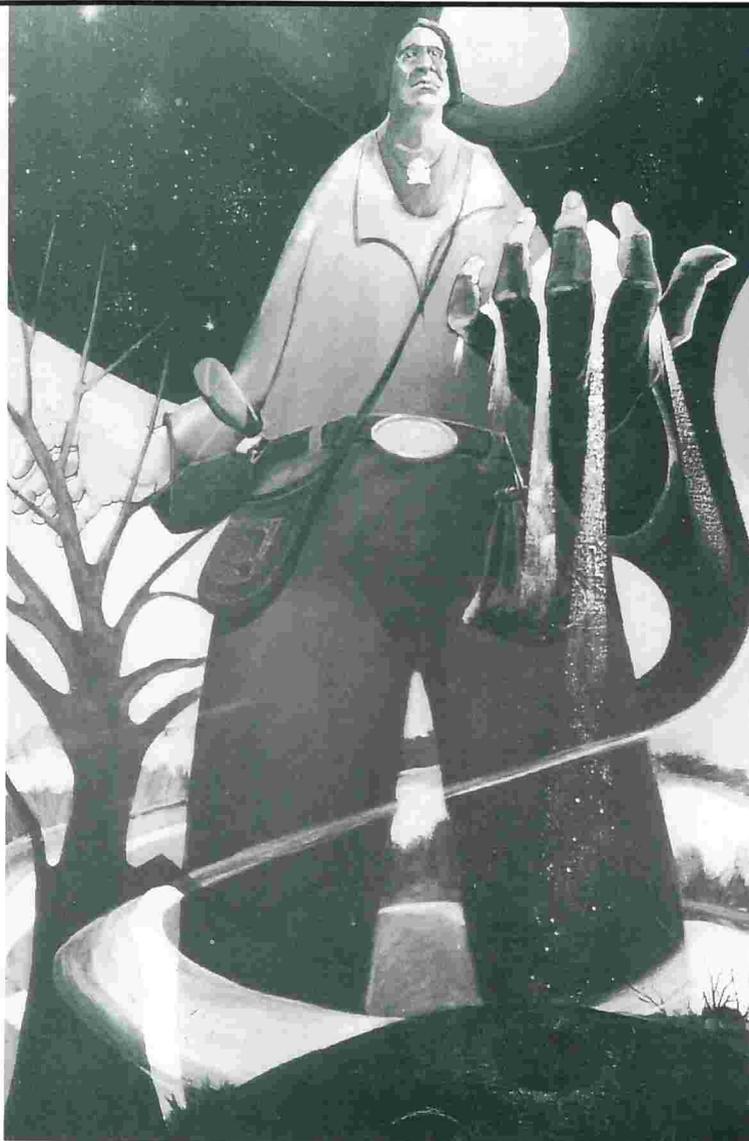


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Lycoming County Historical Society

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1997



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EDITOR'S NOTE

In this second issue of *The Journal* to emerge from my "reign" as editor (perhaps "tour of duty" is a more appropriate term), several of the articles are, as in the last issue, articles that were submitted as many as five years ago and that have been waiting to be published, have been misfiled, or have mysteriously turned up at the announcement that *The Journal* had a new editor. More mysteriously, all but one of these errant articles focused on some aspect of American Indian history and culture. The poet Ezra Pound once said that in a good poem words seem to assemble themselves like iron filings drawn to a magnet. Now that *The Journal* is ready to go to press, I believe that the comparison applies to magazine composition as well.

Oh, Dear Reader, my guess is you can see my pride in this issue glimmering through my glibness. For although at first glance it may appear that an issue including two archeological articles, two articles about legendary Indians and one anachronistic and athematic essay about a Civil War veteran lacks organic form, close reading shows that the "metasubjects" of this issue are really the art of historical research and the thrill of, as John Keats put it, "irritable grasping after uncertainties"—and bravely drawing conclusions from them. Clearly, the past is exciting unknown territory to be explored. One phrase that resounds from article to article is some version of "perhaps we'll never know." The spirit that emanates from that echo, however, is "we certainly will go on trying to find out"!

Among the many ways the fields of poetry and history are alike is that both are as likely to "happen" outside the libraries and laboratories of ivy-covered institutions as within. In poetry and in history, personal stories and eyeball comparisons of fragments of old pots are equal in importance to encyclopedia facts and carbon-dating techniques. So an exciting feature of this issue is the variety of "explorers" engaged in digging up pieces of the past—for professional and technical reasons or for personal interest or for combinations of both. We have an article by Mark Stamm, a student historian from Lycoming College, who conducted an internship in archeology with James Bressler; we have an article about the paradoxical Mingo, John Logan, son of Chief Logan, by Ron Wenning, editor and publisher of Wennawoods Publishing Company in Lewisburg, a company specializing in reprinting histories; we have an article by Dr. Jay F. Custer, professor of Anthropology at the University of Delaware who oversaw the United States Army Corps of Engineers' excavation of the West Water Site for the Lock Haven Area Flood Protection Authority required by federal law before a levee could be constructed; we have an article by Gary V. Hoover, historian of Masonic Lodge No. 106 that presents an informative and entertaining account of the search for information about Mason Franklin Broadbelt for the Lodge records; and we have an article by artist Steven Sliwinski that demonstrates the importance of historical research in contemporary art and gives an "eye-opening" perspective on the goals of historical discovery. Because each author has a different reason for and a different approach to the search for the past, this issue of *The Journal* is especially rich with their experiences and should be of value to professional scholar and casual reader alike.

Furthermore, for the careful reader, this *Journal* may present some intriguing interweavings and possibilities for considerable armchair conjecture. I'll say no more. Have fun!

For our cover, we are grateful to Steven Sliwinski for allowing us to use a black-and-white production of the acrylic portrait painting that captures the power, information, and spirit woven throughout his research. The original painting will be hung in the Bradford County Library in Burlington, Pennsylvania.

We are also grateful to Jerry Seymour of *U.S. Art* for allowing us to reprint the portrait of John Logan ("Logan's Revenge") which appeared on the cover of Volume 1, number 9 (November 1995).

Unfortunately, between date of submission and date of publication, the original photographs accompanying Mark Stamm's article were "T.A." (which stands for "thrown away," words spoken only *sotto voce* in the presence of historians). The reproductions here are from xerox copies, which make them barely useful for the professional archaeologist; however, the fragments are available for examination in the LCHS archives.

One other documentation problem presented itself with these articles. For the first time as an editor I encountered citations from the Internet (see "The Search for Tomjack"). I recorded them as cited by the author; for future issues I will consult a style manual for the millenium to find out how Internet info is being handled in academia.

A final note: Editing a historical journal involves a good deal of decision-making regarding current and (technically and politically) correct language. As the LCHS moves toward publishing more scholarly articles, we must become more professional in our documentation techniques and our terminology. After much thought, I have decided not to standardize (or dictate) ethnic terms to be used in the articles published in *The Journal*. Although I am in sympathy with and advocate the raising of our collective consciences with respect to the names people wish to be called by, as an editor, I believe the terms a writer chooses perhaps reveal as much about the writer's opinions as do her thesis statements.

More complicated for an historical journal is the issue of dating terms (by which I mean terms for our major historical divisions, not for courtship rituals—certainly best left to the individual wooers involved). In an article in *The New York Times Magazine*, August 17, 1997, William Safire tweaked my editor's conscience with a discussion of the relative proprieties of using the B.C./A.D. (Before Christ/Anno Domini) designations or the B.C.E./C.E. (Before Common Era/Common Era) designations or something else. Though literary guru Harold Bloom, according to Safire, claims "Every scholar I know uses B.C.E. and shuns A.D.," I decided to adopt the waffly policy used by Hershel Shanks, editor of the *Biblical Archeology Review* and allow authors to choose their own terms, with the note: "B.C.E. (before the Common Era) and C.E. (Common Era), used by some of our authors, are the alternative designations for B.C. and A.D. often used in scholarly literature."

Yet another difficulty presented itself in the use of two different spellings of a local Indian tribe whose pottery was a subject of both archeological articles. Mark Stamm, following James Bressler and William Turnbaugh, among others, used the name *Clemsons Island*, while Dr. Jay F. Custer, professor of Anthropology at the University of Delaware, used *Clemson Island*. A review of Barry Kent's anthology of articles on local American Indians shows the use of both spellings, and Sandy Rife's quick call to the State Archeologist confirmed that both terms are in current use. So it is that both spellings appear in this issue.

Finally, I would like to thank all our authors for their time devoted to research and for their friendly assistance and cooperation with editing. This year for the first time, we are delighted to be able to provide a small honorarium (\$25.00) by way of reimbursing our authors for the postage, telephone calls and faxes needed to get everything right. Few publications are able to afford the innumerable hours of research and writing that go into articles on historical subjects; we are pleased to be able to cover some of the costs of submitting articles to us for publication.

And, Dear Reader, thank you for helping to support the Lycoming County Historical Society.

Sincerely,

PENELOPE AUSTIN

LETTER FROM THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS

Our Museum is a special place. We preserve our community's history for future generations. In that sense, we are like an old grandparent, holding on to the treasures of the past, waiting to entrust each remarkable memento to the next generation. And like grandparents, we diligently care for the keepsakes of our forefathers, preserving for the future the priceless artifacts and irreplaceable archives which comprise our collection.

Yet our Museum holds much more than the objects that can be seen in exhibits. Like grandparents, we have stories to tell. We offer lectures and coffee hours and other programs to share these stories with the community. This is an important part of what we do; that is, we seek to foster among our community a deeper appreciation for our past.

Collections and programs are essential to the fulfillment of our mission, but equally important is the publication of *The Journal*. *The Journal* is much more than a membership benefit. In it, the Historical Society seeks to publish serious scholarship that reveals, clarifies, and interprets our past in ways which enrich our understanding of our community and its history. In *The Journal*, the Historical Society shares important research and writing about local history with our members and the general public.

In recent years, publication of *The Journal* has been less regular than we have wanted. Our current financial situation permits its publication on an annual basis, in the fall of the year. We are also fortunate Penny Austin has now assumed the task of editing *The Journal*. She is a dedicated Museum volunteer and professional writer whose goal is to raise the standard we strive to reach in our publications. Toward that end, and in an effort to promote research into the history of our community, the Historical Society has decided to offer a small honorarium for the articles published in *The Journal*. Though meager, we believe an honorarium is much deserved for the countless hours and tireless efforts researchers put forth.

Enjoy these articles. Let them feed your interest in our history. Then come visit the Museum, again, and again, and again. There is much to see and learn about our community's heritage.

I would be remiss if I did not end with a hearty thank you to all our volunteers and supporters. Those of us involved in the management and operation of the Museum have a deep appreciation for all that you do. Thank you.

Sincerely,

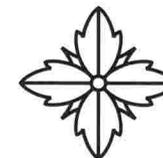
BRUCE BUCKLE

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CONTENTS

A PATH OF DISCOVERY: REEVALUATING PENNSYLVANIA PREHISTORY	6
by Mark E. Stamm	
CHIEF LOGAN: FRIEND, FOE, OR FICTION?	18
by Ronald R. Wenning	
ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT THE WEST WATER STREET SITE, LOCK HAVEN, CLINTON COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA	24
by Jay F. Custer	
FRANKLIN BROADBELT: CIVIL WAR VETERAN	34
by Gary V. Hoover	
THE SEARCH FOR TOMJACK	36
by Steven Sliwinski	





A PATH OF DISCOVERY: REEVALUATING PENNSYLVANIA PREHISTORY

by Mark E. Stamm

Apache, Huron, and Iroquois are names that conjure images of Indians who thrived in the untamed American wilderness. The language, culture, and history of these tribes are known thanks to the journals of Jesuit missionaries and early European traders. These are the tribes of the historic era, natives whose cultures persisted into the colonial era of American history and beyond. Lesser known, however, are the different cultural groups of the prehistoric era: native American tribes that emerged, thrived, and vanished long before the arrival of Christopher Columbus.

This project focuses on the nature of the relationships between three different prehistoric tribes native to the West Branch of the Susquehanna River over a 300-year period from AD 1100 to AD 1400. Their language, their identity, and every aspect of their culture that was verbally passed from one generation to the next are forever gone. All that remains are durable artifacts such as arrowheads and pottery that can withstand the effects of time. Archeologists label these three cultures as Clemsons Island, Owasco, and Shenks Ferry (in accordance with the tradition of assigning names to unidentified prehistoric cultures on the basis of where the culture was first recognized).

The most recent archaeological evidence concerning the relationships of the three prehistoric cultures under consideration emerged in the past four years from an archaeological excavation identified as the Ault Site. Situated on the farm of Donald Ault, the prehistoric village lies just west of Montoursville on the north bank of the Susquehanna River (fig. 1).

Ault discovered the Indian village when excavating for topsoil along the river bank. James P. Bressler, chairperson of the North Central Chapter of the Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology, completed a test pit to determine if the site were viable for excavation. With overwhelming evidence that it was, Ault agreed to a three-year excavation by the local chapter. The Ault Site is now designated by the national archaeological reference number 36LY 120 (Pennsylvania, 36; Lycoming County, LY; grid number, 120). Because of extremely poor weather conditions in the summer of 1995, excavation was extended an additional year. The site was backfilled and closed in August 1996.

The Ault Site presented a few obstacles that complicated excavation and the subsequent analysis of data. First, like many agrarian villages, the Ault Site is positioned along low river bottom ground that provides rich soil for farming but is susceptible to flooding. Although no longer plowed today, the survey area was farmed from the earliest settlements in the Williamsport area until the Lumbering Era (James Bressler, interviewed by Mark Stamm, 5 November 1996). Plowing thoroughly mixes the first 12 to 16 inches of soil. Not only does this process destroy stratification, but it also destroys any sizable fragile artifacts; no whole pots were unearthed from the site.

Flooding is another characteristic problem of river bottom ground. The seasonal removal and deposition of soil and artifacts over a 700-year period is a significant consideration during analysis.

Modern times presented two additional obstacles for archaeologists: the Lumbering Era and beef cattle farming. During the Lumbering Era, a mill was erected on the Ault Site. The daily activity of the mill and the workers destroyed countless surface features, such as post molds, hearths, and small artifacts (Bressler, 5 November 1996). The final attack on the Ault Site came in the 1950s when the area was fenced in for the raising of beef cattle (James Bressler, interviewed by Mark Stamm, 21 September 1995). The soil damage inflicted by 2000-pound steers in wet, muddy ground over several years needs no description. However, all these intrusions into the soil on the Ault Site made excava-

tion and analysis difficult, but not impossible.

For decades, archaeologists have debated the nature of the relationship between the Owasco, the Clemsons Island, and the Shenks Ferry. Analysis of ceramic artifacts and other archaeological evidence from the Ault Site provides important evidence that separates the Clemsons Island from the Owasco cultures and redefines the cultural progression of the Shenks Ferry. Evidence from a Clemsons Island burial mound on Clemsons Island indicates that a distinct Clemsons Island culture existed in the Middle Woodland Era (William Turnbaugh, *Cultural Prehistory and Demographic Patterns in North-Central Pennsylvania*, diss., Harvard University, 1973:242). Pottery evidence from the Ault Site indicates that they remained a distinct culture until the arrival of the Shenks Ferry around AD 1230 (Bressler, 5 November 1996; Bressler notes that the Carbon-14 date of AD 1230 was obtained from stockade posts surrounding the Bull Run Site [see fig. 4]). The Clemsons Island culture and the Owasco influence disappeared from the West Branch Valley with the arrival of the Shenks Ferry, a warring tribe pushing up the Susquehanna River. The Shenks Ferry easily took the Ault Site by force, impressing the Clemsons Island people, and cut off the northern Owasco influence.

Analysis of pottery indicates that a relationship existed between the Owasco, Clemsons Island, and Shenks Ferry cultures. The decorative styles on the necks and rims of the individual pot fragments fingerprint each culture. Cross-cultural mixing of decorative patterns and techniques suggests a relationship between the different groups. Ascertaining the nature of those relationships, however, is extremely difficult, and at times very frustrating.

The process of using pottery typology to identify relations between different cultures is complex. Surface treatment, clay composition, and pot structure are all analyzed for similarities and differences that indicate how one culture felt about another. For example, Clemsons Island and Owasco pottery share several decorative patterns that support other archeological evidence that a peaceful relationship existed between the two cultures. However, Shenks Ferry pottery is markedly different from both Clemsons Island and Owasco pottery. Again, other archaeological evidence concurs, suggesting that a hostile relationship existed between the Shenks Ferry and the Clemsons Island and Owasco peoples.

The initial problem in separating the Clemsons Island pottery from the pottery of other prehistoric cultures developed from the original definition of Clemsons Island pottery by Robert Jones and Junius Bird. Jones and Bird excavated a burial mound on Clemsons Island in Dauphin County in 1929. They described the pottery they found as deeply corded and fabric-impressed on the exterior (fig. 7) and often encircled with one or two rows of punctates or bosses around the rim of the pot (fig. 12 A, D) (Barry Kent, Ira Smith, and Catherine McCann, eds., *Foundations of Pennsylvania Prehistory*, Anthropological Series, Vol. 1, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1971: 419). Punctates are round holes pressed almost completely through the soft clay from the outside inward with a round stick (Turnbaugh 245). Bosses are created in the same way, but the stick is pressed from the inside of the pot outward to create a round knob on the exterior of the pot.

Since Jones's and Bird's description, all deeply corded and fabric-impressed pottery with or without punctations is classified as Clemsons Island. The problem with Jones's and Bird's classification is that although punctates and bosses are exclusive to Clemsons Island pottery, the corded and fabric-impressed body is not.

As punctates and bosses are attributed exclusively to Clemsons Island, the point stylus decorations on the necks of pots are attributed to early Owasco culture. A small round dowel tool was lightly pressed into the neck of the soft clay pot to produce decorative patterns by the Owasco potters (fig. 6 A,B). However, like Clemsons Island pottery as described by Jones and Bird, the Owasco did not always decorate their ceramic vessels. For unknown reasons, pots were often fired undecorated; only the deep cording or fabric-impression from the manufacturing process covers the exterior of the pot. Here lies the confusion brought about by the general acceptance of Jones's and Bird's description of

Clemsons Island pottery; both the Owasco and the Clemsons Island people constructed undecorated pots with a coarse cord-wrapped paddle and coarse fabric impressions.

Theories concerning the relationship of the Clemsons Island, Owasco, and Shenks Ferry are plentiful, while agreement is rare and often temporary. William Turnbaugh, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Rhode Island, is a former student of Bressler. Turnbaugh's extensive archaeological work in the West Branch Valley eventually led to his doctoral thesis in 1973. In it he argues that the nature of the relationship between the Clemsons Island and the Owasco cultures is uncertain in light of pottery type classification and other archaeological evidence (245).

The difficulty in isolating the Clemsons Island from the Owasco is compounded by another cultural mystery, as Turnbaugh explains. Most sites in the West Branch Valley that contain Clemsons Island pottery also contain Owasco pottery on the same strata (Turnbaugh 248-60). According to Turnbaugh, this evidence indicates that the two cultures are coeval and that they occupied the same geographical area. His presentation of Clemsons Island and Owasco pottery traits and of the inability to separate the two cultures is accepted today by most archaeologists.

James P. Bressler, in a site summary for an excavation at Canfield Island, parallels Turnbaugh's argument that the Clemsons Island and Owasco cultures are inseparable. However, Bressler adds that the situation is further compounded on many sites by the modern plow (*Prehistoric Man on Canfield Island*, Williamsport: North Central Chapter No. 8, Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology, 1989: 79). The Clemsons Island and the Owasco were agrarian cultures; they favored the rich bottom grounds along rivers that are still valued by farmers today. The Clemsons Island and the Owasco artifacts were often mixed, along with other prehistoric cultures, by the seasonal plowing of the soil and destruction of strata. Aside from the broad Clemsons Island pottery definition, this mixing could explain the present difficulty in isolating the Clemsons Island from other prehistoric tribes such as the Owasco.

The Shenks Ferry succeeded the Clemsons Island and the Owasco cultures in the West Branch Valley. Shenks Ferry is the modern geographical name for the last prehistoric Native American culture to occupy the Susquehanna watershed. Pottery typology allows easy separation of the Shenks Ferry culture from other prehistoric cultures. The characteristic line incising on the necks and rims of the pots is easily recognizable and clearly different from the Clemsons Island and Owasco pottery styles (figs. 9-11).

The discrepancies in theories about the Shenks Ferry do not arise in trying to isolate their culture from others, but in determining their ancestors and their descendants. In his dissertation, Turnbaugh argues that the Shenks Ferry developed from the Owasco culture (265-67). His evidence is based on the organization of the three recognized development stages of Shenks Ferry pottery that are from early to late Blue Rock or Stewart, Lancaster Incised, and Funk. Lancaster Incised and Funk pottery differ from the Stewart pottery in that the line incising on Lancaster and Funk is divided into short strokes around the rim, and the incising is not uniform in depth, nor are the lines parallel (Kent, Smith, and McCann 499-501).

Turnbaugh places Stewart, the most ornate and advanced pottery of the Shenks Ferry as the earliest, and Funk, which is the simplest and sloppiest decorative style, at the end of the Prehistoric Era. This organization implies that the Shenks Ferry arrived in the survey area at the peak of their cultural development producing the Stewart pottery and then declined for some unknown reason to the Funk stage; change in pottery styles from the very ornate to the very simple implies a deterioration of culture. However, evidence from the Ault Site disproves Turnbaugh's theory.

Carbon-14 dating is a primary reason for re-evaluating Turnbaugh's and earlier theories concerning the relationships between the Clemsons Island, the Owasco, and the Shenks Ferry. The Clemsons Island people were firmly established on the Ault Site by AD 1180 (fig. 2). The material for the Carbon-14 date was carefully extracted from a midden, or garbage pit, containing only Clemsons Island pottery fragments. Although no earlier Carbon-14 dates are provided, the presence of the midden indicates that the tribe was

producing and consuming food and material goods on the site by AD 1180. During their occupation of the Ault Site, the Clemsons Island maintained a strong, peaceful relationship with the northern Owasco, a separate and distinct culture that continued to develop in the New York area after the Clemsons Island lost control of the Ault Site. The Clemsons Island occupation lasted until AD 1230 when the Shenks Ferry captured the village.

The pottery typology of the Clemsons Island that is the basis for this section of the thesis requires a description. This report does not include the entire pottery count from the Ault Site, only a representative sampling. Usable size was the only qualification for inclusion. A random sampling of 65 Clemsons Island and Owasco rim sherds was evaluated on 17 characteristics (fig. 14). Dominated by large chert tempering, the pottery is 92% straight rimmed (fig. 5), 60% coarse fabric-impressed exterior (fig. 5, 7), and 36.9% cord-wrapped paddle-impressed. Also, 52.3% showed smoothing of the lip crown (fig. 5 C, D). When present, decoration appears to be at the discretion of the potter; several varieties are represented (fig. 14 E., H, I, J, N). Only 2% of the rim sherds were determined to be Owasco. Although the rim sherds were often small, they provide conclusive evidence to declare the Clemsons Island and the Owasco cultures separate and distinct.

Clemsons Island and Owasco pottery is similar, but it can be separated on the basis of three traits: structure, clay type, and tempering. The pottery shares some transferable characteristics such as decoration, but nontransferable characteristics such as clay type and tempering distinguish the two cultures. The punctations and cord-wrapped paddle edge impressions appear on samples from both cultures, but the clay type and the different material used for tempering indicate that the pieces were made in separate locations by people with different ideas about making pottery (James P. Bressler, interviewed by Mark Stamm, 8 October 1996).

Pottery color, which is determined by the physical composition of the clay, provides additional evidence that Clemsons Island pottery is different from Owasco pottery. Typical pottery from the Ault Site is tan to light brown in color. However, the few everted, collared rims discovered at the Ault Site are atypical. The everted rims in Figure 6 are a light red in color, and the everted collared rim in Figure 12 (E) is dark gray. The combination of the everted and collared rim design along with the difference in clay types indicates that the pottery was made at a different location.

Additional material such as crushed stone or sand is added to soft clay as a bonding agent known as tempering. The kind of tempering added to pottery was largely determined by the material most abundant. Upper Helderberg chert, which is commonly identified as flint by local surface collectors, dominates the chip count at the Ault Site. Not surprisingly, 90.7% of the pottery classified here as Clemsons Island is chert tempered. Again, the everted collared rims of the Owasco are atypical. The everted rims in Figure 6 are quartz tempered, and the collared specimen in Figure 12 (E) is grit tempered. (Sherds tempered with a variety of materials are designated "grit tempered.") At the Ault Site, straight rimmed collarless pots do not contain grit or quartz tempering.

The Clemsons Island and the Owasco peoples maintained a strong, peaceful relationship prior to the arrival of the Shenks Ferry. The relationship is believed to have been "peaceful" because the Clemsons Island people did not fortify the village with a stockade or moat. The sharing of decorative patterns on the neck and rims of the Clemsons Island and the Owasco pots also supports the hypothesis that the relationship was peaceful. However, the differences in pot shape, clay type, and tempering show that the Clemsons Island and the Owasco are not the same culture.

The possibility that the two cultures have similar ancestry is strong considering the pottery traits that they do share. However, by AD 1180 (fig. 2), the Clemsons Island and the Owasco developed into two separate and distinct cultures. The Owasco continued to develop in the New York area and emerged in the Contact Era as the Mohawk (Mary Ann Palmer Niemczycki, *The Origin and Development of the Seneca and Cayuga Tribe of New York State*, diss., University of New York, 1984: 37). What became of the Clemsons Island people after the arrival of the Shenks Ferry is uncertain. Analysis of data collected from the Ault Site indicates that some were absorbed into the Shenks Ferry culture, and the strong,

peaceful relationship with the Owasco ended.

The Shenks Ferry pushed their way up the Susquehanna River, seizing the villages they encountered. From unknown origins, they entered the southern Susquehanna Watershed, producing line incised pottery and placing stockades and moats around their villages. Like the Clemsons Island, they were an agrarian people who needed the rich soil of river bottom ground to grow their food. The time frame of their occupation of the lower Susquehanna is uncertain, but by AD 1230, the Shenks Ferry captured the West Branch Valley by force. By the Contact Period (estimated to have begun around AD 1500-1550) in the survey area, they were gone (Kent, Smith, and McCann 330). As the last prehistoric tribe in the Susquehanna Watershed, the Shenks Ferry are a mystery people; their origins, ancestry, and descendants are unknown, but evidence of their presence and activities is abundant.

In stark contrast to the coarse cord-wrapped paddle - and fabric-impressed pottery of the Clemsons Island and the Owasco, Shenks Ferry pottery in the Stewart Phase is very ornate. A random sampling of 83 rim sherds was compared on 17 characteristics. Like Clemsons Island, Shenks Ferry pottery is dominated by chert tempering and a tan to light brown color. This, however, is the extent of the similarity between Shenks Ferry and Clemsons Island pottery.

Shenks Ferry pottery on the Ault Site represents the Stewart Phase of Shenks Ferry pottery development (John Witthoft, "Pottery from the Stewart Site, Clinton County, Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 24, May 1954: 22). It is 92.8% fine chert tempered, 96.4% laterally collar incised over vertical cording (fig. 11 A, B), 92.8% everted rim (fig. 11 A, B), and 38.6% less than 5mm thick. Decoration is confined to the neck and rim of the pot, but the pattern was left to the discretion of the potter (figs. F-K).

Analysis of Shenks Ferry pottery, soil features, and Carbon-14 dates provides a clearer history of the Shenks Ferry people by proving that the Stewart Phase is the climax of their culture. Turnbaugh argues that the Shenks Ferry evolved from the Owasco culture (267-70). He also asserts that the Stewart Phase is the earliest stage of the Shenks Ferry and the Funk Phase is the latest, extending almost into the Historic Era. This argument remained valid until discovery of the Ault Site. Evidence from the Ault Site proves that the Shenks Ferry did not evolve from the Owasco people and that the Stewart Phase is the last phase of the Shenks Ferry.

Shenks Ferry and Owasco pottery are similar in shape. However, similarity ends in the use of an everted collared rim design (figs. 8, 11) by both cultures. Shenks Ferry pottery is a thinner ware with finer tempering and finer cording on the body (fig. 11 B); 38.6% of Shenks Ferry rim sherds are less than 5mm thick. Owasco potters, on the other hand, never developed a thinner ware, the sherds remaining bulkier, like the Clemsons Island sherds, averaging 7 to 15mm thick.

The straight line incising of the Shenks Ferry is very distinct from the Owasco point stylus decoration (figs. 6, 11). The characteristic Stewart Phase incising was created by carefully dragging a stick through the soft clay; line spacing and depth are uniform on most sherds. This type of decoration does not develop quickly. Carefully constructed and decorated pottery is the result of a developmental process spanning many generations. The Owasco pottery developed from the simple and sloppy Funk and Lancaster Incised into the complex and ornate Stewart Phase.

The argument for separating the Shenks Ferry from the Owasco people is further supported by specific evidence from the Ault Site. Two pipe bowls from the Owasco Willow Point series were discovered (fig. 13) (Donald Lenig, *The Oak Hill Horizon and Its Relation to the Development of Five Nations Iroquois Culture*, Buffalo: The New York State Archaeological Association, 1965: 54-55). One pipe was found in the Clemsons Island midden that provided the Carbon-14 date of AD 1180 mentioned previously. The pipes fit perfectly into the Owasco pipe development chart published by the New York State Archaeological Society. It can be determined then that since no Owasco pipes beyond the Willow point style were unearthed at the Ault Site, Owasco influence ended during their Willow Point Phase; such an event would not have occurred if the Shenks Ferry and the

Owasco were of the same tribe.

The date of the arrival of the Shenks Ferry into the West Branch Valley was obtained from a stockade post on the Bull Run Site. The Bull Run Site, now underneath I-180 West and Chi-Chi's Restaurant, is less than one mile from the Ault Site; the two are considered coeval (Bressler, 5 November 1996; Bressler was the senior archaeologist for the Bull Run Site). The stockade post dates to AD 1230 (fig. 4). The stockade and the moat at the Ault Site were most likely built by the Shenks Ferry people at the same time. The Clemsons Island people did not build stockades around their villages and must have been easily overrun by the Shenks Ferry (Turnbaugh, *Cultural Prehistory*, 248). The lack of stratification between the Clemsons Island and the Shenks Ferry occupations supports this conclusion by indicating that the sites changed ownership virtually overnight.

What became of the Clemsons Island people after the arrival of the Shenks Ferry is unknown, but not all of them disappeared. Hybrid rim sherds indicate that some Clemsons Island captives were absorbed into the Shenks Ferry culture. These rim hybrids are unlike any other Clemsons Island or Shenks Ferry rims. The sherds contain decorations from both cultures (fig. 12 A, B, D). However, the cultural background of the potter can be ascertained through a close inspection of the pottery.

As mentioned previously, Stewart Phase pottery is noted for deep uniform incising, and Clemsons Island pottery is known for single rows of punctations. These hybrids have single rows of punctations, but the incising is not deep. Instead, the incising is very light and barely recognizable without magnification. These pot sherds were created by individuals with knowledge of the Clemsons Island decorative styles, but not with Stewart Phase incising. These hybrids were produced by Clemsons Island adoptees in a now Shenks Ferry village.

A Shenks Ferry midden provided an additional Carbon-14 date for the Ault Site. The midden (excavated in pit number AXSE-81, Ault Site) contained only Shenks Ferry rim sherds and was dated at AD 1420 (fig. 3). This late date marks the Stewart Phase, the last development phase of the Shenks Ferry. Turnbaugh, as stated previously, argued that the Stewart Phase is the earliest developmental phase of the Shenks Ferry, but this is impossible in light of the Carbon-14 date of AD 1420. The Shenks Ferry culture in the Susquehanna Watershed began with the Funk and Lancaster Incised Phases, not the Stewart. The possibility of a stone age agrarian culture deteriorating through three pottery stages in eighty years is very unlikely. Stewart is the final development phase of the Shenks Ferry.

For yet unknown reasons, the Shenks Ferry occupation of the Ault Site ended in the 1400s. Whether they left by choice or by force is unclear. However, the Shenks Ferry pottery was unearthed in four seasons of excavation. Archaeologists recognize the movement of the Susquehannocks through the West Branch Valley around AD 1500 as a possible cause for the end of the Shenks Ferry (Turnbaugh, *Cultural Prehistory* 273), but the pottery evidence is inconclusive. Further excavations and pottery samples are needed for a better comparative analysis. The questions of why the Shenks Ferry left the Ault Site and where they went are still unanswered.

When the site closed in August 1996, a wealth of artifacts had been recovered. The artifacts, now housed at the Lycoming County Historical Museum, provide a clearer picture of Pennsylvania prehistory. The Clemsons Island and the Owasco are still recognized today as one culture, but pottery samples from the Ault site indicate otherwise. The clay type and tempering indicate that the Clemsons Island pottery was produced at the Ault Site, but the Owasco pottery was not. The differences between the punctates and bosses from the point stylus decorations enable the two groups to be separated. The combination of Clemsons Island and Owasco pottery on the same strata indicates that a strong trading relationship existed between the two groups until the arrival of the Shenks Ferry. Although the ancestry of the Clemsons Island and the Owasco may be similar, they were separate and distinct cultures by AD 1180.

The Clemsons Island occupied the Ault Site until the arrival of the Shenks Ferry, a warring tribe pushing their way up the Susquehanna River. They took the Ault Site and sur-

rounding area by force; the remaining Clemsons Island people were absorbed into the Shenks Ferry culture, and the Owasco influence ended. The hybrid rim sherds, which show strong Clemsons Island and Owasco decorative styles but weak Stewart Phase incising, support the Clemsons Island absorption theory. The Owasco Willow Point Phase pipes and the lack of any further styles supports the theory that Owasco influence at the Ault Site ended with the arrival of the Shenks Ferry. Like the Clemsons Island, the Shenks Ferry eventually disappeared. By the Contact Era, they were gone. No post-Shenks Ferry pottery evidence was excavated at Ault; the mystery people continue to remain so today.

This is not the final summary for the Clemsons Island, the Owasco, nor the Shenks Ferry. Local excavations will continue to provide additional evidence to better understand the history of these prehistoric people. As quoted by James Bressler in *Prehistoric Man on Canfield Island* (Williamsport: North Central Chapter No. 8, Society for Pennsylvania Archeology, 1989: ii), the words of Sir Edward Lytton with reference to Pompeii apply as well to Pennsylvania prehistory: "What once was ever is." The challenge for archaeologists the world over is to discover what was, for it's not the past that changes, but interpretations of it.



Figure 1: Aerial view of Ault Site

Photo by: Mark E. Stamm

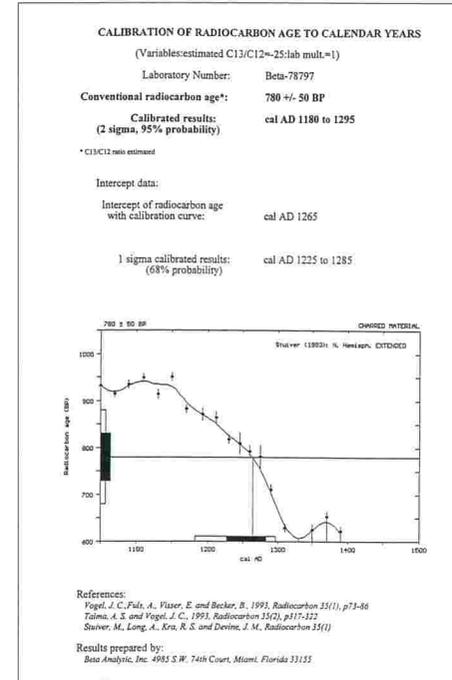


Figure 2: Ault Site Carbon-14
 Date: Clemsons Island Midden

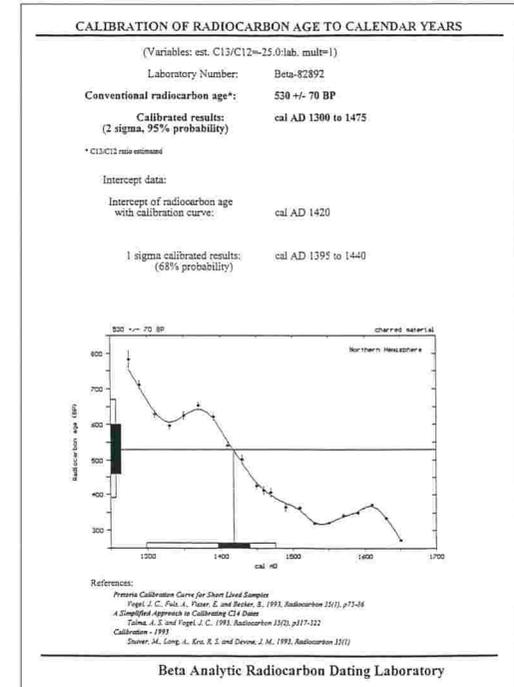


Figure 3: Ault Site Carbon-14
 Date: Shenks Ferry Midden

TELEDYNE ISOTOPES
 55 VAN BUREN AVENUE
 WESTWOOD, NEW JERSEY 07671
 (201) 964-7670 TELE 1-3-4474

15 March 1978

Mr. James P. Bressler
 1813 Bloomingrove Road P.S.R.
 Williamsport, PA 17701

W.O. No. 3-5950-072

Dear Mr. Bressler:

We have listed below the radiocarbon ages we have determined on the samples you submitted for analysis.

ISOTOPES NUMBER	SAMPLE	$\delta^{13}C$	AGE IN YEARS B.P.	DATE
I-10,165	SW-21	326 ± 21	3170 ± 250	1220 B.C.
I-10,166	NW-16B	86 ± 11	720 ± 100	1230 A.D.
I-10,167	SE-69	57 ± 11	470 ± 95	1480 A.D.

All samples were treated for the removal of carbonates and humic acids.

The Libby half-life of 5568 years was used to calculate the ages. No corrections were made for variations in the atmospheric ^{14}C . The larger than normal uncertainty of measurement is due to the small sample size.

If you have any questions concerning these results, please contact us. We shall be happy to help in any way possible.

We hope these results will prove helpful in your work, and we look forward to serving you again soon.

Sincerely yours,
James Buckley
 James Buckley
 Radiocarbon Laboratory

JB:hp
 Enclosures

Figure 4: Bull Run Site Carbon-14
 Date: Stockade Post

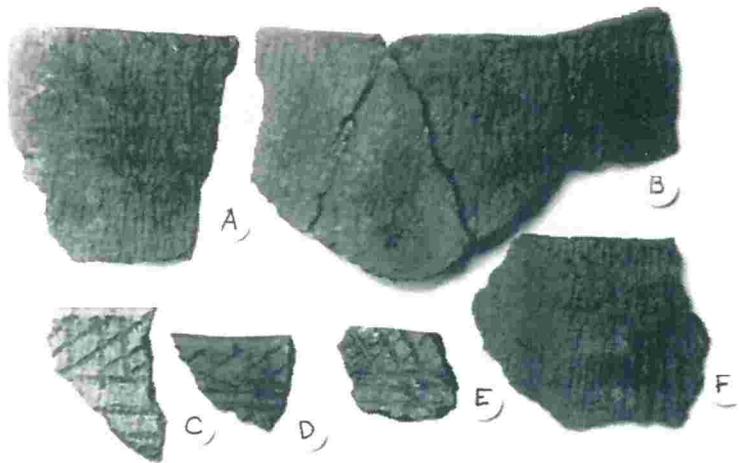


Figure 5: Clemsons Island rim sherds
Photo by: Joanne Lehman

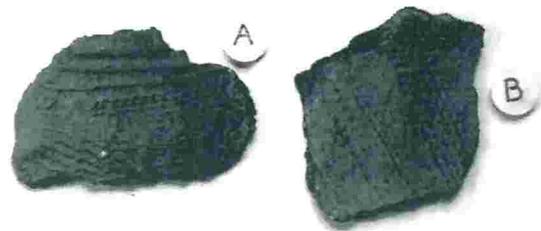


Figure 6: Owasco rim sherds from Ault Site
Photo by: Joanne Lehman



Figure 7: Clemsons Island pot section
Photo by: Joanne Lehman

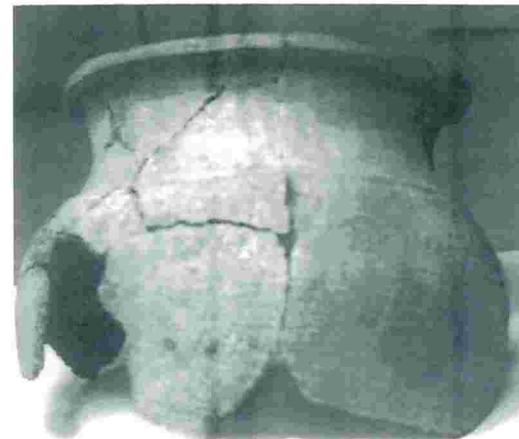


Figure 8: Comparative Owasco Pot
Photo by: Joanne Lehman

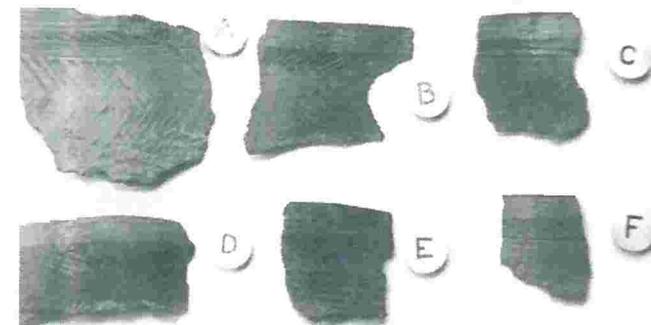


Figure 9: Shenks Ferry rim sherds
Photo by: Joanne Lehman

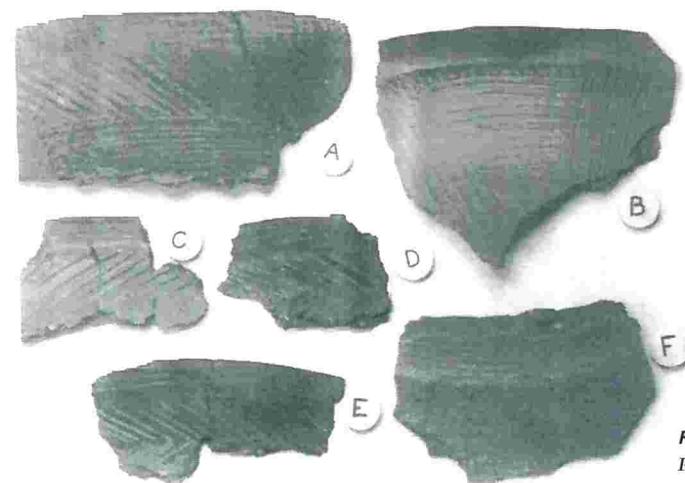


Figure 10: Shenks Ferry rim sherds
Photo by: Joanne Lehman

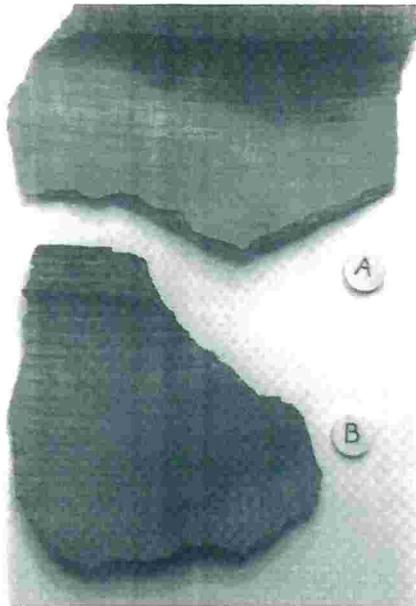


Figure 11: Shenks Ferry rim sherds: large
Photo by: Joanne Lehman

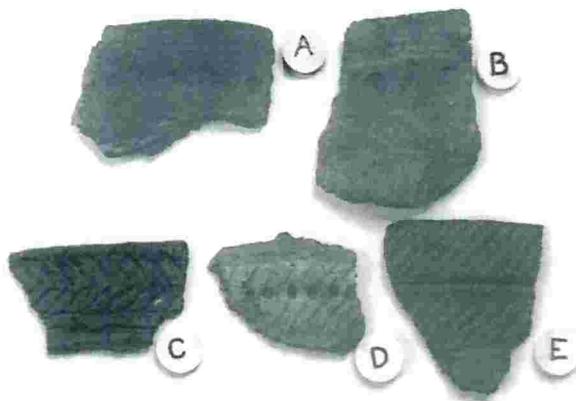


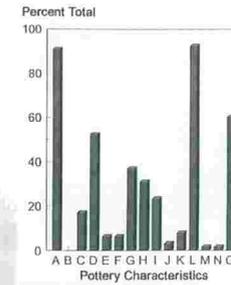
Figure 12: Hybrid rim sherds
Photo by: Joanne Lehman



Figure 13: Willow point pipes
Photo by: Joanne Lehman

Clemsons Island Pottery Ana. Figure: 14

- A. Chert Tempering
- B. Collard Vessel
- C. Thickened Rim
- D. Smooth Lip Crown
- E. Punctates on Rim
- F. Smooth Neck
- G. Cord Wrapped Paddle Impressed
- H. Oblique Paddle Edge Decoration
- I. Lateral Paddle Edge Decoration
- J. Horizontal Paddle Edge Decoration
- K. Everted Rim
- L. Straight Rim
- M. Average Neck Thickness < 5mm
- N. Herring Bone Paddle Edge
- O. Fabric Impressed Body



Shenks Ferry Pottery Analysis Figure 15

- A. Chert Tempering
- B. Thickened Collar
- C. Applied Rim Strip (visual only)
- D. Lateral Collar Incising
- E. Collar Vertically Corded
- F. Smooth Neck, No Incising
- G. Smooth Neck, Lateral Incising
- H. Oblique Slashes Below Rim
- I. Triangular Plats on Smooth Neck
- J. Punctates on Neck
- K. Herring Bone on Smooth Neck
- L. Everted Rim
- M. Straight Rim
- N. Avg. Neck Thickness < 5mm
- O. Shell Tempered

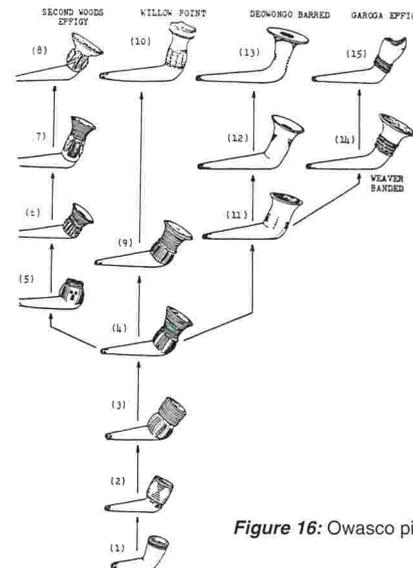
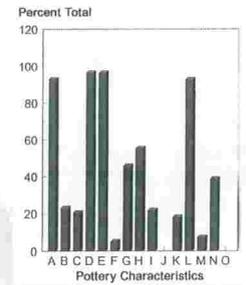


Figure 16: Owasco pipe development, New York State

CHIEF LOGAN: FRIEND, FOE OR FICTION?

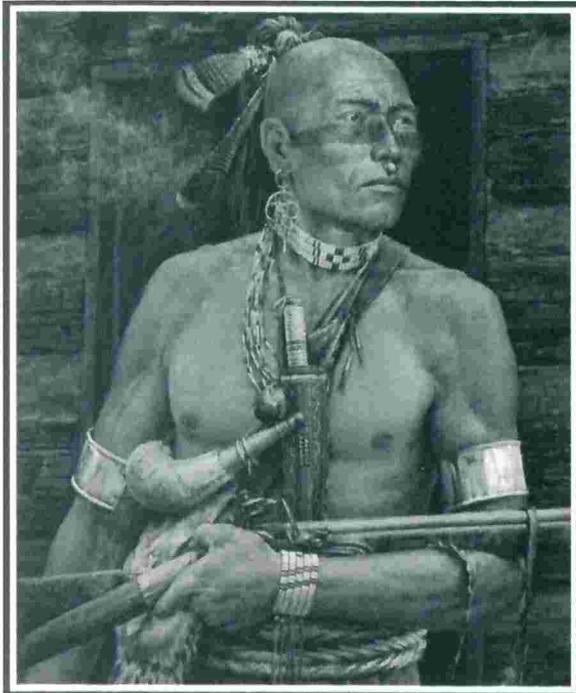
by Ronald R. Wenning

Thomas Jefferson called him the most famous orator of the eighteenth century; Conrad Weiser called him a close personal friend; but settlers of the Ohio River Valley called him a demon. Chief Logan, son of the famous Oneida Chief Shikellamy, was perhaps the greatest paradox in Indian history. Was he the author of what Thomas Jefferson called the most famous speech of the eighteenth century? Did he advocate peace and friendship with the white man on the Eastern frontier? Or was he the feared Ohio River valley's red demon of death in the summer of 1774 and a root cause of Lord Dunmore's war? But most controversially, which one of the sons of the famed Shikellamy was he? John or James? Son number one or number two?

Most historians agree that Logan was born in New York state, near beautiful Cayuga Lake, son of the famed Iroquois chief, Shikellamy. Logan moved with his family to the valley of the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania about the year 1728. They took up residence at Shikellamy's Town, about 10 miles north of Pennsylvania's eighteenth-century Indian capitol Shamokin, at the Forks of the Susquehanna.

It was in this lush valley of the Susquehanna that Logan first learned the skills that would make him famous. Hunting, fishing and tracking were still games to be played, but the desire to excel was growing inside him. For the time being, life was good. He was living in paradise!

As the first rumblings of Indian upheaval on the Eastern frontier were beginning to be heard, Shikellamy moved his family to Shamokin. With his appointment as vice-regent of the Six Nations by the Onondaga Council, he exercised control over all Indian affairs in the Susquehanna Valley. The Iroquois controlled the land and all the tribes that lived there, including the Delaware and Shawnees. Permission to move, hunt and live within these open spaces by all tribes was at the pleasure of the Six Nations and subject to approval by Iroquois Council through Shikellamy. It was through watching his father handle the Indians' affairs and his gradual contact with early white Indian agents for the Provincial government of Pennsylvania that Logan's trust of white people began.



"Logan's Revenge," by Robert Griffing

Following the death of his father, Shikellamy, in 1748, unfortunately, conditions on the Eastern frontier became increasingly more difficult for Logan. He was caught between two worlds. One world included the memory of the great friendship between Shikellamy and Conrad Weiser, Pennsylvania's Indian ambassador. Seeing the many white men Weiser brought with him to Shamokin and witnessing their fair treatment of the Indians, Logan felt good. On the other hand, the increasing westward pressure of longhunters, settlers and land grabbers for more territory in the homeland of the Indians made Logan very uneasy. Logan's days in the valley of the Susquehanna were numbered.

Conrad Weiser records in his journals that he had little difficulty distinguishing between Shikellamy's sons. The elder of the two was called Tachnechdorus, or John, and the younger Tahgahjute, or James Logan, so named by his father in honor of the Secretary of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania. For the next 15 years, both sons were generally referred to as the "Shikellamies," and it was not until 1765, when they went their separate ways, that white men began to attach to John's name the surname "Logan," by mistake. So it was that both brothers became "Logan." Without the name John or James attached to Logan, it became virtually impossible to tell which Logan was meant when spoken of.

For the next five years, Logan resided at Logan's Spring in what is now Mifflin County, Pennsylvania. Here in the heart of the Allegheny Mountains, he made an honest living hunting and selling deer hides to traders and was a valued friend and neighbor to the whites. But with time, more people poured into his valley, and as game became increasingly scarce, Logan moved to the Ohio River in spring 1770. He took up residence at Logstown at the mouth of the Beaver River in Western Pennsylvania. Here, in 1772, the noted Moravian missionary John Heckwelder stopped to visit Logan and reported that he was received in the most hospitable and cordial manner by Logan's family.

Logan was also readily accepted by his Iroquois neighbors living in the Ohio Valley. These Iroquois, displaced from their ancestral homeland in New York state, were given the name Mingoes by local tradition; thus, Logan received a new name: Logan the Mingo, or Logan, Chief of the Mingoes.

And it is at this point, in the summer of 1773, that we get our first real evidence that John and James Logan were living at opposite ends of Pennsylvania. Most early historians had proclaimed James Logan as Chief Logan and placed his home on the Ohio; however, historian Paul A. W. Wallace reports the following information from the Bureau of Land Records in Harrisburg:

A warrant issued on September 17, 1773, for George Ballard, describes his tract of 300 acres in these words: "... situate on the East side of the North East Branch of Susquehanna about 3 or 4 Miles back of where James Logan was living in the vicinity of his father Shikellamy's old home near Shamokin (now Sunbury, Pennsylvania)."

("Logan the Mingo; A Problem in Identification," Repr., *Pennsylvania Archeologist Bulletin* XXXII, Dec. 1962: 92)

Additional evidence from Wallace indicates that John Logan, that same summer, was living in Western Pennsylvania on the Ohio River at the mouth of the Beaver. Published journals of John Lacey, John Parrish, and Rev. David McClure all mention meeting a Mingo Indian named "John" Logan. Wallace records John Lacey's words on the subject:

"20th [July, 1773]. We had made preparations to set out early this morning, in order to overtake the Indian Trader [John Gibson, who, Logan thought, had caused an Indian's death]; but, upon inquiry, learned that he had returned and said that John Logan, a Mingo Indian, was lying in wait to kill him. . . ." (Wallace 1962: 92)

And John Parrish's journal entry for July 22, 1773 notes: "'Rode 9 or 10 miles down the Ohio to Beaver Creek's mouth where Jon Logan had his Cabbin'" (Wallace 1962: 93).

That John Logan was living in the Ohio country is also shown by David McClure's entry in his journal of September 16, 1772 in which he states that he "met John Logan at his home at Logan's Town" (Wallace 1962: 93). Clearly, from the details of these journals and Land Office records, it appears "John" Logan, not "James" Logan made his home in the Ohio country and was in fact Chief Logan.

After residing at the mouth of the Beaver for three years, Logan again moved his family further down the Ohio River to the north bank of the Ohio at the mouth of Yellow Creek. Little did Logan know that this fateful move would lead to the total annihilation of his family.

Near the end of April 1774, Logan was away from his home on a hunting trip. Although the early events leading to the Logan family massacre have been debated, we know this much for sure: Several killings of both whites and Indians early in the spring of 1774 brought mutual hatred on the Eastern Frontier to a boil. Virginia militia landgrabbers, under the command of Daniel Greathouse, were camped across the Ohio at Baker's Tavern. They invited the Indians of Logan's camp to cross the river to be their guests at the tavern for the day. Rum flowed freely, and three of Logan's band became greatly intoxicated. The other Indians refused to drink, as it was general custom that at least one remain sober to care for any intoxicated companions. The sober Indians were then challenged to shoot at a mark. C. Hale Sipe relates: "The Indians shot first, and as soon as they had emptied their guns, Greathouse's band shot down the three sober Indians in cold blood. . . . The whites then set upon the drunken Indians with tomahawks and butchered them all" (*Indian Chiefs of Pennsylvania*, Lewisburg, PA: Wennawoods Publishing, 1928, 1994: 440).

One woman, Logan's sister, tried to escape but was shot down. She lived long enough to beg mercy for her baby, stating it was one of their kin. Not one of the party was spared except that babe, whose life was saved by the plea of her dying mother. Murders on both sides followed, but most historians agree that the murder of Logan's family on April 30, 1774 hastened the coming war between Virginia and Indians of the Ohio Valley called Lord Dunmore's War.

When Logan returned home from the hunt and learned of the murder of his family and friends, the desire for vengeance seized him. Like his famous father, he had always been a friend of the whites. But now Logan only thought of revenge. From friend of the whites and advocate of peace, Logan became a fearless foe. Instead of remaining in his cabin to mourn, he went to war. He would not weep. Instead of making treaties, he made history, each page filled with tragedy after tragedy written in settlers' blood.

Without regard for their own safety, settlers continued to pour into the Ohio Valley and were easy targets for Logan and his rage. No white family was safe from this vengeful warrior. All told, Logan was responsible for taking at least 30 scalps and prisoners that summer.

The most famous story of Logan's warpath was the irony of William Robinson's capture. Logan was leading a party of seven warriors in the Monongahela Valley region where he thought the murderers of his family lurked. On July 12, 1774, his band came upon William Robinson, Thomas Hellen and Colman Brown pulling flax in a field. Brown was shot dead on the spot; Robinson and Hellen started to run, but both were captured by Logan. Sipe reports:

Logan made himself known to Robinson and told him that he would have to run the gauntlet, but gave him such complete instructions and directions as they traveled together that Robinson ran the gauntlet safely and reached the stake without harm. The warriors then determined to burn Robinson at the stake; but Logan made three attempts, the last successful, to prevent this atrocity. He loosed the cords which bound the unfortunate man, placed a belt of wampum around his neck as a mark of adoption, introduced him to a young warrior, and said: "This is your cousin; you are to go home with him and he will take care of you." Robinson said afterwards that so fervent was Logan's impassioned eloquence on his behalf that saliva foamed at his mouth when he addressed the assembled warriors.

(C. Hale Sipe, *Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*, Lewisburg, PA: Wennawoods Publishing, 1931, 1995: 496)

Logan always believed that Captain Michael Cresap was responsible for leading the group of outlaws who murdered his family. Three days after William Robinson was adopted into his family, Logan dictated to Robinson the following note, written with a mixture of gunpowder and water:

"To Captain Cresap:

What did you kill my people on Yellow Creek for? The White People killed my kin at Conestoga a great while ago and I thought nothing of that; but you killed my kin again on Yellow Creek and took my cousin prisoner. Then I thought I must kill too; and I have been three times to war since; but the Indians are not angry, only myself.

Captain John Logan
July 21, 1774"

(Sipe 1928;1994: 443)

This sullen message was found at the scene of the last of Logan's bloody massacres, the killing of the John Robertson family of Southwestern Virginia; the note tied to a war club was conspicuous on the cabin floor among the dead bodies of the family and signed Captain "John" Logan.

In mid-October 1774, Logan arrived at Camp Charlotte, near present day Chillicothe, to find the remnants of Chief Cornstalk's defeated warriors in disarray. They had just returned from a decisive defeat at the Battle of Point Pleasant, near the mouth of the Great Kanawha River. Colonel Andrew Lewis' forces had routed the Indians several days before, and the Indians hurriedly tried to regroup at Camp Charlotte. Lord Dunmore was headed their way with fresh troops, including Colonel Lewis' remaining battle-weary troops.

The time for peace was at hand, and Logan knew it. Logan argued for peace and pleaded with the council of Chiefs present not to continue the war. Finally the council wisely decided against any further bloodshed and sent a delegation of Chiefs to Dunmore to sue for peace. Lord Dunmore agreed to a conference, and runners were sent out to invite all the council Chiefs to attend the Camp Charlotte conference.

Tired and alone, Logan retreated to his cabin, a short distance away, to think and reflect. He would refuse to attend the conference. As most of the council Chiefs assembled at Camp Charlotte, Logan again refused Lord Dunmore's invitation to talk.

Dunmore, impatient and yet concerned, dispatched a trusted aide, Colonel John Gibson, to persuade Logan. Whether through genius or luck, Dunmore's choice of Colonel Gibson was at least good diplomacy. Gibson was the alleged father of the two-month-old child of Logan's sister, whose life was spared by the Greathouse gang at Yellow Creek. Logan would at least listen to Gibson.

Logan, still hesitating to go to the conference, proposed that Gibson take a walk with him in the woods and discuss his concerns. There on the Pickaway Plains of southern Ohio, under a now famous elm tree, Logan turned and stood before Colonel Gibson and spoke about the total devastation of his people in their homeland at the hands of white men. As reported in Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1829), with tears in his eyes and a heavy heart, Logan lamented:

"I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, 'Logan is the friend of white men.' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and

unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it: I have killed many. I have fully gutted my vengeance: for my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbour a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. Logan will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one." (66)

Colonel Gibson wrote down this simple cry of words in the wilderness and forever made the name of Logan immortal. His words were read at the conclusion of Lord Dunmore's conference, and this impassioned plea from a dying race was immortalized. Thomas Jefferson furthered the publicity of "Logan's Lament" in his now famous *Notes on the State of Virginia* and challenged any European or American statesman to surpass this speech. Even Colonel Gibson guaranteed authenticity in an affidavit before J. Barker in Pittsburgh on April 4, 1800.

Ironically, Logan did not know that Capt. Michael Cresap, the bane of his existence and focus of his vengeance, was not the murderer of his family. Many reputable sources, including George Rogers Clark and Simon Kenton, testified to the fact that Cresap was not the murderer of Logan's kin. In fact Clark, in a letter to Dr. Samuel Brown of Kentucky, stated emphatically that:

"the Conduct of Cresap I am perfectly acquainted with he was not the Author of that Murder, but a Family of the Name of Greathouse — But some transactions that happened under the Conduct of Capt. Cresap a few days previous to the Murder of Logan's Family gave him sufficient grounds to suppose it was Cresap who had done him the Injury."

(James Alton James, *The Life of George Rogers Clark*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928, 505)

Clark says Cresap was with him that very day but also agreed that some transactions that took place under the command of Captain Cresap several days prior to the Logan family murders gave Logan sufficient reason to suspect Cresap. Thus Logan had probable cause to fuel his passions and left historians to forever ponder his words.

Logan was to wander the rest of his life among the remnants of the once-proud tribes of the Eastern frontier. Broken, bitter and always melancholy, he turned to drink to ease the pain of the friendships of his father gone sour.

Several accounts of Logan's death are given by historians, with the most likely cause of death to have been at the hands of his own tribe. The respect and awe in which Logan was held by the white man was no less powerful among his own people. There were those in his midst who could no longer bear his being held in such high esteem; they begged the elders of the tribe to silence him.

Tradition has it that Logan met his death mercifully by one swift blow of the hatchet, from behind, while he sat beside his evening campfire. The appointed executioner was his own nephew. It was customary among the Indians to designate a close relative to perform the unpleasant task, the object being to avoid all risk of starting a blood feud between families. When Logan's nephew was asked years later why the tribe had ordered his uncle's death, the young man replied:

"Because he was too great a man to live. . . . [H]e talked so strong that nothing could be carried contrary to his opinions, his eloquence always took all the young men with him... He was a very, very great man, and as I killed him, I am to fill his place and inherit all his greatness. . . . When I am so great a man as he was [putting his right hand over his heart speaking with emphasis], I am ready to die—And whomsoever puts me to death will inherit all my

greatness, as I do his."

(Donald H. Kent and Merle H. Deardorff, eds. "John Adlum on the Allegheny: Memoir for the Year 1794," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 84, 1960: 471-72)

The loneliness foretold of in Logan's "Lament" is real, and it truly matters not whether Logan was John or James, first or second son of Shikellamy, but that there was a Logan. He stands tall in our minds as a symbol of his great race, uncorrupted and unafraid, rather than as a single person whose life can be traced without doubt through the pages of history. Logan's name has become synonymous with Indian legend and lore—rising to heights larger than life.

His memory is preserved forever in many place names across the Eastern frontier. From Loganton and Logan's Spring in Pennsylvania to Logan's Elm (under which it is said he voiced his "Lament") on the Pickaway Plains near Circleville, Ohio, Logan lives on. Not a drop of his blood flows in our veins, yet we still feel his greatness.

W. P. Strickland eulogizes in *The Pioneers of The West; or Life in the Woods* (NY: Carlton & Phillips, 1856):

Logan — the kind, generous-hearted and magnanimous Mingo chief — has passed away. His ashes rest, if not in the same locality with his kindred, at least in the same common grave. To a world of spirits, beyond the dark and shoreless river,

"Whose waveless tide
The known and unknown worlds divide,
Where we all must go,"

he has gone to mingle with the departed. On a grassy knoll in that rich and beautiful valley, watered by the Scioto, and not far from the very spot where he delivered his speech to General Gibson, among the wild flowers which nature has strewn over his grave, repose in silence all that remains of the once noble and manly form of Logan. (245)

Logan emerges in spirit as — in his own words — a man of "two souls," one good and one bad, personifying the paradox which has made many Indians, both heroes and demons, the heart and soul of frontier legends. Who is there to mourn for Logan?

I do!

ADDITIONAL SOURCES

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT THE WEST WATER STREET SITE, LOCK HAVEN, CLINTON COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

Jay F. Custer

The purpose of this article is to describe a series of archaeological excavations that took place on the shores of the West Branch of the Susquehanna River along West Water Street in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania. Between November 1992 and April 1993, teams of archaeologists from the University of Delaware, in cooperation with Kise Franks, and Straw, Inc., excavated an extensive prehistoric archaeological site in the back yards of houses along Water Street. The archaeological studies were sponsored by the Baltimore District of the United States Army Corps of Engineers and the Lock Haven Area Flood Protection Authority as part of the construction project for the new flood protection levees along Water Street. Federal and state laws require archaeological studies when construction projects using federal funds, or needing federal or state permits or licenses, will disturb archaeological sites. The excavations described in this article were one part of a large number of archaeological studies carried out throughout the Lock Haven area in conjunction with the construction of flood control facilities. More detailed information on the West Water Street Site is available in the technical excavation report (Jay F. Custer, Scott C. Watson, and Daniel N. Bailey, *Data Recovery Investigations of the West Water Street Site, 36CH175, Lock Haven, Clinton County, Pennsylvania*, report submitted to the Baltimore District, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the Bureau for Historic Preservation, Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1994).

In order to comply with federal and state laws, preliminary surveys had to be carried out to see if archaeological sites were indeed present in areas of proposed construction. Prior to the fall of 1992, the University of Delaware, and other institutions, searched the back yards of the West Water Street area of Lock Haven for signs of archaeological sites. This search consisted of the excavation of square test pits at regular intervals throughout the construction area.

Almost all of the test pits excavated in the West Water Street area produced artifacts associated with the prehistoric inhabitants of the West Branch Valley of the Susquehanna River, such as arrow and spear points, pottery fragments, prehistoric food remains, trash pits, fireplaces, and remains of prehistoric house posts. The artifacts dated from a variety of prehistoric cultures and spanned the time period from 10,000 years ago to 250 years ago. Some artifacts associated with the colonial settlement of the region were also encountered. However, these historic artifacts were mixed up with modern debris during the recent filling and landscaping of the river shore. Intensive studies of the soil of the area were also undertaken as part of the preliminary studies. Special probe holes were excavated and showed that many different soil layers were present in the study area. Some of the probes extended to depths of more than two meters, that is, more than six feet deep. In most cases, each different soil layer represented an ancient ground surface upon which prehistoric people lived and deposited artifacts. This research also showed that the soil levels were laid down by gentle flooding of the river shore over more than 10,000 years. Each gentle flood deposited a series of sediments on the ancient living surfaces and buried the artifacts that prehistoric people had left behind.

Sometimes the floods were frequent, and the archaeological remains of individual occu-

pations of the river shore were quickly buried. At other times, the floods were more infrequent, and the ancient landscapes were lived upon by many different prehistoric societies before flood deposits buried them. The overall result was something like a tall layer cake (fig. 1) with relatively thin layers of artifacts (the icing) separated by thicker layers of flood-deposited soils with no artifacts (the cake). These kinds of layered, or stratified, archaeological sites are especially good sources of information about the prehistoric past. Because of the West Water Street Site's significance, further excavations were planned to collect the important information before the site was destroyed by the construction.

One of the goals of the extensive excavations undertaken in late 1992 and early 1993 was to expose large areas of the site at each of the soil layers in order to understand the nature of the prehistoric communities that existed at the site. Archaeologists were interested in knowing if the site's prehistoric inhabitants lived in villages with numerous houses, in small farmsteads of only a few houses, or in small individual family camps. Therefore, heavy equipment was used to carefully remove the soil layers that did not contain artifacts. After the sterile soils were removed, the soil layers with artifacts were carefully excavated, and vast numbers of artifacts were recovered.

In the course of the archaeological research at the site, three basic sets of archaeological deposits were identified and excavated (fig. 1). The shallowest, and youngest, deposits included the remains of three distinct cultures and were located immediately beneath modern fill that had been dumped on the site over the past 200 years in order to stabilize the river bank. The artifacts in this upper deposit dated to between 250 and 4,000 years ago. The middle deposits were separated from the upper deposits by a soil layer approximately one-half meter (1 1/2 foot) thick that did not contain any artifacts. The middle deposits contained artifacts dating to approximately 8,000 to 8,500 years ago. Beneath the middle deposits, there was another soil layer with no artifacts that again was approximately one-half meter thick. The third, oldest, and deepest deposit encountered in these excavations consisted of two separate layers, and the artifacts in these layers dated to approximately 10,000 years ago. The results of excavations of each of the archaeological deposits are described below.

Contact Period Component

The shallowest soil layers closest to the modern land surface at the West Water Street Site contained artifacts from three different cultures covering the time span from 250 to 4,000 years ago. During this time period, flooding of the site was not as frequent as during other time periods. Soils were not deposited on the site very often, and several different cultures lived on the same land surface over the course of thousands of years. The artifacts from these varied cultures were mixed together, and it was somewhat difficult to separate them from one another. However, careful excavation methods did allow the gathering of significant information.

The youngest archaeological materials in the upper layers of the site dated to the time period between AD 1700 and 1750. During the late 1700s, Indians and American settlers were living together in the West Branch Valley of the Susquehanna River. Many different tribes of Indians sought refuge in the colony of Pennsylvania because of the rather lenient Indian policies of William Penn, and the West Branch Valley of the Susquehanna River was a focal point of their settlement. Historic documents show that Delaware (or Lenape), Shawnee, Iroquois, Piscataway, Nanticoke and other groups from different parts of the Middle Atlantic region all lived together in this area during the early 1700s (Turnbaugh 1977; Wallace 1965; Donehoo 1928). Some historic documents note that there was a large settlement on Great Island and another one near Dunnstown (Turnbaugh 1977). There are no historic records of an Indian town in the specific West Water Street area.

Sometimes relationships between colonists and Indians were peaceful. But at other times, warfare occurred. The Indian populations were greatly reduced by this warfare and disease, and their cultures were greatly damaged by their interactions with colonists. In fact, many of the Indian groups who came to live in the Lock Haven area during the early 1700s had already been decimated by disease and warfare and were fleeing the

expanding European settlement along the Atlantic Seaboard. Researchers who study these groups feel that up to 90% of the Indian population of Pennsylvania had been destroyed by this time.

The time period of interaction between Indian populations and colonists is called the Contact Period and is represented at West Water Street by scattered artifacts, several pits filled with refuse, and a single badly preserved burial. Figure 2 shows a sample of the artifacts from the Contact Period occupation of the site. Clusters of rings were present in the grave and were probably sewn to an article of clothing as decoration. Most of the rings were plain metal bands, but some had decorations. One type of ring found is a so-called "friendship ring" with a pair of clasped hands. Rings with these designs were used as wedding rings in western Ireland and were probably traded to the Indians for beaver pelts and deer hides. Another type of ring is a "Jesuit ring." This type of ring was distributed by Catholic missionaries, who were known to the Indians as "Black Robes," throughout eastern North America. These rings were embellished with an "M," which was part of a Jesuit design motif based on the Latin term "Mater Misericordia," or "Mother of Mercy."

Other artifacts from the Contact Period include a brass mouth harp, or Jew's harp. Glass beads were also present in the burial and in other trash pit features. These beads were made in Italy and Holland and were traded to the Indians for beaver pelts. An especially interesting artifact from the Contact occupation was a fragment of an Indian-made clay pipe bowl. It is decorated with a human face and is a rather rare example of portrait art from this period. A scraping tool for removing the fat and flesh from animal hides was also recovered. This scraper was chipped from green wine-bottle glass and shows how Indian groups used European materials to manufacture traditional tools.

In general, the artifacts from the Contact Period at the West Water Street Site seem to indicate that only a few people lived there. No remains of houses or extensive communities were present. Historic accounts of Indian settlements from this time period describe them as scatters of cabins and small houses, and the Contact Period artifacts for the West Water Street Site probably came from one such dispersed settlement. There are few, if any, native-made artifacts from this occupation, and it is very likely that local Indians had all but abandoned their traditional way of life and were dependent on the colonists for goods obtained by trade. By the end of the 1770s, almost all Indians were gone from the West Branch Valley. The only signs of their presence are haunting glimpses provided by artifacts like the pipe.

Clemson Island Component

The second youngest archaeological culture seen in the upper layers of the West Water Street Site is known as the Clemson Island Culture. Dating to the period between AD 900 and AD 1200, this culture takes its name from an island in the main branch of the Susquehanna River where it was first identified. A summary of recent studies of Clemson Island cultures is provided by R. Michael Stewart ("Clemsons Island Studies in Pennsylvania: A Perspective," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 60 [1]: 79-107). The Clemson Island occupation of the West Water Street Site is the largest at the site and produced the greatest number of artifacts.

Most of the Clemson Island artifacts were found in trash pit features. These pit features appeared as dark stains in the ground. The dark color comes from the rich organic material that was part of the original garbage and refuse deposited in these pits in prehistoric times. More than 500 of these pits were found at the West Water Street Site; all were carefully mapped and excavated. Figure 3 shows a dense cluster of storage pits found in one portion of the site. The pits contained a variety of artifacts, including arrow points, debris from the manufacture of stone tools, and pieces of ceramic vessels (fig. 4). Other pits had large quantities of fire-cracked rock and charcoal and may have been used as fireplaces or roasting pits. One pit contained fragmentary human remains and may have been a burial. However, this same pit also contained much debris and garbage and functioned both as a burial and a trash disposal area.

Some pits were rather shallow, and their function is not known. Other pits were rather deep and seem to have functioned as storage facilities. Some of the deep storage pits had a series of small post stains around their circumference and may have had some kind of associated covering structure (fig. 3). Fragments of corn cobs were found in many of the storage pits. This cultivated plant was an important food source that was stored for use during the winter and spring.

Post stains, like the ones found around the storage pits, were also found in other areas in the site where there were parts of houses and stockades (fig. 5). One set of post stains defined the outline of a square house with rounded corners approximately 7 meters (22 feet) across. This house would be big enough for a small nuclear family and probably had a bark covering. Another line of posts seemed to define a stockade or fence line that would have enclosed the house and perhaps several others. We were unable to completely expose this stockade line to see how large an area it enclosed because it ran outside the levee project area. Nonetheless, there are other Clemson Island culture sites in the Susquehanna Valley that have small stockades enclosing four or five houses similar to those seen at the West Water Street Site. This site probably is a similar small hamlet. The stockade may have been necessary to protect the inhabitants from raids by neighboring communities. The large number of pits found at the West Water Street Site also suggests that there were many different communities of this type along the river shore more than 1,000 years ago. The rich resources of the river valley and adjacent mountains may have attracted people to this locale year after year. And the extensive archeological site at West Water Street was probably produced by the periodic reuse of the site over a long period of time by many different Clemson Island communities. Figure 6 shows an artist's reconstruction of one of the Clemson Island communities at the West Water Street Site.

Numerous types of Clemson Island artifacts were found in the pit features, and all had probably been discarded as trash (fig. 4). Triangular arrow points found in the pits were used for hunting and perhaps for warfare as well. Many broken pieces of ceramic vessels, or sherds, were also found in the features. Many of these sherds have small bumps, called punctates, on their exterior surfaces. These punctates are characteristic of Clemson Island ceramics. Several Clemson Island smoking pipes were also found during the excavations.

In sum, the West Water Street Site was inhabited by a variety of Clemson Island societies on numerous occasions between AD 900 and AD 1200. These people lived in small communities of four or five families and grew corn to supplement the wild plants and animal foods that could be obtained on the river shores or in the adjacent mountains. They stored and cooked their food in pits excavated into the ground and filled those pits with their trash and garbage. These pits and their contents are our only clues to the daily life of these first farmers of the West Branch Valley of the Susquehanna River.

Late Archaic-Middle Woodland Component

The oldest artifacts from the upper layer of the site are a mix of materials from three separate culture periods (Late Archaic, Early Woodland, and Middle Woodland), spanning the time from 3000 BC to AD 1000. Figure 7 shows projectile points from these culture periods that were found at the West Water Street Site. These artifacts were found mixed in with Clemson Island artifacts in pit features and other soils. Because these artifacts were mixed in with younger artifacts, there is not much that we can say about these cultures other than to note that prehistoric people were living at the site during this time.

One interesting set of artifacts from this period includes a series of broad blade projectile points known as Susquehanna Broadspears (fig. 7). These large artifacts were probably used more often as knives than projectile points. Most of the projectile points found at the West Water Street Site were made from stones that can be found in the local area, primarily cherts from the cobbles and pebbles found in the Susquehanna River. In contrast, almost all the Susquehanna Broadspears found at the site were manufactured from a gray-blue stone called rhyolite. Rhyolite is found only in south central Pennsylvania near Gettysburg and does not occur naturally in the West Branch Valley of the Susquehanna River. The presence of rhyolite at the site indicates that either the site's prehistoric inhabi-

tants wandered as far as Gettysburg to obtain this distinctive stone for the manufacture of their tools or that they traded with other groups to obtain it. We will probably never know exactly how this material was procured, but its presence suggests that prehistoric people of central Pennsylvania were wide-ranging travelers with a complex culture.

Middle Archaic Component

The deep soil deposits contained the most significant archaeological finds at the West Water Street Site. A thin, but rich, layer of artifacts dating to the period between 8,500 and 8,000 years ago was identified, and large areas of it were excavated. These archaeological materials were of great importance because this time period is very poorly known in Pennsylvania and the central Middle Atlantic region. Up until the excavation of the West Water Street Site, hardly any sites dating to this period had been dug anywhere in the state. Archaeologists working in Pennsylvania had to look to sites in areas as far away as New England and the Carolinas to obtain information on this period. A discussion of the problems encountered in the study of this period can be found in the work of William F. Turnbaugh and Jay F. Custer (*Prehistoric Cultures of Eastern Pennsylvania*, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission Anthropological Series No. 7, Harrisburg, 1994; "Early and Middle Archaic Cultures of Virginia: Culture, Change, and Continuity," in *Early and Middle Archaic Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*, ed. by T.R. Rinehart and M.B. Hodges, Richmond: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1990: 1-60).

At the West Water Street Site, numerous small stemmed points with slightly indented bases were found in the middle soil deposits (figs. 8 and 9). They are similar to points from this time that have been found in New England and the Carolinas. The similar shape provided an initial hint that these artifacts dated to the enigmatic 8,000 to 8,500 year-old time interval. The deep soil deposits at West Water Street also included organic carbon charcoal whose age could be determined using radiocarbon dating techniques. The radiocarbon dating method measures the latent radioactivity in carbon. These measurements can be used to determine the age of ancient charcoal. Samples from this section of the West Water Street Site yielded dates of 8,200 years ago and confirmed that these archaeological materials did indeed date to a relatively unknown period of Pennsylvania's prehistory.

The artifacts found in these levels of the site included a fairly large number of spear points, stone knives, drills, stone flakes and other debris from the manufacture of stone tools, unfinished projectile points — also known as bifaces — and numerous stone flakes that had their edges resharpened for a variety of uses, such as cutting, scraping, and engraving (fig. 10). Most of these stone tools were made from locally available chert; but some of these artifacts were also made from rhyolite from south central Pennsylvania.

No specialized tools for the processing of plant foods were present, and almost all of the tools recovered from this occupation of the West Water Street Site were associated with hunting and the processing or products obtained from hunted animals. The artifacts were found in small clusters (fig. 11). No evidence of permanent structures was identified. These findings indicate that the inhabitants of central Pennsylvania 8,500 years ago were mobile hunters and gatherers. Hunted game animals were an important part of their diet. And these people lived at the West Water Street Site for only a short period of time. At that time, the forests of central Pennsylvania would have been composed of hemlock; these prehistoric people may have had to travel over large areas to obtain food. The finds of artifacts from this poorly known time period help to fill in a major gap in our knowledge of prehistoric Pennsylvanians.

Early Archaic Component

The deepest excavated layers of the West Water Street Site contained artifacts that dated to approximately 10,000 years ago (fig. 12). Not many artifacts were found in these deep levels. The few stone tools that were found show signs of having been used for a variety of purposes but, again, are mainly associated with hunting.

Studies of ancient environments of this time indicate that the forests of central

Pennsylvania would have been composed of spruce trees. The climate would have been much colder because of the large ice sheets that were less than 100 miles to the north at this time. The prehistoric people of this early period may have hunted game animals such as caribou. Like the later groups, their lifeways were probably very mobile, and hunted game animals were important sources of food. The sparse nature of the archaeological remains from this period at the West Water Street Site precludes any further discussion of these ancient peoples' lifeways.

In conclusion, the projectile points, pottery, and pit features found during the excavations at the West Water Street Site have provided interesting and important data on the ancient people who inhabited the West Branch Valley of the Susquehanna River during prehistoric times. Archaeology provides our only way of knowing what the ancient past was like. By careful study of archaeological sites, we can learn about the past and gain a better appreciation of the variety of behaviors that human beings use to cope with the world around them.

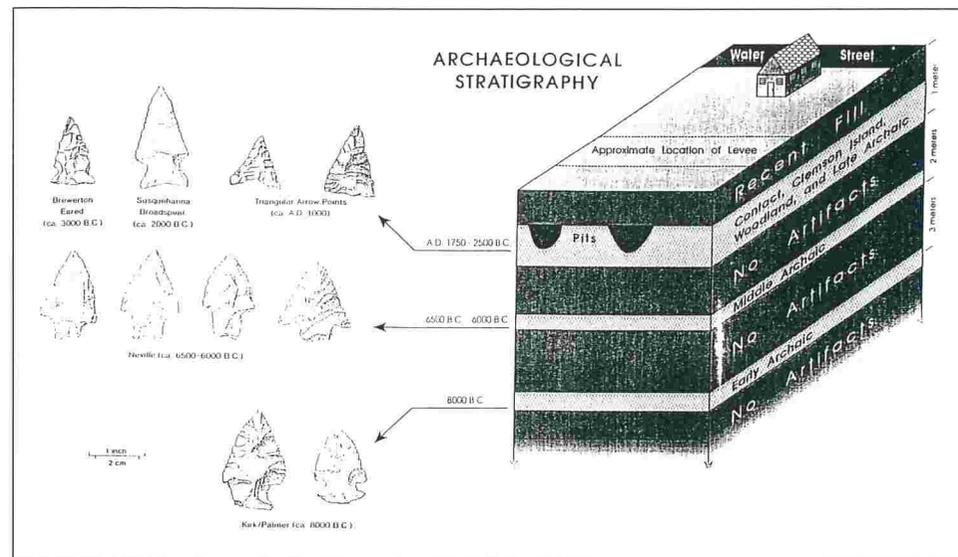


Figure 1: Archaeological stratigraphy of the West Water Street site

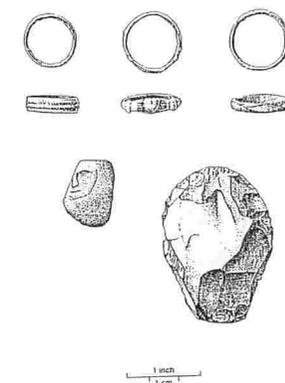


Figure 2: Contact period artifacts.

Top Row: Rings
Bottom Row: Pipe bowl fragment with face and bottle glass scraper

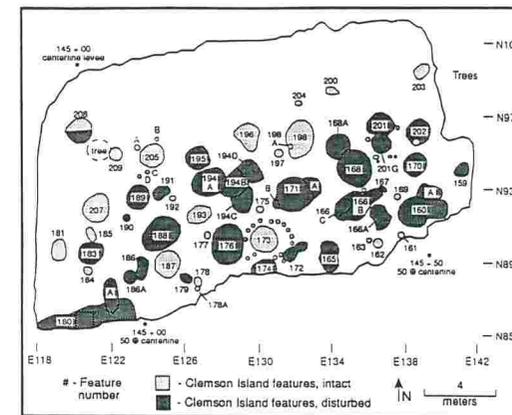


Figure 3: Clemson pit features

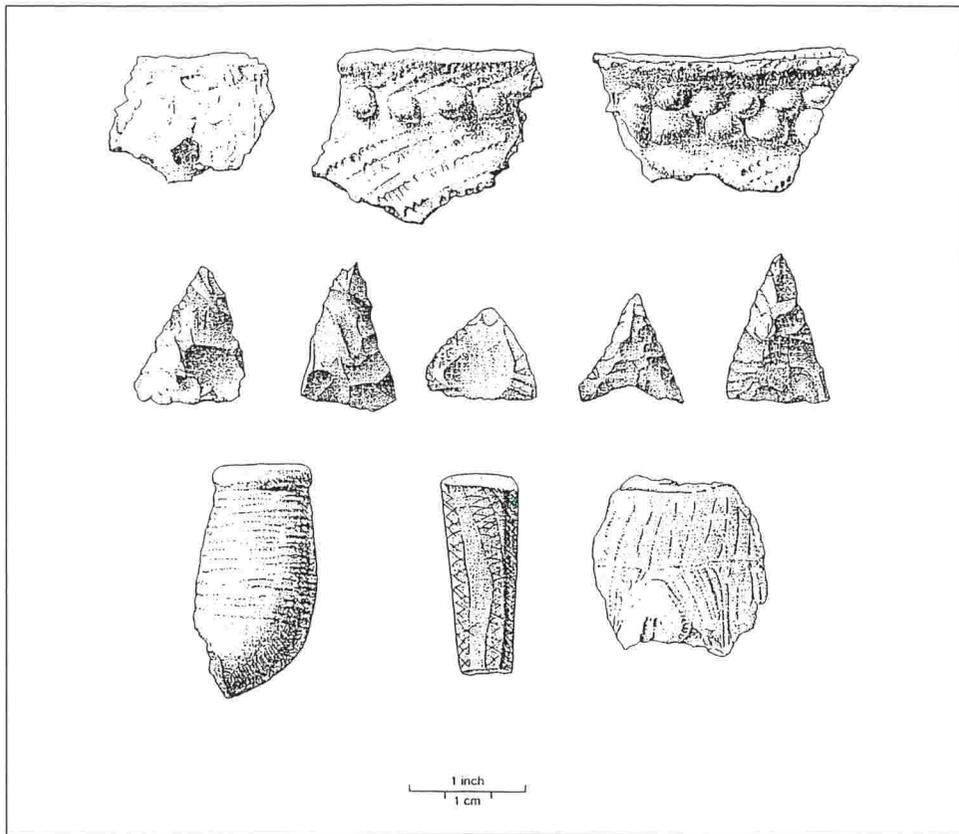


Figure 4: Clemson Island artifacts. Top Row: Ceramic sherds Middle Row: Triangular arrow points Bottom Row: Pipes

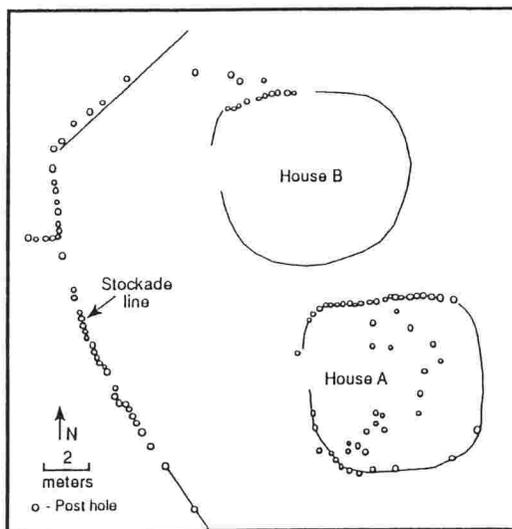


Figure 5: Clemson Island stockade and house patterns

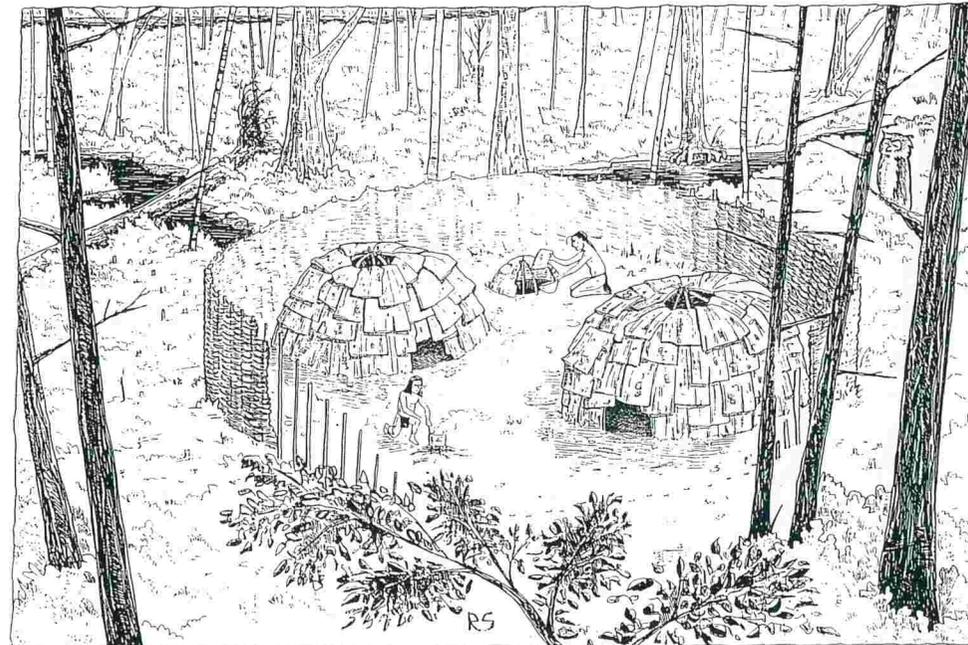
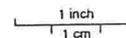
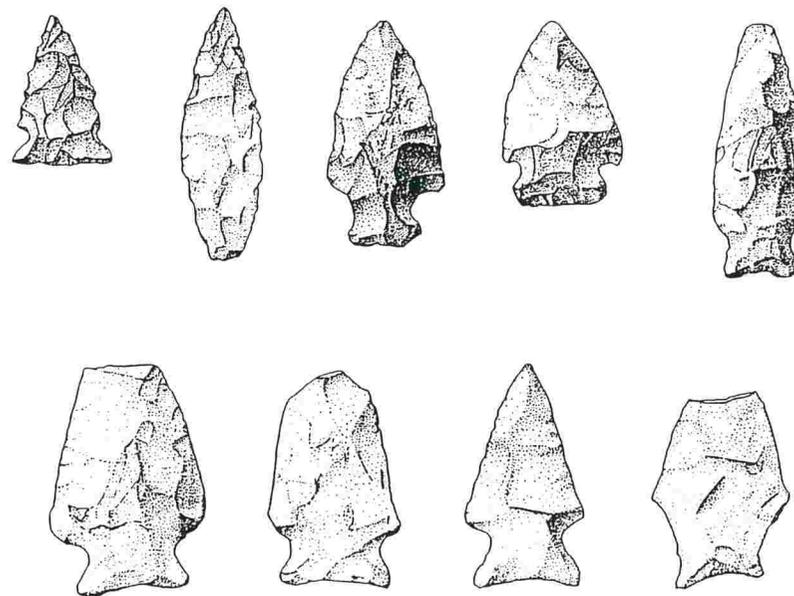


Figure 6: Artist's reconstruction of Clemson Island community

Figure 7: Late Archaic – Middle woodland projectile points Top Row: Stemmed and notched points Bottom Row: Susquehanna Broadspears



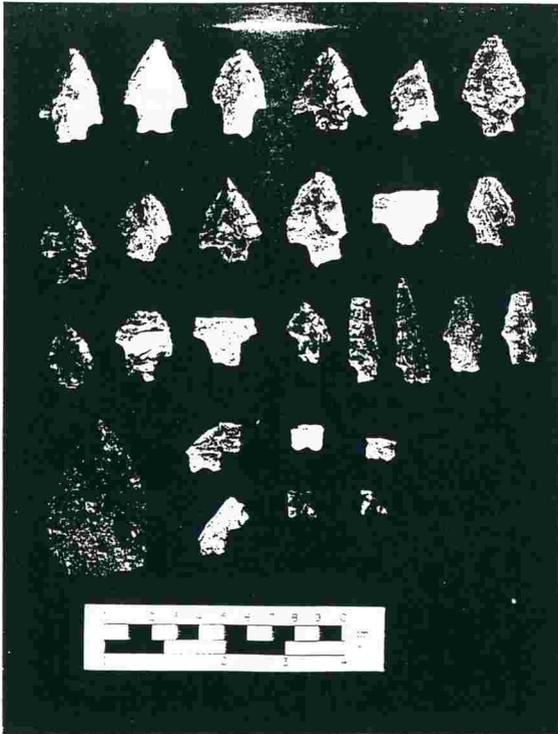


Figure 8: Middle Archaic projectile points — Segment D

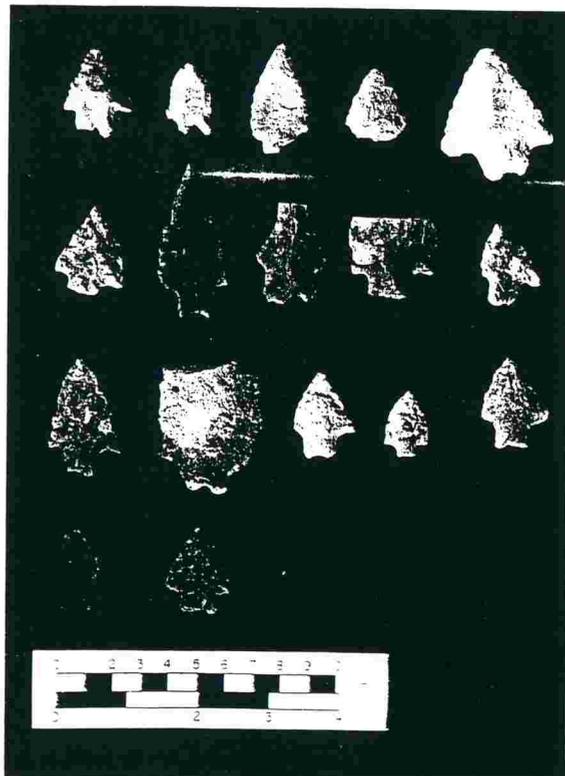


Figure 9: Middle Archaic Projectile points — Segments A, B and C

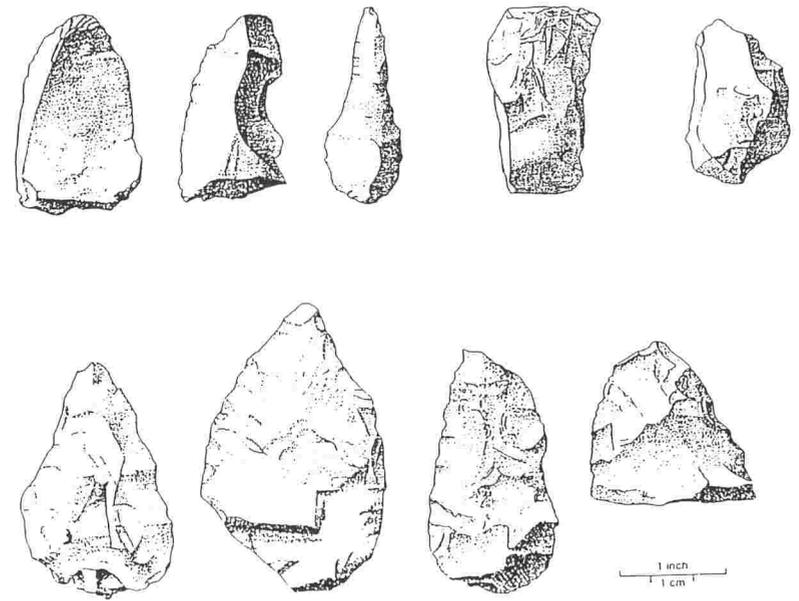


Figure 10: Middle Archaic tools
Top Row: Flake tools for cutting and scraping
Bottom Row: Biface knives

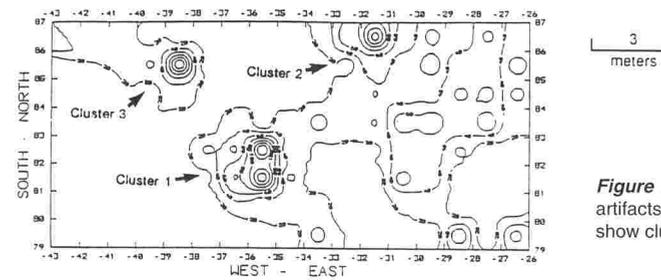


Figure 11: Distribution of Middle Archaic artifacts in Segment D. The concentric circles show clusters of artifacts.

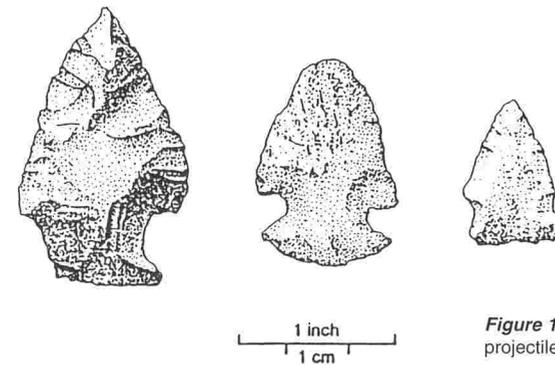


Figure 12: Early Archaic projectile points

FRANKLIN BROADBELT: CIVIL WAR VETERAN

by Gary V. Hoover

One of the great advantages of being a historian in a very old Masonic Lodge is the opportunity to work with a fascinating array of old documents and memorabilia. My lodge, Number 106, was constituted in 1806 and has preserved a very impressive collection of historical items. We are uncovering more things all the time, too, and every now and then we find something special in a dusty old nook or cranny. Take the old wooden box we pulled out from hiding last year, for example. It was filled with old, handmade scrapbooks on the Civil War and other topics and obviously hadn't seen the light of day for many years. The labels on the box showed that it had been shipped up by rail from Philadelphia, but not much else. The lodge's History and Artifacts Committee decided to try and find out what else there was, so we grabbed a thread and started pulling.

Looking through the scrapbooks, we found that they once belonged to a man named Franklin Broadbelt. One book had newspaper articles and clippings on the Civil War that were marked with red Xs—which, according to a margin note, indicated those which Franklin had written himself. They clearly showed that he was a veteran of the Late Rebellion. We also found some old guidebooks to Civil War battlefields and a few pages of manuscript indicating the unit in which Franklin served.

Thumbing through the lodge history written by the late Paul G. Gilmore showed that Franklin had been a member since 1879 and had died in 1925. From the Lodge's archives, we got Franklin's original petition and found a certificate showing he started out in Lodge Number 298 at Media, Pennsylvania. The petition informed us that Franklin's occupation was "painter," and that he lived in Williamsport. We then searched the lodge minute books and found a notation from the October 1, 1923 meeting stating that Franklin Broadbelt was "presenting to the Lodge *two* boxes of books containing interesting scraps of information on Masonic subjects." We are still looking for the second box!

The information on Franklin's Civil War unit eventually yielded photocopies of his military and pension records, which provided a wealth of information on him. We found that he was born January 11, 1843 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and that he enlisted as a private in Company E, 11th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, on August 28, 1862. In September of that year, he was transferred to Company H, where he served until badly wounded in March 1865. With some slight variations, the official records describe Franklin Broadbelt as five feet seven inches in height, with blue eyes and brown hair.

The 119th Regiment became active just after the Battle of Antietam in September 1862 and first was under fire during the Fredericksburg Campaign. It also participated in the pursuits of the Army of Northern Virginia after Gettysburg, having arrived by forced march too late to take an active part in the decisive three-day battle itself. Other major endeavors of the 119th included the Mine Run Campaign, the Battle of the Wilderness, and the siege of Petersburg. Franklin Broadbelt was present at all of them.



Franklin Broadbelt (standing) with first cousin Wilmer Broadbelt

The records also show that Franklin was sent to the army hospital in Germantown on December 11, 1862, but "deserted" on the 29th. Evidently, this desertion was to rejoin his unit because the Company H muster rolls show him as constantly present from January 1863 until he was wounded in March 1865. As an interesting aside, the Company H muster roll of August 31 to December 31, 1864 notes that his pay included a "stoppage" of \$3.76 for the following items: Haversack — \$.69; shelter tent — \$2.30; cartridge box, belt and plate — \$.79. These are prices any collector or historian would be glad to pay today.

Franklin Broadbelt's military service must have been exemplary because he was promoted to First Corporal of the Color Guard, 119th Regiment, on September 19, 1864. This was a particularly dangerous job, as regimental flags were highly visible targets! The history of the 119th Regiment states that four of the Regiment's color-bearers were killed during one day's fighting alone in the Battle of the Wilderness. Franklin served with the Regimental Color Guard until March 25, 1865, when he was shot in the left thigh at Petersburg, Virginia. Over the years, this wound was to cause Franklin increasing pain and lameness as well as much correspondence with the Pension Commission. The bullet was still in the wound in 1912, according to a letter Franklin wrote to the Commissioner of Pensions in that year. It was finally taken out some time between then and October 28, 1920, when a medical examination report notes the presence of a scar two inches long and one-half inch wide due to the bullet's removal.

After he was wounded, Franklin was evacuated to the Armory Square Hospital in Washington, D. C. and was later transferred to the General Hospital at Chester, PA. A transcript of records from the Surgeon General's Office dated July 3, 1875 states that he "Entered G. H. Chester, Pa. May 13, '65 'Convalescent' and deserted June 18th, '65." Again, the desertion was almost certainly to rejoin his unit; records from the Adjutant General's Office state that he was mustered out with his company on June 19, 1865 at Philadelphia, PA.

In one of the articles he wrote, Franklin makes this observation on the effect of war:

Very few periods of a life produce such a marked effect on a man as his introduction to a battle. Before this he was an ignoramus in the realm of sensations. At the time he has a confused sense of standing in the presence of something so awful, that in his human littleness, he is a mere atom. He may have played a[t] military service in the militia, and marched and camped, and then gone back to his books or his shops or plough the same man he was before; but the battle has riveted on its foundations whatever there was of the real man in him, and he can never go back.

Following the war, according to the records, he married Elizabeth S. Wier, and they had three children: Elizabeth, Harry, and Lottie.

Franklin also became a member of Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) Post Number 2 in Philadelphia, according to information in the scrapbook articles. It appears he was quite active — given the number of GAR encampment and convention guidebooks and materials that were in with the scrapbooks, but we have not yet been able to find out anything more concerning his GAR activities. We'll keep digging, though.

Franklin Broadbelt eventually moved back to Media, Pennsylvania where he died at the age of 83 on April 15, 1925, according to Lodge 106 records. Using that information, we were able to get his obituary from the Pennsylvania State Library's microfilmed records. It specifically invited the members of Lodge 106 as well as those of the other Williamsport Masonic organizations to attend the funeral services. We also got hold of the telephone book that covers Media, Pennsylvania at the James V. Brown Library and called some Broadbelts listed there. Eventually, we were led to Mr. Richard N. Broadbelt, a descendant of Franklin's now living in Wales, England, who had done some family research. A trans-Atlantic phone call turned up a picture of Franklin and his brother Wilmer in their GAR uniforms! We were sent a copy and thus now know exactly what Franklin looked like in his later years.

Our biggest disappointment is that we have not been able to find out what happened to the series of letters which Franklin wrote home to his mother during his Civil War service. Several of his articles mentioned that the letters were "well preserved" and that he referred to them to refresh his memory when writing for the newspapers. Somewhere there may yet be a treasure awaiting discovery.

THE SEARCH FOR TOMJACK



by Steven Sliwinski



In the summer of 1996, I chanced upon an historical marker erected by the Bradford County Historical Society in Burlington, Pennsylvania that spurred a quest into obscure annals of eastern Native American history. The paucity and questionable accuracy of records, many of which were anecdotal in nature, made tracing the particular information I was seeking analogous to putting together a jigsaw puzzle that was not only missing pieces, but had pieces of other puzzles thrown in as well. The obscurity of my subject, numerous spellings and transliterations of names and places made necessary more hypothetical conjecture than professional historians might deem advisable. However, my research and conjecture culminated in a 30" x 40" acrylic on canvas portrait painting of Tomjack. The work will hang in the Bradford County Library in Burlington, Pennsylvania.

Who was Tomjack? Once I decided to paint a portrait of this legendary Bradford County figure, I began sifting through local sources for facts to support my depiction.

A little more than two hundred years ago, Bradford County was a formidable wilderness populated by wolves, mountain lions, rattlesnakes, and Native Americans whom many white men regarded as godless Indian savages. At the conclusion of the eighteenth century, ownership of much of the land occupied by Native Americans was considered the right—and indeed the “manifest destiny”—of the new white Americans. Holding no land title, the Indians had little choice but to move from tribal land to areas that proved to be just one small step ahead of future white land grabs. Many Indians clustered in tribal or clan communities, but some ventured out into remote environs on their own, while others moved underground in fear of forced relocation. The legendary Tomjack was a Bradford County Indian faced with this inescapable dislocation; his life story illustrates the struggle of north central Pennsylvania Indians to adjust to the pressures of a new culture.

My first source of information in addition to the historical marker was David Craft's *History of Bradford County, Pennsylvania, 1770-1878* (1992 reprint by Bradford County Historical Society) In Craft's account Tomjack, a self-described Mingo/Christian Indian, is on record as the last full-blooded Indian of Bradford County (Burlington Township, Pennsylvania). The historical marker located in Burlington describes Tomjack as an Iroquois Indian. He was born at Logan's Gap, in the vicinity of present-day Thompsontown near the Juniata river. When white settlers encroached on this area, he picked up stakes and moved to just above Forty Fort near Wyoming (now Wilkes-Barre). There, according to Craft, he married Betty Montour, described as a “three-quarter blood squaw.” When the Indians, along with the Tories, proposed to massacre the new white settlers in Wyoming Valley, Tomjack refused to join in the war and moved up the Susquehanna River to Wysaukin (now Wysox). Craft records that there was a Moravian mission there and that Tomjack was called a “peace-man” who professed religion at that mission and resided there until 1779 when General Sullivan's expedition set out to destroy the Indians. Fearing for his life, Tomjack is said to have moved again, despite assurances from the missionaries that he would be safe. This time he moved to the wilds of Sugar Creek (present-day borough of Burlington). In 1790 a group of white settlers from “Johnny Cake Hollow” in New York followed the Oscalua (Sugar Creek) from its mouth on the Susquehanna River until they encountered the wigwam of Tomjack. Tomjack shared his provisions with these white settlers, guided them around their new environment and in every way proved to be their friend.

Tomjack eventually became trading partners with the white settlers with whom he traded salt that he prepared from a secret location known only to him. According to Craft, Tomjack remained for three years after the white arrival into his hunting grounds and then removed to the Allegheny River where he died in 1809. The Bradford County

Historical Society marker states that Tomjack died along the Juniata, near where he was born.

Craft includes the information that Tomjack and Betty had at least two children, a girl named White-Fawn and “Sun-Down, a boy whose tragical death is a matter of history.” No other information provides clues to the exact circumstances of his death.

According to local legend, White-Fawn was educated and became a teacher and missionary. She was credited with bringing about “a reciprocity of good feeling between the Indians of the (Allegheny) section and the whites.” She never married, giving as a reason that “the Great Spirit made her a mother of a nation rather than a mother of a family.” Following her death in 1823, a monument was erected to her memory by the Moravian mission society in 1836. She and her parents were members of the Moravian Church (Craft 292-93).

My initial research left me wanting to know more about Tomjack, Betty Montour and their daughter, White-Fawn. I began digging into other local sources hoping to find more specific information relating to them directly. What I discovered perplexed and confused me, suggesting that fact and legend had coagulated in the absence of documentation to corroborate hearsay.

Who was Tomjack? My next investigations led to sources that claimed that Tomjack never revealed his Indian name, though, according to Craft, he claimed his tribal affiliation to be Mingo/Christian.

The word “Mingo” appears to derive from “Mengwe,” the Delaware word for the Iroquois. “Mengwe” means glans penis. The word may be more descriptive than aggressively derisive; it may have come into use following the defeat of the Delaware by the Iroquois during the fur wars when the Delaware were required to forego their warrior ways and to wear a kind of apron worn by women. The viceroys sent by the Iroquois as watchlords came to be known as Mengwe or Mingo (D. Hickman, Iroquois note submitted by Joe Wagner, <http://www.swcp.com/dhickman/articles/iroquois.html>).

Colonial whites adopted the name, but as early as 1731 applied it to an independent band of Iroquois-speaking Indians living in western Pennsylvania, including Delaware and Shawnee (Bruce G. Trigger, ed. “Oklahoma Seneca-Cayuga.” In *Handbook of North American Indians*. Ed. by William C. Sturtevant. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978: 543). Another loose definition of the word “Mingo” is “treacherous,” used for the Susquehannock and other Iroquois-speaking tribes. The Mingos evolved as mixed Seneca and Cayuga with a heavy percentage of descendants of Neutrals, Huron and Erie who had been adopted by Iroquois during the 1650s. They settled in Ohio and western Pennsylvania in the early 1700s and formed mixed villages with the Delaware and Shawnee who arrived later (Dick Shovel, “First Nations Histories.” <http://www.dickshovel.com/compacts.html>). The Iroquois were savvy politicians who resettled their adopted tribes (termed covenant chain tribes) in strategic locations that served, for a time, as buffers against white expansion and provided a pool of warriors when needed. The upshot of my investigation into Tomjack's tribal affiliation proved only that because a Mingo could have originated from any number of tribes, Tomjack's tribal affiliation remains uncertain.

My next step was to explore the roots of Tomjack's wife, Betty Montour. The name Montour came to be associated with the Wolf Clan of the Delaware Indians. If Tomjack had been a Delaware Indian, he would only have been permitted to marry outside his own clan. If Betty were a Montour of the Wolf Clan, then Tomjack (if a Delaware) would have to have been a member of either the Turkey or Turtle Clan.

The name Montour is a familiar one in northeastern Pennsylvania. Madam Montour (1681 or 2-1752), for whom Mountoursville in Lycoming County was named, was the matriarch of a well-known lineage that includes her son Andrew and daughter Margaret (a.k.a., French Margaret). Margaret lived for a time along the Allegheny. Information about two of her daughters opened doors to conjecture: Ester had married a Delaware, and Mary was a convert to Moravianism (Louise Wells Murray, *A History of Old Tioga Point and Early Athens, 1908*. Wilkes-Barre, PA: The Raeder Press, 1907: 108). I wondered if it were possible that Betty Montour, Tomjack's wife according to local legend, was related to Madam Montour. My research came to a dead end. Apart from the local sources I'd

consulted at the beginning of my quest, there were no references to a Betty Montour.

However, given the absolute non-existence of documentation on most individual Indians (who were not even considered for inclusion in the first Federal census of 1790), it is not surprising that nothing is recorded about Betty Montour in sources that mention Madam Montour and her family even if the coincidence of name, tribal affiliation, and religious conversion are true links between Madam Montour's grandchildren and Tomjack's wife. Furthermore, it is possible that Tomjack's wife simply adopted the name. It was common for Native Americans to adopt the surnames of whites they knew. Also, according to some accounts, Indians took on surnames of people they kidnapped. While I think it unlikely that Betty Montour acquired her surname through kidnapping, the difficulty of tracing individual Indians by their surnames shows that whatever biographical information appears to link individual Indians, no absolute conclusions can be drawn whether sources mention names or not.

Betty Montour, a professed Moravian, may have been introduced to that faith during her stay in the Wyoming Valley. When Tomjack met and married her there, he may have accepted the Moravian religion then also. As noted above, David Craft states in his *History of Bradford County* that Tomjack moved from the Wyoming Valley to a Moravian mission site located at Wysox. However, a number of discrepancies occur in his account of Tomjack's life.

First, there are only two Moravian mission sites recorded in the area: one called Friedenshutzen ("tents of peace") near Wyalusing and another at Sheshequin. There is no record of a Moravian mission site at Wysox. However, given that Wysox and Wyalusing are only about ten miles apart, perhaps Craft confused the two sites.

Second, if we assume that the hostilities in which Tomjack was invited to participate were indeed the Wyoming Massacre of 1778 and that he moved in that year, then it is exceedingly unlikely that he would have encountered any Moravians living in the area: The Moravian presence there began in 1765 and ended in 1772 when they moved to Shoenbrunn, Ohio.

My final goal in the quest to "discover" Tomjack was to determine where exactly along the Allegheny River in western Pennsylvania he and his family had settled, whether there existed any documentation to substantiate Craft's claim that Tomjack and his family had moved to the "Allegheny River section" and if so, to learn exactly where along this western Pennsylvania river they had settled. Paul A. W. Wallace in his book *The Travels of John Heckenwelder in Frontier America* notes that the "Monsey (leaving Wyalusing) joined their own tribe, who long since had emigrated and were settled on the headwaters of the Allegheny river" (Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1985: 85). Following this tip, I contacted the libraries and historical societies of Warren, Forest, Venango, Clarion, and Armstrong Counties to ask: (1) if they had any record of these individuals; (2) if peripheral information were available on local Indian habitations; and (3) if they knew any local historians who might assist me. After initial correspondence, I focused my search on the most promising of the counties, Warren and Forest.

The research department staff of the Warren County Library was especially helpful in providing information on local Indians, but none of the five county sources available contained any records of ordinary individual Indians other than tribal chiefs or important figures. However, at the Forest County Library, I was shown the reprint of M.H. Deardorff's "Zeisberger's Allegheny River Indian Towns: 1777-1770" in the *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* (repr., Vol. XVI, 1). His discussion offered some interesting clues to solving the mystery of Tomjack's possible final location. David Zeisberger, the noted Moravian missionary, was central not only to the founding of the Wyalusing (Friedenshutzen) site, but also had visited the Allegheny River and established a mission there. In mentioning the area above Franklin, Deardorff writes: "For many years the disaffected and dispossessed of all kinds, from all quarters had moved on to it" (7). In another of Deardorff's accounts, "A Nineteenth-Century Journal of a Visit to the Indians in New York" (*American Philosophical Society* 100, 6: 1956), he mentions that many of the same Indians he had worked with near the present town of Tionesta had migrated south and east, but by 1791 were returning to escape the fighting in southwestern Pennsylvania (588). In 1767, Zeisberger found three

different Indian refugee towns called Gogoschunk, all inhabited by Munsey Delaware.

Although I found no direct reference to Tomjack or any members of his family in any of the Warren and Forest County sources, I think it likely that in 1794 they moved to the part of Forest County that Deardorff's records describe as a well-known refugee location. This refugee location was founded by refugees of Tomjack's wife's clan.

A final item uncovered by Nancy Reed of the Armstrong County Library probably goes no further toward putting together the puzzle of Tomjack's life, but more likely demonstrates how pieces of other puzzles have been thrown in. In Paul A. W. Wallace's *Indians of Pennsylvania*, Madam Montour is described as "A woman of French and Indian descent, who did much to brighten the chain of friendship between the Iroquois and the English." This note echoes the reference to White-Fawn, Tomjack's daughter in *The History of Bradford County*, crediting her with bringing about "a reciprocity of good feeling between the Indians of the (Allegheny) section and the whites." The similarity of the description is striking, and I think it possible that the writers of local historical accounts may have confused the two Montours and ascribed the qualities of Madam Montour to the younger White-Fawn. Furthermore, in the *Chronicles of Central Pennsylvania*, Volume Two (1944), White-Fawn is said to have died in 1835 and to have had a monument to her memory erected by the Moravians at Sugar Creek, in Burlington, site of her former home (41). The Moravian Archives in Bethlehem contain no record of White-Fawn or of any monument erected in her honor, nor is there a mention in the local records of any monument located at Sugar Creek that is dedicated to her.

For me, there are still questions without answers on the subject of Tomjack and his family. I will continue my search for information and would appreciate comments and leads from readers. My thanks go out to the many people who volunteered their time and expertise in this endeavor: The staff of the Bradford County Library and the Towanda Library; Sue Dreydoppel of the Moravian Historical Society; Jack Manycolors of the Eastern Delaware Nation; Penny Wolboldt of the Warren County Library; Nancy Eck and her associates at the Forest County Library; Nancy Reed of the Armstrong County Library; Audre Iacone of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh; Corolina Daly of the Pennsylvania State Archives; Ruth Heasley of the Venango County Historical Society; historian and author Earl Olmsted of New Philadelphia, Ohio; Brian Hale, teacher and historian of Tionesta; and Ken Burkett, President of the Clarion County Historical Society and field associate (archeology) for the Carnegie Museum.

I have added my own piece to the puzzle with my portrait painting in the Bradford County Library, a tribute to the man and the sum of everything I know about him.

The Artist's Interpretation of the History of Tomjack (Cover Illustration)

My main objective was to portray not just Tomjack, but Tomjack as the embodiment of Native American spirituality and native accommodation to the cultural upheaval of the time. I initially sought to portray a connection between earth and space with a larger-than-life figure bridging the gap between the two. Compositionally, this "heroic" pose, resembling the capital letter "A," reinforces the idea of inquiry into beginnings, an Alpha state.

In 1790, Tomjack shared his meager provisions with the unprepared first settlers (maybe because of ancestral hospitality beliefs rooted in the idea that the Great Spirit had wanted the fruits of the earth to be shared by all, or perhaps because he was smart enough to realize that what he did not offer might be forcibly taken). Because he volunteered aid, he was termed a "friend of the white man"; however, he also recognized the value of salt as a trading commodity when he bartered with the whites and refused to disclose the location of its source.

There exists a known salt dome on a hill in Burlington that perhaps marks Tomjack's secret location. I portrayed Tomjack with a massive shovel-like hand extracting this salt from the earth mound. The falling grains of this "salt of the earth" trickle down and are echoed by the stars. His other hand, more apparitional in its blue shrouded mist, caresses a symbolic buttonwood tree. This tree, which is estimated to be at least two hundred years old, would have been the only living witness of Tomjack's time and is located about

200 feet from the location of his house.

I painted an individual in a transitional (albeit hostile) society. Accommodation was the key to survival. That sense of transition needed to be addressed in the visual portrayal. Consequently, I included a medicine bag, beaded pouch and shell necklace as well as a "modern" steel knife and, somewhat tongue-in cheek, an intialed metal belt buckle. The beaded pouch is of Delaware design. It could be argued that more trade items were available, and while this is true, I did not want to clutter the composition.

One final observation is the symbolic short hair. I intended this as a parallel to the biblical Samson, whose power was sapped when his locks were shorn. Decimated by disease and warfare, the surviving Indians were similarly emasculated.

Conjectural as the portrait is, I believe that the facial expression reflects the tragedy that engulfed this man. There is a strength and inward sense of purpose that must have existed for this man to survive.