Sharpsburg to the Middle Bridge. Maps made at the time of the battle show two buildings here (Figure 31). At the time of the battle, the tenant house was home to Jonathan Keplinger, a 42-year-old cooper, his wife Ann, and their nine children. In the 1860 census their 18-year-old son David was also listed as a cooper. The Keplingers survived the battle unscathed but not so the aftermath; according to nineteenth-century accounts, Jonathan Keplinger died on April 24, 1863, after an artillery shell he was removing from the battlefield exploded (Smith 1912). The family then moved away from Sharpsburg, and the house may have been abandoned.

With the map to work from, archeologists had no trouble finding the tenancy, and test unit excavations produce interesting finds. The site had been plowed since it was abandoned, and more than 500 artifacts were found in the plowed soils. These showed that the tenant house was occupied for decades, beginning before 1830. The artifacts were the usual assortment of decorated ceramics from plates and teacups, coarse earthenware pans and crocks, bottle glass, and so on. Quite a bit of window glass was found, along with a number of cut nails. However, there was very little brick, and although there were plenty of rocks, none of them were recognizable as building stones. The house must have been a much flimsier affair than the Clip house or the one by the Middle Bridge. Even the chimney was mostly log, with just a brick firebox. The foundations were just a thin layer of fieldstone, possibly one course, resting on the ground.

However, the Keplingers did have a sort of cellar. This large feature pit measured about 15x15 feet and was 2 feet deep. It was presumably under the house, or under part of the house, although there was no clear evidence of this. On this site bedrock often comes within 2 feet of the surface, and in the only place where the edge of the pit was exposed there is a large bedrock outcrop. In Figure 32 the cellar is to the right. Such large pits or shallow cellars are a common feature of archeological sites dating to antebellum days, and it is often unclear what they represent. Was this hole the sunken part of a "cellar" that was mostly above ground, like the one at the Kennedy Farm? Or was it a wide "root cellar," a shallow storage space reached through trap doors in the house floor? Without complete excavation it is impossible to say, and even that sometimes fails to answer the question. This pit was filled in when the site was abandoned. Some fairly large pieces of ceramics were tossed in or else were already sitting in the pit, giving us a glimpse of the pots and dishes the Keplingers were using during the Civil War: large earthenware crocks, a stoneware bottle, and prettily decorated plates and teacups (Figure 33).

Figure 30



FIGURE 30: Test Excavation in the Cellar of the Clip House, Showing the Exterior Stairs

Figure 31



FIGURE 31: Location of the Keplinger Tenant House *SOURCE: Anonymous n.d.*

Figure 32



FIGURE 32: Feature 2, the Possible Cellar at the Keplinger Tenancy, Showing Bedrock Outcrop

Figure 33



FIGURE 33: Artifacts from the Possible Cellar at the Keplinger Tenancy

F. TRASH

One thing archeology is good for is finding out what people did with their trash, and this often tells us quite a bit about how they used their properties and what their homes looked like. One 3x3-foot test unit dug just off the porch of Joseph Poffenberger's house produced about 1,200 artifacts, including 822 pieces of ceramic dishes dating mainly to the early 1800s (Figure 34). They were all very small pieces, most of them fingernail-size or smaller. They must have been from dishes that were dropped and broken in the house, then swept out the door and off the porch into the front yard. There was more trash around the western side of the house, including animal bones tossed within a few feet of the walls. The dishes were of good but not grand quality, the same sorts of English white-bodied plates and teacups found on other farms throughout European-settled America.

The discoveries at the Roulette House were also interesting. Test units dug around the kitchen/spring house showed that under the sod was a foot and a half of clay loam soil brought in from somewhere else early in the twentieth century and dumped to fill in this low-lying spot. Beneath that fill was what archeologists call a trash midden, a layer of soil in which there is as much trash — artifacts and animal bones — as dirt. This midden included many pieces of coarse earthenware crocks and pans, the sort of dishes used in the kitchen, so this was mostly kitchen trash. But that was not the only trash strewn part of the yard; behind the house, on the slope leading down toward the ice house, was another layer of trash (Figure 35).

The Miller Farm was set up around 1800. Archeological testing in the yard showed that an area directly behind the house, which was recently a garden, must have been a pond or wallow in the early 1800s. Two 3x3-foot test units dug here produced more than a thousand artifacts and animal bones from as much as 2 feet below the surface (Bedell 2005). Trash was thrown into this pond throughout the antebellum period, possibly in part to fill in the pond. Much of it was kitchen waste, such as bones and pieces of earthen crocks, but other items such as teacup sherds and sewing needles must have come from the house. No Civil War military artifacts were found, probably because they were collected from the garden as it was tilled.

The story is the same at all the Antietam farms. One shovel test at the Newcomer house produced 149 artifacts; this included a trash midden and enough nails and window glass to suggest a now demolished outbuilding, all within 25 feet of the standing house. Finds in a kitchen midden behind the Otto House included a complete frying pan (Figure 36).

When did American farms change from the rather messy, trash-strewn properties of the colonial era to the neat homes we see today, with grass lawns and flower gardens? It seems that this change took place very gradually, over the whole course of the 1800s. The change was pushed by the leaders of the farm reform movement, who advocated both scientific agriculture and a more orderly use of space. The trash strewn around the house of "Farmer Slack," as one reform writer called the old-fashioned farmer, symbolized disorder, disease, laziness, poor technique, and low profits, and had to be done away with. No more tossing bones out the front door to be picked over by pigs and chickens. The new-style farmer kept his property as neat as his account books. More and more farms came to look the way many farms look today, with a showplace yard on the front side of the house and all the work and mess confined to the back, or to separate farmyard areas well away from the house.

Figure 34



FIGURE 34: Archeologists working by the Porch of the Joseph Poffenberger House

Figure 35



FIGURE 35: Excavating a Test Unit in the Midden behind the Roulette House

Figure 36



FIGURE 36: Digging a Shovel Test in the Kitchen Midden behind the Otto House

Archeologists could see this process playing out at the Mumma Farm. This was one of the largest and most valuable properties at Antietam, with an impressive house, a large barn, and a full suite of outbuildings. In the early 1800s the Mummas, despite their wealth, threw a lot of trash out the front and back doors, just like their neighbors. Their house may have been bigger, but pigs still quarreled over bones just outside the kitchen. By the Civil War they had changed their ways, and the front of the house had become a neatly kept yard. Farm owner Samuel Mumma, Senior was a progressive sort of fellow, whose list of the goods he lost in the battle included a new McCormick reaper and a threshing machine. After the battle he quickly replaced the lost equipment, and by the time of the 1870 census, he had $4,000 worth of farm machinery. Mumma was the perfect example of the new-model scientific farmer, so it makes sense that he and his family also changed how they dealt with their trash (Sterling et al. 2002:7.85).

G. SERVANTS

It is important to remember that more people than just the farmer and his family lived on these farms. Many farmers employed live-in servants of various kinds, whether laborers or kitchen help. It is usually hard to identify these people archeologically, since they were part of the farm household and their trash got mixed in with the rest. Sometimes, though, we may be able to find the belongings of some of these other people; for example, the kitchen midden at the Roulette House may represent more than just kitchen waste. This consisted mostly of animal bones and the sort of coarse earthenware used in the kitchen, but there were also more than 80 pieces of pearlware and whiteware from teacups and plates (Figure 37). Whose dishes were those?

From 1804 to 1850, the Roulette house belonged to the Miller family, who owned slaves. The 1840 census indicates that there was one enslaved man under the age of 24 living on the farm, along with one girl under the age of 10 and a woman between the age of 24 and 36. The three likely quartered in the room above the spring house and kitchen (Walker 2010). So, besides being the kitchen where the farm family's meals were prepared, this building was the home of several people. Based on the artifacts found in the kitchen midden, they ate off the same sorts of decorated dishes as the people in the big house. Perhaps these were hand-me-downs.

When John Miller died in 1850 the Roulette property was sold to his daughter, Margaret Ann, and her husband, William Roulette. Roulette was born in the neighborhood in 1825; by 1860 he and Margaret Ann had five children ranging in age from two to 11. The census also shows that the family had two employees also living with them on the farm. The first was a 15-year-old African-American boy named Robert Simon who worked as a farmhand for the Roulettes. The other was Nancy Campbell, a woman with her own fascinating story (Figure 38). She was born into slavery on October 13, 1813, and remained in the service of the Miller family until 1859. On June 14 of that year, Nancy was manumitted by Andrew Miller of Tilghmanton. After receiving her freedom, Nancy began work as a servant for the Roulette family. She likely lived in the quarters above the out kitchen and spring house, a building that only a few short years earlier had housed the enslaved workers of John Miller's farm. Her duties likely included such domestic responsibilities as cooking, tending the kitchen garden, and cleaning, as well as helping to raise the five Roulette children.

Figure 37



FIGURE 37: Ceramic Sherds from the Trash Midden by the Roulette Spring House/Kitchen

Figure 38



FIGURE 38: Nancy Campbell

By 1860 Nancy was also a member of the Manor Church of Brethren in Tilghmanton. She likely became a member of the church during her enslavement under Andrew Miller, and she continued to participate in the congregation after moving to the Roulette farm in 1859. Nancy remained in the employ of the Roulette family until her death on January 5, 1892. In 1885 Nancy drafted her will; with no children of her own, she distributed her estate among her churches and the children of the Miller and Roulette families.

H. The Texture of Life

Walking around the farms and looking at old photographs help us imagine life in the nineteenth century. Archeology adds more. Archeology tells us about buildings that have vanished, like the Mummas' kitchen or the tenant shack that stood for a while by the North Woods (Figure 39). It tells us about the dishes people used and the food they ate. It tells us about muddy ponds and old ditches, about the places trash was dumped or swept out the door. It reminds us that the neat, almost empty yards that now surround these houses were once places of work. To see them as they were in the nineteenth century, one has to imagine a hundred things now missing: cows in the pastures, pigs in the sty, chickens everywhere; a large family and other workers busy at their tasks; clothes being washed and hung out to dry, fires burning, cauldrons boiling. Archeology can show us these things. The empty houses were once full of life, too, and archeology helps us look inside: the table set for dinner, friends coming to call, tea in painted cups, fire on the hearth, furniture with brass fittings, sewing needles and thimbles, jewelry. Think of the sounds: roosters crowing, cows lowing, sheep protesting as they are herded out to pasture; men shouting, women laughing, children screaming; blades on grindstones, axes biting into wood, wagons on the roads; the shouted call to dinner, mealtime prayers in German or English; the clink of forks on china. The smells: wood fires, roasting meat, baking pies, privies, manure piles, human sweat, horse sweat, trash middens, apple orchards, dirt, mud, blood, dung, wet wool, and drying hay. All of this leaves traces in the ground.

Figure 39

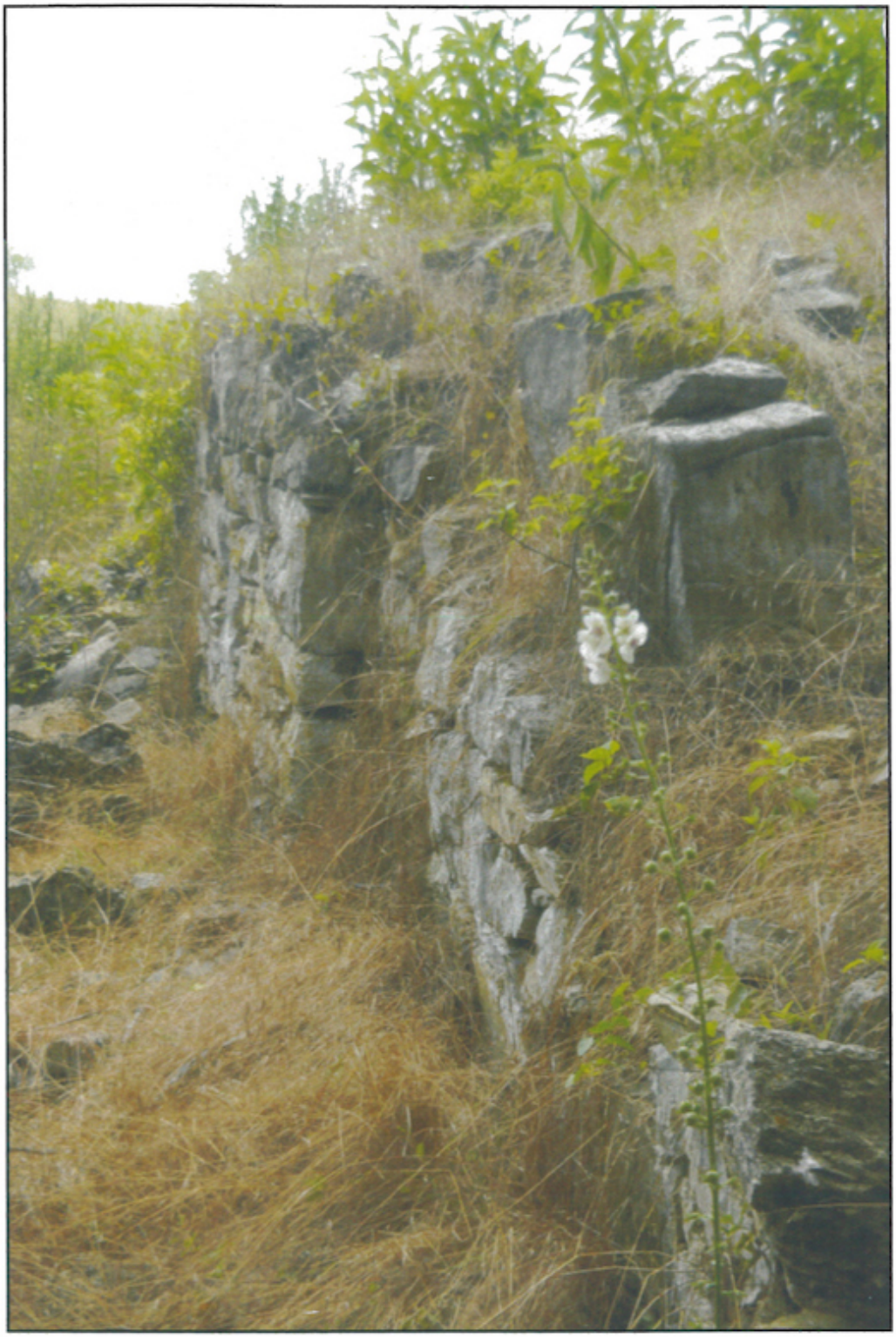


FIGURE 39: Ruins at the Otto Farm

V. BATTLEFIELD ARCHEOLOGY

A. THE ARCHEOLOGY OF WAR

People have been relic hunting on battlefields for as long as there have been battles; during the Civil War the collection of souvenirs sometimes began within hours of the guns falling silent. But battlefield archeology as a scholarly pursuit is a recent invention. A few scattered attempts to document military positions from dropped artifacts were undertaken in the nineteenth century, but these were not widely published and had little influence (Sutherland 2005). With the invention of metal detectors in the twentieth century, thousands of people began poking around battlefields and picking up what they found, but even the scholars among them made few efforts to document exactly where objects were found or to draw conclusions from them about how the fighting evolved. The first systematic archeological investigation of a battlefield that made a big impact on historians and the public was Douglas Scott's survey at Little Bighorn (Scott et al. 1989). The work by Scott and his colleagues clearly showed that Custer had divided his command into three battalions early in the fighting and then subdivided his own battalion into two wings. This confirmed Indian accounts of the fighting that had been discounted by some white historians, and showed that battlefield archeology could change how we understand and interpret military events.

Since the publication of Scott's work, the field of battlefield archeology has exploded, and major new discoveries have been announced every year. From the Bronze Age Battle of Hamoukar in Syria (University of Chicago 2005) to the Pacific island fighting of World War II, archeologists have investigated and mapped hundreds of battle sites. The discovery of several battlefields where Roman legions fought Germanic tribes has been especially noteworthy; even after 2,000 years it has been possible to find the exact spots where these clashes took place.

What archeology has to offer military history is geographic precision. Especially when a battle ranged widely across the landscape, historical narratives are often vague about exactly where things happened. This is particularly true for long ago events like the Battle of Agincourt in 1415, for which we have only chronicles written by men who were nowhere near the fighting. There can be significant confusion even when we have first-hand narratives of a battle. Men in battle are often confused about exactly where they are, especially in wooded terrain or in tall corn. Sometimes very small topographic features can be of great significance to small groups of men, so that a little rise that offered protection may be remembered as a hill. Other times a wide swath of the landscape may be remembered as a single block, such as "the cornfield" or "the hill." A good example of a study that added precision to battle narratives was undertaken at the Brawner Farm on the Manassas Battlefield in Virginia. Contemporary narratives said that during the Second Battle of Manassas (Bull Run), two lines of infantry faced each other somewhere near the farm, but they are not clear on exactly where. The discovery of a line of dropped bullets allowed archeologists to trace out the Federal line, so now visitors can stand exactly where the men of the Iron Brigade stood during that intense firefight (Potter et al. 2001).

B. Remains of the Battle of Antietam

Battlefield archeology has been carried out at Antietam for some years. During the 1990s archeological survey, detailed investigations were carried out in four locations in the northern part of the battlefield: the West Woods, the North Woods, the East Woods, and the Piper Orchard. Louis Berger recently investigated parts of the Poffenberger and Miller farms and a large area along the north side of Burnside Bridge Road, from the Antietam bluffs to the Stone Mill. This work led to the discovery of numerous artifacts and modified our understanding of the battle in small but significant ways.

1. The West Woods

The West Woods is a 75-acre area of the battlefield that was wooded in 1862. The wood lot was west of the old Hagerstown Pike, extending northwest from the Dunker Church. During the 1990s survey of the park, this area was used to test various methods of recovering Civil War objects. A complete shovel testing survey of the West Woods at 20-meter (65-foot) intervals produced only two military artifacts from 292 tests, a very low rate of recovery. Metal detecting was much more productive, and a comparison of long transects vs. blocks seemed to show that transects worked better. During the transect investigations 26 military items were recovered, mainly dropped lead bullets and round shot.

2. The North Woods

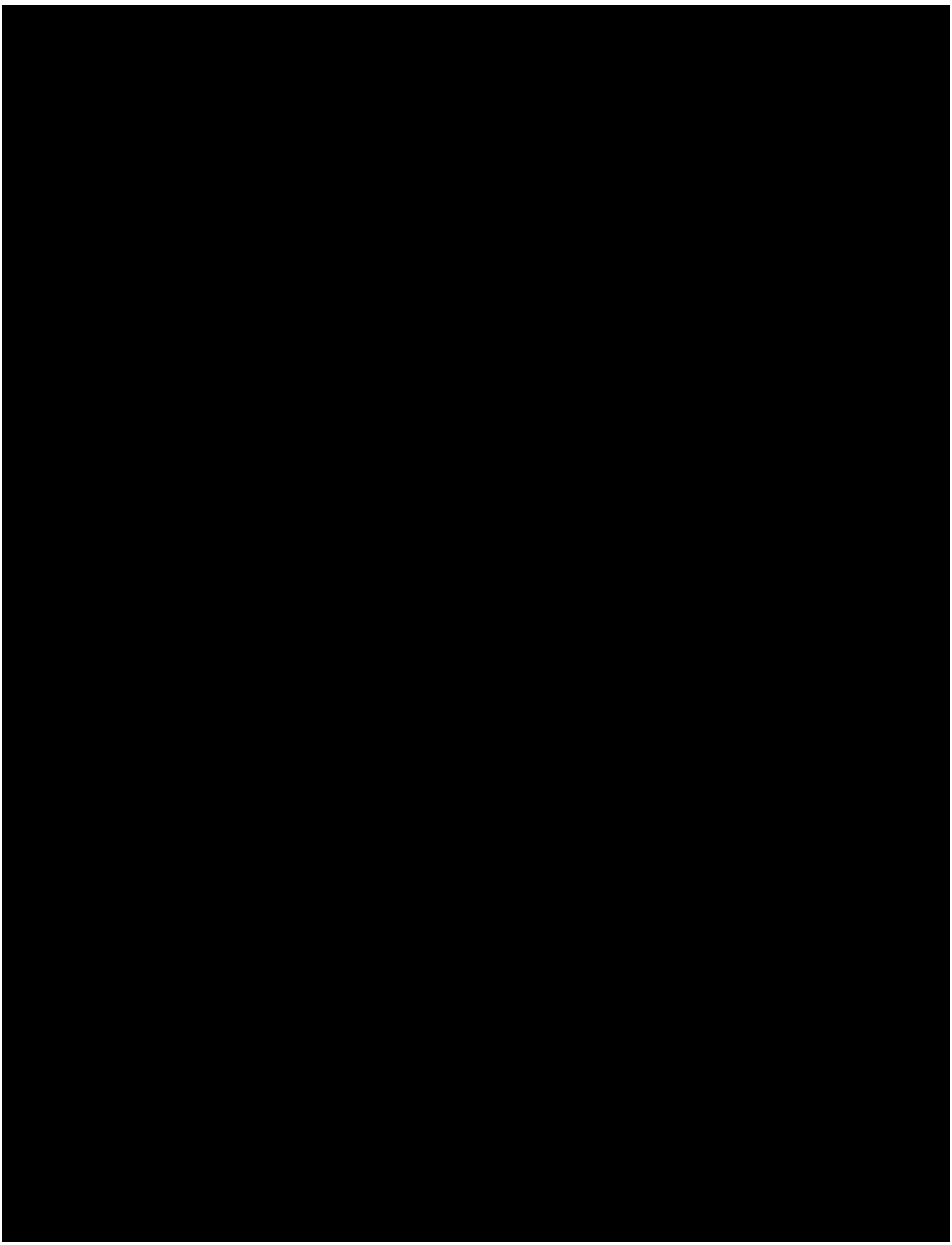
The North Woods is a 39-acre triangular wood lot at the northern end of the Miller property, between the Miller and Joseph Poffenberger farms. Many military artifacts were found there by metal detector survey, 311 in all (Figure 40). Most were found in the western part of the woods, which had been pasture for many years. The eastern part, which was plowed fields, was apparently visited much more regularly by relic hunters. The large amount of data from the military artifacts found in the pasture section of the North Woods was used by Sterling et al. (2002) to make an important historical argument. A number of fired round balls were found in the woods, and not just along the southern boundary but all the way to the northern edge. These were interpreted as Confederate. Several Confederate pistol bullets were also found. Letters sent to Carman Cope when he was compiling his official maps of the battle say that two regiments, the 24th North Carolina and 15th Virginia, launched attacks along the far left of the Confederate line. Cope's maps indicate that the Confederates stopped their advance well short of the North Woods, but the evidence of the bullets supports the claims of Confederate soldiers that their attack reached as far as the North Woods. This discovery shows that even with such a well-documented battlefield as Antietam, battlefield archeology can still make contributions to our understanding.

More than 100 shell fragments were found in the North Woods. The assemblage is dominated by 12-pounder shells from rifled guns, so the Confederate bombardment of this area must have been carried out mostly by those weapons.

3. The East Woods

The East Woods is a wood lot extending north to south along the eastern edge of the J. Poffenberger and Miller properties, parallel to the West Woods and the Hagerstown Pike. This area saw heavy

Figure 40



fighting during the morning phase of the battle, especially during the Confederate counterattack that drove the I Corps back out of the cornfield. A portion of the area of the old East Woods was surveyed for the project. The density of military artifacts was lower than in other tested areas, probably because of metal detecting before the NPS acquired the parcel. The artifacts recovered included several Union buttons and dropped rounds, and they may define a Union firing position facing west toward the Miller Farm.

C. One Corner of the Field: Burnside Bridge Road

1. Messy Sources and Neat Lines on Maps

Civil War battle narratives tend to be parade-ground orderly, with regiments and brigades marching along clearly defined routes toward their objectives, shown on maps as neat blue or red lines and arrows. But anyone who looks past those narratives to the actual records of the battle discovers that they are not neat at all. The most important source for reconstructing Civil War battles is the official after-action reports of the officers engaged. These reports are collected in the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, published by the War Department between 1881 and 1901 (often abbreviated O.R.). These reports are a diverse assemblage of documents, by no means all of equal worth. Their tone varies from matter-of-fact sobriety to patriotic braggadocio, but they have in common that most officers tried to put the best possible face on their actions. Very rarely does any officer admit to a mistake, and even less often does a commander admit that his own men were outfought without offering a long list of extenuating circumstances. Sometimes the slanting of reports led to public accusations of dishonesty, as happened in the Union Army after their defeat at the Second Battle of Bull Run. In December 1863 a newspaper war erupted between cavalry officers of the two sides, when Confederate officers accused Maj. Gen. Judson Kilpatrick and Brig. Gen. George Custer of lying about their defeat in the Battle of Buckland Mills; this blow-up was based on accounts Kilpatrick and Custer gave to the newspapers, but their official reports say the same (highly distorted) things (Bedell 2006).

After the official reports the most important source is probably the postwar memoirs of officers and soldiers. These have the advantage that they were not written in the heat of the moment, and after years of reflection some men understood better what had happened in the fighting around them. However, memory slips with the years, and some accounts may be drawn more from reading other men's books than from memory. The desire to justify or at least explain did not decline with time, either. Many soldiers' accounts ended up collected in regimental histories published by veterans' associations and often dedicated to their lost comrades. This context almost guaranteed that the memoirists would exaggerate the bravery of the men in their units, play up their own contributions to the cause, and omit acts of cowardice or brutality.

For the Battle of Antietam another important source is the work done by Gen. Ezra Carman. Carman was put in charge of placing markers on the battlefield to indicate what had happened where, and in the course of this work he corresponded with many soldiers and received from them their personal accounts of the fighting. He mailed out a large number of draft maps, and these were annotated by veterans showing where they thought their units had been at key points during the fighting.

2. An Ill-Remembered Corner of the Famous Field

The last act of the Battle of Antietam took place at the southern end of the battlefield. After fighting had already died down in the northern and central sectors, the IX Corps under Cox and Burnside began pushing across Antietam Creek and up toward Sharpsburg. Burnside had 9,500 men, and Lee had only about 2,400 to put in his path. Had the IX Corps been able to take the town, they would have commanded the only convenient roads down which Lee could withdraw his battered army toward fords over the Potomac, putting the Confederates in great danger.

As part of that attack, the Second Division under Brig. Gen. Orlando Willcox advanced along both sides of what is now known as Burnside Bridge Road, taking the Otto and Sherrick farms and then a stone mill before they ran out of ammunition and time at the edge of town (Figure 41). The fighting along Burnside Bridge Road is not as well documented as other parts of the battle. It has not captured the imagination of writers, and Ezra Carman was the last of the battle's major historians to treat it in detail. The histories of the Union regiments that participated give the action little space, and except for Willcox's, the officers' reports are skimpy. Many of the narratives coming out of Willcox's Division gave the battle less attention than they gave to the Battle of South Mountain three days before. This is especially true of the nineteenth-century histories based on the memories of veterans. As the history of the 45th Pennsylvania put it, South Mountain had been their "baptism of fire," which explains why South Mountain got a whole chapter in their history and Antietam just a long paragraph (Albert 1912). Col. Benjamin Christ, of Willcox's First Brigade, gave South Mountain as much space as Antietam in his report, and Colonel Welsh of the Second Brigade gave it more. The prominence of South Mountain in the minds of all these men suggests that it perhaps deserves to be more widely remembered today. South Mountain was the first place that many Union regiments had charged Confederate troops and driven them out of strong positions, so perhaps it gave them the confidence that they showed in their tenacious fighting at Antietam.

Meanwhile, on the Confederate side there is a strong tendency for the officers' reports to gloss over the beating their units took during Willcox's advance and skip straight to the evening action, when A.P. Hill's flank attack turned the tide and the Federals were driven back. Some Confederate reports, especially those of Brig. Gen. Nathan Evans and Col. Thomas Walker, seem downright dishonest, and only a few dwell on the tough hours of fighting by the badly outnumbered men entrusted with Sharpsburg's defense.

Recent archeological work on the battlefield has produced artifacts from this phase of the fighting that add to our understanding of how it unfolded. Combined with primary source narratives, including a previously little known Confederate account, this information allows us to retell the story of the IX Corps advance on Sharpsburg and the stubborn Confederate defense. Along the way we will explore the problems presented by all these sources and the great difficulty of knowing what actually took place on these fields.

a. Willcox's Advance

McClellan wanted the IX Corps to attack over the Lower Bridge (Burnside's bridge) in the morning, while the fighting was raging around the Sunken Road. Because of command confusion, probably fed

Figure 41



FIGURE 41: View from the South of the Sherrick (left) and Otto (right) Farms Along Burnside Bridge Road, and the High Ground A cross Which Christ's Brigade Advanced Toward Sharpsburg

by personal antagonisms among the senior officers, McClellan's order to begin the IX Corps attack did not reach the division commanders until after 10 a.m. The first assaults on the bridge were beaten back by a brigade of Georgians under Robert Toombs. It was not until around 1 p.m. that the bridge was taken by a determined assault of the 51st New York and 51st Pennsylvania. At around the same time, other Union troops finally located fords and began to cross the creek below the bridge. Toombs, badly outnumbered and flanked on his right, withdrew toward the west (Murfin 2004; Sears 1983).

The IX Corps was then on the west bank of the creek, and only weak Confederate forces blocked the way to Sharpsburg. But the IX Corps assault stalled again. The lead units were out of ammunition, and things had gotten confused as the units crossed the bridge and the fords and assembled on the far side. Cox, in direct command of the IX Corps, ordered Orlando Willcox's Division to the front (Figure 42). Willcox's division had seen heaving fighting at South Mountain three days before, and they were in reserve as the bridge was taken. It was another hour or more before Willcox's men were across the bridge and in position to begin their march on the town . On the right Willcox placed Christ's brigade, consisting of the 79th New York, 28th Massachusetts, 50th Pennsylvania, and 17th Michigan. On the left was Welsh's Brigade, consisting of the 100th Pennsylvania, 8th Michigan, 46th New York, and 45th Pennsylvania (Figure 43).

Opposing them were troops from the division led by Brig. Gen. D.R. Jones, minus two brigades that had been sent to the left, and one brigade, under Evans, from Hood's Division. In all there were about 2,400 Confederates in this part of the field. They were well supported by artillery, since Lee moved his reserve artillery southward to counter this new threat, and it was largely on these guns that the defense rested.

Both Union and Confederate artillery occupied commanding positions. The Union guns were on ridges east of Antietam Creek and on a hilltop just west of the Middle Bridge. Confederate guns were on high ground both south and east of Sharpsburg. As they marched west from the bridge, Union troops went up over at least three ridges and down through at least two swales. From the perspective of the gunners, they therefore appeared and disappeared, passing through zones of comparative safety and exposed places of great danger. Likewise, any Confederate troops who tried to take a stand on a ridgetop were immediately brought under artillery fire, but they could escape it by withdrawing a short distance onto lower ground. All the soldiers' reports from this part of the battle mention the intense artillery fire. Colonel Welsh called it "a tremendous cross-fire from the artillery of the enemy." The postwar history of the 79th New York says,

> It was a terrible ordeal. The fire of eighteen guns was pouring death upon our ranks, cutting the men down at every discharge; we held on through the storm of deadly hail, our open order as skirmishers favoring us more than the troops in our rear, who suffered in a greater degree [Todd 1886].

Despite the heavy artillery fire, Willcox's men advanced across the fields and up the road toward Sharpsburg. Rodman's Division advanced on their left. Christ's men were opposed by a scratch force thrown together from elements of Jenkins's and Evans's brigades. Fairchild's Brigade of Rodman's Division drove against Drayton's Brigade and part of Kemper's Brigade. Welsh's Brigade seems to have advanced into a lightly defended soft spot, since they advanced farther than the other brigades and took much lighter casualties.

Figure 42



FIGURE 42: Orlando Willcox

Figure 43

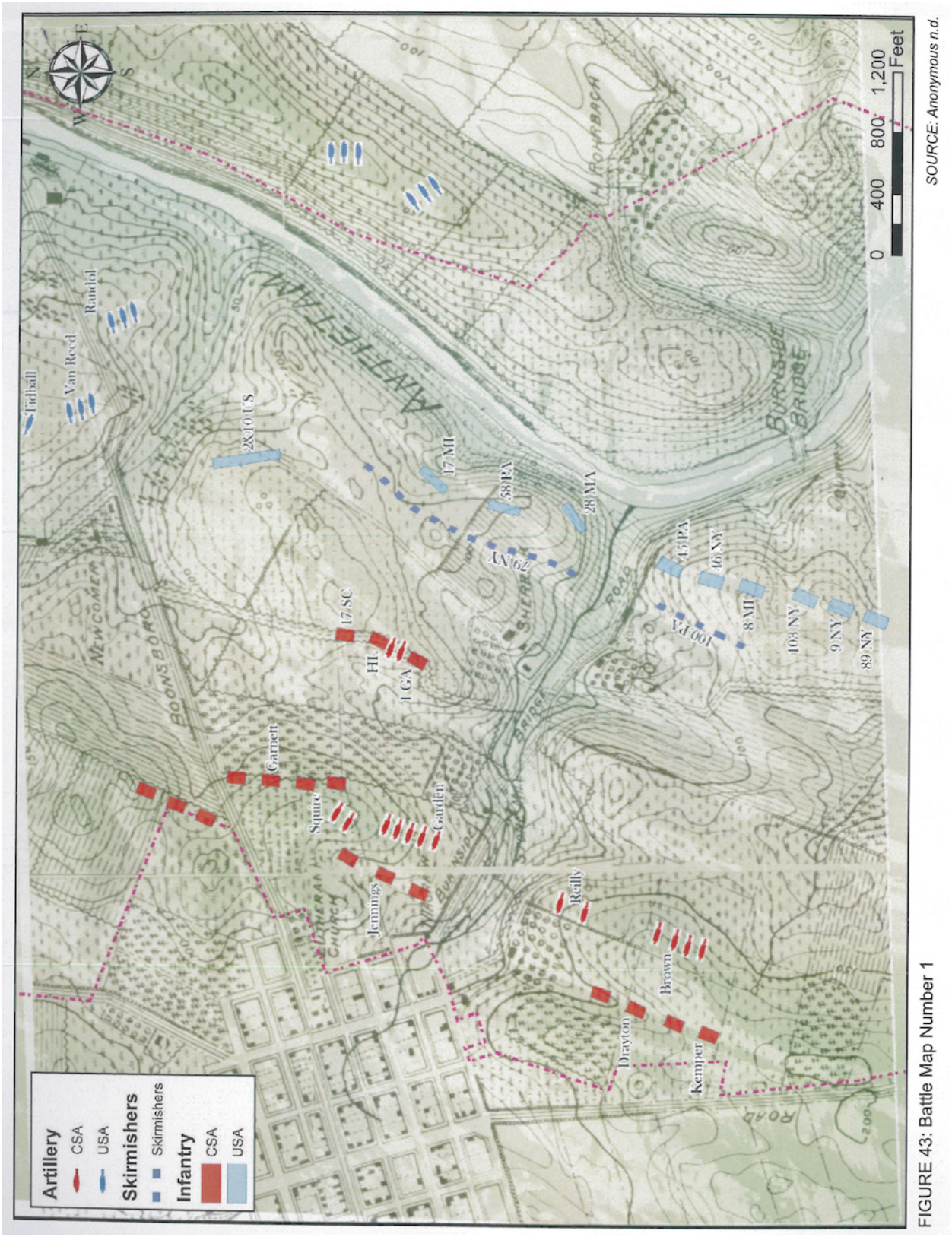


FIGURE 43: Battle Map Number 1

SOURCE: Anonymous n.d.

The best contemporary account of the all the fighting in this sector is that by Orlando Willcox:

> After crossing the bridge, the road turns sharply to the right, runs up the stream about 200 yards, then to the left along an open hollow or ravine, which winds along to the village, overlooked by heights to the right and left. Once on the heights, the country is rolling and intersected with field fences, many of which are of stone. The enemy's sharp-shooters were posted behind these fences as well as hay-stacks, which also, with orchards and corn-fields, served to conceal their lines. A battery of field guns also commanded the road and hollow down to the river, and the whole plateau above was swept by cross-fire of artillery. Christ's brigade was filed across the hollow and drawn up along the crest on the right of the road, his left resting near the road, the Seventy-ninth New York (Highlanders), Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison commanding, deployed as skirmishers, and the other three regiments of the brigade in line of battle. These regiments were the Fiftieth Pennsylvania, Major Overton; the Twenty-eighth Massachusetts, Captain Caraher, and Seventeenth Michigan, Colonel Withington.
>
> The Second Brigade, under Colonel Welsh, formed on the heights to the left of the road, deploying the One hundredth Pennsylvania, Lieutenant-Colonel Leckey, as skirmishers, and forming his other three regiments in line of battle, viz: Forth-fifth Pennsylvania, Lieutenant-Colonel Curtin, on the right; Forty-sixth New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Gerhardt, in the center; Eighth Michigan, Captain Ely, on the left. I brought with the division Cook's battery, Eighth Massachusetts, and left Benjamin's battery, Second U.S. Artillery, doing good work in a commanding position across the river in our rear, against the enemy's guns on the plateau and heights in front of us.
>
> My division now formed part of a line which Generals Burnside and Cox were commanding and all moved forward about __ o'clock. We were under fire from the moment a man appeared at the crest of the plateau or crossed the hollow. Taking two pieces of Cook's battery, under Lieutenant Coffin, I moved up the road, while the two brigades gallantly advanced over the plateau toward Sharpsburg.
>
> The rest of Cook's battery was posted on a hill near the bridge. Crook's brigade, of Cox's division, followed in support of my line. Christ's brigade attacked a force of the enemy's infantry along his front and drove them steadily before him. In following them up, his brigade got in advance of the rest of the line; his supports were not up. While halting, the enemy turned their battery on him from their right (our left), and for a few moments his troops were exposed to the fire of their battery, a fire of infantry from a corn-field in his front protected by a stone fence, and from a battery farther up in front, beyond the corn-field. The left coming up, soon attracted the attention of the flanking battery. Lieutenant Coffin directed his pieces on the battery beyond the corn-field, and at the same time Christ threw forward the Seventeenth Michigan, with supports, to charge the battery, seeing the guns were withdrawn.
>
> Meantime Welsh conducted his brigade against the enemy in his front and drove them before him with the same success, his right following the crest of the hollow, gradually approaching Christ's left, so that by the time we entered Sharpsburg the quarter part of my division was on the right of the road and extended across the hollow, up the side hill, and on the plateau. On this side hill was an orchard, in which a large force of the enemy was posted and firing heavily at both Welsh and Christ.

> In finding a position for Coffin's two guns at the head of a lane, which turned up at the first house we passed, I was now able both to see and assist my division at every part of the ground, and Coffin threw solid shot, shell, and canister with great precision and effect into the enemy's ranks. The force in the orchard were dislodged, and fled up the hillside, followed by our fire of both infantry and artillery, and Welsh occupied the orchard.
>
> Our musket ammunition was now exhausted. We had carried the heights of Sharpsburg, and rested partly in the town and partly on the hills. The enemy kept up a desultory fire along our line, but at a respectful distance, so that when Sturgis on the extreme left became heavily pressed, and I was ordered to withdraw to the place where my division formed near the river, every regiment marched back in perfect order. To assist the struggling left, I had already detached Coffin, with his two guns. . . [O.R. 427-429].

One point to note is that all the Union sources are unanimous in asserting that they reached the edge of Sharpsburg and were not driven back. Colonel Christ recalled his 17th Michigan Regiment after their advance forced all the Confederate artillery to withdraw from Cemetery Hill, but this was only a short withdrawal and he held his brigade on the high ground north of the mill until ordered back.
Likewise Welsh's men held their position at the edge of town until the whole division was ordered back by their corps commander, Cox.

b. McMaster's Fortress

The Confederate accounts of the fighting along Rohrbach Bridge Road are quite different from those of the Union officers. The Union officers were unanimous that they advanced successfully to Sharpsburg and only fell back when ordered to do so, because the left flank of the IX Corps had collapsed under A.P. Hill's attack, but most of the Confederate accounts make it seem as though Jones's Division had already successfully repelled the Union attack when Hill arrived. For example, Brigadier General Evans described the fighting like this (O.R. 939-940):

> About 2 p.m., I was ordered to rally the troops then flocking to the town from our right and bring them into action. After considerable exertion, with the assistance of my entire staff, I succeeded in collecting about 250 men and officers, whom I formed into two commands, and placed them, respectively, under the command of Colonels Colquitt and Iverson, of Maj. Gen. D. H. Hill's Division.
>
> At 3 o'clock, observing the enemy approaching my position (directly on the left of the road), also attempting to cross the bridge on my right, I ordered an advance, Colonels Colquitt and Iverson on the left with Boyce's Battery and Colonel Stevens on the right, supported by two batteries of Col. S.D. Lee's battalion (who came timely at my request for assistance and rendered material aid in driving the enemy back across the river), with Colonel Steven's command as skirmishers on the right, while I attacked the enemy with Colquitt's and Iverson's command on the left. This little command gallantly drove the enemy from his cover in the corn-field and caused him to retreat in confusion, leaving a number of their dead and two stands of colors, the latter having been shot down by well-directed fire of Captain Boyce's battery. I also requested Colonel Walton, of the artillery, to open fire on the enemy's battery that had crossed the bridge, which, being promptly done, had the desired effect of driving it back. My brigade then resumed its original position and bivouacked for the night, sleeping on their arms.

Col. Joseph Walker, commanding Jenkins's Brigade, made similar claims, noting that his men "continued to pour a destructive fire into the ranks of the enemy, at short range, until he recoiled and retreated out of sight among the timber on Antietam Creek" (O.R. 907).

Evans's claim of a glorious advance is belied by the accounts of the men he says led it, Colonels Colquitt and Iverson. Colonel Colquitt wrote that after his men moved to the support of the artillery on Cemetery Hill, they engaged in "two desultory engagements." Their main service, in his telling, is that by deploying as skirmishers they convinced the Federals that a significant force was present on the hill: "keeping back a large force by their annoying fire and the apprehension, excited by their boldness, that they were supported by a line in the rear" (O.R. 1054). Capt. Thomas Garrett, who found himself in command of the 5th North Carolina when all his superiors were killed or wounded, was also part of the force Evans assembled. He wrote more expansively of this action than Colquitt, but only to note that their line "gave way" under Union pressure and that his men, by taking cover "behind a large rock in the field," delayed the enemy for 25 or 30 minutes (O.R. 1044-1045). The action in which Evans's stragglers participated must have been Christ's advance toward the Confederate guns on Cemetery Hill, which Christ broke off after the guns were withdrawn. In his report Christ mentioned the fire of Confederate "sharpshooters" as one reason why he halted his advance, so perhaps Colquitt had it right when he said that his men were at least able to make the Federals nervous.

A very different account of the defense against Christ's advance was given by Col. F.W. McMaster of the 17th South Carolina (O.R. 944-945). McMaster was posted with the Confederate front line, directly in Christ's path, and his men bore the full weight of the assault:

> In the afternoon, by order of Colonel Stevens, I took my regiment and the Holcombe Legion, in all about 100 men, and moved forward about half a mile to support the skirmishers of Jenkins brigade and of a Georgia regiment.
>
> About 1 o'clock, Wednesday, September 17, the skirmishers were driven in, and, with the assistance of Captain Twiggs (a most noble and gallant officer), of the First Georgia Regiment, I succeeded in rallying 40 or 50 of the skirmishers, and formed them on my left. In a short time I was informed by a lieutenant of a Louisiana artillery company that a battery of the enemy had proved quite destructive to his battery, and that he would be forced to discontinue firing unless it was silenced. I immediately sent out about 25 volunteers, who silenced the battery of the enemy for some time.
>
> About 3 p.m. a brigade of the enemy flanked my command on the right and, after firing a few moments, the Holcombe Legion and a few of the Seventeenth Regiment, in spite of my efforts, broke and ran. I then ordered the remainder of my command to retire to an apple orchard, about 200 yards in the rear, where, with 40 or 50 men, made up mostly of my regiment and a few Georgians and Palmetto Sharpshooters, I fought the enemy for half an hour or more. Being flanked on both sides, I retired to a stone house adjoining, which I converted into a fort [Figure 44], and fought for some time, until Drayton's brigade, on the right, and Jenkins' brigade, on the left, had completely abandoned the ground, and the enemy had almost entirely surrounded my little band. When resistance on our part was entirely futile, I gave the order to retreat, and the enemy entered the house and took Captain Twiggs and 10 of my men prisoners in three minutes after I left.

Figure 44



FIGURE 44: The Stone Mill

McMaster's men had originally been posted considerably north of Burnside Bridge Road, and the mill was taken by the 45th Pennsylvania, who had begun their advance on the south of the road. It seems that as Willcox's men approached Sharpsburg, they converged on the orchard and the mill, and the Confederate defense also concentrated there (Figure 45).

c. The Court Martial

Evans's Brigade of South Carolina troops was something of an orphan, and they spent the war wandering around the Confederacy from east to west and north to south. They had been among the heroes of First Manassas and Ball's Bluff, but after the Maryland Campaign they were sent to the west and never fought under Robert E. Lee again. This may have been because the unit's officer corps was a traveling soap opera, constantly engaged in infighting. One of the more spectacular blow-ups came during the winter of 1862-1863. Colonel McMaster tried to get his fellow officers to sign a letter accusing General Evans of being a coward and a drunk and asking for his removal. This failed, but Evans retaliated by bringing formal charges against McMaster for insubordination and cowardice; he was tried by court martial in March 1863. The charge of cowardice was a mistake on Evans's part, because although McMaster may have been insubordinate he was certainly no coward. Besides his battlefield bravado, he was one of the few officers of the entire war, North or South, who ever admitted in an official report that his own men had broken and run. (In their own commanders' reports, such units usually withdrew in good order after realizing that the units on either side had departed the field, leaving them without support.) The charge of cowardice allowed McMaster to produce a parade of witnesses who testified to his bravery under fire. One of them was Lt. W.S. Moore of the 17th South Carolina, who was with McMaster in the stone mill:

> Q: What was Col. McMaster's conduct in the battle of Sharpsburg; describe it particularly?
> A: He acted very brave and cool there; I recollect and noticed him particularly there going up and down the line of battle, and going to some of his men lying down, and calling upon them to shoot down the officers of the enemy; I noticed this several times, and remarked to Col. McMaster that he was exposing himself unnecessarily; the bullets were then flying like hail; we then fell back from that position one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards to an apple orchard, and fired from that position, I suppose half an hour, perhaps longer; I also noticed Col. McMaster go to a man who had an Enfield rifle, and point towards a Yankee officer and tell him to shoot him down; we were again driven back from the orchard one hundred or one hundred and fifty yards to a rock house, and went into it, Col. McMaster with us, who said to raise the windows and shoot through; he also told some of the men to go up stairs and knock off some of the roof of the house, and ordered some men to go up and fire from the roof; I went into the house as I was outside at times shooting, and told McMaster if we did not leave there we would all be taken prisoners; the enemy were then on the right and left of the house some one hundred yards distant; Co. McMaster then ordered his men out of the house and to fall back; this was about 2 or 3 o'clock in the evening [McMaster 1863:46].

The court acquitted McMaster of every charge but one, a single count of conduct unbecoming an officer for called his superior a drunk. McMaster considered this a complete vindication. So eager was he to spread the news of his acquittal that when the official verdict was held up by War Department paperwork, he published the whole trial proceedings himself with a press in Columbia (McMaster 1863).

Figure 45

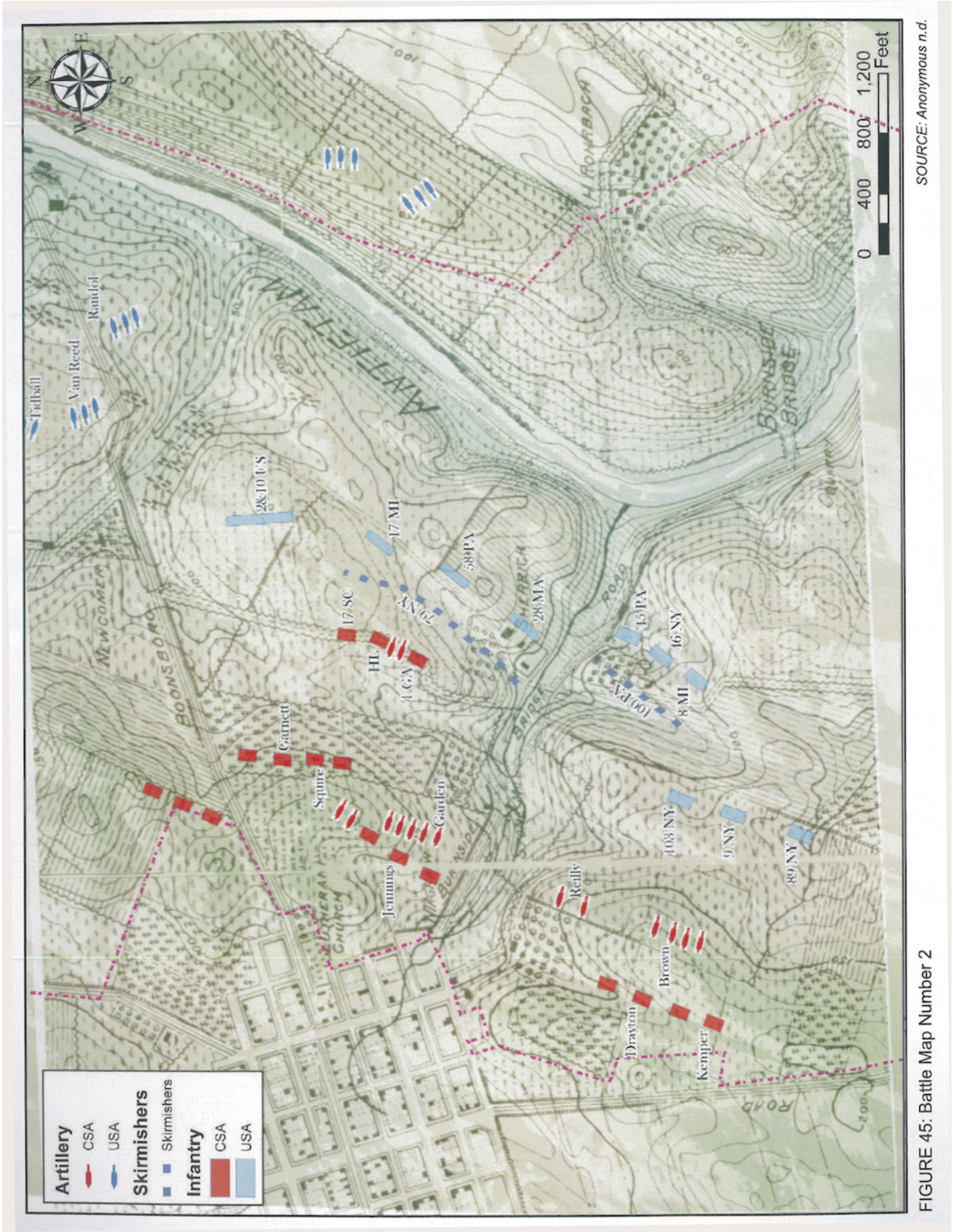


FIGURE 45: Battle Map Number 2

SOURCE: Anonymous n.d.

d. Christ Deploys on the Bluff

In their advance toward Sharpsburg, Christ's First Brigade had a much tougher time than Welsh's Second. Whereas the Second Brigade suffered only three men killed and 86 wounded, in the First Brigade 43 men were killed and 198 wounded. In Christ's words:

> About 10 o'clock a.m. I was ordered to support some batteries covering our advance near the stone bridge across Antietam Creek. During the afternoon I crossed the bridge and marched to the right, and parallel with the stream, for several hundred yards. I here deployed the 79th New York Volunteers as skirmishers, supported by the Fiftieth Pennsylvania, Twenty-eighth Massachusetts, and Seventeenth Michigan Volunteers, and then moved forward in front of the enemy' battery (heavily supported by infantry), in the rear of a corn-field, on the right of the road [Figure 46]. On reaching the crest of a hill, about 350 yards in front of the battery, I discovered that my support on my left had not come up. Deeming my force alone inadequate for the attack on both artillery and infantry, I was obliged to halt until supported on my left.
>
> While halting under cover from the enemy directly in front, he opened a battery on my left which commanded my whole line from left to right, and for thirty minutes we were under a most severe fire of found shot, shell, grape, and canister, and suffered severely. It was impossible to move forward for the reason before stated – no place in the neighborhood that afforded any cover – and the alternative presented itself either to retire from a good and only position from which to advance on the enemy in front, or to wait patiently until some demonstration on the left would compel him to change the direction of his fire. Again, I could not get under cover without retiring at least 250 yards, in full view of the enemy, and if there would have been the least confusion the men might have retreated in disorder, and exposed a larger and more disordered front to his fire, which would have largely increased the list of casualties. I chose the former, and was gratified by having my expectations realized.
>
> A demonstration on the left compelled the enemy to change the direction of his fire, and my supports coming, we moved to the front, where we engaged the enemy on his left, and in about one hour succeeded in driving both his artillery and infantry from the position. I charged on the battery with the Seventeenth Michigan Regiment (this being the regiment immediately in front), supported by the Fiftieth Pennsylvania and Twenty-eighth Massachusetts Volunteers, but when within 100 yards of his guns (and while still covered by a hill which prevented my advance column from shooting either his horses or their riders), he limbered up his pieces and retired. I did not deem it prudent to advance after his artillery had retired, for the reason that the woods were lined with his sharpshooters, and I would only have exposed my command to their fire without gaining anything. I retired with my charging party to my line of battle, and maintained my position until ordered to take another farther down and near the bridge, where the men slept on their arms for the night (O.R. 438-439).

First Lt. William Owen (1885) of the Washington Artillery, a Louisiana outfit, described the fighting from the viewpoint of the Confederate gunners:

> The enemy, now swarming over the bridge, received the fire of Squires's guns (First company Washington Artillery) from the hill east of the town, together with that of Garden's and Moody's batteries. Together they poured shell and canister into the heavy columns of the enemy, inflicting serious loss upon them as they deployed in lines of battle for the assault; but, undeterred, except momentarily, by this fire, he advanced in enormous masses to the assault of the heights.

Figure 46



FIGURE 46: View of Cemetery Hill from the Start-Off Position of Christ's Brigade

Sweeping up the crest they were mowed down by the fire of Richardson's, Brown's, and McIntosh's batteries.

e. The Archeology of Christ's Advance on Sharpsburg

The general route taken by Christ's Brigade as it advanced toward Sharpsburg can still be easily traced across the high ground on the north side of Burnside Bridge Road. During the 2012 to 2013 archeological study of the battlefield, metal detecting along this route led to the discovery of numerous artifacts associated with the battle (Figures 47 and 48). This area has been metal detected in the past by amateurs, and what was found was only what they missed, a small sample of what was once here (Tables 4 and 5). With that caveat, what do the artifacts tell us?

TABLE 4. MILITARY ARTIFACT TOTALS
FROM THE ROUTE OF CHRIST'S ADVANCE

DESCRIPTION	COUNT
.58 Caliber, 3-Ring, Minié Ball, fired	2
.54 Caliber, 3-Ring Minié Ball, fired	1
.58 Caliber, 3-Ring Minié Ball, dropped	3
.577 Caliber Carbine Bullet, dropped	1
Carbine Bullet, Caliber indeterminate, fired	1
Artillery Fuze	1
Shell fragment, spherical	4
Shell fragment, conical	9
Shell fragment, indeterminate	1
Iron Canister Shot, 1⅛-inch	6
Iron Case or Canister Shot, ¾-inch	1
North Carolina Button	1
Musket ball, dropped	1
Total	**32**

Survey of the fields was carried out along straight transects at paced 25-foot intervals; the detector sweeps out on about a 5-foot arc, so this represents a 20 percent sample of the field. The material recovered consists of artillery shell fragments, canister shot, and dropped and fired bullets. Artillery dominates. This is as one would expect, based on the contemporary accounts of the battle; with so few infantry available, the Confederate defense depended mainly on the guns, and so it is mainly evidence of artillery that remains in the fields. The remains of both round balls fired by smoothbore guns and cylindrical shells fired by rifled guns were found. Both were part of the defense: accounts of the fighting mention Squires Battery of the Washington Artillery (Louisiana), which had 3-inch rifles and 10-pounder rifled Parrott guns, Moody's Battery, which also had rifled guns, and Garden's Battery, which fielded smooth-bore Napoleons.

Several of these objects are quite mysterious. The button (Figure 49) can only have come from a North Carolina soldier, but no North Carolina troops were ever posted near the bluff where this was found. Perhaps the button belonged to a prisoner taken by Christ's brigade on Cemetery Hill. The carbine bullets are another anomaly, since carbines were used by cavalry and there was no cavalry fighting on September 17. There is, however, a strange account in the memoirs of Robert Carter of the 22nd Massachusetts Infantry that may shed some light. On the night of September 18, he wrote,

Figure 47



FIGURE 47: Artifacts, Year 1

Figure 48



FIGURE 48: Artifacts, Year 2

Figure 49



FIGURE 49: NC Button

About midnight, a squadron of cavalry came galloping up the road from the direction of the bridge and attacked a house (Sherrick's) on the north side of the road. It was occupied by the enemy's sharpshooters, and was just outside our line. They gave a wild cheer, half yell. The bullets flew pretty thickly for a while, as they went clattering and chattering over the slope. The noise and uproar had aroused us from a sort of drowse, and after that nobody thought of sleep. We could hear the crackling of carbines, the intermingled cheers and yells, and soon they came back, reporting that the "Johnnies" had gone out of the house like "rats" [Carter 1913: 330-331].

TABLE 5. MILITARY ARTIFACTS FROM THE ROUTE OF CHRIST'S ADVANCE BY LOCATION

SURVEY AREA	METAL DETECTOR (MD) OR STP NUMBER	CATALOG NUMBER	OBJECT DESCRIPTION
31	STP A-3	16660	Artillery Fuze (Schenkl percussion)
31	STP Judg-9	16759	Artillery shell fragment
31	MD-47	16706	.58 Caliber, 3-Ring, Minié Ball, dropped
31	MD-99	16712	.58 Caliber, 3-Ring, Minié Ball, fired
31	MD-14	2233.2	.58 Caliber, 3-Ring, Minié Ball, dropped
31	MD-26	2233.5	North Carolina Button, 7-point sunburst design
31	MD-27	2233.6	Carbine bullet (.55 Caliber?), fired
31	MD-30	2233.7	Carbine bullet, .577 Caliber, dropped
31	MD-31	2233.8	Iron Canister Shot, 1.135" diameter
31	MD-38	2233.9	.58 Caliber, 3-Ring, Minié Ball, dropped
31	MD-46	2233.11	Artillery shell fragment, conical shell
31	MD-59	2233.12	Artillery shell fragment, spherical shell
31	MD-64	2233.13	Iron Canister Shot, 1.18" diameter
31	MD-83	2233.14	Artillery shell fragment, spherical shell
31	MD-91	2233.15	Iron Case or Canister Shot, 0.74" diameter
31	MD-112	2233.16	Iron Canister Shot, 1.18" diameter
42	MD-3	2234.1	.54 Caliber, 3-Ring, Minié Ball, fired
42	MD-5	2234.2	Artillery shell fragment, spherical shell
42	MD-11	2234.3	Smooth-bore musket ball, 0.64" diameter, dropped
42	MD-15	2234.4	Artillery shell fragment, conical shell
42	MD-16	2234.5	Artillery shell fragment, conical shell
42	MD-32	2234.6	Iron Canister Shot, 1.13" diameter
43	MD-12	2235.1	Artillery shell fragment, conical shell
43	MD-29	2235.2	.58 Caliber, 3-Ring, Minié Ball, fired
43	MD-31	2235.3	Artillery shell fragment, conical shell
45	MD-7	2236.1	Artillery shell fragment, spherical shell
45	MD-25	2236.3	Artillery shell fragment, conical shell
45	MD-29	2236.4	Iron Canister Shot, 1.13" diameter
45	MD-37	2236.5	Artillery shell fragment, conical shell
45	MD-39	2236.6	Artillery shell fragment, conical shell
45	MD-40	2236.7	Iron Canister Shot, 1.12" diameter
45	MD-51	2236.8	Artillery shell fragment, conical shell

Perhaps these mysterious cavalry troopers left the carbine bullets in the field. The dropped musket ball in another anomaly, since none of the Union troops in Christ's Brigade used smoothbore muskets, but of course this might have been dropped by a hunter any time over the whole 1700 to 1860 period, so perhaps it had nothing to do with the battle.

The most interesting finds from a historical point of view are six 1⅛-inch iron balls that appear to be canister shot, three of them found within a few yards of the Antietam bluff. Canister — which turned cannons into something like giant shotguns, and was the most effective way for Civil War artillery to fight infantry — was a routine part of Civil War battles, but it had limited range. Most authorities give 150 to 200 yards as the maximum range at which canister was effective, although of course individual balls might have sailed farther. Existing maps of unit dispositions do not show any Confederate battery within canister range of the field where these balls were found. The Carman-Cope map shows Confederate batteries on Cemetery Hill and above the Stone Mill, half a mile (880 yards) to the northwest (Figure 50). It seems unlikely that any of those batteries fired the recovered balls. (As the recent finds represent only about 20 percent coverage of the field, and the remaining artifacts are only a small sample of what was left after the battle, these balls must represent a significant volume of fire.) The Carman-Cope map shows the Confederate front line well in advance of the guns, near the modern tour road, and this matches the account given by McMaster. This is a commanding position with a good view of the bluff, and guns positioned here would have had a clear field of fire to the field where the balls were found (Figure 51). Most likely one Confederate battery or section was deployed in advance with the infantry but was withdrawn when Christ's advance began in earnest.

According to Christ, his advance stalled because his men got ahead of the rest of the IX Corps advance and thus drew all the artillery fire on themselves. He therefore halted in a position that offered some shelter from the artillery in his front (the guns on Cemetery Hill), but he was still vulnerable from his left: "While halting under cover from the enemy directly in front, he opened a battery on my left which commanded my whole line from left to right, and for thirty minutes we were under a most severe fire of found shot, shell, grape, and canister, and suffered severely" (O.R. 438-439).

The only place along Christ's advance where this might have happened is the valley that extends northward from the Sherrick Farm. It is indeed sheltered from Cemetery Hill by the steep slope in front but exposed to fire from high ground south of the road. Figure 52 shows a view of the valley from the tour road stop south of the road. It seems that the Confederate guns of Brown's and Reilly's batteries were actually a little farther back and higher up, near the 9th New York monument, but the view from there is currently blocked by trees and would have been much the same as this one.

Once Welsh's and Fairchild's brigades had advanced far enough to draw the fire of the batteries south of the road, Christ resumed his advance. He took the ridge where the Confederate first line had been posted without heavy fighting — this was the position from which McMaster's men fled when they realized that Christ's men overlapped both ends of their line and Welsh's were advancing up the road behind them. Regrouping on this high ground, where his statue stands, Christ considered his options (Figure 53). He was clearly nervous and felt unsupported and exposed. Apparently none of the commanders in the IX Corps realized how much the Confederates had lost in the morning fighting or how few men still blocked their way into Sharpsburg. If Christ had decided to march into town, there was nobody there to stop him and nobody to mount the counterattack he obviously feared.

Removing the Confederate guns from the heights was certainly within his orders, so Christ ordered the regiment on his right flank, the 17th Michigan, to charge the guns on Cemetery Hill (Figures 54 and 55). They advanced into the cornfield where Garnett's men were posted, driving them back into the town. They then encountered the scratch force put together by Evans. Not trusting in this

Figure 50

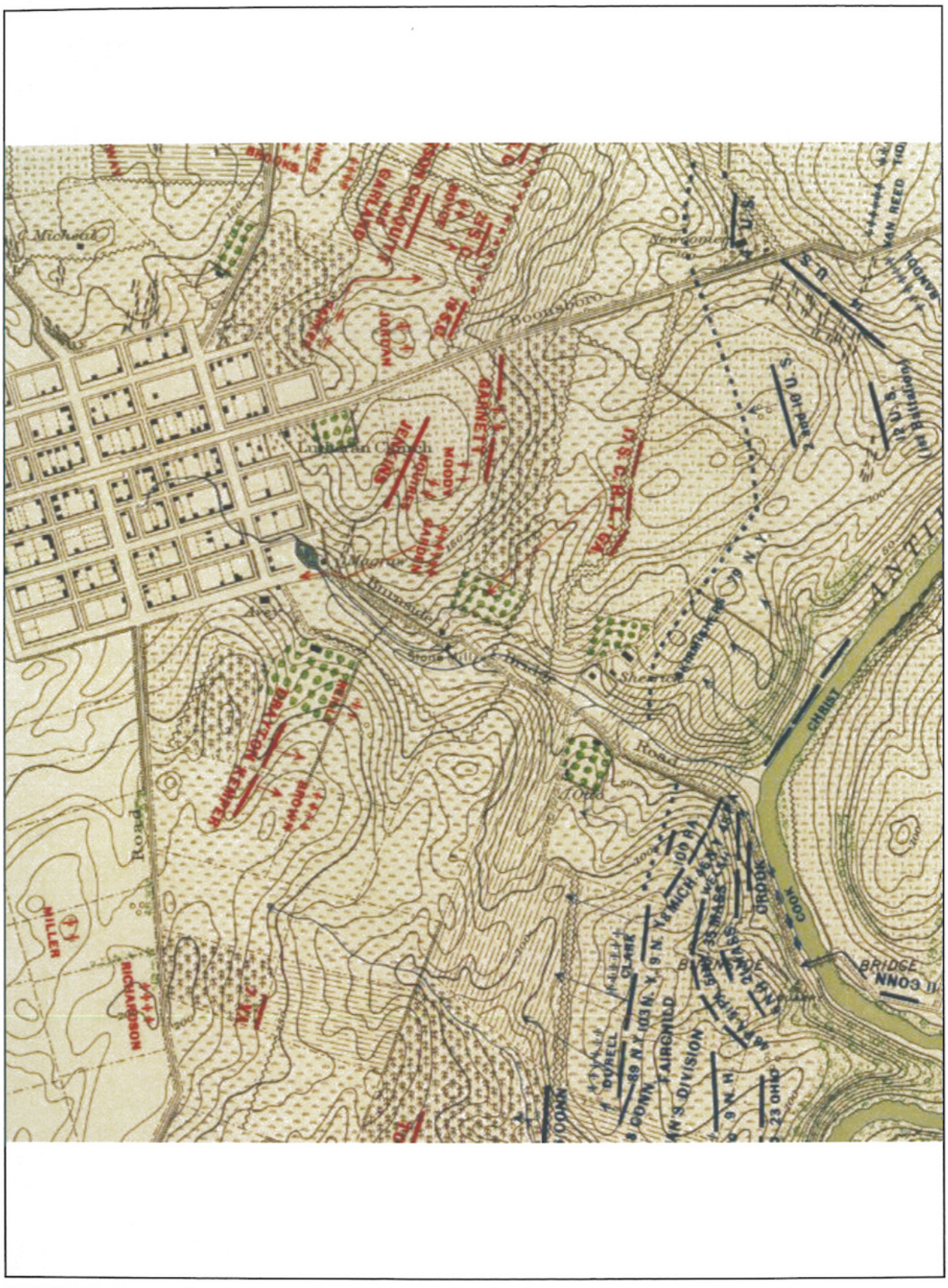


FIGURE 50: Carman-Cope Man for 3:30 PM

Figure 51



FIGURE 51: View Toward Burnside Bridge from the Confederate Front Line North of the Road

Figure 52



FIGURE 52: Valley Where Christ's Brigade Briefly Sheltered During their Advance Toward Sharpsburg, Viewed from Confederate Artillery Positions South of Burnside Bridge Road. The initial Confederate line was on the high ground just to the left of the valley, now partially covered by trees

Figure 53



SOURCE: National Archives

FIGURE 53: Map in the Ezra Carman Files at the National Archives, as Marked by Massachusetts Veterans to Show the Locations of the 28th Massachusetts Infantry (Part of Christ's Brigade) in front of Cemetery Hill and the 8th Massachusetts Battery by the Otto Barn

Figure 54



FIGURE 54: View of Cemetery Hill from the Christ Monument, Starting Point for the 17th Michigan's Advance toward the Confederate Batteries

Figure 55

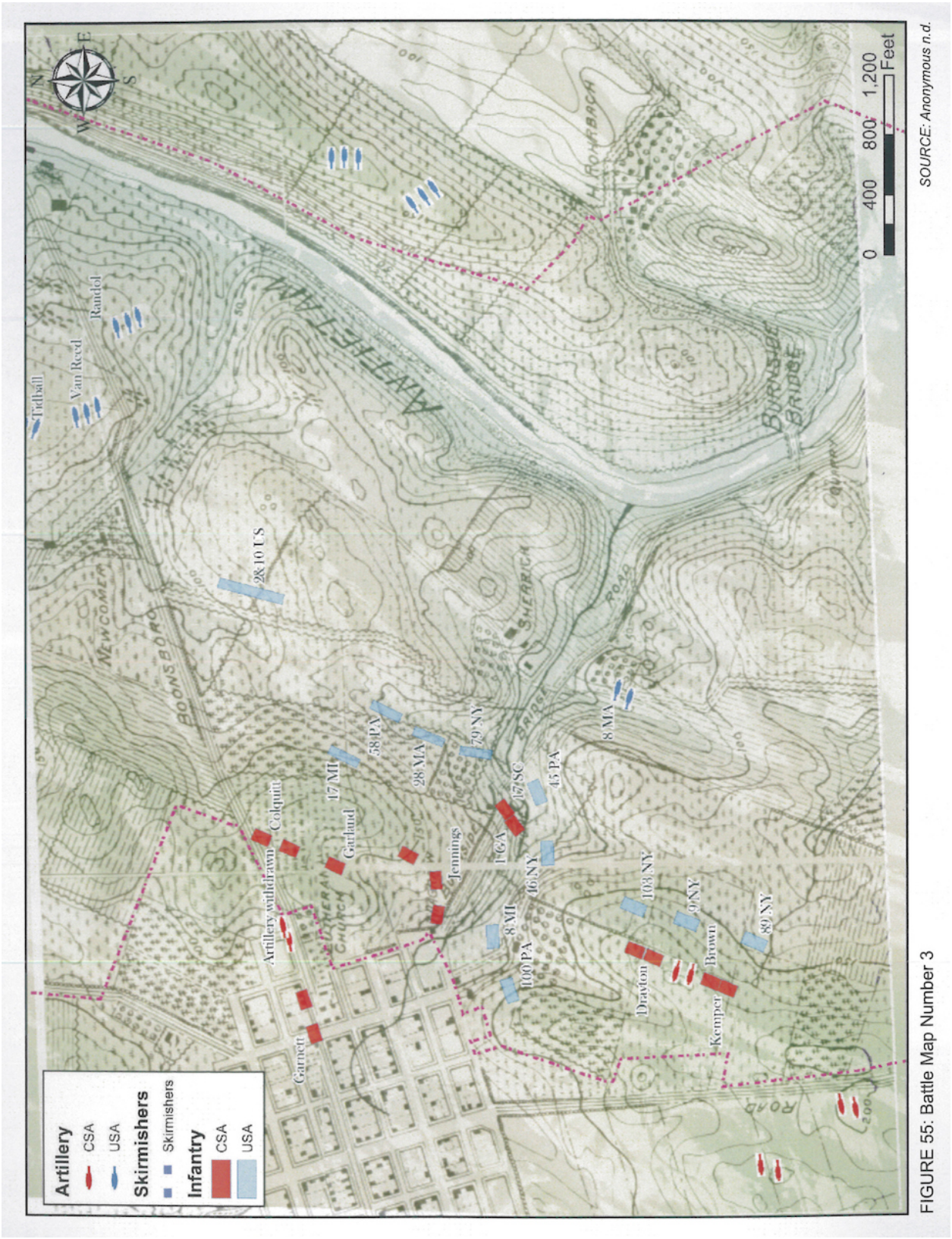


FIGURE 55: Battle Map Number 3

SOURCE: Anonymous n.d.

defense, Garnett ordered the artillery withdrawn. Christ, thinking he had accomplished his objective, withdrew the 17th and kept his men together in the valley in front of Cemetery Hill until he was ordered to retreat back toward his starting point.

f. Welsh Advances to Sharpsburg

While Christ was scattering the Confederate infantry and driving the guns off Cemetery Hill, Welsh's brigade was advancing in parallel south of Burnside Bridge Road. His men had a comparatively easy time of it (Figure 56). As he wrote,

> Arriving on the opposite side of the stream, and in compliance with verbal instructions from Brigadier-General Willcox, I moved my whole command over a steep hill, immediately charging the enemy and driving them rapidly in the direction of Sharpsburg, my troops advancing to the edge of the town and capturing the rebel Captain Twiggs and several soldiers (O.R. 439-440).

Since the badly wounded Twiggs was in the stone mill when he was taken, Welsh's men must have been the ones who took that strong point. They were supported by a two-gun section of the 8th Massachusetts Battery, the artillery attached to Willcox's Division. Willcox himself seems to have positioned these guns near the Otto Barn, where they could fire at Garnett's men around the mill and on the slopes beyond.

Like Christ, Welsh advanced so far that he felt exposed and nervous:

> Discovering that we had advanced beyond our supporting forces on our right, and also on our left, I withdrew my command to an orchard directly on the left of Colonel Christ, First Brigade of the division. We remained in this position until ordered back by the general commanding the division to the support of the forces then desperately engaged with the enemy, who were endeavoring to outflank us on our left. My command was exposed for several hours to a tremendous cross-fire from the artillery of the enemy, as well as a direct fire from their infantry and riflemen in our front, yet they advanced with steadiness and rapidity, driving the enemy at all points and performing strictly the great duty devolved on them by the commanding general. I had great difficulty in restraining the ardor of my troops, who seemed anxious to charge through the town and capture the batteries beyond. . . [O.R. 439-440].

The orchard where Welsh ended up was presumably part of the Avey Farm, south of the road and adjacent to Sharpsburg. Some of Welsh's men actually entered the outskirts of town, and there was firing between pickets among the houses at the east end of Sharpsburg. But as Welsh says, he held his men back, and they were unable to wreak the destruction on Confederate stragglers and artillerymen that some of them envisaged (Figure 57).

g. Up to the Harpers Ferry Road

Meanwhile, on Willcox's left, the Third Division under Rodman advanced across fields and pastures toward the south end of Sharpsburg and the Harpers Ferry Road. On their right, adjacent to Welsh, was Fairchild's Brigade, with the 9th, 89th, and 103rd New York, and on the left was Harland's Brigade with

Figure 56



FIGURE 56: Confederate's Eye View of the Fields Across Which Welsh Advanced

Figure 57

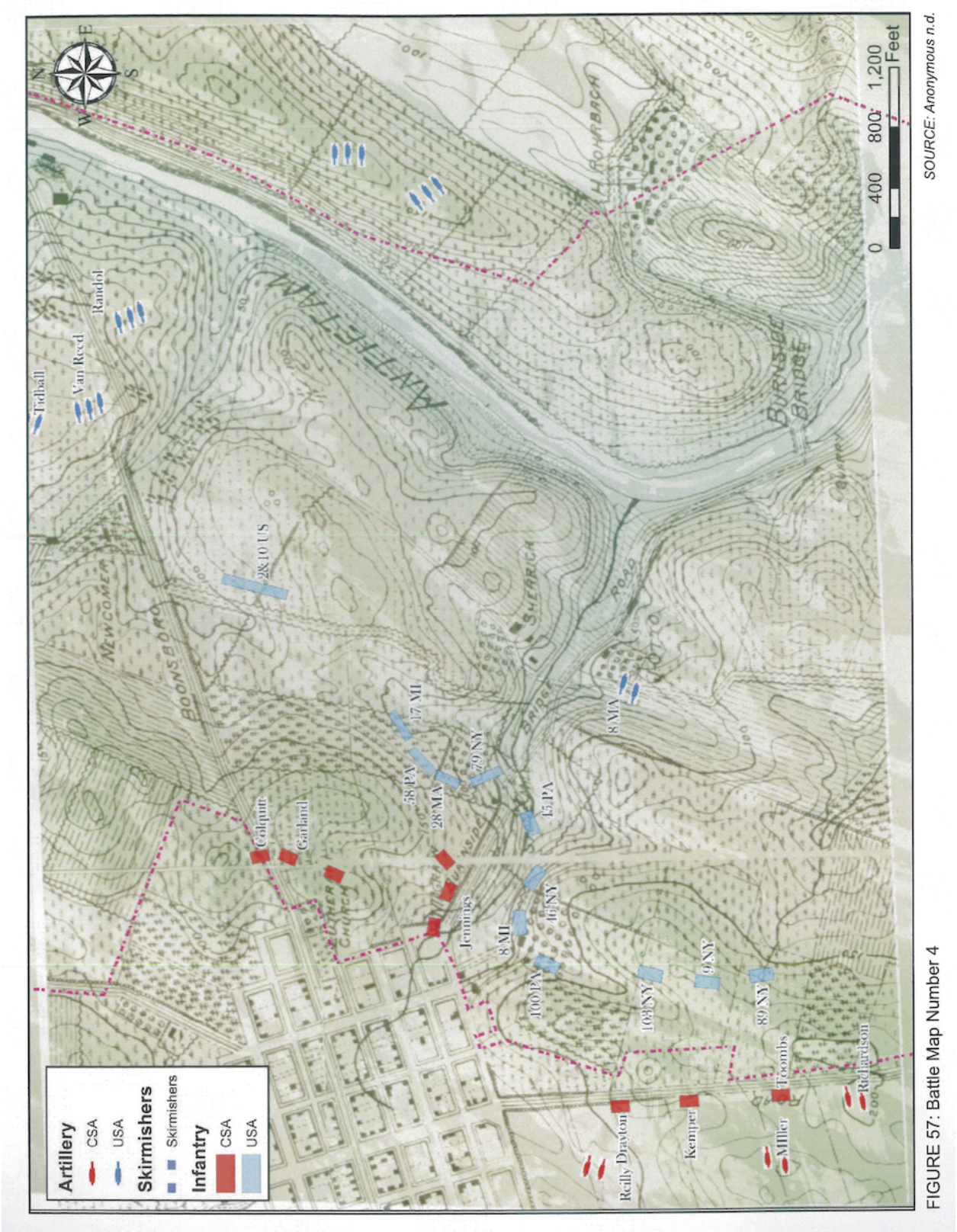


FIGURE 57: Battle Map Number 4

SOURCE: Anonymous n.d.

the 8th and 16th Connecticut and the 4th Rhode Island. The other two divisions of the IX Corps were held back.

Fairchild's Brigade kept pace with Welsh across the fields, and when they encountered stiff resistance from men of Drayton's Brigade firing from behind stone walls, the "Fire Zouaves" of the 9th New York charged the wall and sent the Confederates scurrying back. They even took a Confederate battery, although they did not hold it for very long. Lt. Mathew Graham left a wonderful account of this attack in a letter he wrote in 1894:

> I was lying on my back, supported on my elbows, watching the shells explode overhead and speculating as to how long I could hold up my finger before it would be shot off, for the very air seemed full of bullets, when the order to get up was given. I turned over quickly to look at Colonel Kimball, who had given the order, thinking he had become suddenly insane: never dreaming that he intended to advance in that fire, and firmly believing that the regiment would not last one minute after the men had got fairly on their feet. Sure enough, there was Kimball, looking all right. He repeated the order: "Get up the Ninth!" and, I thought, looked directly at me. We got up and went forward, passing at once into a cornfield. The fence over which my men were swarming was at that moment knocked down by a shell. From the cornfield we crossed over a meadow, then over a strip of plowed land, and then another piece of grass or stubble. We halted twice, I think, to rest and dress the line, although dressing was not necessary as every man was in his place. The loss was frightful. I could see the regiment—the line—shortening perceptibly as we advanced. We could hear the crash of the missiles through the ranks, and strange as it may seem, that sound brought like a flash to my mind a saying of Lannes, when describing the battle of Austerlitz: "I could hear the bones crash in my division like glass in a hailstorm."
>
> The whole regiment behaved magnificently throughout. Nothing could be better. The advance was over sharp ridges and through the intervening hollows for a long way. Although just then I was not conscious of either the lapse of time or of the distance we were covering, I now know that we advanced altogether about a mile, and we lost men at almost every step. In two or three of the sheltered places, where we were partly protected from the enemy's fire by the ground in front, Colonel Kimball, as I said before, halted the regiment just for a moment to give the men a chance to get their breath. During these halts he always remained erect, moving up and down the line uttering words of encouragement for everybody. . . . During one of these momentary halts I glanced back at the field we had just crossed and saw it sprinkled all over with our dead and wounded, all lying with their heads toward the enemy, presenting the appearance of a thin field of cornstalks I had seen some place, all rolled down to lie in the same direction for convenience in plowing them under.
>
> The charge ended, so far as I was concerned, in what appeared to be a grand finale. We had been advancing over what I remember as rolling, but at the same time, rising ground; we had reached what looked like the summit of this particular ridge when we were met by what I remember as a crashing volley of musketry. We all went down together although I was hit not with a bullet but with a grapeshot. The fronts of the companies had by that time become so narrow that I found myself right at the colors. They did not average, I think, above twelve or fifteen men each at that stage. When I recovered myself after I fell—that is, got into position to see about me, and after the men had passed over me, some stumbling over and others stepping on me, which occupied but a moment, nearly everybody was down on the ground. The whole color guard lay prone, the colors on the ground. One or two of the men staggered to their feet and reached for the flags, but were shot down at once. Then there was what seemed a

> spontaneous rush for them by a dozen or more men from several companies, who were shot down in succession as each one raised his flag. One of these whom I noticed was Lieutenant Myers, who was hit just as he picked up one of them. The flags were up and down, up and down, several times in a minute. Libaire at last seized one of them, and swinging it around his head was profane for the first and only time, I think, shouting to his company, "Up, damn you, and forward!" I could see only toward the right of the line as I lay. I saw four commissioned officers in front of the line. Kimball, Horner, Libaire, and McKechnie, all shouting forward as the men sprang to their feet. McKechnie was on the stone wall with his fez on the point of his sword waving his men on.
>
> All this took place in a flash, as it seems to me now, and the next minute the regiment was gone; over the wall and out of sight [Graham 1900)].

Graham believed, he wrote, that the IX Corps was winning a great victory, and as he was carried back to the surgeons, he encouraged stragglers to hurry to the front to get a piece of the glory. The losses of Fairchild's Brigade in this attack were heavy, 87 men killed, 321 wounded, and 47 missing.

Once A.P. Hill's counter attack got under way on his left, Fairchild also withdrew from his most advanced positions:

> It was then discovered that the enemy were moving up from the corn-field on our left to flank us, and I ordered the brigade to retire about 250 yards to the rear of the position we now held. . . . We remained in this position until we were positively ordered to withdraw [O.R. 451].

h. A.P. Hill Counterattacks

The collapse of the IX Corps attack is hard to explain. Everyone agrees that A.P. Hill's appearance on the Union left flank stopped the IX Corps, but how? Most accounts read something like this, from a history of the 28th Massachusetts: "But the left flank of the 9th Corps line soon collapsed, and Willcox was ordered to withdraw his victorious troops to avoid being outflanked" (28th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry 2013). Or this, a veteran of the battle quoted in the regimental history of the 46th New York: "Our regiment was soon in front of all of them and in the most advanced position. There the men engaged the enemy for several hours and fell back only when a superior number of the enemy attempted to outflank us (Mettendorf 2012:33).

When the Confederate counterattack began, it involved fewer than 2,000 men. Two Union regiments on the far left of the advance, the 4th Rhode Island and 16th Connecticut, were attacked in the flank and broke and ran. However, the IX Corps had two more divisions in reserve, and these were deployed to stem the Confederate advance. There was never any real danger that Hill's men would break through to the bridge and cut off the brigades of Christ, Welsh, and Fairchild. Nonetheless Cox thought they were too exposed and ordered them back.

i. Summing Up the IX Corps Attack

The story of the IX Corps advance to Sharpsburg seems much the same as for the Battle of Antietam as a whole. Union infantry, well supported by long-range artillery, advanced at great cost into positions

that posed a grave threat to the Confederates but then stalled out, leaving the battered rebels clinging to the town and their escape routes. The Union nearly won a great victory but then let it slip away.

A few points about the afternoon fighting stand out. First, IX Corps commander Cox launched the attack in a coordinated way and assigned a clear objective, to seize the high ground around Sharpsburg. But once the Union men reached the high ground, they received no further orders. Each of the brigade commanders (Christ, Welsh, Fairchild) described making his own decisions about what to do, and all of them nervously went into defensive positions. They all felt isolated and none of them had any idea how weak the Confederates in front of them actually were. Faulty intelligence bedeviled the Union army from McClellan on down, and many Northern commanders believed that they were outnumbered even when they had a decisive advantage. The lack of coordination was another systematic problem. If McClellan had an overall plan, which is much disputed, he never explained it to most of his Corps commanders, and they in turn often exercised little supervision of their own subordinates, leaving many crucial decisions to be made by brigadiers. The high casualty rate among commanders made for further confusion.

But what really doomed the IX Corps attack was poor timing. Their attack got off so late that fighting to their north had already died down, allowing Lee to move his artillery reserve south to oppose the new advance. Willcox and Fairchild reached the heights anyway, but before they could be resupplied and receive new orders, the day was over. By the time A.P. Hill's counterattack was seriously under way, it was evening, and the temptation to fall back and regroup before nightfall was too great for Cox and Burnside. Rather than sort out what was really happening on their front and plan for a renewed attack, they called their men back to spend the night in safety. Perhaps they hoped to renew the battle on the morrow, but that was not to be.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

The Antietam National Battlefield is an extraordinary place. Here thousands of soldiers struggled and died on America's bloodiest day, suffusing the hills with the memory of their heroism. Before that day and after, it was a place of ordinary life, where hunters, pioneers, and farmers passed their peaceful lives. It is also a beautiful place where a stroll across the rolling pastures leads to many splendid vistas, green mountains looming up behind old farms or handsome monuments. Archeology shows that both the day of battle and the years of peace have left marks in the ground: pottery, glass, bullets. We can find these marks and interpret them (Figure 58), enriching our understanding of this special place and the people who lived and died here.

Figure 58



FIGURE 58: Metal Detecting near the Statue of Colonel Benjamin Christ

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