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THE WINSLOW SITE: HOUSEHOLD AND COMMUNITY ARCHEOLOGY IN THE MIDDLE POTOMAC VALLEY

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Abstract

This report documents excavations undertaken by the Archeological Society of Maryland and American University, Potomac River Archaeology Survey, at the Winslow site (18MO9), near Seneca, Maryland. Archeological investigation of the site began in 2002 and continued during 2003. Our reinvestigation followed previous excavations undertaken at Winslow in 1940-41 and again between 1959 and 1961. Those earlier investigations have been reported as part of a monograph by Richard Slattery and Douglas Woodward (1992) on what they referred to as the Montgomery Focus. The artifacts recovered from the site during that era are now curated at the Smithsonian Institution. And the early investigators of the site were successful in recovering an impressive artifact assemblage from the site and in revealing many details of community structure. The most recent excavations were therefore oriented toward learning even more about household and community organization. What follows reports on what we discovered.

Winslow Site Environs

The Winslow site is located

The Potomac River, the major landscape feature near the site, originates in the Appalachian Highlands well west of the site and then flows eastward toward its confluence with the Chesapeake Bay. By about two million years ago the river had settled into its approximate present position (Reed, Sigafoos, and Fisher 1980:8). From its western source, the Potomac flows through a number of distinct physiographic provinces. It starts within the

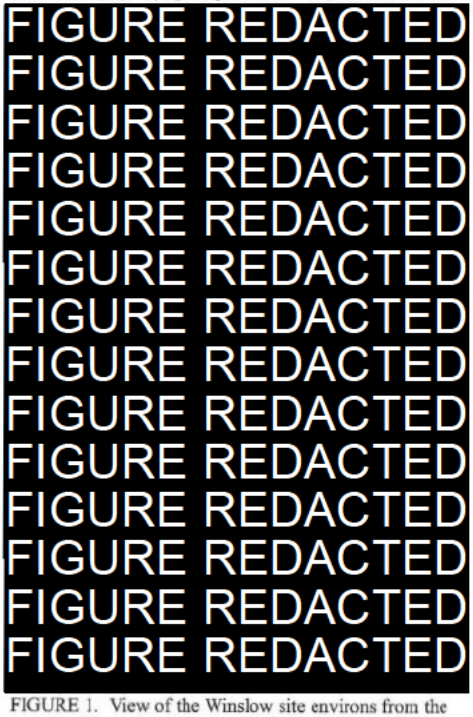


FIGURE 1. View of the Winslow site environs from the Virginia shore.

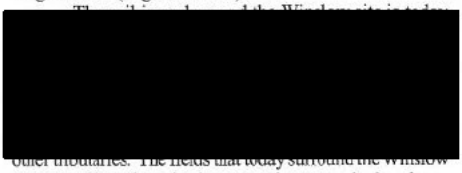
Allegheny Plateau and cuts through the Blue Ridge just below present-day Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. After coursing east through the Catoctin Mountains of the Ridge and Valley province the river then exits through another gap at Point of Rocks. There it enters the western division of the Piedmont physiographic province (Frederick Valley in Maryland/Leesburg Basin in Virginia) and flows further down into the eastern Piedmont between Seneca Creek and Chain Bridge just above Georgetown in the District of Columbia. The Fall Zone of the river stretches between Chain Bridge and Arlington Memorial Bridge. Below this last edifice the Potomac flows onto the Atlantic Coastal Plain. The river itself on the Coastal Plain becomes tidal, technically estuarine.

In its journey from west to east the Potomac River provides the Atlantic Coast with one of the greatest natural avenues into the interior of the country, terminating only a handful of miles short of the mid-continental Ohio River drainage. Native Americans canoed its waters and walked footpaths along its banks for millennia. Many of these first trails were eventually incorporated into colonial roads, followed by the canals, and then the railroads. Interstate highways would by mid-twentieth century mirror this same general route west. Today the fiber optic cables that carry the information age also parallel the river. Each era, in its own way, has exploited the benefits of the long natural corridor carved out by the Potomac River. One can be sure the unique nature of such an important landscape feature was not lost on the Winslow site inhabitants. It no doubt was the way into the region for the ancestors of the people that occupied the Winslow site, and became an avenue to move around and communicate with the wider world once settlements had been established along its shores.

From this perspective of the entire river, the Winslow site occupies what a number of archeologists have labeled the Middle Potomac Valley. The desirability of that location has to do with the presence of particular resources. It is likewise a factor of resources that other nearby locales do not offer. In that regard, it is first necessary to understand something of the eastern Piedmont below Seneca Creek, downstream of the site. It is the geology of both the eastern Piedmont between Seneca Creek and the Fall Zone of the river further east as well as that of the Frederick Valley (western Piedmont) that made settlement in the latter location especially beneficial to the Winslow occupants.

The nature of the eastern and western Piedmont is largely determined by each zone's underlying rock (see Reed, Sigafoos, and Fisher 1980:1-11). In that regard the eastern Piedmont is underlain by resistant metamorphic and igneous rock. Downcutting there by the Potomac River has been minimal and floodplain deposition is correspondingly slight—floodplains here are not broad nor are the soils deep. The river is restricted in its narrow channel and has the energy to carry away most sediment. At and below Great Falls, practically no floodplains exist and hard rock is exposed or lies just below the surface. West of there, near Violet's Lock on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, a somewhat wider outwash plain does exist, but even here soils are not deep or well-drained. In short, the banks of the Potomac River between the Fall Zone and Seneca Creek just downstream from Winslow are generally less than suitable for permanent settlement or agriculture.

Lithology changes above Seneca Creek. There, and this is certainly true of the Winslow site location, the river flows on top of less resistant carbonates, sandstone, and shale (Schmidt 1993:58-63). These deposits appear to date to the Triassic period. In the Frederick Valley, or western Piedmont, the Potomac River has eroded a wide basin and flows with much less energy. Expansive, well-drained floodplains therefore have been able to develop from just above Seneca Creek west to about Point of Rocks. Those bottomlands and their deep soils are better suited to longer term prehistoric settlement, especially when such groups shifted to agricultural production. For the Winslow folk and later peoples, the Middle Potomac Valley was a unique area of broad fertile floodplains standing in the shadow of what is now known as Sugarloaf Mountain. Sugarloaf, made up of resistant quartzite (Choukas-Bradley 2003:11), looms as the major vertical landmark of the Middle Potomac Valley, and probably figured prominently in Native America cosmology. Much later, Europeans would see both delicacy and commodity in the great monadnock (isolated mountain). It reminded them of a sugarloaf, and the western Piedmont surrounding Sugarloaf Mountain and the Winslow site became known to them as the "sugar lands" (High 2000:133).



outlet tributaries. The fields that today surround the Winslow site indeed have been in almost continuous agricultural production since at least the eighteenth century.

A soil profile (Figure 2) was exposed at the western edge of Winslow site to gain a more detailed understanding of site stratigraphy and local landscape formation processes. Dan Wagner, of Geo-Sci Consultants, examined that profile for us. What follows is a synopsis of his conclusions about the structure and age of the various strata within that profile.

The Winslow soil profile contains three major horizons (A-C), and a number of smaller sub-horizons within

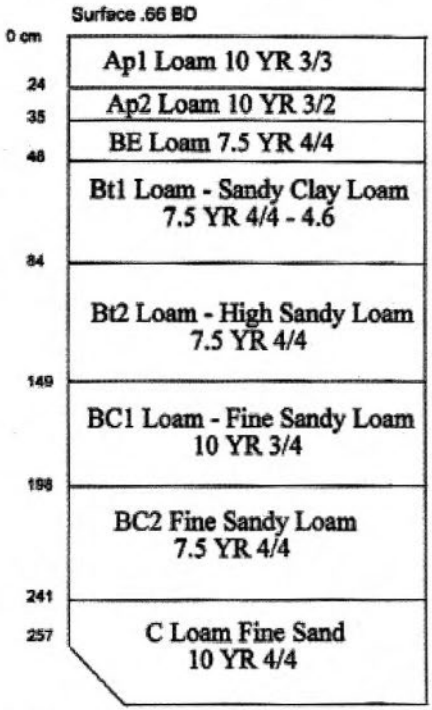


FIGURE 2. Schematic of Winslow soil profile (west wall of N130/E80).

two of those larger divisions. Overall it appears that the soil profile in this location has been remarkably stable, with the parent material being deposited at the latest near the end of the Pleistocene circa 20,000 years ago. Its deposition may even predate that period of time.

Its deepest soil layer, the C horizon, consists of relatively unmodified soils. That layer begins about 95 inches (241 cm) below the present land surface. It is texturally classified as loamy fine sand and contains some gravel inclusions. The amount of gravel appears to increase with depth. There is no chance of encountering intact cultural deposits in this zone given its extreme age.

That lower horizon is overlain by a series of B or transitional sub-horizons. Most of the lower divisions (BC2, BC1, and Bt2) within this larger horizon contain sandy loam soils. The upper two divisions, catching materials migrating downward, contain loam or sandy clay loam soils. Again, this collection of B horizons is very old and not likely to contain intact cultural debris. The exception would be cultural features (pits, postmolds, and the like) and the artifacts they contain that extend down from above into the BE and Bt1 layers. Clay films on individual soil particles near the top of this layer attest to great antiquity of these horizons. The only difference between this B horizon and the lower C horizon is that the former is nearer the surface, and it has been modified somewhat by such forces as frost action, chemical weathering, and transportation of materials down from above.

Most artifacts were recovered from the upper two layers of the profile. The Ap2 horizon, extending from about 9.5 (24 cm) below ground surface to around 14 inches (35 cm) below ground surface, was the original exposed living surface during the entire prehistoric and some of the historic era. Horizon soil texture is classified as a loam. It was this layer that the first excavators of the Winslow site referred to as the dark humus zone (Zone B in their terminology; see Slattery and Woodward 1992:13). This was also the layer that was plowed by the first historic peoples to farm the site, and it is technically now a buried plowzone. One can expect that prehistoric materials in this horizon may be partially mixed by that early animal-drawn and relatively shallow plowing. In undisturbed areas, especially at the bottom of this horizon, earlier materials may underlie later prehistoric cultural debris. Organic additions to the profile and debris added by the site's various early inhabitants give this layer its darker color. Postmolds and feature surfaces were first encountered at the base of this stratum where it transitions into the BE sub-horizon.

The uppermost horizon of the Winslow site profile (from present ground surface to about 9.5 inches [24 cm] below that surface) represents the modern plowzone. In texture this is also a loam soil, slightly lighter in color than the buried plowzone beneath. This horizon also contains cultural material, but those artifacts have been churned to a greater degree by modern machine-powered plowing (both deep moldboard and modern chisel plowing as well as seed drills). It is interesting to note that this soil layer is relatively recent, having been deposited probably beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century through recent times. Its deposition is the result of substantial land clearing along the Upper Potomac River resulting in increased soil erosion and runoff thus increasing deposition in downstream areas. The completion of Feeder Dam Number Two for the C&O Canal in 1830 (High 2000:129) downstream near Violettes Lock may also have impacted sedimentation rates at the site. The slack water behind that dam could easily have stimulated increased upstream flooding. This surface is a true floodplain, and it has been inundated within recent memory (see Slattery and Woodward 1992:9). As a general rule, relatively few artifacts are therefore visible today on the surface of this horizon.

Middle Potomac Culture History: Winslow in Context

The complete archeological record in the Middle Potomac Valley stretches back at least 12,000 years. Earliest known inhabitants are assigned to the Paleoindian period, and the Archaic period then spans the millennia between about 10,000 and 3000 years ago. The latter was an era of adaptation to the post-Pleistocene environment by hunters and foragers scattered widely across the landscape. The last period of prehistory, the Woodland, stretches from 3000 years ago until sustained European contact in the seventeenth century AD. Enormous changes came to Native Americans during that period, eventually including the introduction of domesticated plants. One response to these changes was more settled village life. In regard to the Winslow site it is the Woodland period that is of most interest to us along with the final settlement of the regions by peoples of European descent. Those periods of time will be the focus of this culture history.

At Winslow substantial amounts of pottery assignable to the Early Woodland were recovered. This included significant numbers of Marcey Creek sherds and some Selden Island ware (Slattery and Woodward 1992:31). These two types represent the earliest known ceramics in the Middle Potomac Valley, and should range in age between circa 3100 years ago to slightly less than 2900 years ago. Major sites with similar components have been found on nearby Selden Island (Slattery 1946) and downstream at the Marcey Creek site (Manson 1948). William Gardner (2000) investigated another major Early Woodland occupation on Selden Island, just upstream from the Winslow site. The Middle Woodland appears relatively scarce at Winslow, although a couple of isolated Selby Bay projectile points have been recovered. Middle Woodland ceramic types, however, appear scarce. The scarcity of these wares in the Middle Potomac Valley is not unusual, and its is probably an artifact of settlement patterns focusing on the Coastal Plain as well as further west by these peoples (Jirikowic 1995:52-57).

The major prehistoric component at the Winslow site is of course assignable to the Late Woodland period. All agree that it represents the remains of a small community of the first permanent agriculturalists to settle on the banks of the Potomac River. The site report by Slattery and Woodward (1992:9-76) describes the artifacts recovered and features investigated during the course of the two previous excavations. An appreciation of the nature and importance of this component requires some understanding of various other Late Woodland cultures known to have occupied the Middle Potomac Valley. It also requires an understanding of a related prehistoric group downstream on the Coastal Plain of the Potomac River.

Late Woodland materials from Winslow are assignable by archeologists to a larger taxonomic entity known as the Montgomery Focus or Complex (the latter term tends to be favored today). Such a designation simply groups related sites together for the purpose of a broader understanding of a restricted geographic area within a relatively constrained temporal slice of the past. In many ways a complex becomes the archeological equivalent of a culture, or at least a distinct ethnic group. What we know today as the Montgomery Complex was first defined by Karl Schmitt (1952). At that time a good number of specific traits were thought to define sites belonging to this complex. As our knowledge has increased, however, most of these traits are no longer seen as totally unique. Today, the presence of Shepard ceramics represents the major diagnostic artifact of the Montgomery Complex.

Shepard ware is tempered with crushed quartz and/or igneous rock. The latter inclusion was once identified as granite, but most now believe it to be more varied igneous materials. Exterior surfaces of Shepard vessels are typically cord-marked, commonly applied at an oblique angle. Some of what we think is cord-marking might be instead the impressions of fabric. The vessels often have a distinct strip of clay to thicken the lip area, and decorations are likely in that area (cord-impressions, incisions, or punctates). Sites yielding Shepard ceramics are generally thought to date between A.D. 900 and 1450. None have yielded European trade goods and are therefore believed to predate the Contact era.

Many known sites assignable to the Montgomery Complex are situated in the Middle Potomac Valley (Figure 3) and to the west along the Monocacy River near Frederick, Maryland. The Shepard type site is just upstream from Winslow (about 2.5 miles), and it too was discovered and first investigated by Richard Slattery and Hugh Stabler (see Slattery and Woodward 1992:133-139). The Fisher site is located upstream on the Virginia bank and was likewise discovered and investigated by these two archeologists (see Slattery and Woodward 1992:77-122). Another similar village is located upstream on Selden Island. A number of well-known Montgomery Complex sites have been investigated west along the Monocacy River, including Biggs Ford and Rosenstock (Curry and Kavanagh 2004). There are other sites and the complex extends as far west as the Shenandoah Valley.

Archeologists tend to think that the Montgomery Complex was not an *in situ* development, but was the result of early agriculturalists moving out of the Northeast. A similarity has long been noted between early Owasco wares from that region and Mason Island/Shepard ceramics. Movement was probably down the Appalachian Front and those folks then gradually filtered east along major drainages offering land suitable to their way-of-life. Some of these groups appear to have made it into the Middle



FIGURE 3. Sites in the vicinity of Winslow (from Slattery and Woodward 1992:7).

Potomac Valley circa A.D. 900-1000. If this theory were correct, Iroquois would have been the spoken language of these early agriculturalists.

People who left behind the sites and artifacts of the Montgomery Complex were not the only ones to settle the Middle Potomac Valley late in prehistory. Two other groups were also in the area at various times. The remains of both of these groups are likewise recognized as archeological complexes. One such complex is labeled Mason Island and the other is known as the Keyser (sometimes Luray) Complex. Peoples from both were also village agriculturalists of the river's broad floodplains and islands. Sites assignable to these two additional complexes are located in the Middle Potomac Valley and to the west.

Mason Island ceramics, the diagnostic artifact of the complex of the same name, are similar to Shepard wares, but instead are tempered with crushed quartz or limestone. The latter sedimentary inclusion is different from the igneous materials added to Shepard ware. In many ways, both Mason Island and Shepard ceramics are otherwise very similar. It should be noted, however, that there are key differences between the two complexes producing these wares. Human interments at Mason Island sites are typically extended versus the flexed burials observed at Montgomery Complex sites. Mason Island pottery is also very similar or identical to what is known as Page ware in the Upper Potomac region and Virginia. Well-known Mason Island sites near Winslow are located on the nearby island of the same name (Franklin 1979) and further upstream at Catoctin Creek (Corson 2003). The Potomac River Archaeology Survey recently dated carbon residue on the interior of a Mason Island sherd from Catoctin Creek. It produced an uncorrected AMS date of 760±40 RCYBP (Beta-178036). This new date, calendar calibrated to A.D. 1270, seems to substantiate the belief of many archeologists that the Mason Island Complex is slightly earlier than the Montgomery Complex in the Middle Potomac Valley. And these Mason Island sites might represent the first wave of early Owasco-related agriculturalists to move into the area.

The diagnostic ceramic for the Keyser Complex is Keyser ware. This finely made pottery is tempered with crushed river mussel shell, and it almost always has two distinctive opposing lugs applied to the rim area. Surface treatment is cord-marking, which is often smoothed. Any decoration is applied to the rim area. The Keyser Complex appears to represent a clear intrusion in the Potomac Valley from points well to the west. A major Keyser Complex site, the Hughes site (Jirikowic and Dent 1999), is located about 1.5 upstream from Winslow. Another component of this complex is known from the Shepard Barracks site just a bit further west.

Relationships between all three groups in the Middle Potomac Valley late in prehistory are complex. The Keyser component at the nearby Hughes site dates to cir-

ca A.D. 1400 (see Jirikowic and Dent 1999:122-125). This postdates the Winslow occupation by less than a century. As stated earlier, Mason Island appears to be earlier. Many archeologists tend to believe that people associated with the Keyser Complex may have forced Montgomery Complex groups out of the Middle Potomac Valley. In this view descendants of the Montgomery Complex migrated downstream and eventually transformed themselves on the Coastal Plain into what is known as the Potomac Creek Complex, ultimately becoming the historic Piscataway Indians that the first Europeans encountered. This idea was first suggested by Karl Schmitt (1952) and has since been echoed by a number of other archeologists (Clark 1980; MacCord 1984; Potter 1993). A review of the evidence both for and against such a migration has recently been offered by Dent and Jirikowic (2001). Whatever the eventual outcome of this debate, it appears that the Middle Potomac Valley was not settled by any group very late in prehistory (circa A.D. 1500-1600), but was possibly controlled by the Potomac Creek Complex living downstream on the Coastal Plain.

The last archeological components at the Winslow site are assigned to the historic period. These components include a presumed historic domestic/agricultural occupation of the site and its immediate vicinity along with the construction of the later Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. All major historic components at the site are artifacts of the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century permanent settlement of the Middle Potomac Valley and subsequent nineteenth century regional transportation development linking Washington, D.C. with the western interior. Each historic component will be discussed briefly below.

During the course of the 1959-1961 excavations (Slattery and Woodward 1992:14-15) a number of historic features were investigated and postholes and postmolds were noted. Artifacts of the historic era were also collected. In addition, a 3-foot diameter rock-lined well shaft was explored to a depth of 16 feet. In the report on those excavations the majority of these historic finds are suggested to represent the remains of an early farmstead once occupied in the immediate vicinity. Diagnostic historic artifacts recovered are typical of the period from 1790 to 1830 (Slattery and Woodward 1992:15). In my experience, drinking wells are often located within 30 or so feet of a door of an associated structure. The proximity of the well to the remains of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal may suggest that the structure associated with that feature was destroyed during canal construction. Nevertheless, the historic occupants of this farmstead were most likely drawn to the rich well-drained soils of the surrounding floodplain as had been the Native Americans previous to them.

The last major historic activity at the site is an artifact of the construction of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. Historic details below were drawn from High (2000). Construction of the 184.5 mile-long canal, which ran from Georgetown in the District of Columbia to Cumberland, Maryland was begun in 1828. The canal prism varied from 40 to 60 feet wide and had a depth of six feet. The prism, towpath, and associated works from Georgetown to Seneca were completed by 1831. By 1834 the canal stretched to Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia). It is therefore reasonable to believe that the portion of the prism literally running through the Winslow site was excavated shortly after 1831. In excavating this prism and towpath through the Winslow site, about one-half of the prehistoric Late Woodland component was destroyed, presumably along with much of the later historic occupation.

The canal operated until damaged by a flood in 1889. It was repaired and reopened once again in 1891. All operations ceased in 1924. In 1938 the last private owner of the canal—ironically its major competitor, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad—transferred the canal to the Federal Government. It was declared a National Monument in 1961, and the Chesapeake and Ohio National Historic Park was created in 1971. The prism of the canal is more or less extant as its runs through the Winslow site, but is drained and not operational. Its towpath today is used mainly for recreational activities, and the canal remains one of the premier historic artifacts of its era.

Land History: Last Winslow Villager to First Archeologists

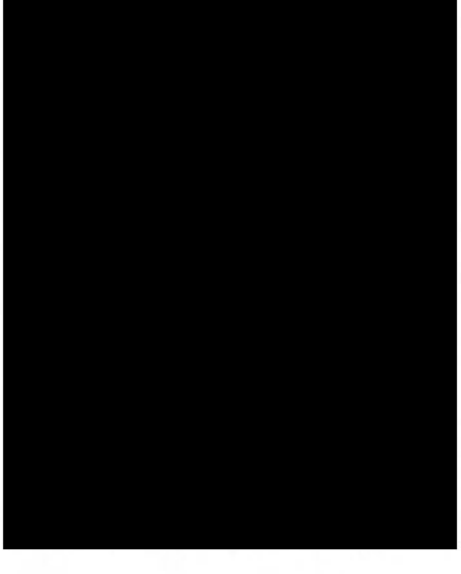
The exact date that the Winslow site was abandoned by its final Native American inhabitants is lost in time. Archeological signature of the village indicates the site's last permanent prehistoric settlement was relatively short-lived, perhaps a decade or two. From available radiocarbon assays the Late Woodland village occupation has been dated to circa A.D. 1360. Perhaps the village was abandoned by the mid-fourteenth century or shortly thereafter.

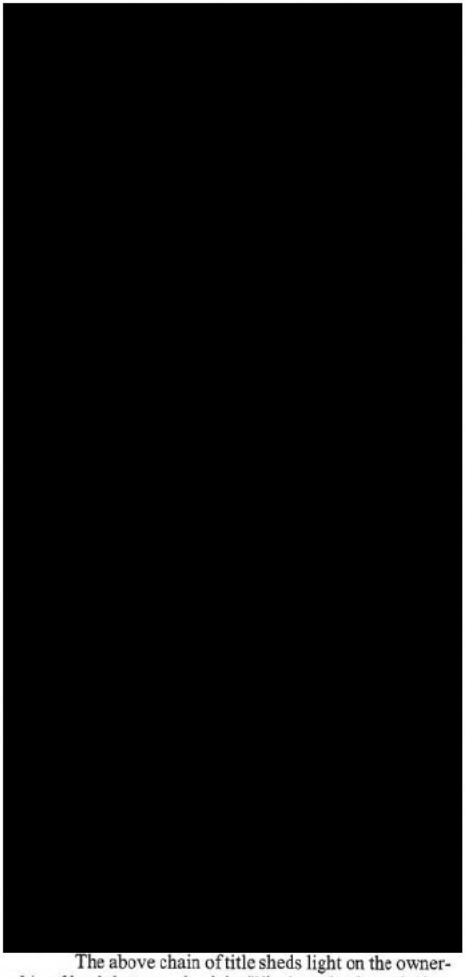
Even with that it is certain that other Native Americans did shortly thereafter reoccupy the area, perhaps attracted the ruins of the Winslow village and making further use of cleared fields around the site. The Hughes site, an even larger village site dated to circa A.D. 1400, was subsequently established just upstream from Winslow. These people, part of the archeologist's Keyser Complex, were also agriculturalists and the abandoned fields of the Winslow site slightly to the east and the nearby Shepard site (another Montgomery Complex village), just upstream, might have been an attractive feature. It is also possible that peoples of the Potomac Creek Complex, generally a Coastal Plain phenomenon late in prehistory and into the Contact era, at least visited the area and may have had some dispersed settlements in the general vicinity.

The exact date when Euro-American explorers and settlers penetrated the area around the Winslow site is unknown. The earliest colonial settlements tended to cluster well east of the Fall Zone of the river on the Coastal Plain. Captain John Smith did go up the Potomac River to just a bit below the Winslow site during his famous reconnaissance of 1608. And there is little doubt that many other explorers, traders, trappers, and would-be frontier settlers passed through the area soon thereafter.

Early land records first mention the site area in 1696. Kathy Steuer, an Archeological Society of Maryland member and one of its most active participants in the 2002-2003 Winslow site excavations, undertook research in the Montgomery County Land Records as part of this project. The following Chain of Title, stretching from the late seventeenth through present times, is the result of her efforts (Steuer, this issue). I offer the following summary based on her research.

The earliest known deed for the land around the Winslow site dates to 1694-95. In that regard the Winslow site was part of slightly over one thousand acres acquired by Richard Brightwell. He was born circa 1640 in England and arrived in Maryland as an indentured servant in 1670. Brightwell served in the colonial militia, but apparently died several years after obtaining the property containing the Winslow site. Ownership or disposition of that land, probably completely undeveloped, remains unclear for some time after his demise.





The above chain of title sheds light on the ownership of land that contained the Winslow site from the late seventeenth century through the present era. It does not, however, identify the one-time occupants of the historic component, presumably a farmstead, that is part of the site. Land records unfortunately seldom identify improvements. Identification of artifacts recovered from the well shaft that is a part of that component at Winslow date to the period of 1790-1830 (Slattery and Woodward 1992:15).

This would place that feature in the general era when [redacted] owned the land. Peter clearly resided elsewhere, but owned thousands of acres in the surrounding countryside. That fact would suggest that the earliest historic component on Winslow probably was associated with a tenant farm, legal or otherwise. Records of the C&O Canal Company do not appear to offer any additional information on the matter, and more precise identity of the site's historic occupants may be lost.

This brings us to the rediscovery of the Winslow site and the ensuing archeological excavations. Richard Slattery and Hugh Stabler discovered the site in 1934. These two archeologists initiated testing in 1940-41. In 1959 a local collector found the site and began indiscriminate looting, partially uncovering a human burial. That prompted systematic excavation of the site by the Southwest Chapter of the Archeological Society of Maryland between 1959 and 1961. All of the work undertaken at the site was reported in a monograph (Slattery and Woodward 1992) issued by the Archeological Society of Maryland.

As for the site's initial discovery, I want to let one of the co-discoverers tell the story. Cited below is a portion of an informative e-mail from Richard Slattery (personal communication, 2003) explaining the circumstances of that event. What follows is a slightly edited version of Richard Slattery recounting his and Hugh Stabler's discovery and subsequent investigation of the Winslow site:

> ...who found the Winslow site? Yes, it was Hugh Stabler and myself while on a canoe trip up the Potomac from Muddy Branch. The date was the summer of 1934.... I was 16 and Hugh was 17. We were looking for sites and were close to shore when we spotted the tops of standing corn. Since we could see the ground surface in corn we decided to stop and take a look. We beached the canoe and climbed the bank and saw that the canal was filled with water. We waded across the canal and walked up and down the corn rows. We each found a few potsherds and points, just enough to be sure we had a site. We noted its location as relating to Tenfoot and Jenkins [now known as Van Deventer] Islands. At the time there was no State Archaeologist or any university in the area that kept records of archaeological sites. The Smithsonian Institution was our only contact. Also at the time you could travel all day in that area and never see another person. The surface finds were not sufficient to attract other collectors which were sparse to none in that back area of near impassable roads. In the years up to our first testing we visited the site several times and found no evidence of any disturbance.

This event begins archeological interest in the Winslow site and would lead to the first systematic effort to investigate the village.

The first subsurface testing of the site, however, was put on hold for a number of years. Again, Richard Slattery (personal communication, 2003) recounts:

> It was only in the Spring of 1940, after we had finished the Shepard site (1936-37) and the Fisher site (1938-39), that we went back to the Winslow site. Of course we had no idea that we were on such a large village. At the time the field was mostly weeds. We shovel tested and immediately discovered the storage pit with unusual pottery....We were surprised for it wasn't at all like what we had found at the other two sites already tested. Our next tests revealed a large refuse pit full of sherds, points, bone, etc. Soon another pit appeared next to the first, and so on. By the time we had excavated four or five pits we noticed they were starting to arc. We then skipped a space and tested an area along the projected arc and as we all know we struck another pit. The next question [became] was this an arc or was the whole area covered with pits? Well, we now all know the answer. All of this 1940 excavation was done by Hugh and myself in the worst of conditions. Winslow, the land owner, required us to fill each test every night before we left!

As a postscript, in the Spring of 1941 the landowner put a halt to excavations at Winslow, and the site lay dormant for more than a decade. The findings of this first phase of exploration, however, would eventually serve to guide a much larger excavation of the site.

Subsequent large-scale excavation at the Winslow site came about under unfortunate circumstances. Once again, in Richard Slattery's words (personal communication, 2003):

> As far as I know no one else knew of our excavations there [Winslow] until 1959 when Roy Yinger [...] located the Winslow site and partially excavated a human burial there. One day in 1959 when I was helping Bill Tidwell do some testing at the Shepard Barracks site I walked down river to see if the Winslow site was ok. It was then that I discovered the exposed burial....I felt that we had an emergency and Bill and I and the other members of the Southwest Chapter talked it over and decided to drop the dig at the Shepard Barracks site and request permission from Mr. Brockett Muir, the new property owner of the Winslow site, to withhold permission to dig from Roy Yinger and let us at the Southwest Chapter excavate the site correctly.

This chain of events resulted in the most extensive archeological excavations at Winslow. The results of these investigations, along with the earlier testing between 1940 and 1941, were then reported in the monograph (Slattery and Woodward 1992:9-76) already noted. All artifacts and records from the two excavations were deposited in the Smithsonian Institution and remain safe there today.

This brings the land history up into the present era. McKee-Beshers is now managed by the State of Maryland's Department of Natural Resources. Most of the surviving portion of the Winslow site is contained within a field leased to a local farmer. That farmer, David Weitzer, practices no-till agriculture, generally rotating each year between corn and soybean crops. A small portion of the site extends into woodland that forms a buffer between the C&O Canal and the cultivated field. The boundary markers between McKee-Beshers and the C&O Canal National Historic Park are located within the woods, and some of the site clearly extends onto Federal land. A very small portion of the site may also survive under the canal towpath and river bank on the other side of the waterway's prism. All of the 2002-2003 investigations reported herein were restricted to well north of the extant National Park Service boundary markers.

Excavation Strategy: Methods and Goals

It is often difficult to return and excavate a site that has already been investigated, especially when those excavations occurred decades earlier. Such was not the case with the Winslow site. And this can be attributed to a number of factors. First, the previous excavators left a benchmark set into the ground marking the origin point of the 1959-61 excavations. The earlier 1940-1941 investigations could also be tied to that datum. Second, a detailed and well-surveyed map showing features and excavation areas was produced and survived to guide our own grid system (see Slattery and Woodward 1992: 12). Third, the results of all the earlier explorations of the site were published and artifacts along with photographs were readily available for examination. Finally, both of the discoverers of the site, Richard Slattery and Hugh Stabler, took an active interest in the most recent excavations of the site and provided invaluable information to us. The paragraphs below explain how we went about building on their successes at this important site.

Methods

We began our work at the site aided by an aerial photograph showing the 1959-1961 excavations in progress. That view was superimposed over a more recent aerial photograph of the site environs. When earlier investigations were conducted, the land around the Winslow site was contained within one large field (Figure 4). After the State of Maryland obtained the property, that larger field was subdivided into a series of long narrow fields that generally parallel the Potomac River. This was reportedly done to provide windbreaks and additional habitat for wildlife. Through the Maryland Historical Trust and their GIS (Geographic Information System) capability, Maureen Kavanagh was able to superimpose the two aerial views and suggest exactly where the earlier excavations were located and, more importantly, where we might find the original benchmark if it survived.

Two other pieces of information were also useful in our search for that original datum. The third illustration in the monograph (Slattery and Woodward 1992:10) is a photograph of a young man standing in front of the benchmark with the split trunk of a substantial elm tree and iron pipe visible directly behind him. In addition we noted that the drinking well from the site's historic component was located just to the north of that benchmark or datum. It is almost impossible to back-fill a well without having the fill eventually settle, and we therefore had reason to hope that the location of the well would still be visible on the surface.

That well was indeed detected just inside the tree line in the area where the aerial photographs indicated the earlier excavations had focused. Once we located the depression surrounding that well it was possible to walk back toward the canal and the general location of the original datum. The before-mentioned elm tree was no longer standing, but its stump with the distinctive split trunk did remain. And the iron pipe that served as a benchmark, set over four decades earlier, was found upright in front of that stump.

The 1959-1961 excavators of the site placed this benchmark near what they believed to be the center of the site. From that point the surveyor established a baseline

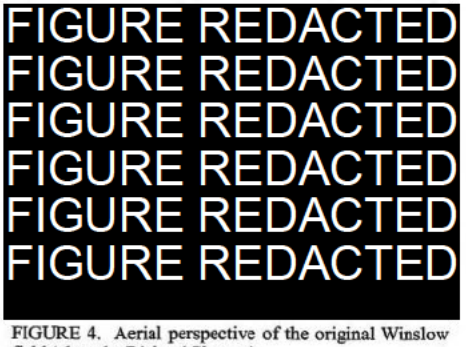


FIGURE 4. Aerial perspective of the original Winslow field (photo by Richard Slattery).

perpendicular to the axis of the C&O Canal. That baseline had a magnetic heading of 31 degrees east. We were concerned about depending on that magnetic vector to re-set the baseline. Just a few degrees of variation between the compass used to establish that line in 1961 and the compass of the transit we were using in 2002 could become quite significant. To mitigate such variation we decided to run our baseline from the original 1959-1961 bench mark, and then align it with the edge of the previously exposed well shaft. On the 1959-1961 base map (Slattery and Woodward 1992:12), the eastern edge of the well shaft appears almost directly in line with the early benchmark and its baseline. We therefore re-excavated the top of the well shaft to expose that point of reference. The well was buried under approximately four feet of fill, but remains generally intact.

With the top of the well exposed, we re-established a straight line running from the original 1959-1961 benchmark, crossing the eastern edge of the well, and then running north across the field containing the site and into the existing tree line. Our line, based on the compass reading from a elderly but recently recalibrated K&E Transit, follows a vector 26 degrees east of current magnetic north. It is on this new baseline that we set a site datum (N 39° 04.173' W 077° 23.806'; ±15 ft) for our excavations and a number of points that would be useful should that datum be destroyed. Our new site datum was moved northward toward the edge of the wood to facilitate taking elevation readings with the transit. We also set a number of reference points (or back-sights) to aid in any future need to re-establish our base line.

The 2002-2003 site datum and the three reference points noted above are all ¾-inch galvanized iron pipe that is capped and set in concrete. Site datum extends approximately 9.25 inches (23.5 cm) above the ground surface, while the reference points are set below or near ground level to increase their chances of survival. The surface of the concrete surrounding the new site datum is incised "2002 JD/KC." One back-sight was set below ground level and replaced the 1959-1961-bench mark. That original iron pipe has been cataloged and is part of the 2002-2003 artifact collection from the site. The back-sight that we replaced it with is five meters directly south of the new site datum in front of the elm stump near the edge of the C&O Canal. The capped top of that back-sight is .18 m below the elevation datum of the site. The next two back-sights were set in the tree line directly across the field well to the north of the site datum. The second back-sight is 52 m north of the site datum and the top of its cap is .9 m below datum. The third back-sight is 3 m further to the north (55 m from datum) and its cap is .92 m below datum.

The site datum near the edge of the tree line between the C&O Canal and the field was designated North 100/East 100. The top of its cap also represents the elevation plane below which all elevations are measured. All site elevations in 2002-2003 were taken by resting the stadia rod directly on top of its cap. This also served as a point of origin for all the readings (postmolds and features) taken with the laser theodolite. All measurements made during the 2002-2003 field seasons were taken in the metric system, as meters, tenths, and hundreds of meters. Our standard excavation unit was the 2x2 meter square. We did excavate two half units near the end of the second season within the western block of units. This was to avoid an area just to the south that had been excavated in 1959-1961. We also excavated a trench, subdivided into five smaller units in the eastern block, to locate the palisade. All of our units, regardless of dimension, were designated by the northing and easting distance from the principal site datum (N100/E100) to each unit's southwest corner.

During the two field seasons we concentrated on three discrete areas of the site—referred to as east, central, and west unit clusters. East units initially focused on uncovering a gently arcing line of cobles discovered during the 1959-1961 excavation of the site. Investigators suggested this enigmatic feature might have been associated with a palisade around the site (see Slattery and Woodward 1992:23-24). Central units were placed to explore unexcavated areas from the center of the known village to its outer perimeter. Western units were placed for a similar reason, but concentrated on an area north of the arc of pits noted by the site's discoverers. Each set of units was expanded in various directions to explore features uncovered during the course of our excavations. Those discoveries will be discussed later in this report. Figure 5 shows the placement of our units relative to the Slattery and Woodward base map (1992:12) published in their monograph. It also illustrates the major features (patterns of postmolds for the palisade and two structures) we discovered in each of the areas. Table 1 gives the coordinates of each unit, assigns each to one of the three areas noted above, and offers details of how each unit was excavated. All of this information is also recorded on a site base map and on level and feature forms.

Units were shovel-scraped and often troweled, the latter especially at the base of the plow zone and in undisturbed subsoil. Almost all soil matrix was screened through one-quarter inch mesh hardware cloth. The exception to this rule is some units where the first levels were removed *en masse*, not screened, and then returned to its original location. This was done for five units to hasten the pace of excavation by quickly revealing undisturbed subsoil. Table 1 identifies the specific units where such a procedure was used.

In most cases we attempted to excavate in natural stratigraphic layers. The earliest units (2002 field season) were excavated and recorded with up to 5 strata. The upper two strata were essentially the modern and his-



FIGURE 5. 2002-2003 East, Central, and Western Units superimposed on the original base map. Two structures, palisade postmolds, and line of buried rocks are included.

toric plowzones (Ap 1 and Ap 2 layers), stratum three (BE) was a transition zone to subsoil, and strata four and five (Bt 1 and Bt 2) were the subsoil itself. These soils were discussed earlier in this report. As we learned more about the nature of the site's soils and artifact deposits, however, we realized the upper two strata of the site had both been disturbed by the plow. At the beginning of the 2003 field season we combined these two strata into a single excavation unit (Level One), and then designated a second level (Level Two) as less disturbed subsoil was reached. If we excavated further down into subsoil other levels could be designated in 10 cm intervals.

Standard level forms were completed for each stratigraphic or arbitrary level, with open and closing elevations as depths below datum noted. Elevations were taken from the northwest, northeast, southeast, and southwest corners of the excavation unit as well as in the center. Notes were taken on the physical nature of the individual level as well as artifacts that were recovered. Munsell soil color and texture were noted along with comments on associated features, photographs made, and drawings that were completed. Additional comments about the unit level could also be accommodated on our form.

Features were given sequential numbers. Our first feature was designated Feature 35. That number follows the last feature number designated by the 1959-1961 excavators. Feature forms were completed for each of our features. Each feature was drawn and photographed in plan view. A number of points around the edge of the feature were also recorded with a laser theodolite relative

TABLE 1. Excavation units at Winslow, 2002-2003.

DESIGNATION	SIZE	STRATA	SEASON	COMMENT
West Units				
N108/E82	1x2	2	2003	Half unit/against earlier excavations
N108/E84	1x2	2	2003	Half unit/against earlier excavations
N110/E82	2x2	2	2003	
N110/E84	2x2	2	2003	
N118/E74	2x2	2	2003	
N118/E78	2x2	2	2003	
N118/E80	2x2	3	2002	
N118/E82	2x2	2	2003	
N120/E76	2x2	2	2003	
N120/E78	2x2	2	2003	
N120/E80	2x2	2	2003	
N120/E82	2x2	2	2003	
N120/E84	2x2	2	2003	
N122/E76	2x2	2	2003	
N122/E78	2x2	2	2003	
N122/E80	2x2	2	2002	
N124/E80	2x2	3	2002	
N126/E80	2x2	1	2002	
N130/E80	2x2	2	2002	
Total—19 units/72 square meters exposed				
Central Units				
N110/E96	2x2	4	2002	
N112/E96	2x2	2	2002	
N112/E98	2x2	4	2002	
N114/E96	2x2	2	2002	
N116/E96	2x2	2	2002	
N118/E96	2x2	4	2002	Plowzone removed as unit/replaced
N118/E98	2x2	3	2002	Plowzone removed as unit/replaced
N120/E96	2x2	4	2002	
N120/E98	2x2	4	2002	
N120/E100	2x2	2	2003	
N122/E96	2x2	4	2002	
N122/E98	2x2	4	2002	
N122/E100	2x2	2	2003	
N124/E96	2x2		2002	
N124/E100	2x2	2	2003	
N128/E96	2x2	5	2002	
N136/E96	2x2	2	2003	
N138/E96	2x2	2	2003	
N140/E96	2x2	2	2003	
Total—19 units/76 square meters exposed				
East Units				
N108/E126	2x2	1	2002	Not screened/to expose 1959-1961 line of rocks/rocks present
N110/E125	1x1	1	2002	Not screened/to expose 1959-1961 line of rocks/rocks present
N112/E122	2x2	1	2002	Not screened/to expose 1959-1961 line of rocks/rocks not present
N114/E118	2x2	1	2002	Plowzone removed as unit/replaced
N114/E120	2x2	1	2002	Plowzone removed as unit/replaced
N116/E119	1x2	1	2002	Trench to locate palisade/plowzone removed as unit/replaced
N116/E120	2x2	4	2002	Plowzone removed as unit/replaced/Levels 2-4 screened
N118/E119	1x2	1	2002	Trench to locate palisade/plowzone removed as unit/replaced
N120/E119	1x2	1	2002	Trench to locate palisade/plowzone removed as unit/replaced
N122/E119	1x2	1	2002	Trench to locate palisade/plowzone removed as unit/replaced
N122/E120	2x2	3	2002	
Total—11 units/33 square meters exposed				

to site datum. The feature was then cross-sectioned, drawn in profile, and photographed again. Efforts were made to note any internal stratigraphy. The remainder of the feature was then excavated and photographed again. Since our features were generally small, all fill from each feature was collected and subjected to flotation. Table 2 offers a summary of the features we encountered.

All postmolds exposed were mapped in plan view. Mapping of postmolds was by position within the unit in plan view, and by mapping center points with a laser theodolite relative to the site datum. Authenticity of each postmold was verified by cross-sectioning, and profiles were drawn of each such cross-section. Additional measurements (diameter, depth, distance to nearest neighbor, maximum projected depth relative to original ground surface [top of Ap2 horizon], and cant of vertical axis) as well as descriptions of inclusions within the fill were recorded for each postmold. Clusters of postmolds relating to specific larger features (palisade and structures) were drawn in plan view across multiple units. A total of 77 postmolds were exposed during the 2002-2203 field seasons. Table 3 offers the location and selected descriptive information on each postmold we discovered.

Wall profiles of a large sample of the excavation units were produced. A particular effort was made to render long multi-unit profiles in both the north-south and east-west directions. Medium format black-and-white photographs and 35 mm color slides were taken to document the excavation process. The photographic record captures the top of each level within individual excavation units, excavation progress, unit profiles, features, postmolds, and overviews of particularly important elements of any given unit or cluster of units. All site records (level forms, features forms, photographs, field maps, profiles, and the like) along with the principal investigator's day book (containing a textual description of the investigations over two years) will be placed with the artifact collection in the State of Maryland's repository at Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum. All level and feature forms and the graph paper used for the drawings are acid-free.

TABLE 2. Features discovered and excavated at the Winslow site, 2002-2003.

FEATURE	UNIT	TYPE
35	N120/E96	Fire-cracked rock cluster within Structure One
36	N120/E96	Hearth area within Structure One
37	N120/E98	Hearth area within Structure One
38	N122/E96	Small pit within Structure One
39	N124/E96	Small pit north of Structure One
40	N122/E100	Canine burial east of Structure
	N124/E100	One
41	N122/E100	Small pit east of Structure One
42	N109/E28	Small irregular pit/probable
	N111/E30	rodent disturbance/not floated
43	N120/E100	Human burial/possibly inside
	N122/E100	Structure One
44	N118/E80	Small pit south Structure Two
45	N118/E80	Small pit inside Structure Two
46	N122/E76	Small pit inside Structure Two
47	N120/E76	Small pit outside Structure Two

TABLE 3. Postmold data from the Winslow site, 2002-2003 (all measurements are in centimeters).

NO.	DIAM.[1]	DEPTH	ML[2]	UNIT	COMMENT
001	9	15	24	N114/E120	Palisade
002	9	9	18	N114/E120	Palisade
003	9.5	10	20	N114/E120	Palisade
004	9	13	28	N114E120	Palisade
005	9	10	20	N114/E120	Palisade
006	10	9.5	29	N114/E120	Palisade
007	9.5	10	22	N114/E120	Palisade
008	9	11	24	N116/E119	Palisade
009	9.5	10	24	N116/E119	Palisade
010	8.5	11	23	N116/E119	Palisade
011	9	9	23	N116/E119	Palisade
012	9	10	25	N116/E119	Palisade
013	6	16	25	N120/E96	Structure One
014	6	11	20	N120/E96	Structure One
015	6.5	14	23	N120/E96	Structure One
016	6.5	17	24	N120/E96	Structure One
017	7	22	30	N122/E96	Structure One
018	6	15	24	N122/E96	Structure One
019	6.5	10	21	N122/E96	Structure One
020	7	16	25	N122/E98	Structure One
021	5.5	13	23	N122/E98	Structure One
022	7	17	27	N122/E98	Structure One
023	7.5	12	25	N122/E98	Structure One
024	7	14	24	N122/E98	Structure One
025	7	15	25	N118/E98	Structure One
026	10	19	29	N118/E98	Structure One
027	5.5	18	28	N118/E96	Structure One
028	7	14	26	N118/E96	Structure One
029	5	10	19	N120/E96	Isolate
030	5.5	11	20	N124/E96	Isolate
031	7	10	20	N118/E80	Structure Two
032	7	12	22	N118/E80	Structure Two
033	6.5	9	19	N118/E80	Structure Two
034	9	11	21	N118/E80	Structure Two
035	5	8	18	N118/E80	Structure Two
036	8.5	14	24	N118/E80	Structure Two
037	5	10	19	N118/E80	Isolate
038	7	8	18	N118/E80	Structure Two
039	5.5	11	20	N122/E80	Isolate
040	6	10	21	N122/E80	Structure Two

041	7	13	24	N120/E80	Isolate
042	7.5	11	20	N120/E82	Structure Two
043	7	11	20	N120/E82	Structure Two
044	5	12	21	N120/E82	Structure Two
045	4.5	11	20	N120/E82	Structure Two
046	7.5	12	21	N120/E82	Structure Two
047	8	13	24	N122/E80	Structure Two
048	7	11	22	N122/E80	Structure Two
049	7.5	10	19	N122/E78	Structure Two
050	7	8	17	N122/E78	Structure Two
051	7	10	16	N122/E78	Structure Two
052	7	15	24	N122/E78	Structure Two
053	8	10	19	N122/E78	Structure Two
054	7	13	23	N122/E76	Structure Two
055	8	10	20	N122/E76	Structure Two
056	8	11	21	N120/E76	Structure Two
057	5	9	19	N120/E76	Structure Two
058	9	12	21	N120/E76	Structure Two
059	8	10	20	N120/E76	Structure Two
060	9	11	21	N120/E76	Structure Two
061	9	14	24	N120/E76	Structure Two
062	8	14	23	N118/E78	Structure Two
063	6	11	20	N118/E78	Structure Two
064	8	9	18	N118/E78	Structure Two
065	7	14	23	N118/E78	Structure Two
066	8	12	21	N118/E78	Structure Two
067	8	12	22	N120/E100	Structure One
068	7.5	15	25	N120/E100	Isolate
069	7	11	21	N120/E100	Structure One
070	6	9	19	N120/E100	Isolate
071	7.5	8	18	N122/E100	Structure One
072	7	12	22	N122/E100	Structure One
073	7	15	25	N122/E100	Structure One
074	8	11	21	N122/E100	Isolate
075	8	10	20	N122/E100	Isolate
076	7	16	25	N138/E96	Isolate
077	7	14	23	N138/E96	Isolate

[1]Diameter of postmold in plan view (E-W axis)

[2]ML (maximum length) of cross-section calculated as if postmold reached top of prehistoric land surface, the Ap2 horizon.

Goals

We were fortunate in that a great deal had been already discovered in regard to the prehistoric and historic occupations at the Winslow site. Most if not all of the large storage/refuse pits ringing the center of the village had been excavated, and a large and rich collection of artifacts from the village remains curated by the Smithsonian Institution. A small suite of radiocarbon dates was available to date at least two of the site's components. Most important, we were confident that the general layout of the village had been exposed through the earlier excavations at Winslow.

There were, however, still a number of unanswered questions about the site and its relationship to the larger Montgomery Complex. Our research goals were therefore specifically designed to build on existing knowledge of the site and hopefully further enrich our understanding of Winslow and the larger culture of which it was a part. It is important to note that we were not specifically interested in greatly increasing the artifact collection from the site, but instead more curious about the physical architecture and spatial arrangement of the household and community landscape. We likewise hoped that we could refine the existing chronology for the Late Woodland occupation of the site as well as say more about subsistence practices.

With that in mind, specific research questions that directed the 2002-2003 excavations at Winslow could be summarized as follows:

1) locate a domestic structure and associated features;
2) determine if the Winslow site was palisaded;
3) recover charcoal from short-growth species for more precise AMS radiocarbon dating;
4) collect more detailed information on subsistence practices; and
5) preserve some of the site for future archeologists and cause no or minimal disturbance to any human burials that might be encountered.

All of these goals were originally articulated in two field and laboratory manuals (Dent and Curry 2002 and 2003) prepared for the ASM field session volunteers who worked at the site during the course of both seasons. In a general sense our strategy, like that at many sites, was often reactive and evolved significantly as we made discoveries. For example, a small arc of postmolds or an interesting feature in one unit would lead to other units being opened in the immediate vicinity. It is therefore important to remember, as noted previously, that our goal was not to recover a new unbiased sample of artifacts from across the site. Caution should be used in any interpretation of our artifact data that would depend on the notion of a representative sample of artifacts having been excavated. In fact, most of the artifacts we recovered came from activity areas around the built architecture of the Late Woodland component of the Winslow site.

Discoveries

This section of the report will discuss the artifacts and various archeological features recovered or encountered during the course of excavations at Winslow in 2002 and 2003. The first section addresses the artifact assemblage and sections follow on flotation and faunal remains recovered from features assignable to the Late Woodland. Subsequent sections describe evidence of a palisade at the site as well as the isolation of two separate structures

located within the village. This will be followed by portions at the end of this section of the report describing a human interment encountered near one of the structures and a canine burial that was exposed nearby. Radiocarbon chronology of the site is also discussed. Each of these elements of the Winslow site will be addressed in turn.

Artifact Assemblage

The artifacts recovered from Winslow were for the most part cleaned, identified, labeled, and catalogued by undergraduates and a few ASM volunteers in the archeological laboratory at American University. Some artifacts had been initially washed and sorted in the field. All laboratory work for the 2002 field season was under the direction of Katherine Clermont, and in 2003 lab work was supervised by Kelsey Woodman (2005). A total of 130,284 what might be termed objects of archeological interest were recovered from 181 square meters of the Winslow site that was excavated. This count includes objects of stone and ceramic as well as fire-cracked rock, bone, and shell. One may presume that most of the bone and bone fragments as well as fire-cracked rock were a precipitate of the various prehistoric components that make up the site. Unless found in the context of a feature that could be linked to one particular component or of known diagnostic type, however, it is impossible to chronologically subdivide these objects any further. Deleting bone, shell, and fire-cracked rock, leaves one with a total of 59,834 prehistoric stone or *terra cotta* artifacts. Most of these artifacts are assignable to the Late Woodland village, but a few undoubtedly relate to minor relatively contemporary or earlier prehistoric components represented at the site.

Of this 59,834 stone and pottery objects, 43,494 items were of stone and 16,253 were pottery sherds from containers once manufactured, used, and then discarded at the site. The lithic assemblage included 590 formal stone tools, many assignable to the Late Woodland component of the site. The remainder of the stone artifacts consisted of debitage or shatter, byproducts of stone tool manufacture. Of the pottery sherds, 14,828 were diagnostic of the major component at the site dating to the Late Woodland. A small number of additional artifacts, mainly fragments of tobacco pipes and beads were also discovered. Sections below discuss the major artifact groupings recovered from the site. It should be noted that the Late Woodland artifacts are the major focus. Artifacts from historic and modern contexts were collected and curated, but are not described below.

Lithics

As noted above, a significant number of formal stone tools and thousands of pieces of debris from the manufacturing and maintenance process were recovered from our excavations at Winslow. Added to this is fire-cracked rock and a few additional rough stone tools. I will discuss the individual classes of stone objects that we recovered below. The system of analysis used follows that developed for the investigation of the assemblage recovered at the nearby Hughes site (see Jirikowic 1995:222-257). I would like to initially offer a few brief generalizations about Winslow's lithic assemblage.

To begin, it is safe to assume that most of the objects recovered related to the Late Woodland components of the Winslow site, particularly the Montgomery Complex. A very few of the formal stone tools and a small portion of the other lithic debris recovered may relate to minor roughly contemporaneous and to earlier prehistoric components. It will, unfortunately, only be possible to be more specific in that regard when discussing diagnostic projectile point types.

Second, it is apparent to many that the Late Woodland lithic assemblage in this region represented a rather expedient tool kit. This era in the Potomac Valley marked a radical transformation in technology. Before stone tools were part of a small suite of implements that did little more than transmit kinetic energy from harvester to resource (follows Flannery 1972:26). With the social and subsistence changes of the Late Woodland, however, we see a movement away from a dependence on implements toward an emphasis on what might be called facilities. Facilities serve to conserve or store up potential energy. Implements thus became secondary and less formal in their execution. The one exception was certainly the triangular projectile point, but even with these it is often impossible to assign those points to particular individual complexes within the broader Late Woodland. And the rest of the formal tool assemblage appears quickly made of locally available materials and is somewhat limited in scope. We identified only seven other formal tool types in the larger assemblage.

Third, various lithic materials were utilized by the site's inhabitants. Quartz and rhyolite dominate, but chert, jasper (a distinctive local chert), chalcedony, quartzite, and siltstone are also present. The first material listed is abundantly available in the immediate vicinity of the site and the latter two materials are likewise available. Rhyolite, chert, jasper, and chalcedony, however, are somewhat exotic and will require some further comment. I will do so in the context of the individual sections on projectile points and debitage that follow below.

Finally, I again want to caution the reader in regard to artifact distributions at the site. In a number of instances I have included distribution or density maps for a few categories of lithic objects as well as for some ceramic objects. But please keep in mind the following caveats. Excavation units were not placed to produce a statistically

valid sample of artifacts across the site. We were predominantly interested in investigating the built environment of the Montgomery Complex village and placed units with that goal in mind. In addition, even with the 181 square meters we opened, the plowzone was removed and replaced intact in units covering 28 square meters. Such a practice, to allow exposure and investigation of important features and postmolds, obviously skews distribution counts.

Projectile Points. This category included bifacial implements conforming to known types of arrow-, dart-, or spear-mounted projectiles. It is presumed that all were originally hafted and part of some larger weapons system. The counts include all readily identifiable projectiles, whole or fragmented. It also includes those implements fragmented or in the process of being made, but where it is reasonably possible to identify intended final form.

As one would expect, ubiquitous triangular projectile points dominate the assemblage from the site. A total of 442 such triangular points were recovered, and most are assumed to have originally functioned or been intended to function as true arrowheads. Archeologists believe the bow-and-arrow was introduced into the Eastern Woodlands sometime circa A.D. 700 (see Blitz 1988), and may have appeared in the Chesapeake region by a century or two later.

Of the 442 identified triangular points recovered from our excavation units, 211 are manufactured from quartz, 153 are of rhyolite, another 20 from chert, 21 of jasper, and 37 were chipped from quartzite. Figures 6 and 7 show the distribution of quartz and rhyolite specimens. Figure 8 illustrates a number of specimens from the site.

It should be noted that 11 whole or fragmentary non-triangular projectile points were recovered during the course of the recent excavations. Five of these, all of quartz, were Vernons. Another what appears to be Piscataway projectile was found, along with a Calvert and a heavily reworked Selby Bay fragment. All three of those specimens are of rhyolite. Another heavily reworked corner-notched projectile, of unknown type, was recovered along with three fragments that were too incomplete to type. Most of these projectile points would be dated from the Late Archaic to Middle Woodland.

Lithic procurement strategies, as evidenced by the substantial range of materials employed to fashion the triangular projectile point assemblage, were complex at the Winslow site. Quartz and quartzite were locally available. Jasper could have been obtained at the Point of Rocks Jasper Quarry not far upstream. Chert may likewise have been available in that location. But the presence of rhyolite in such quantity (about 35 percent of projectiles) is curious. The closest known source of rhyolite is the Catoctin Formation further west on Catoctin Mountain outside of Frederick, Maryland (Geasey 2002, Stewart 1987). The fact that this material is so prevalent in the

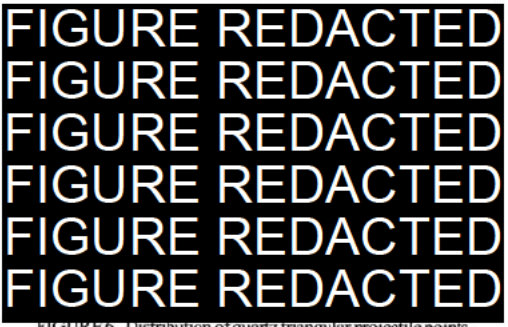


FIGURE 6. Distribution of quartz triangular projectile points.

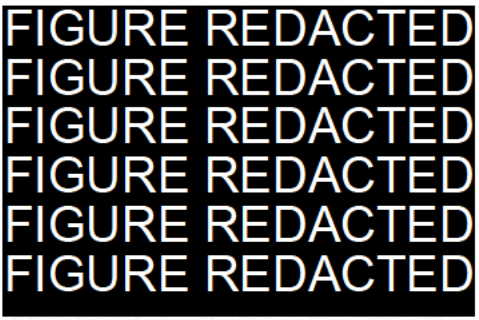


FIGURE 7. Distribution of rhyolite triangular projectile points.

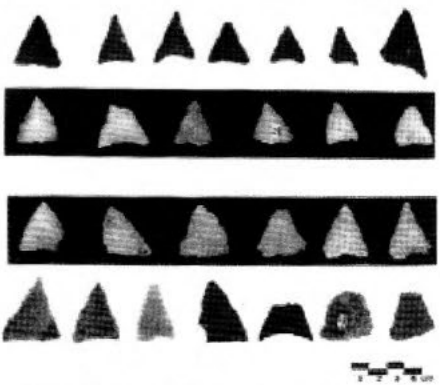


FIGURE 8. Triangular projectile points. *Top row*, rhyolite; *middle rows*, quartz; *bottom row*, quartzite, jasper, and chert.

Winslow assemblage, yet not available in the local area is intriguing and requires some explanation.

Andy Stout, now director of the Archaeological Conservancy's Eastern Regional Office, undertook an analysis of a sample of the rhyolite flakes and artifacts from the site. Based on a statistically significant random sample of the assemblage, he examined 1,403 rhyolite flakes and 63 bifacial implements. From that sample Stout (2003:15) argues that the presence of flake blanks and early stage bifaces along with an absence of cores suggests that rhyolite was arriving at the site as blanks, performs, or as early stage bifaces. There is also evidence of purposeful curation of rhyolite in that it seems to have been extensively reused with implements of this material frequently being resharpened or recast (Stout 2003:15). We will come back to the issue of rhyolite procurement in sections to follow on debitage.

Generalized Bifaces. This class of objects includes bifacial tools that do not match recognized projectile point types. Many may have been used as knives, and others may have been blanks or preforms to be refined into projectiles or drills. A total of 53 such bifaces were recovered from the two years of excavations.

Scrapers. These are unifacial objects with a retouched edge or edges. Typically the edge angle is steep. Some scrapers appear to have been multipurpose implements and others more specialized. Scrapers were typically important in hide-working, but many were employed to produce secondary tools of biodegradable materials such as wood, bone, and antler. A total of 33 scrapers were recovered during the course of excavations.

Spokeshaves. Such implements may be either unifacial or bifacial. What is distinctive about them is their concave edge indentation or notch. Most spokeshaves have one such notch, but those with two have also been recovered. Very often the notch has been purposefully prepared and maintained by resharpening. The tools were used to round soft material such as wood, bone, or antler. Many were probably employed as arrow shaft straighteners. A total of six spokeshaves were found in 2002 and 2003.

Wedges. These artifacts are roughly prismatic in shape and the opposing ends show signs of wear, impact, or battering. Many may have been employed to split various materials, and others might have been used for bipolar lithic reduction. At Winslow 15 were recovered from our excavations.

Drills. This class of specialized bifacial implement has a narrow shaft and generally thick cross-section with edges that are roughly parallel for much of the bit's length. These edges then end in a rather blunt tip. Drills were most often hafted and used to produce a hole in various hard to semi-hard materials. Some on a short shaft may have been twisted back-and-forth by hand, and others on a longer shaft were probably more rapidly propelled by a bow-drill. Only one drill was recovered at Winslow in our two years of excavations.

Utilized Flakes. Such implements include flakes that have been modified for use, primarily in cutting or scraping. Sometimes the retouch to one edge is intentional, but often it is mainly from use. These represent the ultimate in expedient tools, and many appear just to have been selected for quick use and then discarded. A total of 17 utilized flakes were identified from the assemblage.

Debitage. Literally thousands of lithic flakes (25,408), pieces of shatter (16,329), chunks (896), and cores (130) were recovered from Winslow. In order of descending frequency, this detritus was from knapping of quartz, rhyolite, quartzite, jasper, siltstone, chert, and chalcedony. Figures 9 and 10 illustrate the density of quartz and rhyolite flakes across the excavation units.

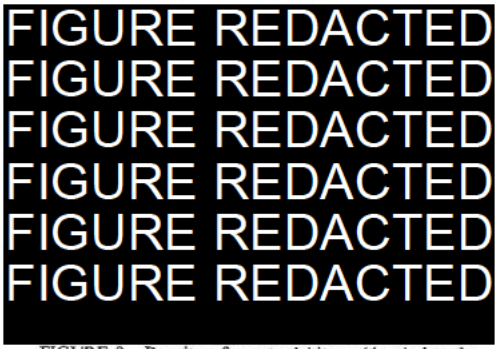


FIGURE 9. Density of quartz debitage (the darker the unit, the higher the density).

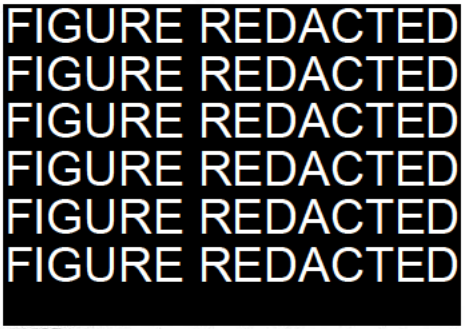


FIGURE 10. Density of rhyolite debitage (the darker the unit, the higher the density).

Flakes were recognized based on the presence of a striking platform, bulb of percussion, or an unscarred ventral surface. Not all three features had to be present for flake classification. In many cases only one such feature was observed. Shatter included objects that were probably the result of indirect fracture or that fell away due to natural cleavages or fissures in the raw material. Others may have been flake fragments with no surviving identifiable landmark. Chunks are larger pieces of raw material that have faceted surfaces. They may represent a stage in the reduction process, and some others may have been naturally broken pieces of a vein of rock. Cores are larger pieces of raw material specifically fashioned so as to obtain a flake or blade for further modification. Such cores therefore come in a variety of shapes depending on desired byproduct and the nature of the original material. Typical core forms include discoidal, bipolar, split cobble, amorphous, and polyhedral. The cores from Winslow are mostly bipolar, split cobble, or amorphous. Cores and chunks are limited to the quartz portion of the lithics.

It is obvious that stone tools were being created and maintained at the Winslow site, and that most of these tools were made of locally available quartz. Nevertheless, the debitage from three other materials may say something else interesting about non-local lithic procurement strategies. Though it is impressionistic, I suspect that most of the chert and jasper arrived at the site as blanks, preforms, or even finished tools. Some may have been obtained from actual quarry locations, particularly the jasper (given the Point of Rocks Jasper Quarry just upstream), and others may have been obtained from cobbles found along the banks of the Potomac River or obtained elsewhere through direct procurement or trade. There was very little debitage recovered at Winslow of chert or jasper, and such debitage that was recovered hardly suggests multi-stage lithic reduction from raw material.

Much the same can be said for the rhyolite recovered at Winslow. Returning to Stout's (2003:11) research, he found that only seven primary rhyolite flakes from the sample he analyzed showed evidence of significant amounts of cortex. Lack of a weathering cortex again suggests that the material was not coming to Winslow as raw quarried rock, but was arriving as blanks or preforms. And most of the rhyolite flakes he observed were the result of soft hammer reduction (Stout 2003:11). This conclusion was based on average flake size and lipping observed on the interior platform. Such soft hammer reduction is again what one would expect for material arriving at the site well into the reduction sequence.

As Stout (2003:15) concludes, there is no direct evidence as to whether or not the Winslow inhabitants obtained the rhyolite via trade or by venturing west to the source. He is inclined to see the former as more plausible. Whatever the case, both scenarios are interesting. The ability to trade for non-local raw materials would suggest good relations with peoples outside the immediate Winslow site vicinity. It might indicate that such groups were of the same broader culture. Any number of archeologists have argued that reliable trading partners were particularly important to early agriculturalists, especially given the risk of crop failure. On the other hand, if the rhyolite and other non-local materials were procured directly by Winslow villagers, it says something about the corridor west of the site to and from the quarry. Any occupants in that area were either friendly enough to allow safe passage, or alternatively perhaps there were few inhabitants within the Potomac corridor west of Winslow. Whatever the case, both the opportunity for trade or direct procurement in the Middle Potomac Valley appears to have ceased to exist within not many decades after of the occupation of the Winslow site. By the time the nearby Hughes site was built and settled (circa A.D. 1400), conditions had apparently changed. Villagers at the Hughes site were almost totally dependent on locally available quartz (Jirikowic and Dent 1999:84).

A third possibility also exists. Village agriculturalists usually do not live in a social vacuum. Scholars have noted certain trends that characterize people in the very early stages of the shift from a hunting-and-foraging lifeway to more of a dependence on domesticated resources. Often these peoples, literally from a worldwide perspective, practice patrilocal post-marital residence; women moved to be with their male spouse and his extended family (Flannery 2002:417). Polygamy is likewise often a part of this package. Later, as agriculture became more of a commitment, this was reversed with matrilineal descent and matrilocal post-marital residence becoming the norm. Returning to Winslow and rhyolite, perhaps the material was moving with marriage partners arriving from other villages or as bride price received to obtain such partners from Winslow. One can be sure that some sort of exogamy was dictated, for both social and genetic reasons. In all known human society incest rules exist, and for small groups more often that not one partner must come from an outside group.

Hammerstones. These tools are unmodified cobbles, often of quartzite or sandstone, that exhibit signs of battering on one or more sides. They are usually of a particular size to fit comfortably in the palm of the hand. Some may also have served as anvils for the bipolar reduction process. A total of five such hammerstones were recovered during the course of our excavations at Winslow.

While reporting on hammerstones, I want to mention a curious absence in the recovered lithic assemblage from Winslow. We encountered practically no groundstone tools during the course of our excavations. I note that the groundstone assemblage from the earlier excavations, with the exception of an enormous number of discoidals and

what appears to be one complete and a number of fragmented celts (Slattery and Woodward 1992:65), is also rather sparse. This might be evidence that the group of people who had inhabited the Winslow site did not cease to exist at the village's abandonment. Labor intensive tools with a long use life were perhaps taken to the next place of occupation. This could have occurred on a group, subgroup, household, or even individual level.

Fire-cracked Rock. Fractured quartzite, sandstone, and siltstone represents one of the most ubiquitous classes of objects on many prehistoric sites. Winslow is no exception in that regard. During the course of the recent excavations, we collected, counted, and weighed just slightly under one-half ton of such fire-cracked rock. Figures 11 and 12 offer illustrations of the density of fire-cracked rock by count and weight. This includes 6,056 individual pieces of fire-cracked rock weighing 974.2 pounds. After counting and weighing, all the fire-cracked rock from both years was returned and redeposited at the site just west (3 meters) of the main site/elevation datum.

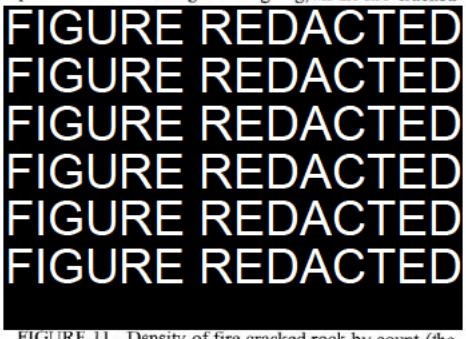


FIGURE 11. Density of fire-cracked rock by count (the darker the unit, the higher the density).

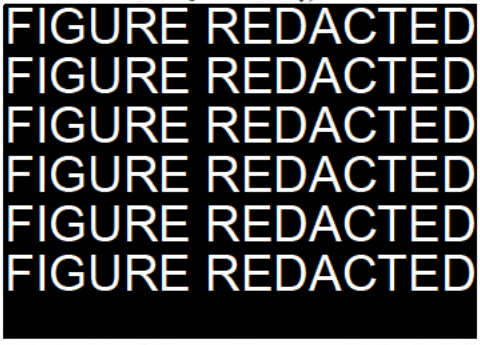


FIGURE 12. Density of fire-cracked rock by weight (the darker the unit, the higher the density).

Most of this fractured rock was originally created from heat-induced shattering of quartzite, sandstone, and siltstone cobbles. Heat causes moisture in the cobble to expand thus fragmenting the rock. We assume prehistoric peoples regularly applied heat to such cobbles in order to use them for stone boiling or in ovens or roasting pits. A small minority of what we call fire-cracked rock could likewise have been split by applied force, either by prehistoric inhabitants of the site or later in time.

Ceramics

The so-called container revolution was a hallmark in worldwide prehistory. And pottery production is a defining characteristic of the Woodland period in Eastern North America. In the Middle Atlantic region and for the Potomac Valley, ceramics wares represent, without a doubt, some of our most important diagnostic artifacts. This is true for the various subperiods of the Woodland, and it is particularly true of the various complexes that constitute the Late Woodland in the greater Potomac Valley (e.g., see Potter 1993; Stewart 1992; Stephenson and Ferguson 1963; Wall 2001; Wright 1959) as well as in the Middle Potomac Valley (e.g., see Curry and Kavanagh 2004; Jirikowic and Dent 1999). The paragraphs that follow discuss the major ware types recovered at the Winslow site. Once again the focus is on types that typify the Late Woodland complexes of the Middle Potomac Valley. Table 4 lists quantities by body sherd and rim sherds of various wares recovered. Ware types will be discussed below in order of their decreasing frequency of recovery at the Winslow site.

Shepard Ware. This ware type was first established by Karl Schmitt (1952). It represents the major

TABLE 4. Ceramic wares recovered from Winslow, 2002-2003.

WARE	TOTAL	RIM	BODY
Shepard (all tempers)	14828	518	14310
Shepard (quartz temper)	4660	168	4492
Shepard (igneous temper)	10168	350	9818
Mason Island	247	21	226
Keyser	112	4	108
Potomac Creek	12	2	10
Marcey Creek	8	2	6
Selden Island	1	–	1
Indeterminate	667	24	643

ceramic recovered at Winslow, and is diagnostic of the larger Montgomery Complex. A large assemblage was recovered from the earlier excavations at Winslow (Slattery and Woodward 1992), and at a number of other sites assigned to the same complex (Curry and Kavanagh 2004; MacCord, Slattery, and Schmitt 1957; Pullins and Lewes 2002). The description below largely follows that published in Slattery and Woodward (1992:149-152), and readers are referred to that publication for a full type description. In the Middle Potomac Valley, Shepard ware represents the diagnostic ceramic of the Montgomery Complex.

A total of 14,828 sherds of Shepard ware were recovered during the course of the most recent ASM excavations. Of that total 4,660 were tempered with quartz, and another 10,168 were tempered with igneous inclusions. It should be noted that the number of sherds tempered with quartz appears to be slightly higher in the 2002-2003 assemblage versus that recovered in the earlier excavations. Any number of factors may account for this difference. Most of the ceramics reported for the earlier excavations came from pits, and almost all of the recent ceramics were recovered from the plowzone or just below. It must be noted that the best collection of reconstructed pots and primary body and rim sherds are to be found in the original collection from the site, reported in Slattery and Woodward (1992) and now curated by the Smithsonian Institution. Sherds in the more recent collection are often small. Figures 13 and 14 illustrate the density of body and rim sherds for both temper types across the portion of the site most recently excavated. Figure 15 illustrates a sample of rim sherds from the recent excavations.

Shepard ware was tempered, as noted above, with either crushed quartz or igneous materials. In the early literature the latter additive was often referred to as crushed or decayed granite. The lithic addition to the body of this ware made up around 10-20 percent of the paste. The paste itself was rather homogenous and fine-grained. Color varies from red to brown and is sometimes gray or black. As is typical with many prehistoric ceramics, the vessels were coil-constructed and then thinned and compacted by paddle. The latter implement appears to many to have been cord-wrapped, and that belief is part of the official type description. A series of impressions, taken by ASM member and potter Lynne Bulhack from a number of Winslow site sherds, however, indicates that the paddle was also sometimes wrapped with a fabric instead of cord. She employed a synthetic medium to lift minute detail from sherd surfaces. On close examination one can see that more finely woven fabric did indeed run between larger cords incorporated into that same textile. Only those larger cords are immediately visible as negative impressions on the sherd surface, but in fact the cords are part of a larger piece of cloth. And often the fabric appears to have been well worn. If this pattern holds true on a larger sam-

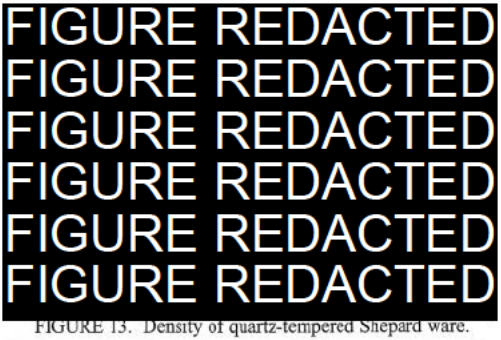


FIGURE 13. Density of quartz-tempered Shepard ware.

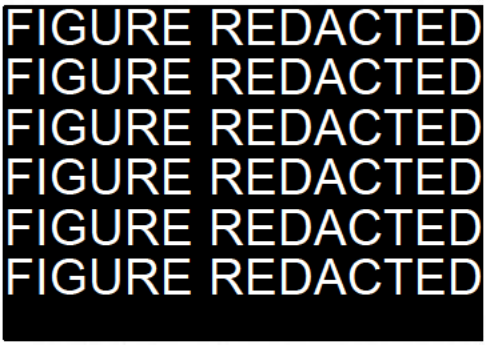


FIGURE 14. Density of igneous-tempered Shepard ware.

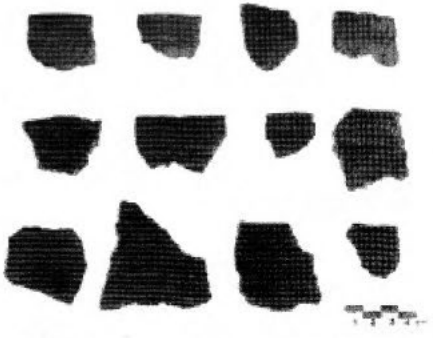


FIGURE 15. Sample of Shepard ware rim sherds.

ple of sherds from Montgomery Complex sites, the type description for Shepard ware will need to be somewhat modified.

Vessel form was globular, with a slightly restricted or completely vertical opening. The sides of a Shepard pot vary from rather straight to rounded. Often the base was bulbous and then the sides were vertical in the upper one-third or less of the pot. The reconstructed pots from the earlier excavations at Winslow (Slattery and Woodward 1992:40-43) and those recently reported from the Rosenstock site (Curry and Kavanagh 2004:17-19) offer a good view of the variety of shapes. Size could vary from small cup-like vessels to large storage jars (Curry and Kavanagh 2004:17). Orifices often ranged between 9 to 23 cm and vessel height typically ranged from 18 to 30 cm (Slattery and Woodward 1992:151). Based on a series of Montgomery Complex sites, Slattery and Woodward (1992:150) found that decoration occurred on about 88 percent of the Shepard rim sherds. The rims of this ware were especially distinct, very often with an appliqué or folded collar. Decoration is often applied with a cord-wrapped dowel or through incising applied with a sharp stick or bone held at an oblique angle (Slattery and Woodward 1992:150). Punctation was not atypical. The vessels illustrated in Slattery and Woodward (1992:39-51) give a good idea of the range of variation in this ware type. One particularly striking vessel, a rather squat Shepard pot with hanging chevron decorations, was recovered at the Rosenstock site (see Curry and Kavanagh 2004:19). Most Shepard ware is radiocarbon dated to circa A.D. 1100 to 1370.

Mason Island Ware. This ware was originally defined for the Middle Potomac Valley by McNett (n.d.) based on excavations undertaken on Mason Island (Franklin 1979) and at the Catoctin Creek site (Handsman 1970). A summary and analysis of the excavations at Catoctin Creek has recently been produced by Corson (2003). Mason Island ware in the Middle Potomac Valley is also clearly related in some way to the Page cord-marked pottery of the Upper Potomac Valley, first described by Clifford Evans (1955). Bob Wall (2001) has offered a sequence that includes this ware in that region, particularly as one of the major components at the Barton Village site along the North Branch of the Potomac River. Both Mason Island and Page are tempered with the same material. By whatever label, Mason Island ware was likewise very similar to Shepard pottery of the Montgomery Complex with the exception of its different tempering agent in some sherds. In the Middle Potomac Valley Mason Island ware represents the diagnostic ceramic of the Mason Island Complex.

Mason Island ceramics are clearly a minority ware at Winslow. A total of 247 sherds were recovered during the recent excavations. Of that total, 226 of these sherds were body sherds and 21 came from the rim area of vessels. A formal type description of the ware is yet to be published. The brief description offered here is drawn from the master's thesis of Sevrie Corson (2003:27-28). Mason Island ware was tempered with crushed limestone, although quartz or limestone and quartz tempering is not unknown. Vessels tend to have had globular bases, narrow necks, and everted rims. The rims are often, though not always, thickened with appliquéd or folded collars, and the vessel surfaces were vertically cord-marked. Sometimes that cord-marking was smoothed. Decoration is generally limited to the neck region of the vessels, and includes diagonal or vertical incisions, cord-wrapped-stick or paddle impressions, and punctations. One can see, save the use of a different tempering agent, that this pottery associated with the Mason Island Complex is very similar to the Shepard pottery of the Montgomery Complex.

Some argue that there was an ancestral relationship between the two wares and their corresponding complexes. Others suggest no such affinity. And it is clear that there were some other significant differences between the two complexes, beyond just pottery temper. We do not yet have a handle on site structure for Mason Island. Bob Wall (2001:17) suggests that the Page occupations at Barton Village were, in fact, a series of hamlets or base camps and not a concentrated village settlement. Maybe that is typical of the complex in other locations. Burial protocols do appear quite different between the two complexes. All of the burials at Winslow are flexed, while the human interments at Catoctin Creek are extended (see Corson 2003:54-69), and grave goods were recovered in some. For related Page wares in the Upper Potomac Valley, Bob Wall (2001:19-20) suggests that the pottery appeared after A.D. 1000 and lasted to circa A.D. 1400. Although dates for the Mason Island Complex in the Middle Potomac Valley are sparse, the Potomac River Archaeology Survey was recently able to run an AMS radiocarbon date from residue attached to the interior of a sherd recovered from Catoctin Creek a number of decades ago. That date, with calibration, points to the Catoctin Creek site having been occupied circa A.D. 1270. This suggests the Mason Island Complex and its pottery of the same name predates the Montgomery Complex and Shepard ware in the Middle Potomac Valley.

Keyser Ware. Richard Stearns (1940) was the first to note the presence of this pottery in the Middle Potomac Valley. He did so as he struggled to salvage information from the pillage of the nearby Hughes site by the nefarious Nicholas Yinger. The type was later named and defined through excavation and analysis of the Keyser Farm site located along the Shenandoah River (Manson, MacCord, and Griffin 1944). And Keyser ware does indeed appear as a major component at a number of sites in the Middle Potomac Valley and to the west. The Hughes

site, a large Keyser Complex palisaded village, is just upstream from Winslow (see Jirikowic and Dent 1999). The nearby Shepard Barracks site contains a Keyser component. A significant number of other Keyser sites also are known along the upper Potomac River as well as the Monocacy and the Shenandoah Rivers. Bob Wall and the Western Maryland Chapter of the Archeological Society of Maryland team have just defined the edges of the Keyser palisade at the Barton Village site in the Upper Potomac. They have also been successful in exposing a complete Keyser structure at that site (Bob Wall, personal communication 2006). There does appear to be more than a passing relationship between the people who made the Keyser pottery in this region and groups much further west. Since its discovery in the Potomac Valley a number of archeologists have linked groups making this ceramic to the Monongahela of southwestern Pennsylvania and ultimately even further west to a Fort Ancient base. In this region Keyser ware represents the diagnostic ceramic of the Keyser, or what some still refer to as the Luray, Complex.

Keyser pottery is not prevalent at Winslow. During the recent excavations we recovered 112 sherds of Keyser ware. Of those sherds, 108 represented body sherds and only 4 rim sherds were counted. The brief description of the ware below is drawn from the final report on the American University excavations at the Hughes site (Jirikowic and Dent 1999:94-101). All of that section of the report was based on Christine Jirikowic's (1995) dissertation research at the site. Keyser pottery was tempered with crushed river mussel shell. It is quite distinctive, being a particularly thin and well-made ceramic. Surface treatment was typically cord marked and those impressions were then smoothed before firing. Two lugs of varying design were applied at opposing locations on the rim of most vessels. Any decoration was usually confined to the exterior rim or lip area. Decoration typically included the notching of lips, punctations, impression with cord-wrapped-stick, or incised designs. Most the Keyser vessels were wide-mouthed, round-bottomed jars. Openings appear to range between 10 and 35 cm. It should be noted that miniature vessels existed.

There are now a number of radiocarbon assays on sites with Keyser components in the region. In general, most date the complex to between circa A.D. 1400 and 1550. Keyser sites seem to be early along the Middle Potomac River and somewhat later to the west, particularly along the Shenandoah River. The occupation of the nearby Hughes site probably occurred circa A.D. 1400 or just thereafter. It should also be noted that Keyser ware is sprinkled across a number of other sites, even along the lower Potomac River and the Coastal Plain.

Potomac Creek Ware. This ware originated on the Coastal Plain of the lower Potomac River and is ultimately linked with the historic Piscataway Indians. It, like the pottery above, however, appears on many sites well removed from its homeland. None other than William Henry Holmes first described the pottery, but the type was most fully defined by Carl Manson, Howard MacCord, and James B. Griffin (1944) and Karl Schmitt (1952). Major collections of the ware are known from the Accokeek Creek site (Stephenson and Ferguson 1963) and from the Potomac Creek site (Stewart 1992; Blanton, Pullins, and Deitrick 1999). On the Coastal Plain and elsewhere, Potomac Creek pottery represents the diagnostic ceramic of the Potomac Creek Complex.

Only a very small amount of Potomac Creek pottery was recovered at Winslow during the course of the most recent excavations. A total of 12 such sherds were cataloged, and this includes 10 body sherds and 2 rim sherds. The description of the ware that follows was drawn from Stephen Potter's (1993:123) book on Potomac Valley archeology. Potomac Creek ware was tempered with crushed quartz and/or medium to fine sand grains. The paste that surrounds this temper is both compact and hard. It should be noted that there are two types of the ware and within one of those there are two varieties. Many of the vessels were cord-marked, but a plain surface appears to dominate with time. Cord impressions were used to produce a variety of decorative motifs, including vertical, horizontal, and geometric designs. A recent master's thesis produced at American University by George Svokos (2004) does a good job of identifying many of the design motifs common to the pottery. Most Potomac Creek vessel forms had globular bodies with everted or straight rims.

It is interesting to note that many suggest a direct relationship between the Montgomery and Potomac Creek Complexes, essentially one of parent and offspring. A number have argued that the Montgomery Complex spawned the Potomac Creek Complex via migration of peoples from the Potomac Piedmont to the Coastal Plain (see Schmitt 1952; Clark 1980; MacCord 1984; Potter 1993). There are also other ideas on that same subject (see Cissna 1986; Dent and Jirikowic 2001). Whatever the genesis of that pottery and complex, most date both between circa A.D. 1300 and 1700. Some early dates on Potomac Creek, however, suggest the pottery may date back even further to circa A.D. 1100 (Dent and Jirikowic 2001:39).

Marcey Creek Ware. This ware represents one of the earliest pottery types in the Potomac Valley. It was first defined by Carl Manson (1948) at the Marcey Creek site along the Potomac River, and the ware description was subsequently expanded by Evans (1955) in his classic treatment on regional pottery. Two varieties are generally recognized, Marcey Creek Plain and Cord-Marked. Robert Stephenson (Stephenson and Ferguson 1963:89-92) has published a concise treatment of the ceramic, and a synopsis of his description follows. This pottery is Early Wood-

land and is not typically assigned to a larger complex.

Only 8 sherds of Marcey Creek were recovered from the 2002-2003 excavations at Winslow. Of those, 6 were body sherds and 2 appear to be rim fragments. Marcey Creek pottery is coiled and then hand-smoothed or paddled. Some vessels may have been built up by filleting. The temper is crushed steatite, and that additive typically makes up 30 to 40 percent of the paste. Sherds from this pottery feel soapy to the touch. The complete vessels were of medium size, walls were thick, and they had unique flat bases, basal heel protrusions, and straight- or expanded-sided bodies. Opposing lugs were not unusual on these vessels. Little decoration appears on these pots save some occasional nicking of the lip.

Most see Marcey Creek pottery as the beginning of the *terra cotta* container revolution in the Early Woodland. Some suggest that these ceramic vessels were a natural outgrowth of the stone bowls made of steatite that had first appeared during the Late Archaic. A few even go so far as to suggest that they were grinding up those stone bowls to temper the new ceramic containers. Whatever the case, Marcey Creek ware, and its close cousin to be discussed directly, do represent a revolution in Potomac Valley lifeways. Most date Marcey Creek pottery to circa 3,000 to 2,700 B.P. In the previous excavations at Winslow, about 400 sherds of Marcey Creek were recovered (Slattery and Woodward 1992:31). That figure makes our 8 sherds appear paltry, and I do not have a ready explanation for such disparity. Given the experience level of the catalogers some misidentification is inevitable, but this pottery is particularly unique and fairly hard to miss. It is therefore safe to say that, although there was a substantial Early Woodland component at the Winslow site, evidence of it in the units we excavated in 2002 and 2003 is not strong.

Selden Island Ware. Richard Slattery (1946) first identified this pottery based on his research on Selden Island, just upstream from Winslow. Most view Selden Island ware as similar to Marcey Creek, but perhaps representing further experimentation with a then new technology. Evans (1955) wished to include it as a variety of Marcey Creek. Save the use of the same temper, however, it appears to many to be a unique pottery. Whatever the case, Selden Island ware is certainly an early ceramic in the Potomac Valley and beyond. This pottery is Early Woodland and is not typically assigned to a larger complex.

A single sherd classified as Selden Island was recovered during the course of our excavations. And that lonely specimen was a body sherd. This pottery was also tempered with crushed steatite. Unlike Marcey Creek ware, however, it was conical in form, and typically exhibited the impressions of cord-wrapped paddling (often applied in a variety of directions) on its exterior surface. That vessel form and the surface treatment appear to foreshadow later ceramic manufacturing traditions. In short, Selden Island pottery is like Marcey Creek, but the unique form of the latter was dropped in favor of the form and surface treatment that would become the new standard for the region. Only minor additional decoration was applied (nicking of lip edge has been reported), and most vessels were of medium size. Opposing lug handles have been reported on some vessels.

Again, most view Selden Island pottery as very early in the ceramic sequence of the Potomac Valley and greater region. On stratigraphic evidence and technological innovation, many see this pottery as slightly later than Marcey Creek, but still appearing in the same general time frame of circa 3,000 to 2,700 B.P. In the previous excavations at Winslow, about 36 sherds of Selden Island were recovered (Slattery and Woodward 1992:31). That figure, given the differences in scope of excavations, is less difficult to reconcile with our total.

Unique and Unidentifiable Sherds. A total of 667 sherds, 643 body and 24 rim specimens, did not fit within existing types known to have been recovered at the Winslow site. While perhaps identifiable, the classification of these sherds was simply beyond the skills of the ASM laboratory directors and volunteers. A quick perusal of them indicates that some would be classified as Accokeek and Popes Creek pottery (later Early Woodland) and others are probably not from recognized types or came from portions of vessels that do not typically yield the diagnostic traits necessary to reliable typology. An additional 378 sherds were too small to identify at any level and therefore were classified as unidentifiable. Most of those were body sherds, with only 16 of them appearing to have come from rims.

Comment. As a last note on the ceramic assemblage, it is obvious that the major complex represented in the 2002-2003 collection is assignable to the Montgomery Complex of the Late Woodland. Based on previous excavations this is no surprise. The presence of the Early Woodland pottery—Marcey Creek and some Selden Island—is also not unprecedented. The fact that there were very few such Early Woodland sherds identified in the most recent collection is somewhat unusual, but explainable from a number of perspectives.

The presence of other Late Woodland pottery—Mason Island, Keyser, and Potomac Creek—might have a number of explanations. All of these types were recovered in small amounts in the earlier collection from the site. And I know of no substantial village site in the Potomac Valley where numbers of seemingly foreign sherds fail to appear. Some may represent transient later occupation of the site or even just a small group passing over the former village. I suspect one or more of these factors might account for the very small number of Potomac Creek sherds. We believe the area around the Winslow site was not oc-

cupied late in prehistory, but it is known that the historic Piscataway Indians did travel and hunt in the lands west of their area of occupation on the lower Potomac. Potomac Creek ware was made and used by them and their ancestors. And it is present on sites up into the far reaches of the Potomac River and its western tributaries. The presence at Potomac Creek pottery on the Keyser Farm site well west of Winslow could be an example of this fact. Nonetheless, there are other possible explanations for the presence of foreign ceramics on village sites that will be explored later in this report.

Keyser pottery on the Winslow site is likewise not a surprise. The large Keyser Complex site, the Hughes village, just upstream must have scattered that pottery all over the immediate vicinity. Almost all believe that the Keyser folks were immigrants into the area late in prehistory and were probably the last group to occupy the Middle Potomac Valley on a full-time basis before European contact. When we were excavating at the Hughes site it was hard to escape the fact that it was situated right between the earlier Shepard site (another Montgomery Complex village) and the Winslow site. This led us to believe that perhaps the Keyser village was placed there intentionally to take advantage of recently cleared agricultural fields abandoned by the earlier occupants. And it now seems even more apparent to me that the people who made Keyser ware often used such a settlement strategy. Moving from east to west, this appears to be the case with the Hughes site near Winslow, with the Biggs Ford site along the Monocacy, and at Barton Village outside of Cumberland. All have large Keyser components situated on top of or near earlier villages. I suspect that pattern is also duplicated elsewhere. Returning to Winslow and the Hughes site, if the Keyser people were using abandoned fields around Winslow and possibly the village site itself for their crops, one would expect some Keyser ware to be broadcast across that larger landscape. This could occur as seed was collected and deposited in containers for storage and as people that guarded the crops against pests brought sustenance to sustain them during their vigil. One small broken vessel could produce the Keyser sherds we recovered, and, again, other explanations exist.

The presence of Mason Island ceramics at Winslow is intriguing to me. This pottery was the largest minority ware represented in our sample. Transient occupation, such as a hunting stand, or a small group passing through, could again be the explanation. Beyond that, however, I suspect that there was some sort of historic relationship between the two complexes involved in the production of the individual wares. While Mason Island pottery appears significantly earlier in the Middle Potomac Valley, perhaps there were continued ties between peoples of the Montgomery Complex and contemporaries to the west who produced what we now know as Page ceramics. We certainly know this Page pottery dominates on village sites as far west as the Cacapon Bluff site on the Eastern Panhandle of West Virginia (Hulse and Shearer 1993). Page also is also present at the Biggs Ford site near Frederick, Maryland somewhere near the time of the occupation of Winslow. Maybe what we have classified as Mason Island at Winslow is really later Page pottery. If so, perhaps it arrived with a marriage partner or two. Perhaps they also brought some rhyolite. Again, however, there are other possible explanations that need to be explored.

In that regard, intercultural exchange is well-known among Native Americans during the historic era, and there is no reason not to believe that it extended into the past. For that matter even larger social elements of native peoples were probably much more mobile than archeologists want to believe. The modern Hopi in the American Southwest were originally constituted relatively late in prehistory through a great number of small serial migrations at the clan and household level (Bernardini 2005). It was more the case of "the movement of people, rather than the movement of *a* people" (Bernardini 2005:15). As one result, all the Hopi today do not even speak the same language, most communicating in a Uto-Aztecan language known as Hopi, but some speaking Tewa, a Kiowa-Tanoan dialect. It is not difficult to believe that similar events occurred in the Potomac Valley's past and brought together small groups of peoples bearing different cultures and technologies into new settings. With the Hopi there even appear to have been staging or gateway villages, now abandoned, where migrants gathered before settling into established pueblos (Bernardini 2005:85). Perhaps we have similar such villages in the larger Potomac Valley. The variety and quantity of different pottery types at the Keyser Farm site, for example, might be reinterpreted as a multicultural (to use a current phrase) setting. Some other of the larger villages in this region might also fit that category. Let us not lose sight of alternative explanations as we continue to ask new questions of these old sites.

Small Finds

Finally, a number of more personal items were recovered during the course of the recent excavations. These items are not linked by a common material, but are similar in that they represent items that might fall into what Lewis Binford (1962) once referred to as the sociotechnic or ideotechnic domains. The former are objects of material culture that serve to bind individuals to one another, and the latter tend to be objects that perhaps rationalize one's place in the greater universe of being. These represent artifacts that move beyond a purely functional, what Binford referred to as technomic, realm. And it is important to remember that any object of material culture might

serve in more than one such domain. In terms of the objects that we recovered, perhaps at least the tobacco pipe fragments and beads would fall into those less technomic or functional categories.

Tobacco Pipes. It is seldom safe to generalize across both time and space. Perhaps one instance where this might be realistic, however, is in regard to the personal, social, and spiritual importance of tobacco to all Native Americans, both today and in the past as well as cross-culturally. *Nicotiana* was and still is of major importance. In the Eastern Woodlands, including the Potomac Valley, this plant (*N. rustica*) was almost surely nurtured before tropical cultigens such as corn. As one scholar has noted (Peter Furst cited in von Gernet 1992:179), 'there is no reason why the first cultigens should not have been intended to feed the spirit rather than the stomach.' In many native rituals this substance is disbursed as an offering without incineration. In just as many others, however, it is burned and the smoke often ingested. The traditional way of doing that is through the use of a pipe.

During the course of our excavations we recovered 80 identifiable fragments of prehistoric tobacco pipes. Of these 64 were stem fragments and 16 were parts of the bowl. Figure 16 illustrates the distribution of these items. These numbers are fairly consistent with the previous excavations, although our more recent excavations recovered many fewer bowl fragments. Slattery and Woodward (1992:52-53) report 107 bowl and 67 stem fragments. The bowl fragments from the previous excavations include five complete or nearly complete pipes. All of these specimens were of *terra cotta*, with a significant percentage being decorated. In terms of that decoration, examples were recovered that were incised, rouletted, or impressed with a cord-wrapped-stick. The resulting impressions would probably best be characterized as geometric.

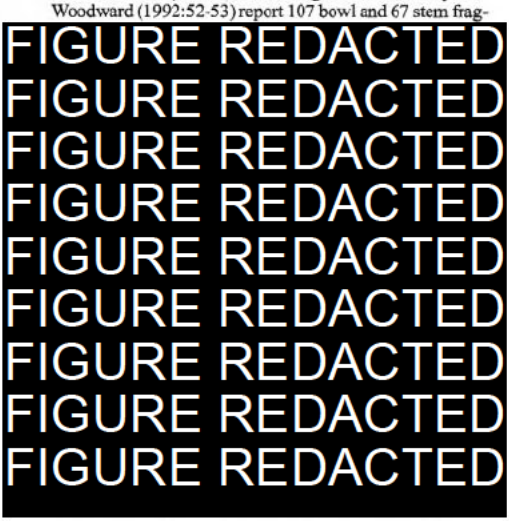


FIGURE 16. Tobacco pipe distribution (solid symbols represent pipe stems and unfilled symbols are pipe bowls).

A few scholars have recently become intrigued by the dichotomy of different pipe forms that often appear within a site or that were used by particular ethnographically known cultures (see Paper 1992; von Gernet 1992). Focus has often been on different types of pipes and the orientation of the decoration on those pipes. In terms of the Winslow pipe assemblage, the most distinct differences were probably between decorated and undecorated pipes. The question for us becomes did the presence or absence of decoration once have some special meaning to the site's inhabitants. In that regard, each particular style—decorated versus undecorated—of tobacco pipe may have had a very specific function in either the profane or the scared domain.

On an individual level, the act of smoking was probably personally empowering. In the same sense, sharing the experience could reinforce alliances and kinship bonds. In the context of the sacred, tobacco ingestion appears to have helped free the soul to cross thresholds into other more cosmic and mythical dimensions. In shamanistic ideology, humans highly valued any means of either communicating with the spirits, or in being transformed into the powerful beings or creatures inhabiting that other world (follows von Gernet 1992:177-178). Thus pipes often must be put to two uses, one more personal and sociotechnic and the other more ideotechnic. It is not too far-fetched to believe that pipes may have been marked for specific use in one or the other realms. One could suggest that those functioning in the sacred or ideotechnic world would have to be designated and used only in those rituals. Ownership, use, or handling taboos often surround ritual apparatus, and special marking would help toward that end. Whatever the use of these different styles of pipes at Winslow, I suggest that pipes in this region (within and across sites and complexes) may represent a point of access for archeologists into realms of human culture where we have seldom ventured. For the larger Montgomery Complex it is quite exciting that keyhole structures presumed to be sweat lodges have been identified at the Rosenstock site (Curry and Kavanagh 2004:29). Here is yet another element on a local archeology site of the traditional Native American ritual package.

Beads. Beads are another often personal item that probably had a number of different meanings. Before glass trade beads appeared in the early seventeenth century, beads and other ornaments were of course made of

natural materials. That would typically include bone, shell, and perhaps clay. Small steatite beads have also recently been recovered at the Keyser Farm site west of Winslow (Michael Barber, personal communication 2005). Beads must have functioned as items of personal adornment, but they also probably sent messages on larger issues of social place and human spirituality. They are again items of material culture that most likely occupied both the sociotechnic and ideotechnic realms.

With that said, great numbers of beads have not been recovered from the Winslow site. Slattery and Woodward (1992:71) report that only 17 bone beads were recovered from the earlier excavations at the site. Some refuse from bone bead manufacturing was also documented. Our recent excavations added only 7 more specimens to the bead collection. Six of the beads we recovered were manufactured from bone and one was of clay. The single clay bead may be unique, but it was found in a context suggesting that it was produced and used by the Late Woodland inhabitants of the Winslow site.

It appears odd to me that so few beads were recovered given the amount of excavation that has taken place at Winslow. On a personal level, however, perhaps the villagers did not feel a great need to elaborate appearance. Or perhaps they did so in other ways. Tattooing is another way to do the same thing, and a practice that we can seldom recover. In a larger sense, we do know that the Winslow villagers did not include grave goods with their interments. At other nearby sites in the Middle Potomac Valley beads were sometimes an important item in the mortuary protocol. I note the juvenile burial at Catoctin Creek (see Corson 2003:59-60) adorned with hundreds of shell and bone beads, and some of the interments at the Hughes site (Jirikowic and Dent 1999:112-117) that also contained bone or shell beads. Perhaps the general dearth of beads from the Winslow site and the fact that they were not part of the burial ritual there once again reinforces the notion that the Winslow villagers did not feel obligated to reinforce individuality, in life or in death. In many ways this mirrors the old hunting-and-foraging ideology. Perhaps the old ways were not hard to recall after only having recently stepped across the threshold of plant cultivation.

Floral Remains

An expanded interest in prehistoric subsistence practices accompanied the revolution in archeology during the 1960s. New techniques were developed to recover data useful in reconstructing both prehistoric diet and site ecology. One such technique was flotation (Struever 1968). Flotation is a procedure by which soil, from what are presumed to be undisturbed contexts, is subjected to a water (sometimes chemicals are used) separation process. This results in the recovery of any fine-scale floral and faunal remains that might be present. In the context of the recent excavations at the Winslow site, we subjected such contexts to flotation in order to recover information on plant use by the Late Woodland villagers of the Montgomery Complex. In that regard, all undisturbed features (nine features) that were not interments were subjected to this process. Since these features were comparatively small, the entire fill matrix from each was floated.

The excavation and recording procedures for features at the site have already been described. At the completion of that process all soil matrix from within the individual features was placed in plastic bags and returned to the university. At the university the samples were allowed to air dry for a number of weeks within the confines of the archeology lab. This included the matrix from nine features (Features 36-39, 41, and 44-47). The first feature recorded (Feature 35) was a small cluster of fire-cracked rock and had no definable surrounding matrix. Feature 42 appeared to be the bottom of a groundhog den and was not processed. Feature 40 was the dog burial and Feature 43 was the human interment.

Samples from the remaining nine features were processed using a modified SMAP (Shell Mound Archaeological Project) type flotation apparatus (Watson 1976). This simple piece of hydraulic equipment in a technological sense stands somewhere between the old method of swishing a bucket with its bottom replaced by screen in a nearby river or a bathtub (see Dent and Kauffman 1985:56-58), and the newer stainless steel flotation tanks powered by high pressure water. Our flotation system is simply a 50-gallon plastic drum with a spout attached to the upper rim. Water, at normal garden hose pressure, agitates the soil matrix as it is poured slowly into the top. The soil settles, ultimately collecting in the bottom of the drum. As it does that the soil is stirred by water jets and in that process heavier materials within are caught on 1/16-inch fiberglass screen. At the same time, the light fraction (seeds, plant remains, and the like) floats near the surface, exits the tank with escaping water, and itself is caught in fine mesh nylon cloth. After the entire feature has been so processed, the light and heavy fractions are spread on labeled trays and allowed to air dry for a number of days. Those fractions are then sent to a specialist for identification of floral remains.

The light and heavy fractions from the nine Winslow features were taken to Justine Woodard McKnight, a respected archeobotanical consultant in Severna Park, Maryland. She examined all heavy and light fractions, identified and counted botanical remains, and then placed these findings in the context of prehistoric subsistence practices and site ecology. We are fortunate in that she had also recently worked with the material from the nearby Fisher site, another Montgomery Complex site upstream and on the opposite shore from Winslow. Her research and analysis

is contained within a separate and more detailed report (McKnight, this issue). In the paragraphs below I have included excerpts from this longer document.

Raw samples from Winslow were composed of carbonized plant material (mostly charcoal), root fiber, insect egg cases and body parts, terrestrial gastropods, and carbon dust. These samples were passed through a series of sieves. Material that was 2 millimeters or greater was examined with a binocular microscope under low magnification. Carbonized plant remains were separated out. It is standard practice to only identify carbonized remains given that other plant remains might be recent contaminates. Carbonized remains were sorted into taxonomic categories—wood, seed, nut, cultigen, and so on. The less than 2 millimeter sample was examined under low magnification and the remains of only seeds and cultivated plants were removed for further analysis. Material less than 0.5 millimeters was also scanned for the same items. Each category of carbonized vegetative material was then quantified by weight and fragment count.

Identifications were attempted on all seed, nut, cultigen remains, and miscellaneous plant parts recovered, and on a sub-sample of twenty randomly selected wood fragments from each sample containing more than twenty specimens. Identification of all classes of botanicals were made when possible to the genus level, to the family level when limited diagnostic morphology was available, and to the species level when assignment could be made with absolute certainty. Standard reference texts were used along with plant specimens from a reference collection of representative flora from the region.

Material Recovered

The heavy and light fractions from the nine features yielded abundant archeobotanical material (47.76 grams of carbonized plant remains). Samples contained a large variety of organic materials. Most prevalent was wood charcoal (dominated by white oak and hickory); nuts (hickory and acorn); the cultigens corn and beans; carbonized seeds of a variety of wild fruits; and miscellaneous plant materials including fungal fruiting bodies; monocot stem fragments; non-carbonized seeds, and amorphous carbon. A listing of these materials is offered in Table 5, and a discussion of each follows (from McKnight, this issue, pp. 52-59).

Charcoal. Wood charcoal occurred within 8 of the 9 samples analyzed. A total of approximately 1,784 fragments of carbonized wood (>2mm in diameter) weighing 21.87 grams were recovered. Of this total, a sub-sample of 144 fragments (a maximum of 20 fragments per sample) was randomly selected for identification. This sub-sample revealed an overwhelming predominance of white oaks *(Quercus spp. LEUCOBALANUS group)* (45 percent of the selected sub-sample, by fragment count) with hickory *(Carya spp.)* (22 percent), maple *(Acer spp)* (6 percent), red oak *(Quercus spp. ERYTHROBALANUS group)* (4 percent), unspecified oak *(Quercus spp.)* (2 percent), and American chestnut *(Castanea dentata)* (1 percent). Wood specimens which were too minute or which exhibited incomplete morphology were assigned to the categories *'ring porous'* (7 percent), *'deciduous'* (6 percent), and *'unidentifiable'* (8 percent).

Nutshell. Six hundred and seven fragments of carbonized nutshell weighing 8.52 grams were recovered from the Winslow site feature samples. Nuts were present in 3 of the 9 samples analyzed (Feature numbers 36, 37, 39)—with concentrations of nutshell conspicuously corresponding with the possible hearth features. Thick-walled hickory *(Carya spp.)* dominated the nutshell assemblage (604 fragments) accompanied by small quantities of acorn *(Quercus spp.)* (3 fragments).

TABLE 5. Floral remains recovered from the Winslow site, 2002-2003

Wood Charcoal
Maple (*Acer spp.)*
Hickory (*Carya spp.)*
American Chestnut (*Castanea dentate)*
White Oak *(Quercus spp.)*
Red Oak *(Quercus spp.)*
Oak (*Quercus spp.)*
Ring Porous
Deciduous
Unidentifiable

Nutshell
Thick-Walled Hickory *(Carya spp.)*
Acorn *(Quercus spp.)*

Seeds
Poke *(Phytolacca Americana)*
Cherry/Plum *(Prunus spp.)*
Sumac *(Rhus spp.)*
Raspberry/Blackberry *(Rubus spp.)*
Grape *(Vitis spp.)*
Grass *(Poaceae)*
Spherical Seed
Unidentifiable

Cultigens
Corn *(Zea mays)*
Common Bean *(Phaseolus vulgaris)*

Miscellaneous
Monocot Stem Fragment
Fungal Fructification Fragment
Amorphous Carbon

Carbonized Seeds. A total of 12 carbonized seeds weighing 0.06 grams were encountered within the flotation samples. Seeds occurred in 3 of the 9 analyzed samples. Identified taxa include (in order of abundance): raspberry or blackberry *(Rubus spp.)* (5 seeds), poke *(Phytolacca americana)* (1 seed), cherry or plum *(Prunus spp.)* (1 fragment), sumac *(Rhus spp.)* (1 seed), grape *(Vitis spp.)* (1 seed), and grass *(POACEAE)* (1 seed). Two specimens were not identifiable.

Cultigens. Cultivated plant remains were present in all of the Winslow site flotation samples. A total of 2,135 specimens weighing 8.97 grams were recovered. Corn and bean were identified. Corn *(Zea mays)* remains included a variety of morphological elements (totaling 2,134 specimens), including cupules, cupule fragments, glumes and kernel fragments. Common bean *(Phaseolus vulgaris)* remains were limited to 1 cotelydon fragment (from Feature 37).

Plant Remains. Miscellaneous archeobotanical materials were contained within 3 of the 9 flotation samples. Three fungal fructification fragments, 1 monocot stem fragment, and 21 fragments of unidentifiable amorphous carbon were recovered.

Subsistence Practices and Local Ecology

The floral remains recovered during the recent excavations at the Winslow site document a food economy at least partially focused on the cultivation of corn and beans. One can presume that the third pillar of the standard Native American domesticated plant triad—squash—was also present in the villager's gardens and fields, but not recovered during the course of our investigation. Those cultigens were supplemented in the village diet with the collection of locally available nuts and fleshy fruits. These nuts and seeds also add to our knowledge of the local ecology surrounding the site. Once again I will turn to Justine McKnight's (this issue, pp. 52-59) assessment of the broader meaning of these remains in terms of local ecology and subsistence practices.

Site Ecology

The Winslow site lies within the Piedmont physiographic province. Botanically, the project area lies within the Piedmont Section of the Oak-Chestnut Forest Region as defined by Braun (1950:192). A tall canopy of broadleaf deciduous trees along with some needleleaf evergreen trees probably characterized native forest cover over the project area. Dominant species would have included white oak and Northern red oak, with American chestnut. Subdominants would have included maple, hickory, birch, beech, yellow poplar, and pines. The flotation-recovered wood assemblage from the Winslow site is composed of taxa characteristic of that forest association.

Located on a nearly level stretch of broad Potomac River floodplain, the Winslow site occupies prime ground for food-growing. The archeobotanical data and the site setting suggest that the site landscape was likely composed of floodplain gardens fringed by extensive areas of weedy growth and young successional forest. The recovery of an array of ruderal taxa well-suited to such anthropogenic habitats (poke, canes, sumac, and grape) from the processed flotation samples supports this interpretation of site landscape conditions. Floodplain margins would have given way to more stable bottomland hardwood forests, and the forest association described above would have characterized local uplands.

Cultigens

Horticultural products are represented within the Winslow site assemblage by corn and beans. Corn (maize) occurs within all features sampled, with a notable concentration in Feature 37 (which contained 74 percent of the corn recovered). Bean remains are confined to a single specimen from Feature 37. The Winslow site maize remains include 140 cupules, with most of these exhibiting a broad, shallow shape. This morphological type probably represents an eight-rowed flint type, which is consistent with the corn remains identified from other Montgomery Complex sites. In addition to the corn and bean remains collected during recent excavations at Winslow, charred corn cobs were collected as part of earlier investigations at the Winslow site (Slattery and Woodward 1992:75-76) and at other similar Montgomery Complex sites.

Corn, originally a tropical cultigen, may have been first domesticated in Mexico circa 5200 years ago. It appears to have been derived from a wild grass known as teosinte. Other plants in the suite of cultivars that would eventually come to characterize New World agriculture were domesticated at about the same time. Corn first appeared in the Southwest by about 3000 years ago and beans have been recovered in contexts dating to circa 2500 years ago. Focusing on corn, there are now over 300 varieties in cultivation. It was a plant that is naturally rather variable and it therefore lends itself to genetic manipulation. Its eventual spread throughout the Southwest was probably a factor of that selection process (Matson 1991). Various types had to be first created for the wide variety of growing conditions present in that region. In the same sense a similar process had to occur for the plant to move out of that southern heartland and into higher and cooler latitudes.

There is evidence for a shift to maize-centered agriculture, of varying degrees of intensity, in the Eastern Woodlands from a marked increase in the archeological recovery of corn remains dating to circa A.D. 800 to 900,

and from changing human bone isotope values (indicating a substantial increase in maize consumption) by circa A.D. 1100. In this region the earliest dated cultigens generally follow that pattern. Most of the dated domesticates are rather late along the Potomac River (see Dent 1995:256-257). Some exceptions, however, have been discovered. Early dates from the Rosenstock site along the Monocacy suggest corn and beans might date there to as early as circa A.D. 1000 to 1200 (see Curry and Kavanagh 2004:24). A number of other sites along the upper Potomac have yielded dates in the circa A.D. 1000 range for both maize and beans (see Dent 1995:257).

Wild Resources

The Winslow site archeobotanical assemblage reveals that wild plants were heavily relied upon as food staples. The hickory and acorn remains recovered suggest that these nuts were harvested from local woodlands when they ripened during the autumn months. And the seeds of a variety of native taxa confirm that the fruits of wild-gathered canes, shrubs, vines, and trees contributed to the diet.

True (or thick-walled) hickories *(Carya spp.)* include a number of native species that occupy a variety of ecological zones, and produce a heavy nut crop that ripens during September and October. Four species of hickory are native to the project area: Pignut *(Carya glabra)*, shagbark *(Carya ovata)*, mockernut *(Carya tomentosa)*, and bitternut *(Carya cordiformis)*. The true hickories bear oily, edible nuts that ripen in the autumn. Each hickory tree produces a nut crop annually, yielding 1.5-3 bushels per tree. The nut is covered in a thick husk, which dries and falls away in four sections. The shagbark and mockernut hickory produce the sweetest nuts, whereas the pignut and bitternut hickories often have notoriously bitter flesh. The prevalence of hickory remains from prehistoric archeological contexts attests to the importance of the species to human subsistence, and the accessibility of the resource to local populations. Nut collection by aboriginal peoples probably focused on gathering fallen nuts from beneath trees. Hickory nuts (referred to as *'walnuts'*) are mentioned in early historic accounts of Algonquian diets, and the prevalence of hickory trees in the virgin forests of the eastern United States was noted by early explorers.

The numerous oak species indigenous to the Eastern Woodlands of North America formed a dominant component in native forests. The fruit of all oak species is a 1-seeded, hard coated nut, the acorn, which matures in the fall, reaching peak availability from September through November. Some species bear fruit every year, others (the red and black oaks, specifically) require 2 years to mature, so only one-half the trees produce in any given year. On average, oaks produce a yield of ¼ bushel per tree. Oaks native to this area include the following species, which occupy diverse habitats defined by soil conditions, climate and moisture: white oak *(Quercus alba)*, scarlet oak *(Q. coccinea)*, chestnut oak *(Q. prinus)*, northern red oak *(Q. rubra)*, post oak *(Q. stellata)*, black oak *(Q. velutina)*, blackjack oak *(Q. marilandica)*, chinquapin oak *(Q. muehlenbergii)*, bear oak *(Q. ilicifolia)*, and pin oak *(Q. palustris)*. The ethnohistoric accounts of Native Americans preparing and consuming acorns are many. Accounts of acorn caching attest to the practice of storing the fruits for winter use.

The seeds of raspberry or blackberry, cherry/plum, grape, and sumac produce edible fleshy fruits. These fruits would have been gathered and consumed in the summer through fall months All of the non-mast wild food plants represented archeologically from the Winslow site constitute common 'edge' species which would thrive in the local forest ecotone, the margins of domestic sites, and the fringes and interstices of cultivated ground. Some may have grown on the encampment's palisade.

Once again, much of the interpretation above was drawn from a larger report by our archeobotanical consultant, Justin McKnight (this issue). I will come back to further implications of her research in the last section of this report.

Faunal Remains

A great deal of animal bone and bone fragment was recovered during the course of our excavations. This included some 64,189 bones and bone fragments collectively weighing 19.93 pounds. Much of this material, however, was recovered from plow-disturbed strata. It is safe to assume that a good deal of that bone related to the major Late Woodland prehistoric component at the site, but significant amounts were no doubt contributed by earlier prehistoric occupants of the site and certainly later by historic peoples who lived nearby. For this reason a decision was made to identify only those materials that could be definitively linked to the Late Woodland, particularly to the Montgomery Complex. This included bone recovered from a number of features within or near the confines of two structures we exposed. This bone was identified and analyzed by Elizabeth Moore, Curator of Collections and Archaeology at the Virginia Museum of Natural History. Through her dissertation Moore (1994) had previously reanalyzed the faunal remains curated at the Smithsonian Institution from the Winslow site and other nearby Late Woodland sites. She also analyzed the bone recovered from American University excavations at the nearby Hughes site, assignable to the Keyser Complex. What follows below is a synopsis of Moore's (this issue; 2006) complete report on the Winslow faunal assemblage.

Some 31 different taxa (see Table 6) were identified in faunal remains recently recovered from the various features at the Winslow site. Many of these were identifiable species while others are larger categories that group various members of a common more generalized class of animal (e.g., bird, amphibian, fish, etc.). In general, there were no mammal or bird species recovered in 2002-2003 that had not been identified previously from the site (Moore, this issue, p. 64). Perhaps the most marked contrast between the earlier remains recovered and this assemblage was therefore the presence of fish remains from our excavations. The recovery of fish remains confirms that these aquatic resources were also an important part of the Late Woodland diet at Winslow. Paragraphs below briefly describe the faunal remains identified by Elizabeth Moore (this issue) within each feature. I have grouped the features in this discussion in regard to their proximity to the two structures we identified.

TABLE 6. Taxa and categories of faunal remains identified from the Winslow site, 2002-2003.

Taxa/Category
White-Tailed Deer (*Odocoileus virginianus)*
Cervid (*Cervidae)*
Domesticated dog (*Canis familiaris*)
Fox (*Canidae*)
Raccoon (*Procyon lotor*)
Indeterminate medium carnivore
Indeterminate medium mammal
Eastern Cottontail (*Sylvilagus floridanus*)
Rabbit/Hare (*Leporidae*)
Squirrel *(Sciurus* sp.)
Chipmunk (*Tamias striatus)*
Vole (*Microtus* sp.)
Indeterminate mouse (*Crivetidae* sp.)
Rodents (*Rodentia*)
Indeterminate small mammal
Wild Turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo*)
Common Bobwhite (*Colinus virginianus*)
Indeterminate small bird
Indeterminate medium bird
Indeterminate medium large bird
Indeterminate large bird
Indeterminate bird (*aves*)
Eastern Box Turtle (*Terrepene carolina*)
Turtle/Cooter (*Pseudemys* sp.)
Indeterminate turtle
Reptile (*Reptilia*)
Frog/Toad (*Anura*)
Fish (*Osteichthyes*)
Indeterminate medium bird/mammal
Indeterminate small bird/mammal
Indeterminate

Feature 36, a hearth area within Structure One, yielded 137 bones and bone fragments. Major identifiable species were white-tailed deer and two varieties of turtle. A modest amount of fish and bird bone were recovered. Moore (this issue, p. 62) suggests that these bones had been highly processed for consumption and then discarded into the fire. Feature 37, likewise within Structure One, yielded large amounts of bone. It was also particularly rich in floral remains. Identified faunal species included white-tailed deer, dog, rabbit, squirrel, chipmunk, vole, mouse, turtle (both box turtle and basking turtle/cooter), and toad/frog. Some of the smaller rodents probably represent commensal species. A total of 110 specimens of fish were recovered, including remains of members of the *Salmonidae* family (trout and related species). Moore (this issue, p. 62) comments that this feature exhibited the highest diversity of terrestrial and riverine faunal at the site. Much the same can be said for the floral remains it contained.

Feature 38 was a small pit within Structure One. This feature yielded only a small amount of faunal material, most of it highly fragmented and unidentifiable. Moore (this issue, p. 63) suggests that the faunal material contained within the feature fill may have been incidental to feature function. In short, that material may have been bone fragments from the floor of the structure that made it into the fill of this feature. Feature 39 represents another small pit, outside and just north of structure one. Again, the faunal material within this feature was minimal and probably incidental to the original function of this pit. Feature 40, just east of structure one, yielded a canine burial that will be discussed later in this report. Feature 43, the human interment, will likewise be discussed separately. Feature 41, another small pit located to the east of Structure One, yielded 31 bone fragments of white-tailed deer, indeterminate small mammal, bird, and turtle. Once again, the bone recovered appears incidental to feature function. As indicated earlier, Feature 42 appears to have been part of a rodent den. The bone from the feature was nonetheless identified and is predominantly white-tailed deer. Some specimens from the feature exhibit clear signs of butchering, and Moore (this issue, p. 63) suggests the feature might instead have been an artifact of skinning, butchering, or bone processing for other uses as tools.

Four small features were excavated inside or near Structure Two. Feature 45 was a small pit inside that structure, and no faunal material was recovered from its fill. Feature 46 was another such feature within Structure Two. Only two bones were recovered from its fill, both fragments of medium size mammals that could not be identified. Again, it can be suggested that these were incidental inclusions. Feature 44 was a circular depression south of Structure Two. A large number of bones assignable to white-tailed deer, squirrel, chipmunk, wild turkey, and box

turtle were identified. As with many other of the features this material was highly fragmented, and this appears to be a discard area (Moore, this issue, p. 64). Feature 47, also outside Structure Two, yielded no faunal material.

As noted previously, Elizabeth Moore (1994) had analyzed the curated collection of bone from the earlier excavations at Winslow as part of her dissertation research along with the faunal assemblages from a number of other important Late Woodland sites in the Potomac Valley. She concluded that the hunters of Montgomery Complex villages were targeting a significantly diverse range of species, some throughout the year and others as they became seasonally available. In terms of year-round hunting whitetailed deer was a major item of consumer choice. But whitetailed deer was a particular focus in the autumn of the year when at peak weight (Moore 1994:261). The faunal assemblage from our 2002-2003 excavations underscores such patterns.

This adoption of a broad-based hunting strategy is common to societies in transition from a hunting-and-foraging lifeway based only on natural resources to one where a new focus on cultigens is emerging. Such groups often retain the old strategy of hunting, fishing, and collecting a diverse array of animal and plant resources as they cautiously incorporate new domesticated cultigens into their subsistence system (Moore 1994:275). In this manner both natural and domesticated resources are balanced without the group becoming dangerously dependent on either wild resources or new domesticated cultigens. In the Middle Potomac Valley such balance would diminish with later groups becoming more dependent on crops (Moore 1994:277). This was the case with the subsequent Keyser Complex.

Finally, it is no surprise given the Winslow site location directly on the Potomac River that ample amounts of fish bone were recovered through our excavations. But it is exciting to have direct evidence of such subsistence activity. The recovery of so much fish bone is a testament to the usefulness of flotation at sites like Winslow. Likewise, Moore's (this issue, p. 65) observations on the large amounts of fragmented bone recovered are important. Occupants of the Winslow site were making a significant effort to capture every nutritional benefit of the resources they obtained from the natural environment. In every way it appears to me that both the floral and faunal material recovered through the recent excavations at Winslow are quite complimentary.

Palisade

During the early excavations at Winslow site, an effort was made to determine if a palisade had once enclosed the village. No direct postmold evidence of such a feature was located. Investigators did, however, uncover an enigmatic line of natural rock cobbles placed to form a gentle though not continuous arc in some of their eastern excavation units (Slattery and Woodward 1992:23). Figure 17 illustrates that early discovery, and artifact evidence suggests the line of rocks dated to the Late Woodland era. The location of this feature is also visible on the site base map (Figure 5). While no postmolds could be found in the immediate vicinity of these rocks, the regularity and pattern of placement and the fact that each was set in a shallow trench, suggested the possibility of a palisade with the rocks perhaps chocking individual posts (Slattery and Woodward 1992:23).

Over the course of the 2002 field season we opened eleven units of various proportions at the eastern edge of the Winslow site (see Table 1). These units exposed 33 square meters of subsoil over or near the arcing line of rocks discovered during the 1959-61 excavations. Those cobbles, still in place, were encountered in units N108/E125 and again in N110/E125. Just northwest of that line of



FIGURE 17. Line of rocks exposed at the east end of the site during early excavations (photo by Richard Slattery).

rocks and generally in line with its terminus we subsequently exposed a line of twelve postmolds (numbers 001-012; Table 3). These postmolds were found within units N114/E120 and N116/E119. The latter unit was a segment of a 1x6 meter trench. Figure 18 illustrates these postmolds after excavation and Figure 19 shows their positions within the individual units.

I am very confident that these postmolds represent the one-time presence of a palisade around the Winslow site. The postmolds averaged a little over 3.5 inches (9 cm) in diameter and were spaced about 12 inches (30 cm) apart. Cross-sectioning all 12 revealed good profiles of pointed posts apparently driven into the ground. In these postmolds we are seeing the signature of the very bottoms of the original palisade posts protruding into undisturbed subsoil. By projection, I suspect that the buried portions of the original posts averaged up to a little over 9 inches (23.3 cm) in length. It was clear that these particular posts were driven into the ground instead of having been buried in postholes or a trench.

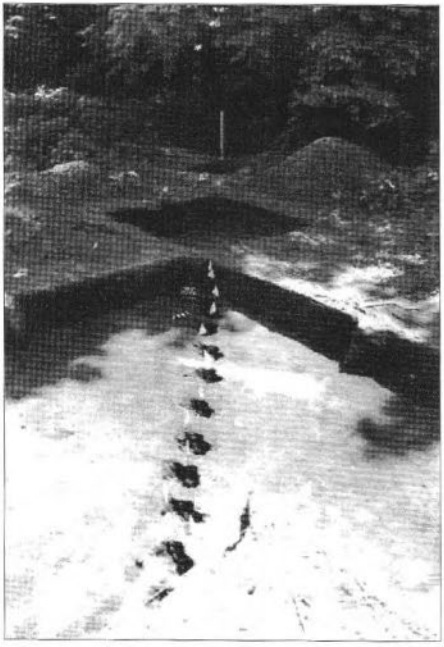


FIGURE 18. Photograph of palisade postmolds after excavation. Shovel handle is at end of the line of rocks.

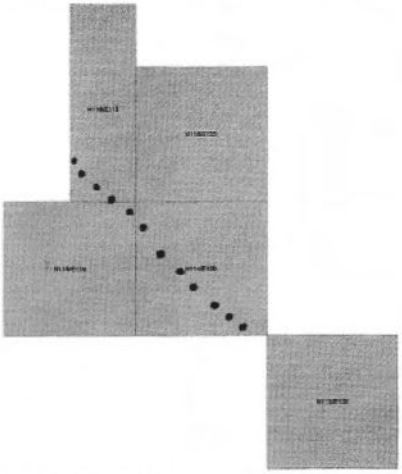


FIGURE 19. Plan view of palisade postmolds in east units.

A few practical implications of these postmolds and the presence of a palisade can be suggested. The speculations below start with specifics and then will move to a few possible more general interpretations. To do so, I rely on comparative information from other archeological sites, historical sources, ethnographic analogy, and modern experimental archeology to interpret the Winslow palisade.

As for the Winslow site, the presence of only one line of palisade postmolds was detected. That indicates no rebuilding and probably points to a rather limited period of site occupation. Any untreated post in the ground would do well to at very best last a decade. The use of locust, cedar, or willow exclusively for posts might extend this estimate somewhat. Whatever the material, however, I suggest that the Winslow occupation was relatively brief. This may account for the other nearby Montgomery Complex sites. In particular, I refer to the nearby Fisher site on the Virginia shore of the river and the Shepard site a short distance upstream. All three sites could very well represent the same small group and their descendants moving from one location to another.

A number of factors often dictate such relatively frequent relocation by village agriculturalists. First, exhaustion of soil nutrients by cultigens was a reality. We doubt that Montgomery Complex people were overly reliant on domesticated crops, but it is important to remember that even a slight dependence is significant and might drive

the need for relatively frequent resettlement. For example, if only ten or twenty percent of these people's annual nutrient intake came from corn, beans, and squash cultivation, even a small decline in production due to increasing soil exhaustion could make it necessary to move if that resource was not replaced by another. We suspect these people practiced some sort of slash-and-burn system of cultivation. That would indicate that after a few years planting, fields would have to lay fallow for decades to regenerate (Boserup 1965). Once two or three sets of fields had been exhausted in one area it may have been easier to move the whole village to a new location where fresh plots could be planted close to the settlement. Second, firewood scarcity could likewise dictate movement to a new location. As the villagers had to range farther and farther for firewood, it might have become easier to relocate the village nearer to new sources of that commodity. It is important to remember that these people were primarily collecting deadfall for fuel. Chopping down and segmenting whole trees with stone axes was no small task. Finally, the village itself, especially houses and the palisade, may have periodically become completely infested with pests. Ethnographic information (Cameron 1991:159-161) indicates that similar agriculturalists in other parts of the world often burned houses down and then rebuilt as the most effective way to control severe infestation.

Extended occupation of Winslow would dictate palisade reconstruction and other lines of postmolds would likely be present. The nearby Hughes site yielded evidence of what appeared to be four palisade lines along its perimeter. This is a fairly conclusive indication of rebuilding and longer occupation. The density of postmolds within that palisade, from building and rebuilding of structures and various appliances, was also much greater at Hughes. Though it was later in time, the Accokeek Creek site, along the Potomac River downstream on the Coastal Plain, exhibits even greater evidence of palisade reconstruction. Multiple palisade and palisade trench lines are also present at the Potomac Creek site even further south. Both of the latter two sites may well have had contemporaneous double palisades. The evidence of rebuilding at all three sites suggests longer-term occupation and/or reoccupation of those locations. The single palisade line at Winslow does not indicate such duration, nor does the general density of postmolds encountered during the course of our excavations within the village confines.

Projecting the total size of the Winslow palisade is a risky business based on only one edge. It should be noted that we did attempt to locate another edge of the enclosure during the second field season. Three units (N136-140/E96) located in the north central area of the known site were excavated, but failed to yield any evidence of the palisade line. Four other squares that would have completed a continuous line of units intersecting all areas where such a palisade would likely cross could not be opened during that very wet summer. Nonetheless, with the data we have, it is possible to suggest the diameter of the entire palisade (see Figure 20) based on the known arc of cobbles first uncovered in 1959-61 and the line of postmolds from the more recent work. We also have the ring of subterranean pits to guide the arc of this projection. Using a GIS program, this results in the projection of a circular palisade of about 275 feet (~ 86 m) in diameter, enclosing an area of 6,604 square yards (~ 5,809 m^2). That enclosure covers roughly 1.4 acres. It is important to remember, however, that palisades in the past were seldom perfect circles. If the palisade at Winslow were even somewhat close to being circular, its construction would have involved the placement of at least 864 posts on one-foot centers. And the space between these posts would likely have to have been filled with some sort of wattle. However all this was done, the palisade represents a significant public works project. The resulting enclosure at Winslow is one of the earliest (if not the earliest) such construction yet discovered in the Potomac Valley.

The nature of the postmolds within the palisade at Winslow is interesting. Each pointed post appeared to have been driven or forced into the ground. There was no evidence these posts were set in a trench or placed in individually excavated postholes. The fact that the individual posts were driven probably says something about how tall the palisade might once have been. In that regard, I doubt that posts were very tall, around the height of an average person of that era. It would have been impossible to transmit

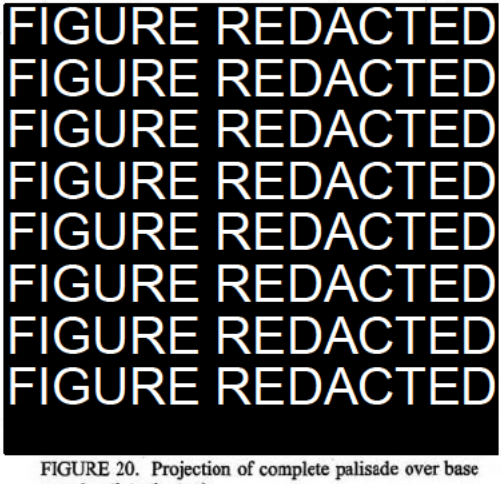


FIGURE 20. Projection of complete palisade over base map (north to the top).

enough force through a long thin post, not to mention that it would have been difficult to hit a post that extended much above one's head. In the same sense, elevation of the person driving the post into the ground (thus allowing taller posts) would be counteracted by flexing of the thin posts and ineffective downward transmittal of force.

A similar palisade as that suggested for Winslow has been archeologically documented and reconstructed at the Sun Watch Village just outside of Dayton, Ohio. The inspiration for that village reconstruction was a nearby Forth Ancient site in the Miami Valley dating to circa A.D. 1200. The reconstructed palisade, an analogue of what has been described above for the Winslow site, is based on relatively short, thin posts driven into the ground (Figure 21). Wattle is then woven between each post (Figure 22). The complete construction creates a fairly organic yet effective boundary around the reconstructed village (Figure 23). I suspect this reconstructed palisade is close to what once existed at Winslow.

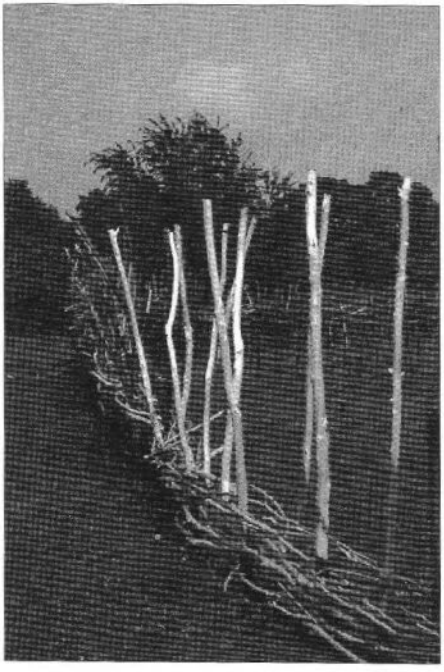


FIGURE 21. Posts of the reconstructed Sun Watch palisade.



FIGURE 22. Wattle being added to the reconstructed Sun Watch palisade.



FIGURE 23. Complete section of the reconstructed Sun Watch palisade.

Many archeologists traditionally have argued that palisades should be interpreted as direct evidence of increasing tensions expressed through warfare. Ultimately this heightened defensive posture is related back to the adoption of agriculture, and the need to protect the group's investment in that way-of-life. Land that is particularly desirable for planting and the associated village infrastructure necessary to exploit such resources must be protected. And soon some groups discover that the best defensive is a good offense, effectively removing the hostility from their own neighborhood and spreading it over the landscape. Warfare thus sometimes becomes an almost endemic condition, part of the agricultural package. This taken-for-granted perhaps needs some reevaluation.

To be certain, there is evidence of warfare among Native American groups in the contact era and late in prehistory. For example, with Iroquois settlements in the Northeast one does often see a change through time in palisade construction from circular barriers to more clearly defensive rectangular enclosures sometimes including bastions and towers (Engelbrecht 2003:164-165). One famous Oneida village that Champlain attacked in 1615 had a six-sided buttressed double-walled palisade ringed with a ditch mirrored by yet another log fence serving as an outer revetment (Pratt 1976:168). Outside all this the villagers had also constructed a tall tower from which to fire back on any attackers.

Even in prehistory, well before Europeans arrived on the scene, Native Americans constructed what could serve as defensive palisades around their villages. The Angel site, near Evansville, Indiana, is a Middle Mississippian village-mound complex that dated to circa A.D. 1100 to 1450. The fortifications around that site were impressive and leave little doubt as to their anticipated function (see Black 1967:490). That site was bounded on three sides (a marsh area and back channel of the nearby Ohio River protected the fourth side) with a 6300-foot-long palisade containing 51 bastions placed at 120 feet intervals. The latter increment is thought to represent the effective firing range of a period bow and arrow. The individual posts of the Angel site palisade were approximately 8 inches in diameter with wattle woven in between before receiving a final coating of clay daub. The later addition would have fire proofed the barrier to some degree. It is estimated that the finished palisade was 16-18 feet tall and ringed by a ditch flanked with a revetment of posts. These villagers lived on the frontier of their world, and there is little doubt they anticipated and were prepared for attack.

Nonetheless, it is difficult to see a similar intended function for the Winslow site palisade. Here any attackers would encounter a circular barrier of highly combustible material. That palisade was not very tall, and for that matter probably not all that structurally stable. The latter condition would be especially true after the posts had been in the ground a few years. Defenders behind any such circular palisade would have the benefit of cover during attack, but would not enjoy any other special advantage in returning fire. One's line of sight was severely restricted to both sides by the curving shape of the enclosure. In fact, the tighter the diameter of the palisade the shorter the effective line of fire both to the left or right. In addition most defensive palisades would have had an associated exterior ditch to present another obstacle to would be attackers.

All of these caveats force us to reevaluate the function of palisades such as that documented at Winslow and at other similar sites. Instead of a palisade it is probably best to view that feature as an enclosure. Its intended function was more benign. At a basic level the enclosure served to define the edges of the village, delimiting social space from the wider world of planting fields, forest, and the even greater natural and social world beyond. The barrier may have kept pests from the village and its stores of food surpluses. The enclosure might also have served as a windbreak, perhaps slightly lengthening the growing season for any gardens within the village and shielding inhabitants from the cold winds of winter. There may have been yet more secondary functions.

The enclosure at Winslow must likewise have had some greater (albeit unknown) symbolic function to the people that called the village home. Indeed, such circular enclosures may have had a common meaning to all such peoples on the cusp of the agricultural revolution. Archeologists have identified similar village footprints in the American Southwest, Mesoamerica, the Near East, and in many parts of Africa. In all these regions of the world one encounters enclosed circular villages with small huts and exposed storage features among early agriculturalists (Flannery 2002:417). If agricultural activities are intensified, a different configuration emerges.

Turning to ethnographic descriptions (see Flannery 1972, 2002) of very early agriculturalists, it appears the village architecture with its circular theme typical to such groups somehow served to reproduce social life. Based on these data it is probably best to view the Winslow site more as a compound than a village. Worldwide the construction of more or less permanent facilities and at least some dependence on cultigens appears to lead to an ideology of shared descent. Labor is invested in facilities as well as cultivation, and occupancy of the land must be both rationalized as well as maintained through generations. Following Flannery (1972:29), in a world without written deeds, the presence of ancestors frequently serves as a group's best evidence that the land has been theirs since time began. These ancestors at this early stage typically are the founding generations of a small group of patrilineal and polygynous kin. The living in the compound usually consist of an elder—the compound head—his wives, mi-

nor children, unmarried daughters, along with his sons and their uncles and wives and children (Flannery 1972:30). Ethnographically the upper population limit of such compounds is about 80 people. Each adult partner in the compound—elder, brothers, sons and primary as well as secondary wives—typically has an individual small hut (size depending on rank within the lineage) arranged around a central circular commons area all surrounded by an outer circular enclosure. The symbolism of the circle, today still strong as a unifying element in many traditional societies and even families, reproduces daily life and social ideology of the small group. Its primary purpose is to connect them together and give that place meaning, from both within and without.

Structures

Two structures were exposed during the course of our excavations in 2002 and 2003. These are the first such Late Woodland structures discovered in the Middle Potomac Valley with the exception of one other possible structure partially exposed at the Biggs Ford site upstream near Frederick, Maryland. A report on that structure has never been published. The paragraphs that follow offer brief comment on the general shape of the two Winslow structures, describe each one in detail, and then turn to interpretation of such structures.

Both of our structures were elongated circular wigwams. Framing for the two structures was simple, with thin, long posts driven in the ground and then lashed together above to create a simple frame. That frame must have been similar to the ethnographic example shown in Figure 24. The covering of that frame could have been woven fiber or reed matting, or of hide or bark. Perhaps the original covering was layered with more than one of these materials, depending on the season. Each structure must have had at least one doorway and probably a smoke-hole at the top.



FIGURE 24. Wigwam frame (from Nabokav and Easton 1989:72)

There is little doubt in my mind that such similar small wigwams were the dominant structures at Winslow and at other related Montgomery Complex sites. For one, their shape and relatively small size is not surprising given what we know of the housing associated with the very earliest farmers worldwide (see Flannery 1972:29, 2002:417). For another, related complexes in the Potomac Valley and beyond, of comparable age and way-of-life, have yielded evidence of very similar structures. I note the small circular house patterns exposed by Bob Wall at the Cresaptown site upstream on the North Branch of the Potomac River (Wall 2001:20) as well as similar such structures at numerous other sites yielding Page ceramics in areas of the larger region. The classic Native American longhouse noted by the first Europeans to visit the region was more than a century beyond the occupation of the Winslow site. And I suspect that a number of other small oblong circular structures await future archeologists in unexcavated areas of the Winslow site.

Structure One

One of the major discoveries during the 2002 field season was most of an elongated circular-shaped structure in a block of six units in the central portion of the Winslow site (see Figure 5). Seventeen postmolds (PMs 13-29; Table 3) formed what eventually proved to be about eighty percent of that structure. The next field season we opened three new units just east of that block and exposed four additional aligned postmolds (PMs 67, 69, 71-72; Table 3) thereby completing the structure. Five other postmolds were also discovered in those units. Three of these might represent repairs to the structure and two others appear unrelated, perhaps attributable to various appliances or constructions in the immediate area. All postmolds that are a part of this structure contained distinctly dark soil matrix. Cross-sections indicated sharpened posts driven almost straight down into the ground. Any cant on those posts was to the exterior of the structure indicating little inward angle on lower walls. This might have resulted in a rather tall finished structure.

Figure 25 is a photograph of the structure as exposed during the 2002 field season, and Figure 26 represents a plan view of all the postmolds that make up or are near the structure. The longest axis of the structure is nominally 14 feet (4.3 m), and it is 12.6 feet (3.9 m) wide on its shortest axis. The long axis mirrors the ring of pits within the village and is roughly east-west while the short axis runs more or less north-south. Interior floor space is ap-

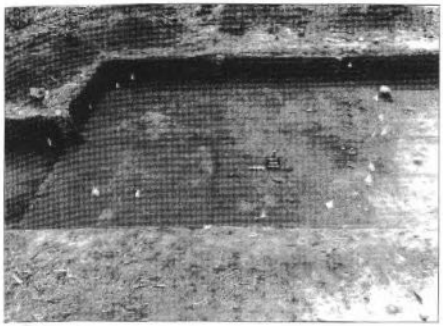


FIGURE 25. Structure One almost completely exposed.

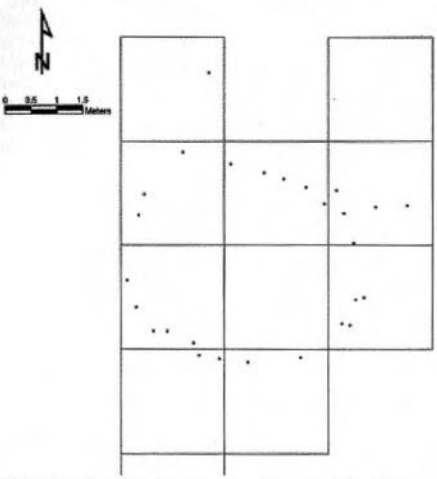


FIGURE 26. Plan view showing all postmolds of Structure One.

proximately 138 square feet (13.17 m^2). The door into the structure may have been along its southern wall facing the village common. This would make sense in terms of minimizing exposure to prevailing winds and maximizing exposure to sunlight. Two sets of postmolds suggest the door in that area.

Four features were discovered within Structure One. These include Features 35-38 (see Table 2). Feature 35 was a small cluster of fire-cracked rock that may have represented some sort of container dump. Feature 38 was a diminutive pit of unknown purpose. Features 36 and 37 appear to have functioned as hearths, with the latter being especially significant in terms of the floral and faunal remains. Both contained charcoal largely attributable to local hardwood species, mainly oak and hickory. In the American Southwest such hardwoods are particularly valued especially for interior fires, and this may also be the case in the Middle Potomac Valley. The flotation samples from Feature 37 contained large numbers of hickory nut fragments and a wide range of carbonized seeds, most of them from edible fruits such as cherry/plum, raspberry/blackberry, and grape. Carbonized cultivated plant remains were also prolific in this feature, including corn and a single bean fragment. A complete listing and discussion of all floral remains can be found in Justine Woodward McKnight's paper (this issue). These two features also yielded fire-cracked rock and significant quantities of artifacts.

As for faunal remains, Feature 36 contained 137 bones and bone fragments. Predominant within this collection was deer and two species of turtle. Feature 37 yielded over 700 faunal specimens including deer, rabbit, squirrel, chipmunk, vole, mouse, two species of turtle, frog/toad, and fish remains. A complete listing of all the faunal remains is included in Elizabeth Moore's (2006) report. Feature 37, in particular, allows us one of our most detailed looks into the food consumption practices of people of the Montgomery Complex.

I want to note that other features were discovered just outside the former walls of Structure One (Table 2). This included two small pits, Feature 39 north of the structure and Feature 41 to the east of that house. Feature 43 represents a human burial, possibly interred within the floor along the eastern edge of Structure One. Feature 40 was a canine burial encountered just east of that structure. Both of these features, the human burial and canine burial, will be discussed in separate sections of this report that will follow.

Based on all the evidence discussed above, there is little doubt in my mind that Structure One represented a domestic unit within the larger village. There is no evidence that it served any other sort of special function.

Structure Two

Another structure was discovered near the end of the 2002 season and exposed the next year. The structure is contained within the westernmost units excavated (see Figure 5). Near the end of the 2002 field season a number of aligned postmolds were discovered in a western unit (N118/E80). These seven postmolds (PMs 031-036 and 038: Table 3) were not cross-sectioned in 2002, and the unit was carefully backfilled. In 2003 we reopened that and additional nearby units. We were thus successful in

exposing another structure. Structure Two primarily consists of 28 postmolds, and other nearby postmolds indicate wall repairs or associated appliances within or just outside that structure (Table 3).

Figure 27 is a photograph of Structure Two, and Figure 28 represents a plan view of the postmolds that make up or are near the structure. The longest axis of the structure is nominally 16.9 feet (5.2 m), and it is 14.1 feet (4.35 m) wide on its shortest axis. The long axis mirrors the ring of pits within the village and is roughly east-west, while the short axis runs more or less north-south. Interior floor space is approximately 187 square feet (17.8 m^2). This second structure is significantly larger than the first. The door into the structure may have been along its south-

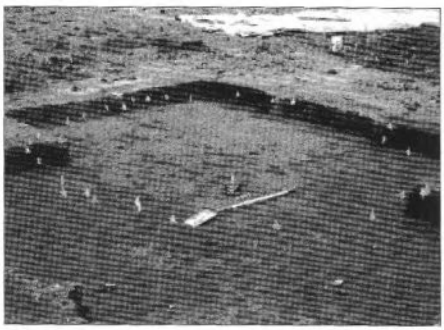


FIGURE 27. Structure Two completely exposed.

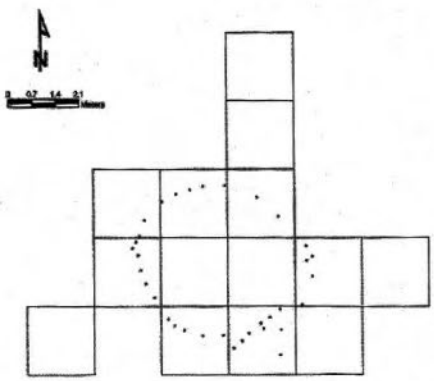


FIGURE 28. Plan view showing all postmolds of Structure Two.

eastern wall facing the village common. This would make sense in terms of minimizing exposure to prevailing winds and maximizing exposure to sunlight. Extra postmolds suggest a door in that area, but other possibilities also exist.

Two irregular basin features (Features 45 and 46) were identified within the structure. Neither of these features yielded fire-cracked rock or identifiable bone. And only Feature 46 contained artifacts, primarily flakes and a few sherds. Both features, however, yielded charcoal, mainly oak and hickory. Feature 46, near the center of the structure, did contain significant amounts of corn. Smaller quantities of corn were recovered from Feature 45.

Feature 44, an irregular pit or basin, was located just to the southeast of Structure Two, possibly in the dooryard. It contained only minor amounts of corn, but a significant quantity of bone. Species identified included deer, squirrel, chipmunk, turtle, and turkey. A small amount of fire-cracked rock and significant quantities of artifacts were also recovered from the feature. Feature 47, a small pit, was excavated to the northwest of this structure. It yielded only a few artifacts and no faunal remains. A very small amount of corn and charcoal was present in that feature. Again, the reports by Justine McKnight (this issue) and Elizabeth Moore (this issue; 2006) give detailed information on the floral and faunal remains recovered from these features.

The discovery of this second structure is very important for a number of reasons. First, it further strengthens the argument that the elongated circular wigwam is the typical house form for the Winslow site in particular and the Montgomery Complex in general. Second, it demonstrates that the houses of the village were situated just outside the ring of pits noted by the site's original excavators (see Figure 5). The fronts of these houses appear to have faced the commons area, and the palisade mirrored the back of each. Last, the lack of significant interior subterranean storage capacity says something about social life within the village. Subsistence production, for example, must have been a communal enterprise and privatization of resources had not yet begun. There are also other implications.

Interpretation

I would argue that these small oblong circular structures are typical for the Winslow site. Furthermore, I expect these to be similar to structures built and utilized at other Montgomery Complex sites in the greater Potomac Valley and more than likely also present on earlier Mason Island Complex sites. Based on these findings and on accumulated general knowledge of other early agriculturalists in various parts of North America and the world, some additional interpretations of such structures are possible.

As mentioned earlier, most similar early agricul-

tural compounds were formed around patrilineal lineages. The typical compound would have consisted of an elder, the headman, his younger brothers and sons, and all their wives and children (save married daughters). With polygamy typical to such social units, this often resulted in 6-8 males, each with 1-3 wives and their collective offspring: seldom more than 80 people altogether (Flannery 1972:30). The archeological signature of the housing in that compound thus becomes a reflection of the prevailing social order.

Houses tended to be small for at least two reasons. For one, each structure was often the locus of a rather small social segment. A structure, for example, might only shelter a lineage male, primary spouse, and their offspring. And if the male was of high social rank perhaps he even had his own personal structure. Secondary wives each had their own structure along with widows, widowers, and sons who had come of age but were not yet married. One ends up with a significant number of small structures when the social order is dispersed so widely across the village.

For another, in many agricultural communities houses serve a secondary function as storage facilities. That tends to increase house size. I doubt this was the case to any great extent with the small structures at Winslow. As Flannery (2002:420-421) has noted, there appears to be a correlation between small structures, shared and visible outside storage, and subsistence risk being shared at the group level instead of by individual families. At Winslow food surpluses were not sequestered in-house, but visible in the common storage pits located at the edge of the village common. The visibility of these storage cists, whatever they once held, made them harder to pilfer. And since structures were small, most food preparation and consumption activities occurred outside for all to see and scrutinize.

Flannery (2002:420) makes the additional observation that similar small houses in other communities on the cusp of the agricultural revolution were often constructed and owned by women. And their status as primary or secondary wives or the place of the person who would eventually occupy the structure within the social order would determine location and size of that structure. This led to structures of varying dimension being built. While we only have a small sample of two, this could explain the variation in size between Structures One and Two, the latter's occupant(s) presumably somehow closer within the lineage to founding ancestors.

It is also possible to explore what these small structures might be able to tell us about the overall population of the compound. I suspect that 9-11 structures were once present in the surviving portions of the Winslow site. If that area represents about one-half of the original site before it was impacted by the construction of the C&O Canal, that would suggest 18-22 structures once ringed the encampment's common. Not everyone was likely to be a habitation unit.

Archeologists and other social scientists have devised (and continue to create) various formulas over the years to estimate population. Some attempt to arrive at that figure based on the total size of the settlement, and others use floor area of structures within the unit under examination. Given the nature of housing at early agricultural sites such as Winslow, I feel the latter is more appropriate in this instance. I will make use of one of the early such formulas (Naroll 1962) that has stood the test of time and debate.

In that regard, Naroll's (1962:587-588) population formula is based on the assumption of an allometric relationship between dwelling area (total area under roof) and population size. Using both living and well-documented historic groups he employed linear regression to quantitatively stipulate that relationship. In very simple terms, Naroll (1962:587) found that "the population of a prehistoric settlement can be very roughly estimated as of the order of one-tenth the floor area in square meters."

Based on the two structures we discovered, the average floor area is 15.5 square meters. If there were once 20 such structures in the compound, total area under roof would equal 310 square meters, and that would suggest an average population of about 30-40 folks living at Winslow. Other formulas would no doubt yield slightly different solutions, and, of course, an estimate of the number of structures is just that—an estimate. Nevertheless, what I now think we know from these two structures points to a rather small population at Winslow site.

Ancestors

In the process of excavating units to expose the eastern edge of Structure One in 2003, we discovered what ultimately proved to be a single human burial. At first, with only minimal exposure on June 3, 2003, it appeared that two interments might be present. The Maryland Indian Commission was notified through Richard Hughes at the Maryland Historical Trust. And members of that Commission were on-site by June 17 for discussions. We were subsequently allowed to expose the burial(s) in order to examine their relationship to the nearby structure. We agreed that this would be done with the greatest respect and that no destructive testing of the human remains would occur. After examination, the interment(s) would be immediately reburied.

On June 28 two ASM members, Kathy Steuer and Martha Wallace, began exposing the human remains within Feature 43. These remains, out of respect, were given the name Willow Sage for her short rebirth during the summer of 2003. A small ritual of respect was performed each day before working on the burial, and ceremonies of

remembrance have been held over the grave subsequent to the completion of our excavation.

With complete exposure of the area, only one burial was, in fact, present. Two extra teeth from another individual were encountered to the south of the Feature 43 interment. On July 3, Douglas Owsley and Dana Kollmann, both physical anthropologists from the Smithsonian Institution, arrived at the site and carried out a thorough *in situ* examination of the skeleton and extra teeth. See Kollmann and Owsley (this issue) for their report.

We reburied Willow Sage's remains on July 5. A *Sacajawea* coin was placed near her along with a container holding documents indicating both why and when she had been disturbed. Her bones were first covered with a clean, light-colored sand, and then her grave was completely sealed with soil from the site. I would like to think that she has now resumed her journey.

In this context I will summarize what we were able to determine about Willow Sage, both her life and death. This summary is drawn directly from the report noted above (Kollmann and Owsley, this issue), and from conversations I had with the investigators during the examination of her remains. In that regard, Willow Sage was 22 to 24 years old at the time of her passing. This determination was based on the closure of certain cartilaginous unions on her bones and on the absence of degenerative changes that inevitably occur with age. Willow Sage was laid to rest in a shallow grave with her upper torso flat against the ground, but pelvis rotated to the left. She faced east toward the rising sun. Both of her arms were flexed. Her right hand rested high on the central portion of her chest, and her left arm was in contact with the ground. The hand on that arm was positioned near her left shoulder. Both her right and left legs were tightly flexed. Figure 29 offers a schematic detail of burial position (I have not included any photographs of her complete remains out of respect). In life Willow Sage stood between 5 feet and 5 feet 4 inches tall, and was of delicate build.

It is worthy of note that Willow Sage's life, although brief, was not especially strenuous. No evidence was found on her skeleton of the effects of prolonged physical hardship. Just a few centuries later, Anglo-American skeletons would often exhibit graphic reminders of almost continuous, hard labor. This was no doubt the result of tobacco cultivation and the search for profit. Willow Sage's skeleton contained no squatting facets or robust muscle attachments. The quality of her life for the era was therefore more reasonable.

She did, however, perish somewhere around 22 to 24 years of age. Two possibilities were evident in regard to possible cause. For one, a large abscess of the second molar of the lower jaw is evident. This often leads to infection that ultimately attacks the brain or heart and is therefore especially dangerous. For another, a parturition

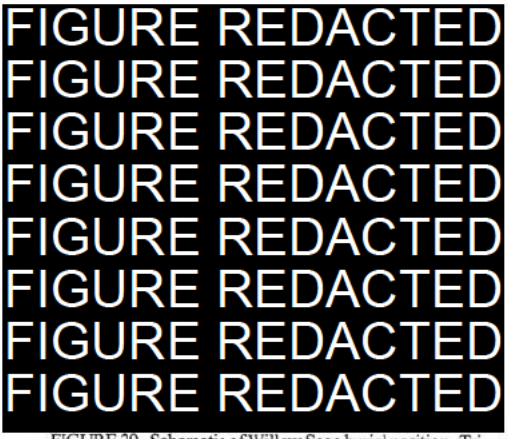


FIGURE 29. Schematic of Willow Sage burial position. Triangle indicates head facing to the east. North arrow at top.

pit was observed on the right side of her pelvis. A hormone released during the birthing process causes such pitting, and it appeared that she had recently given birth. Willow Sage may have died during or just after birthing. And, of course, both abscess-related infection and complications from giving birth may have played a combined role in bringing her life to a close.

Willow Sage is part of a larger population of the ancestors at the Winslow site. Three human burials were removed from the site in the early 1940s, and twelve more were excavated later between 1958 and 1959 (Slattery and Woodward 1992:23-29). All these remains were deposited with the Smithsonian Institution. Willow Sage is the sixteenth such human burial encountered at the site (see Table 7). With the information available to us it is possible to offer some inferences on the larger population of human beings that lived and eventually died at the site.

Earlier I speculated that the total population of the Winslow site during its occupation was somewhere around 30-40 people. The known population of the ancestors is represented by 16 individuals, and three other empty burial pits were noted by previous excavators (Slattery and Woodward 1992:28). That makes a total of nineteen individual interments. Those ancestors rested within roughly half of the surviving site excavated thus far, theoretically representing only twenty-five percent of the total burial population. If the known ancestral population of around nineteen individuals is projected across the entire site, that would mean that about 76 people once were interred at Winslow. Half of those were, of course, lost to the construction of

TABLE 7. Human burials recovered from the Winslow site, all excavations.

BURIAL	YEAR EXCAVATED	SEX	AGE	TYPE OF INTERMENT	HEAD ORIENTED	FACING
1	1940-41	Male	~ 31 yrs	Tightly Flexed	East	North
2	1940-41	Female	~ 20 yrs	Semi-Flexed	Northwest	Southwest
3	1940	Female	~20 yrs	Tightly Flexed	West	Southwest
4	1958-59	Female	~21 yrs	Tightly Flexed	Northeast	East
5	1958-59	Male	~40 yrs	Tightly Flexed	Northwest	Down
6	1958-59	Male	~35 yrs	Flexed	South	West
7	1958-58	Female	~19 yrs	Flexed	North	East
8	1958-59	Infant (no other information available)				
9	1958-59	Infant (no other information available)				
10	1958-59	Infant (no other information available)				
11	1958-59	Female	~40 yrs	Tightly Flexed	Northeast	Unknown
12	1958-59	Infant (no other information available)				
13	1958-59	Female	~21 yrs	Flexed	North	Upward
14	1958-59	Infant (no other information available)				
15	1958-59	Female	~20 yrs	Tightly Flexed	North	Unknown
16	2003	Female	22-24 yrs	Tightly Flexed	North	East

Summary: 11 adults, 5 infants, 8 adult females, 3 adult males, three empty burial pits.

the C&O Canal. Nonetheless, if such a projection were close to correct, this would represent a large and significant mortuary population. It equals the 76 burials known from the nearby and much larger Hughes site. Such a large projected burial population, assuming the estimate is correct, might suggest two inferences. First, for some reason, mortality may have been very high at the Winslow site. There is, however, no evidence of violence from the known skeletons and European diseases had not yet arrived. Second, such a large burial population might indicate that either my relatively modest estimate of the number of people that called Winslow home is too low, or that occupation of the settlement was longer than suspected.

Returning to Willow Sage, the position of her grave is intriguing. Making the assumption that her grave and Structure One were contemporaneous, her remains were placed within the confines of the structure's eastern edge. She is situated between postmolds 69 and 71, both part of the larger structure's exterior wall. As I noted earlier, in similar incipient agricultural communities women often built and owned such structures (Flannery 2002:420). By extension, this may indicate that Willow Sage was the builder and principal occupant of Structure One. There is, of course, also the possibility that her interment pre- or postdates Structure One. In that case the association would be more apparent than real. I will add, however, that there is no evidence of rebuilding at the site, and I suspect she can therefore be linked to that house.

Such a possible association of Willow Sage and a structure at the site is interesting for another reason. The immediate presence of the ancestors was particularly important to early agriculturalists (Flannery 1972:28). Most similar societies inter their dead within a house or nearby. At least the latter was the case at Winslow, and possibly the former. That desire for the close presence of the ancestors was a strong reminder to the living that they had claim to a certain place in the larger landscape, and it allowed the continued participation of the deceased in the affairs of the group. The dead were thereby never completely disconnected spirits in another world. In that regard I want to make special note of the three empty graves at Winslow (Slattery and Woodward 1992:28). And the two extra teeth from a second individual that we recovered in 2003 might represent another such empty grave. Similar occurrences are known at other Montgomery Complex sites. I suspect the ancestors who once occupied those now empty graves, perhaps important elder founding members of the lineage, were disinterred when Winslow was abandoned. They would represent important reminders of the past at a new settlement and perhaps stood as tokens of all those that had to be left behind.

Finally, the uniform burial protocol of the Winslow village is remarkable. All known interments were made in the flexed position, and no grave goods were included with the departed ancestors. Orientation of the cranium, however, was variable (see Table 7). Consistent pattern of burial was no doubt an extension of village ideology where the lineage viewed itself as a community in the truest sense. Life and death and all that both entailed were shared equally by every member of the community. Private ownership

and social class, two eventual consequences of the agricultural revolution, were not yet ensconced. Just a century later at the Hughes site we would see the beginnings of both (Jirikowic 1995:337). That trajectory would eventually be played out among local Native Americans with the evolution of chiefdoms further downstream by the time of European contact. At Winslow, however, one made the journey from life to death along the same path as all members of the lineage and its community.

Dog Burial

Feature 40, east of Structure One and just northeast (approximately 2.5 meters) of Willow Sage, contained the articulated remains of a dog (see Figures 30 and 31). The creature, named Seneca by its excavators, had been intentionally placed in a shallow pit in a curled position with all four paws drawn together. No grave goods of any sort were found with this dog, but the skeleton was completely articulated and intact. The shape of the pit, surrounding soil matrix, and proximity to other features indicate this was a prehistoric burial.

In that regard it should be noted that Seneca is not the first canine burial excavated at Winslow. One complete dog skeleton, with remains of a leather collar fastened by a metal buckle, was discovered during the earlier excavations (Slattery and Woodward 1992:28). That interment was clearly associated with the historic component of the site or even more recent times. Four other dog burials recovered from Winslow appear to have been prehistoric. The post-cranial skeletons of these four interments were completely articulated, yet the skulls had been removed from all four (Slattery and Woodward 1992:28). All of those dogs were small, and resembled a terrier in size.

Seneca, on the other hand, was buried with the post-cranial skeleton and cranium intact and fully articulated. Elizabeth Moore (this issue) estimates that Seneca in life was about 21 inches (53.97 cm) tall at the withers (i.e., the highest point of the front shoulder blades). While the skeleton of Seneca was somewhat deteriorated, no baculum (penis bone) was recovered. I am confident that we did not miss collecting that element, and this would indicate that Seneca was female. There is, however, a chance that a member of the prehistoric community at Winslow had removed the baculum prior to burial. Unfortunately, the other independent method to sex a dog skeleton, detailed measurement of the pelvis, was not possible given that element's fragmented state. Best available evidence still does suggest that Seneca was female and of medium size. Her size is consistent with the other prehistoric dogs recovered at Winslow.

Further interpretation of Seneca is problematic, but some speculation is possible. As Curry (1999:78) has pointed out, dog burials are relatively common at Late Woodland sites in the Middle Atlantic region. At least two such dog burials are known from sites along the lower Potomac River. And the dog burial at the Claggett Ossuary/Piscataway Fort site (18PR40; see Curry 1999:35-38) was similar in interment position and size to Seneca at Winslow. That canine burial and its surrounding matrix was removed as a block and resided in the archeology laboratory at the University of Maryland, College Park throughout the 1970s. There are also more than a few dogs known to have been buried on Virginia Late Woodland sites. As Curry (1999:78) states, the Hatch site alone included more than 100 dog

FIGURE REDACTED

FIGURE 30. Drawing of the canine burial.

FIGURE REDACTED

FIGURE 31. Seneca, the dog.

burials. It is interesting to note that John White, early artist and ultimately governor of the Lost Colony, placed a dog within his illustration of the village of Pomeiooc executed circa A.D. 1585. That Native American village was located on the Coastal Plain in what is today North Carolina. This dog, about the size of Seneca, stands near the corner of a house and in the middle of a group of four people.

We know that the dog represented the one domesticated animal kept by almost all Native American groups. The dog (*Canis familiaris*) was almost certainly domesticated from the wolf (*Canis lupus*) and genetically varies from that creature by less than one percent. Exactly when and where such domestication occurred is a matter of great debate, but biologists are fairly certain the dog has been domesticated for at least 25,000 years. There is some evidence it crossed over into North America with Paleoindians.

From a functional perspective, dogs probably served at least three purposes. First, they were effective scavengers in settled situations like Winslow, helping to keep the general environs tidy. Second, larger varieties could be used as pack animals and smaller members of the order were used in a variety of ways. Those smaller creatures, like Seneca, might serve as alarms of impending danger, as agents of pest control, and as hunting dogs. The Iroquois often used dogs of about Seneca's size to locate and flush wild turkey. Finally, in extreme situations dogs could become a source of food. From a more spiritual perspective, as Curry (1999:78) reminds us, the role of dogs often carried over into the afterlife where they functioned as intermediaries and guides between this world and the next.

Seneca's role in life will remain a mystery. It is clear that the creature had not been eaten given its burial in an articulated state. In comparison to the other four prehistoric dogs recovered at Winslow, Seneca also stands out in that she was buried with skull intact. Seneca was intentionally buried near Structure One, and perhaps this means she was associated with Willow Sage or other occupants of that structure. In the same sense, Seneca was interred near the grave of Willow Sage and the final resting places of other former members of the Winslow community. Perhaps this proximity suggests that in death Seneca served as a true spirit guide in the next world. She would need to leave this world complete to lead the ancestors in that regard.

Radiocarbon Chronology

Three existing radiocarbon assays dated two components at the Winslow site (see Table 8). Two different pioneer radiocarbon labs processed those dates during the course of the earlier excavations at the site (Slattery and Woodward 1992:144). The first assay, 1125±150 RCYBP: AD 825 (MI-189) was analyzed by the University of Michigan lab on charcoal from Pit #25. It is MASCA corrected (early calibration formula) to A.D. 890-910. This date appeared unusually early to the original excavators (Slattery and Woodward 1992:144), and it was run on a unique feature that appears unrelated to the major Late Woodland component of the site. It was therefore viewed as aberrant or as having dated an earlier occupation. Two other assays, however, did appear to date the Montgomery Complex occupation of the site. The first was 635±80 RCYBP: A.D. 1325 (SI-37) and the second was 665±100 RCYBP: A.D. 1285 (SI-47). The former (MASCA corrected to A.D. 1325) was run on charcoal from Pit #12, and the latter (MASCA corrected to A.D. 1305) was derived from charcoal in a midden area. Based on these two assays an occupation date for the Montgomery Complex at Winslow of circa A.D. 1300 appeared reasonable (Slattery and Woodward 1992:144).

TABLE 8. Radiocarbon assays on Winslow and nearby Montgomery Complex sites.

DATE RCYBP	LAB NUMBER	CALENDAR YEARS†	CALIBRATED
Winslow			
1125±150	MI-189	AD 825	AD 890-910*
635±80	SI-37	AD 1315	AD 1325*
665±100	SI-47	AD 1285	AD 1305*
580±40	Beta-177862	AD 1370	AD 1300-1420**
580±40	Beta-177863	AD 1370	AD 1300-1420**
Fisher			
1025±70	Uga-4470	AD 925	AD 980-1000*
590±40	Beta-159908	AD 1360	AD 1300-1420**
Shepard			
890±280	SI-258	AD 1060	AD 1100*
750±60	SI-553	AD 1200	AD 1230*
750±50	SI-554	AD 1200	AD 1230*
320±280	SI-259	AD 1630	AD 1510-1590*
320±240	SI-257	AD 1630	AD 1510-1590*

† Calendar years calculated to AD 1950 standard

* MASCA Corrected

** 2-sigma calibrated results (95% probability) INTCAL98 Radiocarbon Age Calibration

Since the radiocarbon dates noted above were published, there has been a great deal of research and improvement of the radiocarbon dating technique. One such advance has been the use of more precise accelerated mass spectrometers (AMS) in the counting stage of the assay process. Given these advances, one of our goals was to collect charcoal and run at least one or two more radiocarbon dates for the site.

Two samples of charcoal were submitted to Beta-Analytic for AMS radiocarbon assay. The first sample (Beta-177862) was run on charcoal from Feature 36. The second sample (Beta-177863) was run on charcoal obtained from Feature 37. Flotation samples from both features yielded primarily hardwood charcoal, nutshell, seeds from wild species, and cultigens. I am confident of the association of the two features with the Montgomery Complex occupation of the site. Both are located within Structure One. Beta Analytic reported that no problems were encountered in the processing of either sample. Both assays were returned with matching dates, 580±40 RCYBP: A.D. 1370 (Beta-177862-3). It does not get much better than this with radiocarbon dating. The 2-sigma calibrated result suggests occupation of that component of the site between the calendar years of A.D. 1300 to 1420 at the level of 95 percent probability. Perhaps this points to Montgomery Complex occupation of Winslow slightly later than originally believed. I would suggest occupation for that component circa A.D. 1360, mid-fourteenth century. This chronology was calculated utilizing the mid-point of the high and low values of the 2-sigma date range for the two assays.

From a broader perspective, it is important to make a few comments on the chronology of other Montgomery Complex sites (see Table 8). The Fisher site, across the river and just upstream from Winslow, has just been reinvestigated by the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (Pullins and Lewes 2002). The existing radiocarbon date from the site appeared aberrant. A single new AMS assay was run on charred maize kernel and cupule fragments from Feature 6 (Pullins and Lewes 2002:49) at the Fisher site. This new assay, 590±40 RCYBP: A.D. 1360 (Beta-159908), results in the same 2-sigma calibrated range of A.D. 1300-1420 as that from the two new dates from Winslow. The similar chronology of the two sites is intriguing.

I would argue that both the Winslow and Fisher site were virtually chronologically contemporaneous. This could mean two things. For one, these two small sites, on opposite shores of the Potomac River, were occupied at the same time by different but ultimately related communities of people circa A.D. 1360. On the other hand, it might suggest that a single group occupied both sites at slightly different times, moving from one to another for reasons already discussed. I tend to favor the latter possible explanation, but the former is certainly just as possible.

The available radiocarbon dates from the Shepard site, on the same shore and just upstream from the Winslow site, are more problematic (see Table 8). The five existing radiocarbon assays span from A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1590, and four of them cluster at two distinct intervals over three centuries apart. I would expect that the Shepard site, if more excavations could ever be completed at that location, would ultimately prove to be later in time than either the Winslow or Fisher sites. My speculation in that regard is based on what appears to have been a changing burial protocol and particular variations in patterns of material culture (see Slattery and Woodward 1992:142). I will add that such a belief is not shared by all. Richard Slattery (personal communication, 2006), for example, feels the Shepard site dates to circa A.D. 1200 as indicated by the two most recent radiocarbon dates (SI-553-554; Table 8). This would make it early in the sequence.

Moving even further upstream into the Monocacy and Shenandoah River areas, a number of Montgomery Complex sites have been investigated. Dennis Curry and Maureen Kavanagh (2004:26-27) have recently attempted to address issues of chronology in those areas. In that regard, the Montgomery Complex component at Biggs Ford has yielded a single date of circa A.D. 1140. The Devilbiss Bridge site, also along the Monocacy, dates to circa A.D. 1145. The Kerns site, along the Shenandoah River, likewise dates to circa A.D. 1145.

The most extensively excavated Montgomery Complex site along the Monocacy River is the Rosenstock Village site (Curry and Kavanagh 2004). It is also the most chronologically perplexing Montgomery Complex site. Thirteen radiocarbon assays have been run on the various features of that site. And the resulting dates range from A.D. 1000 to nearly A.D. 1600. Curry and Kavanagh (2004:26) suggest three explanations. One is that the Rosenstock Village site was occupied sporadically or continuously throughout that era. Another is that two major occupations occurred there, circa A.D. 1150 and A.D. 1400. Last, they entertain the possibility that some unexplained source of contamination may be affecting the dates. They do note (Curry and Kavanagh 2004:26) that the zone of maximum overlap at two standard deviations for all available dates is A.D. 1335 to A.D. 1400. In the next section of this article I will suggest another possible explanation for the widely varying dates from this important site.

Moving east, I also want to say something about the possibility of Montgomery Complex occupation below the Winslow site and even on the Coastal Plain itself. In that regard I note three early dates for ceramics at the Peter House and Whitehurst West sites now within the District of Columbia. These dates were reported in a paper delivered by Victoria Robertson, Dennis Knepper, and Carter Shields (1999) at the Middle Atlantic Archeological Conference. The quartz-tempered sherds from these sites range from circa A.D. 770 to 1100. A single assay from Whitehurst West is reported at 1180±50 RCYBP: A.D. 770 (Beta-113866), and the two dates from the Peter House site are 980±60 RCYBP: A.D. 970 (Beta-113869) and 850±40 RCYBP: A.D. 1100 (Beta-113868). The sherds were identified as "Shepard/Potomac Creek-like" (Robertson, Knepper, and Shields 1999:4-5), and I clearly

had a sense that the authors preferred to see them as the latter. Indeed, in another context I used them and another sherd I had radiocarbon dated from the Accokeek Creek site as evidence for arguing that the Potomac Creek Complex was earlier than many want to believe (Dent and Jirikowic 2001:52). From another perspective, however, if these sherds truly were Shepard ware, this would suggest the Montgomery Complex is earlier and extended further than we currently want to believe. I have previously noted that the so-called South Section of the Accokeek Creek site, actually a separate palisaded village excavated by Alice Ferguson, is of about the right dimension for a Montgomery Complex site (see Dent and Jirikowic 2001:54-55). An earlier Montgomery Complex might force us to look at some existing radiocarbon assays as less aberrant than I have suggested. And we have no idea of what Montgomery Complex sites (if any) might have existed under the City of Washington, D.C.

From the perspective of the end of the Montgomery Complex, Howard MacCord (1992:163-165; personal communication, 2005) has suggested that the Gore site on Selden Island may be the latest Montgomery Complex site in the Middle Potomac Valley. This site (18MO20) is also known as the Walker Village site or as Selden Island Number 1 site. Richard Slattery and Hugh Stabler first tested it in 1946, and Albert Hahn undertook additional work between 1956 and 1957. The site was palisaded and Shepard pottery was the dominant ceramic ware.

The assays from the two District of Columbia sites and my ideas about the South Section of Accokeek Creek aside, the generally earlier dates for the Montgomery Complex to the west of Winslow are interesting. Some have suggested an ancestral linkage of the Montgomery Complex to proto-Iroquoian Owasco groups of the Upper Susquehanna River region in what is today both New York and Pennsylvania. Without going into details, such a perspective implies a migration of some such Owasco groups southward, probably along the Appalachian Front and then down the tributaries that drain that area. Using those rivers as avenues of entry into new areas, the Potomac River being one such highway, the migrants subsequently settled on the fertile bottomlands that supported their agricultural way-of-life. In this scenario, sites in the western reaches of those tributaries should generally be the earliest. This would also explain why so many Montgomery Complex sites are located on the fertile floodplains of the Middle Potomac Valley.

End of Time

The little Winslow community likely occupied the site we investigated for a decade or so. There on the northern bank of what would come to be called the Potomac River they built, occupied, and no doubt watched deteriorate a small circular encampment in the mid-fourteenth century. A central common space mirrored by pits and a circular barrier of wattled upright posts surrounded small, oblong structures. Society was organized around a patrilineal lineage. It brought order to their present and past through lineage ancestors. The form of the village itself served to help further reproduce their way-of-life and spiritual beliefs. Cultivated fields and woodlands that sustained them were just beyond this settlement, and further out in this landscape were other similar settlements of people who on some level shared a common heritage.

Nonetheless, the Winslow site represented but a small point of time in a much greater temporal continuum. To end this story it is appropriate to at least speculate on what became of the Winslow community and its descendants. We know that the site was abandoned after a relatively brief occupation, and we know that a new and very different group of Native Americans moved into the area by the early fifteenth century. And there has been much speculation on the eventual fate of the peoples that left behind the artifacts and features of the archeologist's Montgomery Complex. The paragraphs below address such matters.

In regard to the disposition of the Winslow community immediately after it abandoned the site, I find it curious that two other very similar Montgomery Complex sites are known in the immediate vicinity. The Fisher site is across the Potomac River and only a short distance west. And the Shepard site is situated on the same bank as Winslow, only a mile or two upstream. This Montgomery triangle is well-known to archeologists. I suggest a direct relationship between these three archeological sites, each representing an occupation of the same small community at distinct points in time.

I will speculate that either the Winslow or the Fisher site may have represented the first occupation of this early community of agriculturalists in the Middle Potomac Valley. The most recent radiocarbon dates from both are virtually identical. The last such site in this occupation sequence was perhaps Shepard. While the available radiocarbon assays on that site vary dramatically (see Table 8), I argue that Shepard was late in the sequence based on an apparent elaboration of burial protocol. Slattery and Woodward (1992:142) note grave goods included there with burials, and some new variation in the position of interment. There appear to be changes taking place by the time that the Shepard site was occupied, and I thus suggest that it is later than either Fisher or Winslow. Again, however, such a perspective is not unanimous.

Regardless of the sequence of occupation at these three sites or the proposed interrelationships, I want to point out another important piece of evidence that may indicate that the Winslow community did not collapse and disappear at the end of its occupation of that site. I make

special note of the three empty burial pits uncovered at the Winslow site. We may have also encountered a fourth such empty grave during the 2003 excavations. Slattery and Woodward (1992:28) remark that it appeared as if the deceased in Pits 19, 24, and 28 had been removed for reburial elsewhere. This is a significant observation, and would indicate to me that the Winslow community was engaged in a carefully planned move to a new location.

Elsewhere in this report I made the case for the Winslow community having been formed around a patrilineal lineage. Based on the ethnographic record, many such early agriculturalists worldwide did the same, and that fact produced remarkably similar encampments and cultural practices in many locations. In such instances, the living were particularly guided by the ancestors. The ancestors' physical remains are therefore often buried in or very nearby the houses of the living. In an ideological sense the dead give meaning to the living, and the continuity of generations allows the living to lay claim to a specific location crucial to their way-of-life. This is almost certainly the case at Winslow. And if the community moves to a new settlement, for any one of a variety of reasons already discussed, it is in keeping with their worldview to exhume important ancestors for the journey to that new encampment. In that sense, the empty graves at Winslow were the resting places of important members of the lineage that, while deceased, were still important members of the community.

Sometime in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, however, it appears that the lower reaches of the Middle Potomac Valley were completely abandoned by the peoples of the Montgomery Complex. We know, about the turn of the century, that people assignable to the later Keyser Complex established a large village on the floodplain of the Potomac River directly between the Shepard and Winslow sites. That village, the Hughes site, is thought to date to circa A.D. 1400. The appearance of these new settlers represented a foreign intrusion into the Middle Potomac Valley, and it is difficult to believe they coexisted there with the earlier cultural tradition. The Hughes site is very close to both Winslow and Shepard, and in some locations Keyser villages were built directly over earlier Montgomery Complex encampments. The Biggs Ford site near Frederick, Maryland is an example of such a settlement choice.

After this arrival of the Keyser folk, disposition of peoples of the Montgomery Complex is therefore somewhat of a mystery. Perhaps some of the surviving members of the old Winslow lineage made their way as refugees upstream to join like groups along the Monocacy River or even further west into the Upper Potomac Valley or along the Shenandoah River. Some may have been incorporated into Keyser villages. A number of archeologists (following Schmitt 1952) have argued that peoples of the Montgomery Complex migrated downstream and morphed into the late prehistoric Potomac Creek Complex, ultimately becoming the Piscataway tribe of the contact era and beyond. Suffice it to say, I still find existing evidence for such an *en masse* migration of the Montgomery Complex from the Middle to Lower Potomac Valley to be circumstantial at best.

As to the origins of that Potomac Creek Complex, I instead subscribe to the idea that the nexus of that society is to be found on the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake Bay. Such a belief is supported by both Piscataway oral tradition (see Dent and Jirikowic 2001:50) and linguistic evidence (see Cissna 1986; Speck 1924). I would likewise argue that archeological evidence supports such a perspective. Ossuary burial, a hallmark of the Potomac Creek Complex (see Curry 1999) and a significant innovation, appears earlier on the Eastern Shore. I interpret this as further evidence that the tradition of ossuary burial was brought from that location by the distant ancestors of the Piscataway (Dent 1995:279), reaching its fullest expression on the upper Western Shore.

That said, I do not want to argue that people once part of the Montgomery Complex (including the descendants of the Winslow community) had no possible role in populating some of what would become the villages of the rising Potomac Creek Complex on the Costal Plain. I do propose that there was no singular migratory event where peoples of the Montgomery Complex moved downstream and there created a new society. Rather I prefer to view the abandonment of the Middle Potomac Valley by these people sometime in the late fourteenth century as a slow shifting of settlement location, often at the level of movement of families, small lineages, or even just individuals. In this perspective I am suggesting the movement of people, rather than the movement of *a* people (follows Bernardini 2005:15).

In a comparative perspective, the situation was much like what was occurring during the so-called Fourteenth Century Gap in the American Southwest. Around that period of time the peoples of the great prehistoric pueblos were dispersing to eventually congregate at the historic pueblos, many still occupied by various tribes today. Archeologists for years searched in vain for singular migratory paths from prehistoric settlements directly to these historic pueblos. Such linear *en masse* migrations now appear to many not to have occurred. The Hopi, as an example, rather are an amalgam of many diverse small groups, each clan maintaining its own distinct social and ceremonial identity and having its own unique history (Bernardini 2005:7). In fact, as noted earlier, all of the Hopi today do not even speak the same language. The modern tribe appears to have been constituted by a large number of small migrations (Bernardini 2005:7) of many peoples of diverse backgrounds that arrived on the mesas

at various times, from differing locations, and with different cultural traditions. That process is referred to as serial migration. I suggest a similar movement of a number of diverse peoples in regard to the creation of the Potomac Creek Complex. Some of these peoples may have been related to the original inhabitants of the Winslow site. Many others were not.

As for the Potomac Valley in general, I propose we view the period between the end of the fourteenth century through late sixteenth century in much the same way. The region was a landscape of many peoples on the move. New groups arrived, old groups dispersed, and diverse people coalesced and defined themselves. Some of this population movement may have been directed and fairly large-scale, perhaps the appearance of the Keyser Complex in the Upper and Middle Potomac Valley. Much of the rest of the movement, however, was on the level of very small groups, even individuals, journeying from place to place across the landscape. This would represent the before-mentioned serial migration. I argue such movement was more the case with the surviving descendants of the original Winslow community.

There are interesting implications with serial migration that leave a distinctive signature on the archeological record. Movement pathways are complex and migrants scatter their traditional material culture as they start, stop, and then move on. Often that material culture is left in host villages that maintain a different tradition. Some of those villages become, in effect, short-term stops and others are staging areas visited for long periods of time. In the latter case, pilgrims stayed longer to tap into information streams (Bernardini 2005:85) on future hospitality and acceptance into existing villages or groups of villages. In some instances they may have reoccupied old abandoned villages of their original cultural tradition.

As a consequence of this sporadic movement across space with stops of both short and long duration, we should expect to see a significant background scatter of atypical material culture, most visible in the Late Woodland as foreign ceramic wares. It is my impression that such a situation is typical on more than a few Late Woodland sites in the Potomac Valley. We have always attributed foreign sherds in numbers too large to be ignored to trade, intermarriage, or later occupation, but perhaps there are also other reasons for these curious admixtures of a number of different ware types. The movement of pilgrims across the landscape in small units might likewise skew our radiocarbon dates. People on the move probably reoccupied former sites. Many such sites might have been abandoned long ago, but were still visible or known to descendant populations. Reoccupations could be numerous with many small groups on the move, each leaving behind features containing charcoal contemporary to their visit. Perhaps this is another possible explanation for the widely varying suite of radiocarbon dates at sites such as Rosenstock, where thirteen assays range in age over five centuries.

As the Potomac Creek Complex coalesced and ascended in the Lower Potomac, it may have become *one* possible destination for at least some of the migrating individuals, families, and perhaps whole lineages of the old Montgomery Complex. I already stated that the leadership and core traditions of what would become the Piscataway chiefdom originated on the Eastern Shore. And those that moved west from that homeland across the great bay no doubt spoke the Algonquian language. With the addition, however, of more than a few migrants from various cultural entities even further west, I suspect some Potomac Creek Complex villages were rather multicultural and that the occupants spoke a number of different languages and had many different cultural traditions. We have some evidence in that regard.

For one, there is the matter of a more diverse burial protocol than many acknowledge. As an example, at Accokeek Creek, a major village of the Potomac Creek Complex, we all tend to focus on the four large ossuaries exposed through Alice Ferguson's excavations (see Curry 1999:18-23). Yet at this single site there were also an astonishing number of non-ossuary burials. Stephenson and Ferguson (1963:60) report 56 individual burials were recorded, and that those interments appear to have taken place throughout the occupational history of the site. Those burials were found in a variety of articulated positions, as secondary bundle burials, and even as cremations. While ossuary burial was certainly the norm at Potomac Creek sites, perhaps some members retained the old ways of interment.

For another, there are still some questions about language among the Piscataway, and by extension, their Potomac Creek ancestors. European invaders clearly recorded that the historic Piscataway spoke a dialect of the Algonquian language. I do not doubt that this was the *lingua franca* of the leadership at many villages—the very people to engage in dialogue with Europeans. By analogy, however, an alien visitor to England during the Middle Ages might have noted French as the language of those people. It was the language of the court after the Norman invasion. Had this same visitor ventured into the countryside, however, they would have left with a different impression. I suspect the same might be said for the Piscataway.

In that regard, Larry Moore (1993) published an interesting paper a number of years ago proposing languages other than Algonquian were spoken by a significant number of the Piscataway and other local closely linked groups. In particular, he suggested Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Siouan dialects (Moore 1993:132) were common among what archeologists often lump into the Potomac Creek Complex and its historic successor the Piscataway

chiefdom. Moore's thesis was well-argued, but at the time I thought he was ultimately incorrect. Today, with the idea of the whole Potomac Valley landscape in motion and serial migration, I am not so sure. In this new perspective individuals of the dispersed Montgomery Complex who may have eventually trickled down onto the Coastal Plain brought their Iroquoian language with them. I suspect there were others among them who likewise had difficulty understanding the *Tayac*.

To close, if even a few living descendants of the old Winslow lineage made their way down the Potomac River, perhaps still carrying some of the bones of prominent ancestors, they certainly did encounter a new and different world. Lineages and clans may have had some significance to Potomac Creek Complex political and social organization, but here society was ranked and chiefs, sub-chiefs, and priests had a major role in organizing and controlling day-to-day life in both this world and the next. Who knows what those arriving from elsewhere thought about this new way-of-life. Perhaps, however, around the hearths of at least a few of the longhouses that they now called home, tales were still recounted in the mother tongue of how life had once been some ten generations ago at the old encampments like Winslow in the Middle Potomac Valley, and the spirits of the ancestors continued to nurture them in this new place. Nonetheless, dramatic change was on the horizon. Ships from various European nations began to appear, and by the early seventeenth century permanent colonial settlements were being established. The final transformation was upon the native world, and as that event played out many hearths went forever cold and legends fell silent. It must have seemed like the end of time to any surviving descendants of the old settlements in the Middle Potomac Valley.

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